FAITH IN DEMOCRACY

A Research Study & Impact Evaluation of PEF's Religious Engagement on Democratic Principles in Pakistan

February, 2022

PEACE AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION (PEF)

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Disclaimer

The research and evaluation study was commissioned by Peace & Education Foundation and undertaken by third party evaluation experts. The views expressed in the report are of evaluators and they do not represent the opinion and position of Peace & Education Foundation. The contents of the report do not imply the expression of any opinion concerning, the legal status of Pakistan or any country herein, territory, city or area of its authorities or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries or the endorsement of any product. However, we truly acknowledge Ghulam Murtaza's role in conducting research component for this study.

Evaluation Team

Gulbaz Ali Khan

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Glossary

Anti-democracy Narratives	Refers to the narratives opposed or hostile to democracy, its system and principles as a form of governance or its certain features, as majority rule of political equality. The definition of anti-democratic is a person, place, or thing unfriendly or against the ideas and actions of democracy.
Anti-west	Anti-West refers to broad opposition, bias, or hostility to the people, culture, influence or policies of the Western world.
PEF Democratic Advocates	The religious and youth leaders trained by PEF on democratic system and values. Their role is to support democracy and democratic ideologies within their circle of influence.
Religio-political parties	The parties with political ideologies based on the religious affiliations and thoughts, they believe that politics and religion cannot be separated. The formation of state, it's structure and constitution must be derived from Islamic principles.
Madrasah	Religious educational institutions serving the most underserved and underprovided segment of society.
Kirkpatrick Model	The Kirkpatrick Model is a globally recognized method of evaluating the results of training and learning programs. The methodological framework based on four-levels i.e. (1) Reaction (2) Learning (3) Behavior (4) Results.
Community Engagement Programs	The follow-up activities carried out by PEF trained groups at community level to educate citizens, and larger communities, and other stakeholders in these processes of strengthen democratic values and ideologies.
Media Campaign	The programs implemented on multiple media platforms including Digital media (Television & Radio) and social media platforms to support democracy and democratic ideologies.
Muslim Denominations	Five major Muslim school thoughts that are called sects/ denominations. These include Brelvi, Deobandi, Ahl.e. Hadees, Shia and Jamat-e-Islami (Rabita).

Abbreviations

PEF	Peace and Education Foundation
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
CEPs	Community Engagement Programs
FGDs	Focus Group discussions
AJK	Azad Jammu & Kashmir
GB	Gilgit Baltistan
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
CII	Council of Islamic Ideology
IRCRA	International Research Council for Religious Affairs

Message from PEF President- Mr Azhar Hussain

As founder and President of the Peace and Education Foundation (PEF), I would like to highlight the achievement and impact of PEF programs on promoting democratic system and values in Pakistan. Since 2016, PEF has continuously expanded with focus on democratic values and engaged a wide spectrum of stakeholders, religious leaders, youth and partners including civil society organizations, governmental entities, educational main stream and non-mainstream institutions (Madrasah Institutes) in this journey.

PEF feels proud to proclaim that it has established a wide network of Democratic Advocates across Pakistan within religious and youth circles that are continuously struggling to mobilize support in Pakistan. The synergies have been developed among diverse group of religious leaders for the restoration of peaceful coexistence at communal level to make peaceful and prosperous Pakistan. We hope that PEF will continue its work for the better future of Pakistan with the support of Pakistani government and international donor communities.

This report presents the evaluation findings of PEF programming on democracy since 2016-2021 2020. I would like to appreciate the efforts of third-party evaluation experts and the facilitation team in putting together this report and third-party evaluation findings and share mutual knowledge, and exchange new information for the improvement of the PEF program.

Sincerely,

Azhar Hussain

President, Peace and Education Foundation (PEF)

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Mr. Gulbaz Ali Khan holds diverse experience spans over 18 years with working in various leadership capacities in national and international organizations including SDPI, CPDI, UNDP, USAID, DFID, CIDA, AUSAID, GIZ, EU, and WB Pakistan. He is a pioneer voice and accountability expert in Pakistan who tested various approached and tools including Citizen Report Card, Community Score Card, Public Expenditure Tracking Survey, and Complaint Redressal Mechanism in social sectors including Health, Education, and WATSAN. He is skilled in knowledge transfer to all key stakeholders including citizen, governments, media, donors and social collectives engaged in social accountability discourse. He did numerous large, medium and short term research projects on various social sectors by employing approaches including Impact Assessments, Poverty Score Cards, process reviews, and third party evaluations.

Mr. Gulbaz is also engaged at national and international advocacy and technical forums (Community of Practitioners on Accountability and Social Action in Health Global Partnership for Social Accountability, Open Government Partnership, and Transparency and Accountability Initiative) on social accountability in various advisory and technical capacities. Besides this, he is an author of a short book, papers, research reports and regular contributor to national English dailies. He holds master degrees in Economic and Development Economics from Quaid-e-Azam University and University of Nottingham, UK.

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Mr. Mujtaba has twelve years of experience in research analysis and project management, working with a number of non-government organizations in Pakistan. He has managed the projects in areas of conflict and peace studies, peace-building and reconciliation, rule of law, international law, governance, human rights, education, interfaith harmony, democracy and media studies. Mr. Rathore holds a Diploma in Peace-building and Reconciliation from University of Winchester (U.K.), M.A. in Political Science from University of Sargodha, and B.A. LLB, (Sharia and Law) from International Islamic University, Islamabad. Mr. Rathore has participated in several academic events

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GHULAM MURTAZA

Director – Peace and Education Foundation (PEF)

Ghulam Murtaza, is a development practitioner since 2012. As Director of Peace and Education Foundation (PEF), he ensures planning, implementation, management, supervision and evaluation of all organizational programs in accordance with the predefined goal of the organization. Mr. Murtaza developed publications and set of training curriculums on various themes such as diversity within Islam and other faiths, inter-religious dialogue & reconciliations, peaceful coexistence and strengthening democratic values and culture in the society. Over these themes and topics, he has been able to successfully trained well over thousands of imams, Madrasah teachers, interfaith religious leaders, social workers, women and youth in Pakistan.

IRSA SHAFIQ

Research Communication and Development Officer- PEF

Irsa Shafiq is a renowned researcher, educationist and development practitioner. She holds an M.Phil degree in Politics and International Relations from International Islamic University (Islamabad). She is affiliated with PEF as Research Communication and Development Officer since 2014. Ms. Irsa has worked on several research projects as a lead researcher and also implemented multiple projects on Democracy, educational enhancement and CVE. She has authored research reports on Pakistan public schools textbook curriculum, religious media narratives and other different research projects on causes, trends, and containment strategies of radicalization in Pakistani society.

Ms. Irsa is actively involved in conceptualizing and development of projects related to religious engagement and Pakistani madrasah enhancement. As a researcher her area of interest includes various socio-political issues particularly analyzing radicalization and counter-radicalization strategies, peace and conflict studies, democracy and governance and civil-military relations. She also has published multiple articles on themes of Islam-o-phobia and collective de-radicalization for Pakistan. As a lead researcher on curriculum biases, she has also conducted USCIRF project on curriculum activities in Pakistani public-school textbooks. Ms. Irsa has also authored a book titled Book titled Political Leadership, Military Intervention and Democratization in Turkey and Pakistan Published by Iqbal International Institute for Research and Dialogue (IRD) in 2018.

Executive Summary

Since the founding of Pakistan, the compatibility and coexistence of the Islamic social and political concepts with the principles of democracy has been debated and examined incessantly. The debate of Islam and Democracy represents diverse views and numerous insights about major Islamic scholars' thoughts on the feasibility of democratic system. Islamic world and Muslim scholars at large—of varying schools of thoughts—have tried to define Islam and its ability to adopt some version of modern values such as democracy, human rights, religious freedom and civil liberties throughout the 20th century. The three broad paradigms analyzed in this study are (1) The Traditionalists (2) The Modernists and (3) The Extremist school of thought. The Section-I provides the detailed analysis of the thoughts of prominent scholars from different regions and contexts. The section also highlights the over-arching narratives and the implication of these competing narratives in common citizens and particularly in religious sector.

To this background, PEF designed a Democracy Advocates Program that engaged religious' leaders, and youth from various denominations, including Barelvi, Deobandi, Shia, and Ahl-e-Hadith, in several geographies, including Swat/Dir, Islamabad, Peshawar, Sheikhupura, Karachi, and Faisalabad. PEF capitalizing on its alumni social influence, selected those individuals who hold an influential position within the communities by offering Friday prayers and teaches to the students in a madrassa. PEF packaged the training workshops so that the participants would conceive, design, and implement grass-root interventions to promote Democracy, its values, and principles in their respective areas of social influence. Each participant was involved either in a group setting or individually to identify the issue, discuss it with peers, design an inclusive intervention, and implement it with local support.

PEF facilitated critical thinking amongst the participants through its experienced staff members to deepen and sustain the community engagement program outreach and impacts. In the first three years of the program with Democratic Advocates, trained religious leaders conducted number of follow-up community engagement programs that engaged people at the community level in their respective regions. They used various communications strategies, including lectures, mini-conferences, dialogues, seminars, workshops, sports, Friday Sermons, and TV programs. PEF has not restricted its advocates on the choice and use of various communication tools. Beneficiaries discussed a wide range of topics such as Islamic democratic values, women's rights, religious freedom, intersect harmony, conflict resolution, and the Constitution of Pakistan in the CEPs.

The Section-II of the study highlights the Third-party evaluation study of the five years (2016-2021) PEF's programming on democracy. The methodological framework to evaluate the five years of programming is based on four-levels: (1) Reaction (2) Learning (3) Behavior, and (4) Results. The Kirkpatrick Evaluation Model assess the behavioral transformation of the individual beneficiaries towards democracy and democratic values. It has been recorded that a significant increase in their knowledge about democratic principles and values.

PEF also learned as it goes from year to year and added numerous topics in the contents to address the growing concerns of the religious groups. Overall, it debunked the misperceptions, created empathy for others, created greater recognition of women and minority rights, developed these individuals into leaders, and created a support base for localization of the narrative. While consolidating its results at the community and institution level, religious leaders and youth role amplified as Democratic Advocates, that reduced gap between political and religious leadership, developed a network to strengthen support for democratic system and values.

SECTION: I

RECONCILING ISLAMIC FAITH WITH MODERN DEMOCRACY

This part of the paper represents diverse views and numerous insights about major Islamic scholars' thoughts on the feasibility of democratic system. They are far too rich to permit a brief summary, but what follows will indicate some of the points they make and some major differences amongst them. Since the founding of Pakistan, the compatibility and coexistence of the Islamic social and political concepts with the principles of democracy has been debated and examined incessantly. Similarly, Islamic world and Muslim scholars at-large—of varying schools of thoughts—have tried to define Islam and its ability to adopt some version of modern values such as democracy, human rights, religious freedom and civil liberties throughout the 20th century. With one major caveat, that Islamic form of democracy cannot function with western cultural norms. This effort by Muslim scholars is often referred as 'Islamic Modernism' where Islamic faith and modernity is reconciled, minus western social and cultural influence.

The three major perspectives on democracy among prominent Muslim thinkers who have sought to develop modern, distinctly Islamic theories about socio-political systems conforming to Islamic values and laws, for our purposes they can be classified into the following three categories:

1. The Traditionalists School of Thought
2. The Modernists School of Thought
3. The Aggrieved Innovators/ Extremist School of Thought

It is pertinent to mention that in order to ease understanding the literature on democracy, the categories of different schools of thought were made; however, it is difficult to put the entire scholar's thoughts in a single category.

1) Traditionalist School of Thought:

The school of thought (defined by PEF) as:

"The Traditionalists believe in democracy (largely) with major exceptions: They believe in Islamic Democracy minus the western cultural influence, norms and practices".

Perhaps the most vagarious debate about Islam and Democracy are frequently in the context of the relationship between the Western and Islamic civilization. A large majority of notable Western scholars[1] including Francis Fukuyama, Samuel Huntington, Seymour Martin Lipset, Bernard Lewis, Denial Pipes, and Elie Kedourie have extensive writings on Islamic principles and incongruity with modern-day democracy argued that Islam is an unraveled autocracy and rejected the compatibility of Islam with Western-style representative democracy. Kedourie asserts that the notion of popular sovereignty, elections, parliamentary assembly, judiciary, the secularity of State, and cultivation of associations and groups are profoundly alien to Muslim political traditions. They argue that Islam does not promote a lack of openness, competition, pluralism, and tolerance of diversity.

> ***"If you examine the teachings of Islam, you will find that it promulgates the soundest principles, the most suitable regulations, and the most precise laws for the life of the individual, man or woman, for the life of the family [...], and for the life of nations [...], and sanctions ideas before which even reformers and leaders of nations have stood hesitant"***
> ***- Hassan Al Banna***

Among the traditionalist Muslim scholars from sub-continent Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877 – 1938) and later Abu'l 'Ala Mawdudi (1903-1979) were the prominent philosophers and writers, who believed in the Islamic form of government democracy derived from fundamental Islamic teachings and seek to establish an Islamic state. They also criticized the western-style democracy and values. It must be considered that both philosophers presented their ideas in context of foreign domination and colonization of the west in the sub-continent. Therefore, emphasized on the preservation of Muslim identity. Abu'l 'Ala

[1] Fukuyama (1992); Huntington (1984, 1991, 1996a, 1996b); Lipset (1994); Lewis (1994, 1996, 1997, 2002, 2005); Pipes (1995, 2002); Kedourie (1994).

Mawdudi (1903-1979) founded Jamaat-e-Islami in 1941 in India, and introduced the concept of *Theo-democracy* based in the Quran and Sunnah.

Similarly, the prominent scholars Sayyid Qutb (1906 – 1966) and his contemporary Hasan Al Banna (1906–1949) founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, they condemn imitation of foreign ideas and considered Islam to be a comprehensive system of life, with the Qur'an as the only acceptable constitution. Jamat-e-Islami and the Muslim Brotherhood movements captured the Islamic world's imagination, especially when these Islamic parties emerged, Western colonization of their respective regions was on-going. Both movements called for Islamization of the state, the economy, and the society. This perspective, which stresses comprehensive implementation of sharia, and removal of western social and cultural influences still commands significant support from large cohort of Muslims seeking to establish an Islamic state. As an outcome of their ideology, the role of religion (Islam) recognized at state level and religio political groups/ parties were formed to ensure governance in light of Islamic traditions.

List of Traditionalist Scholars

The below list of scholars who represent the traditionalist schools of thought

Category	Scholar	Region and Time	Ideology
Traditionalist	Allama Muhammad Iqbal	Time: 1877 – 1938 Region: Sub-continent (Pakistan)	That in democracy counts the heads and does not weigh the intellect or knowledge. According to him the institution and civilization built upon secular democracy can never be sound and best.
	Sayyid Qutb	Time: 1906 – 1966 Region: Egypt	Both these scholars are founder of Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 condemns imitation of foreign ideas, and considered Islam to be a comprehensive system of life, with the Qur'an as the only acceptable constitution. He called for Islamization of the state, the economy, and society. This perspective, which stresses comprehensive implementation of sharia, was widespread in the 1970s and 1980s among various movements seeking to establish an Islamic state, Conservative Muslims tend to view the western world's advocacy of human rights as a modern agenda by which the West hopes to establish its hegemony over the Muslim world.
	Hasan Al Banna	Time: 1906–1949 Region: Egypt	

Category	Scholar	Region and Time	Ideology
	Abu'l 'Ala Mawdudi	Time: 1903-1979 Region: Pakistan	Founder of Jamat-e-Islami in 1941 in India, considers the Quran and Sunnah are the fundamentals of the Islamic political system. He introduced the concept of theo-democracy based in his book Political Theory of Islam. Mawdudi employed the concept similar to theocracy as previously used by the Christian rulers and termed it a government run by the clergy. However, his concept does not contradict his more profound understanding of the hierarchy of political thought (from God to man), which has no relation to Western democracy that implies the people's sovereignty.

2) The Modernists School of Thought:

The school of thought (defined by PEF) as:

"The Modernist Scholars believe (largely) that Islamic principles such as Shura (consultation), Ijma (consensus), Ijtihad (reasoning), Adl (Justice), Bai'at (allegi ance), Maslaha (public interest) are entirely compatible with democracy and provides basis of the modern democratic system in the contemporary world."

Modernists search for a contemporary government model that is well-matched with Islamic values and principles. The moderate Islamic view stresses the concepts of Shura (consultation), Ijma (consensus), Ijtihad (reasoning), Adl (Justice), Bai'at (allegiance), and Maslaha (public interest). Islamic leaders emphasize justice to promote public interest, as defined through Shura. In this context, Shura provides the basis for representative government institutions that are similar to Western democracy but reflect Islamic rather than Western liberal values.

The Muslim scholars from Middle East particularly Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Iran, Turkey and Sudan have formed an extensive ideological paradigm in response to the changing dynamics of the 19th and 20th century. They laid down the foundation of a new intellectual movement based on ideological response to the Western cultural challenge" attempting to reconcile the Islamic faith with modern values such as democracy, civil rights, rationality, equality, and progress.

Jamal-ud-din Afghani- the pioneer of Islamic modernism emphasized on adopting the Islam as socio-cultural code for unity and fight against the imperialism and devising a

political system in which power is not concentrated in one authority. Similarly, Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905) believe in integration of Islam and democracy for the reformation of Arab societies.

Hassan 'Abd Allah al Turabi from Sudan (1932 – 2016) and Egyptian scholars like Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801–1873), Nasr Abu Zayd (1943- 2010) and Rashid al- Ghannouchi (1941- till present) co-founder Ennahdha Party in Tunisia emphasized that the values such as pluralism, equality and tolerance are guaranteed in both Islamic system as well as in the democratic system.

> ***My brothers, are we not going to take an example from the civilized nations? Let us cast a glance at the achievements of others. By efforts they have achieved the final degree of knowledge and peak of elevation. For us too all the means are ready, and there remains no obstacle to our progress. Only laziness, stupidity, and ignorance are obstacles to advance. These things I say openly.***
> ***(Jamal Uddin Afghani Speech at Istanbul University, 1897)***

However, Khairuddin Al-Tunisi (1820 – 1890), Mohammed Arkoun (Algeria, 1928- 2010) and Egyptian scholars Fahmi Huwaidi (1937- till present) and Yusuf al-Qaradawi (1926- till present) stressed upon the need to reform the political systems in Islamic states by synthesizing the compatibility of Islamic and democratic system. Iranian scholar Abdolkarim Soroush (1945-till present) introduced the concept of Religious Democracy, that falls within the framework where in a society religious and secular notions can both coincide.

In Pakistan, the modernist discourse scholars like Fazlur Rahman Malik (1919-1988), the head of the Central Institute of Islamic Research of Pakistan in 1963; Muhammad Asad (1900-1992) endorsed the democratic system in Pakistan and reinterpretation of Islamic teachings in context of Pakistan. Javed Ahmad Ghamidi (1952-till present) believed that democracy serves as a principle for social and political challenge in the 21st century. As an outcome, the council of Islamic Ideology established, responsible for giving legal advice on Islamic issues to the government and the constitutional body in Pakistan.

List of Modernist Scholars

The below list of scholars who represent the modernist schools of thought.

Category	Scholar	Region & Time	Ideology
Modernist	Hassan 'Abd Allah al Turabi	Time: 1932 – 2016 Region: Sudan	Al-Turabi supported sharia and the concept of an Islamic state. He believed in principles of representative and multi-party democracy. Al-Turabi's philosophy drew selectively from Sudanese, Islamic, and Western political thought
	Rashid al-Ghannouchi	Time: 1941- till present Region: Tunisia (co-founded Ennahdha Party)	In April 1981 Ghannouchi founded the Islamic Tendency Movement. The Movement described itself as specifically rooted in non-violent Islamism, and called for a "reconstruction of economic life on a more equitable basis, the end of single-party politics and the acceptance of political pluralism and democracy."
	Yusuf al-Qaradawi	Time: 1926-till present Region: Egyptian based in Qatar	Al-Qaradawi has spoken in favor of democracy in the Muslim world, speaking of a need to reform political climates in the Middle East specifically.
	Rifa'a al-Tahtawi	Time: 1801–1873 Region: Egypt	In favor of political liberal Western values of tolerance, freedom and Democracy
	Khairuddin Al-Tunisi	Time: 1820 – 1890 Region: Tunis	Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi was much impressed by the political system of the West. He endeavored to create similar political institutions in his own country. “With conscious acknowledgements and unequivocal value judgment, Khayr al Din referred to his suggestions as reforms (Islahat or Tanzimat) based upon the European model”.
	Jamal ad-Din Al-Afghani	Time: 1838-1897 Region: Born in Afghanistan and died in Turkish Ottoman Empire	Afghani is considered to be the founding father of Islamic modernism. Al-Afghani's ideology has been described as a welding of "traditional" religious antipathy toward non-Muslims "to a modern critique of Western imperialism and an appeal for the unity of Islam", urging the adoption of Western sciences and institutions that might strengthen Islam. Jamal ad-Din did not advocate constitutional government. In the volumes of the newspaper he published in

Category	Scholar	Region & Time	Ideology
			Paris, "there is no word in the paper's theoretical articles favoring political democracy or parliamentarianism," he simply envisioned "the overthrow of individual rulers who were lax or subservient to foreigners, and their replacement by strong and patriotic men." One of his greatest contributions to Islam political thought was his belief that Islam could be used as a sociopolitical ideology to unite the Muslim world against imperialism; he saw Islam as a civilization. He found that the only way to achieve lasting social, political, and economic reform would be to contemporize the values that found the Muslim community.
	Muhammad Abduh	Time: 1849–1905 Region: Egypt	Abduh described a fundamental re-interpretation of Islam as a genuine base of empowered Arab societies in the face of secular Western imperialism, and believed Islam to be the solution to political and social problems. Abduh believed, was through ijtihād (the exercise of individual judgment) and the establishment of links between certain traditional concepts and the ideas of the modern age. Thus, maṣlaḥah, the public interest, became utility, and shūrā, the caliph's council, became a consultative assembly. He maintained that there was no incompatibility between Islam and reason or between revelation and science.
	Muhammad Abduh	Time: 1849–1905 Region: Egypt	He emphasized on the synthesis of Islam and modernity with which Muslims could remain committed to their religion while actively engaged in modern society.
	Muhammad Asad	Time: 1900-1992 Region: Austrian-Pakistani (died in Spain)	The emphasis of the study is placed on how Asad's proposal of a contemporary model of the Shari'ah state in the context of Pakistan deals with constitutional questions pertaining to the nature and power of the various organs of the state, the question of modern Islamic legislation, the status of non-Muslims and

Category	Scholar	Region & Time	Ideology
			women, and the relationship of the Islamic state with non-Muslim states
	Fahmi Huwaidi	Time: 1937-till present Region: Egypt	Fahmi Huwaidi is a Major centrist Islamic intellectual, he sought to develop concepts and models based in Islamic juridical and doctrinal resources and capable of responding to contemporary problems of political governance.
	Mohammed Arkoun	Time: 1928- 2010 Region: Algeria	He was considered to have been one of the most influential secular scholars in Islamic studies contributing to contemporary intellectual Islamic reform. Arkoun advocated a radical paradigm shift that would allow for the rethinking of Islam as a cultural and religious system and subvert ideological and dogmatic constructs.
	Nasr Abu Zayd	Time: 1943- 2010 Region: Egypt	Nasr Abu Zayd have justified pluralism and freedom through non-literalist approaches to textual interpretation.
	Abdolkarim Soroush	Time: 1945-till present Region: Iran	Soroush introduced his own definition of the term religious democracy which is now a topic in contemporary Iranian philosophy and means that the values of religion play a role in the public arena in a society populated by religious people. Religious democracy falls within the framework of modern rationality and has identifiable elements. It is in this way that we have a plurality of democracies in the international community. "Religious democracy" is a subject of intense research in Iranian intellectual circles. Democracy where coincides with certain things, it can be secular or religious. Hence, what alters the hue and color of democracy is a society's specific characteristics and elements. Religious democracy is an example of how democratic values can exist in a different cultural elaboration than what is usually known before. But, in a secular society, some other characteristic is

Category	Scholar	Region & Time	Ideology
			deemed important and focused on, and that becomes the basis for democracy.
	Dr. Fazlur Rahman Malik (1919-1988)	Time: 1919-1988 Region: Pakistan	Presented the Islamic democratic system based on Islamic values, proposed a presidential system of government compared to the parliamentary system and found it more compatible with a strong executive as envisaged in the Quran. He emphasized on the Quranic concept of shura (mutual consultation) for modern governance. He believes in extending the principle of shura to all of society, not only the elite, particular segment.
	Javed Ahmad Ghamidi	Time: 1952-till present Region: Pakistan	Ghamidi is a revered Muslim theologian and modernist, was the view that Islam's political vision is based on democratic principles and not a theocracy. To Ghamidi, democracy should be the principle means and primary end of all social and political struggles.

3) Aggrieved Innovators/ Extremist School of Thought

The group (defined by PEF) as:

"The Extremist believe in forceful implementation of Islamic governance/ forming Islamic state. They largely reject the democratic system and values in the contemporary world."

The radical variation of Islam and democracy discourse, the extremist group believed in Islamization and re-islamization of society though implementation of sharia by force or by social and political mobilization of grass-root level communities; pan-Islamism political unity, the creation of Islamic states, outright rejection of western style values and system particularly of Western or universal economic, military, political, social, or cultural norms in the Muslim world and believed Islam incompatible with current western system.

The extremist groups such as Al-Qaida, Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and ISIS and others devised a strategy to forcefully implement their agenda by fighting against the

state/ state institutions. According to the book 'Islam and Terrorism' written by Mark A. Gabriel, there are Five Pillars of Radical Islamic Philosophy that is also called guiding principles to fight with the state or state institutions through violence as per below:

1. **Obey no law but Islamic law** (Islamic law is an incredibly powerful concept because it is viewed as a direct command from Allah. Also, the Islamic law is the line that divides the religious terrorist from the secular terrorist).
2. **Infidels are all around** (The radical sees himself as surrounded by infidels who are hostile to him and his message of faith. In their writings radicals put great energy into arguing that nearly all societies are infidel—both those who call themselves Muslims and the others).
3. **Islam must rule** (These terrorists want the caliphate back, and they ultimately want Islam to rule the entire world). They have a radical plan to Establish Global Islamic Authority, the radical plans to restore the caliphate by accomplishing three goals (a) Establishing Islamic states. (2) Unite these Islamic states together under the caliphate (c) Use the caliphate to submit the entire world to Islamic authority.
4. **Jihad Is the Only Way to Win** (The Islamic radical is a fundamentalist—he wants to practice Islam the way Muhammad practiced Islam. So, his definition of jihad is based on Muhammad's—both in word and by example).
5. **Faith is the reason** (As radical groups are subdued or broken up, it is the faith factor that germinates new groups all across the Islamic world).

> ***[There is] No solution but through Jihad. This awareness is spreading amongst the new community of Islamists. What stand behind this spread of new awareness is the viciousness of the new crusade and Jewish war which treats the Islamic nation at utmost contempt. (Ayman al-Zawahiri)***

Despite the differences between radical groups, certain principles are maintained from group to group, and these principles have the strength to draw in new generations of radicals. These principles did not stay within national borders. They are exported throughout the world through cyberspace, winning more Muslim hearts and minds.

List of Modernist Aggrieved Innovators/ Extremist Ideology Scholars

The list of scholars who represent this schools of thought:

Category	Scholar	Region & Time	Ideology
Aggrieved Innovators (Extremist)	Muhammad Abd-al-Salam Faraj	Time: 1954 – 1982 Region: Egypt	An Egyptian radical Islamist and theorist. He led the Cairo branch of the Islamist group al-Jihad (also Tanzim al-Jihad) and made a significant contribution in elevating the role of jihad in radical Islam. Mainstream Salafism argues that Muslims should aim to emulate the practices of Muhammad and his companions and believe that the failure to do so is responsible for the problems facing the Islamic World. Criticizing Salafis, Faraj argued that modern Muslims had specifically neglected jihad, which he placed after the five pillars as the most important aspect of Islam.
	Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi	Time: not available	An Islamist Jordanian-Palestinian writer. A Qutubi jihadi ideologue, he has popularized many of the most common themes of radical Islam today, like the theological impetus given to the notion of Al Wala' Wal Bara', being the first to declare the Saudi royal family to be apostates or considering democracy a religion, and thus whoever believes in it to be an apostate, but he is best known as the spiritual mentor of Jordanian jihadist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the initial leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq.
	Dr. Aimen al-Zawahiri	Time: 1951- till present Region: Egypt	Dr. Aimen al-Zawahiri is Profoundly influenced by writings of Syed Qutb and Egyptian Islamic Jihad. Zawahiri, in his book, *Al-Hisad Al-Murr* (The Bitter Harvest), he considers democracy a form of religion that must be destroyed. The Bitter Harvest highlights the need to establish an Islamist base within the Islamic world, therefore restoring the caliphate and past Islamic glory. However, there is no mention of how to govern, what an Islamic government is supposed to look like or even a program to deal with socio-economic problems. In Al-Zawahiri's world, God will provide.

Implications: Increased ambiguity from within faith communities on Democracy in Pakistan

Although a vast majority of religious leaders including conservative, modern and representatives of religio-political parties in Pakistan not only endorsed but strived to implement their version of democratic system in Pakistan. According to the book *"Islam & Democracy: Alternative Narratives* written by Muhammad Israr Madani, a few notable examples of Islamic religious leaders and their parties supported democracy are: **(1)** the 1949 Objective Resolution- proclaiming that the future constitution of Pakistan would not be modeled entirely on a European pattern, but on the ideology and democratic faith of Islam. The resolution, in its entirety, has been made part of the Constitution of Pakistan under Article 2(A). **(2)** The Basic Principles of Islamic State - consisting of a 22-point framework. The principles were approved by Ullema of diverse sects gathered at a convention held in Karachi in 1951 under the leadership of Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. **(3)** Paigham.e.Pakistan (the Message of Pakistan) formulated in 2016 to achieve the goals of Objectives resolution and the collective thinking of the state of Pakistan which endorsed by more than 1800 religious leaders representing different Muslim schools of thought.

However, according to the findings of data by PEF's religious engagement projects, it is an irrefutable reality that the overwhelming majority of religious and youth leaders are suspicious at times violently against about democratic system in Pakistan. *(see Level 1 of the evaluation, page # Assumption and Preconceived Notions of Target Groups (Religious, Religio political leaders & Youth Leaders*), as these leaders further disseminate their understanding of democracy with their followers in local communities. There are a number of reasons for ambiguity about democracy within the religious sector. Few are highlighted below:

a) Influence of the extremist narratives against democracy, as well as actual manifestation of democratic system and its implementation made them suspicion about democracy and state institutions.

b) There is also a certain degree of resistance within the religious community against the state and its institutions largely due to the colonial history. The religious leaders played a critical role against the colonization and freedom movement, and believe that the modern and Islamic democratic systems marginalize them, similar to their colonial masters.

c) Lack of clarity and consensus about the democratic system, values and constitution of Pakistan including concept of nation states under the international law, role of religion in forming the structure of the state and the basic implementation mechanism of the Islamic laws enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan.

d) No programs exist for religious youth and leaders by the government or madrasah boards that provide an opportunity to educate this sector about the current

democratic system, constitution and their role and responsibilities as citizens of Pakistan.

Considering the gap, PEF designed and implemented needful interventions for religious segments on understanding the basic principles, rights and duties under the Pakistani constitutional democratic system. PEF called these trained religious leaders and youth *Democratic Advocates* from within the faith communities to increase awareness and acceptance for democracy in their communities and beyond.

The Section-II provides a detailed evaluation of PEF's five years' engagement on democracy.

SECTION: II

STRENGTHEN SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC VALUES AMONG RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND YOUTH IN PAKISTAN

PEF's Project to Strengthen Support for Democratic Values among Religious Leaders and Youth in Pakistan, was initiated in 2016 with the support of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), and completed its five-year funding period in 2021. The initiative provides opportunity to build the capacity of religious leaders and youth from diverse Muslim denominations, intuitions and regions. The strategic aim of this project was to foster democratic values ethnic and religious pluralism in the context of rising anti-democratic narratives and extremist movements and to amplify the narratives of peace and build inclusive societies in Pakistan.

- To empower religious & youth leaders on democratic principles; religious freedom, rule of law, civic responsibility, social inclusion and accountability at all levels of the community.
- Develop a cadre of *Democratic Advocates* from within diverse religious and youth groups to support democratic principles and values within their communities.
- Developed mechanisms to address the anti-democracy narratives through a larger dissemination of educational messages on democratic system and values through community outreach and media campaigns, and targeted publications.

Through the five years of intervention, PEF trained and engaged a cadre of religious leaders and youth as *Democratic Advocates* in capacity building workshops, advance level trainings on democracy to include mentorship, dialogue forums, and community engagement programs. To do this, PEF has engaged subject matter experts, media persons, journalists, religious scholars, representatives of religio-political parties and academia from prominent universities across Pakistan that are known for lauding democratic values.

The Democratic Advocates trained in PEF's programs actively led a campaign and disseminated the positive messages on democratic system and values, active citizenship, religious freedom and increase awareness about human rights in context of Constitution of Pakistan at the grassroots levels, institutional level and at a policy level by using

multiple tools and mediums such as Community Outreach Programs, Digital and Social Media platforms.

This needful intervention made a significant contribution to support democracy. It is pertinent to mention that the absence of such efforts may lead to following implications: **(A)** further derail democracy/ democratic system by promotion anti-democratic speeches/ narrative by conservative religious leaders **(B)** may reduce trust on the democratic institutions (electoral system, legislations etc.) **(C)** reduce polls in general elections as a result of mistrust and negative influence of religious leaders on the community **(D)** May increase mob violence as a result of amplifying religious narratives/ blasphemy narratives. In nutshell, the continuations of such interventions are needed to Increase trust, acceptance and support of democracy/ democratic system within the faith communities.

PEF PROJECT MODEL

Peace and Education Foundation trained religious leaders and youth as Democratic Advocates to support democracy and its principles at all levels of Pakistani society to include the vulnerable segments that are hostile to such principals. The details of PEF's engagement are given below.

PEF Rationale for Engaging Religious Segment:

Pakistan is a religiously volatile country, which consist of overwhelming majority of Muslim population (96.47%). Pakistan is going through a transitional democracy phase as the number of anti-democracy narratives prevails in the society, one of them are religious based narratives creating indifference and hostility towards democracy and its related institutions. The prominent religio-political parties has given welcoming statements for Taliban leadership in Afghanistan glorifying their take-over as a landmark victory of Afghan people and entire Islamic world.[2] Also they affirmed his complete support for the Taliban; the JI leader said that a conspiracy was being hatched to make Pakistan a secular country, vowing that his party would not allow such elements to succeed.[3] The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) Ameer Sirajul Haq also appealed to the people to vote for JI to ensure their rights given by Qur'an and Sunnah, and the constitution.[4]

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[2] Religious parties hail Afghan Taliban's reconciliation policy, Published August 17, 2021 https://www.dawn.com/news/1641051

[3] Sirajul Haq says JI stands by Taliban, Saturday, Aug 21, 2021 https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/880889-sirajul-haq-says-ji-stands-by-taliban

[4] Taliban takeover victory of Islamic world, defeat of US: Siraj, Monday, Aug 16, 2021 https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/878999-taliban-takeover-victory-of-islamic-world-defeat-of-us-siraj

The religious groups including banned organizations which significantly influences the population. To address these narratives, PEF planned and implemented strategic interventions for religious community (religious & youth leaders) based on the following considerations:

- Reduce resistance against democracy from within faith communities through constructive engagement programs.
- Increase understanding on the constitutional literacy specifically focusing on fundamental human rights
- Increase acceptance for diversity by ensuring religious and demographic diversity through this systematic interventions that ultimately reduce intolerance and violence from within the communities and
- Increase support for democratic principles focusing on religious freedom, rule of law, civic responsibility, social inclusion and accountability at community level.

The model is based on a set of proven principles which include (1) developing personal relationships with religious leaders based on trust, (2) demonstrating respect for religious leaders, their culture and religion, (3) grounding all project activities in indigenous religio-cultural principles, (4) drawing upon Islam's historic educational and economic accomplishments, and (5) encouraging religious leaders to take ownership of the inclusive process of governance.

Perhaps the greatest indication of the impact of the training programs is the fact that the religious leaders', once resistant to the idea of change and distrustful of democratic forms of government, are now continually asking PEF to conduct further training programs for their co-religionists. These requests have come even from religious political parties and madrasas in the most "radical" areas of the country, including the ones who have sympathize with Taliban or are now teaching the children of Taliban.

Religious Demographics

Engaging the religious leaders, youth from religio-political parties is central to counter the anti-democracy narrative and violent extremism ideology. In the past the Pakistani youth and religious leaders have particularly demonstrated the vulnerability towards such ideologues, as this sensitive target groups are strong supporters of narrowly defined Islamic rules that promotes the idea that Islam is not compatible with modern democracy. Mobilizing religious leaders and youth in support of democracy address the anti-democracy narrative prevailing in the religious sector. The project engaged the following key religious demographics:

- **Mosque Imams:** Each Mosque Imam influences a minimum of 200 people on average through his weekly sermons, daily obligations, and serving as a community leader.
- **Madrasah Teachers and Administrators:** A madrasah is a religious seminary that offers education in Islamic subjects, influencing hundreds of students.
- **Religious Leaders from Religo-political Parties:** In Pakistan, these leaders participate in and influence the political system, but intentionally or not, denounce major principles of a democratic system to include the Constitution of Pakistan.
- **Youth:** Youth from age group of 18 – 30 years, affiliated with the higher education universities and the traditional/informal educational system – Madrasahs (from all Muslim denominations). Lack of exposure and understanding of the constitutional democracies, these students are readily accessible to the religious parties and are the first line-protestors in denouncing democratically elected government and directly challenge core democratic principles.

Basic Assumptions of PEF Engagement Model:

- Muslim populations (clerics, youth and women) play a critical role in legitimizing and challenging violence and extremist narratives.
- Social change will be more sustainable if the individuals and communities most affected assume a high degree of ownership in the content and implementation of new policies.
- Communication for social change should be empowering and "horizontal" (versus "topdown"), provide a voice for previously unheard members of the community and favor local content and ownership. Communities need to become agents of their change.
- An emphasis on outcomes should address individual behavior and the broader social norms, policies, and culture.

Methodological Principles:

In successfully engaging and enhancing in context of Pakistan's population, it has been critically important to:

- *Build trust*: Develop personal relationships of trust with religious leaders and other respected local actors. After decades of mistrust between religious leaders and political leaders, trust-based relationships are critical.
- *Respect for Others*: Demonstrate respect for people's beliefs and sensitivity to their cultural norms. Perceptions of respect or disrespect are critical determinants in a religious leader's willingness to trust and engage.

- *Create indigenous ownership*: Encourage religious leaders to take significant ownership of the change process, thereby enabling them to view the initiative as their own, rather than something imposed from the outside. PEF's training programs have focused on empowering religious leaders to become active change agents themselves rather than lecturing them on what they should do.
- *Ensure inclusivity*: PEF's programs have engaged religious leaders from each of the sponsoring sects and all four provinces, as well as the northern tribal areas.
- *Forge consensus*: PEF has built consensus among the various competing groups and other stakeholders on how Democracy might improve. This consensus has been key to alleviating suspicion and preventing sabotage by others who haven't been engaged.
- *Engage stakeholders*: Engage multiple stakeholders at various levels of society. PEF's program has engaged such diverse actors as madrasa teachers and administrators at the grassroots level; the senior religious leadership; academic scholars; Pakistani government officials at the provincial and national levels; the media; the US government; and several other religious, civil society, and business leaders.
- *Partner with appropriate indigenous actors and organizations*: PEF has partnered with various indigenous madrasas, educational organizations, and religious leaders. Ownership develops when partners fully understand the benefits of participation and are willing to play a crucial role in formulating and implementing the project.
- *Capitalize organic outreach*: Motivate and involve religious leaders to engage others through their outreach. In PEF's experiences in Pakistan, outreach by leaders has consistently occurred at the leaders' initiative (without any pressure from PEF) and has been more credible and effective as a result.
- *Sustain engagement and manage expectations*: After engaging with the religious segment, sustain that engagement by remaining involved; do not abandon them or raise expectations that cannot be met. Once they have bought into the concept and process of change, they often become passionate about improving the democratic process within their institutions and communities. However, if engagement and support do not continue, this passion can easily turn to bitterness and resentment and cause security issues.

Program Design:

This program is built upon PEF's successful engagement with diverse religious communities on peace, inter-sect and interfaith reconciliation and pedagogical skills since 2009. Over many years of fieldwork and lessons-learned with this conservative and

sensitive groups across Pakistan, PEF has developed a unique model of engagement to address the anti-democratic narratives prevailing among the religious community.

PEF's Theory of Change: Engaging Religious & Youth Leaders on Democracy:

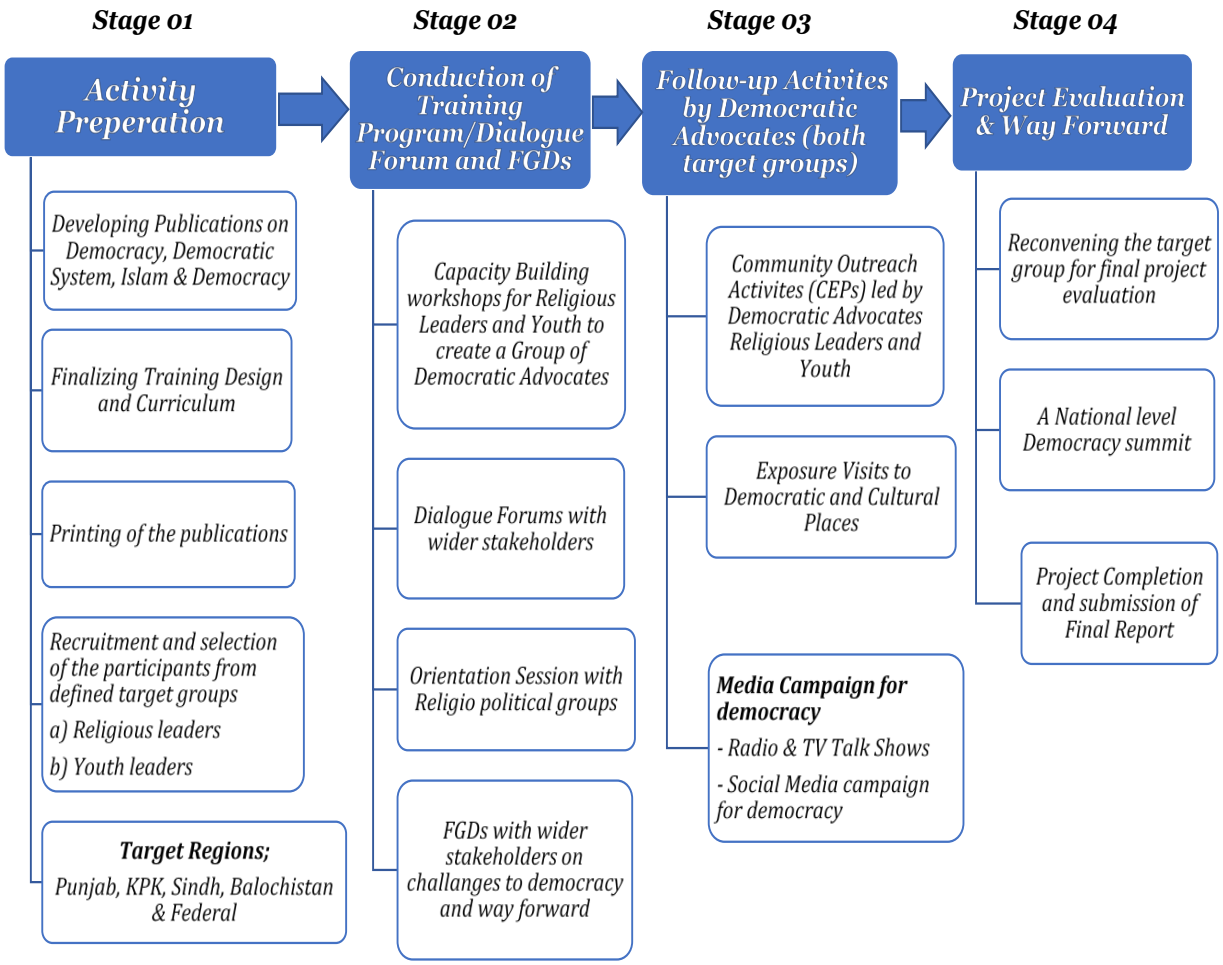
IF religious and youth leaders from diverse segments of society are empowered on democracy and democratic values and mobilized for a collaborative action to countering anti-democratic narratives, **THEN** the religious and youth leaders will become a catalyst of change to reduce resistance against democratic system and values within their institutions and communities at large.

PEF's approach for engaging conservative religious cohorts to promote democracy and strengthen democratic system and values is based on the extensive specifically designed capacity-building training programs for upper, middle, and grassroots level religious leaders from diverse Muslim sects.

Through a series of three-day training workshops, these religious leaders and youth were trained to serve as ***Democratic Advocates***. The training workshops were held in different regions of Pakistan about Democracy, human rights, minority rights, religious freedom, democracy and constitution of Pakistan.

Once trained, the most active participants were invited to participate in a more advanced workshop wherein they learned how to convey the essence of their learning to the larger community. As a result, these Democratic Advocates further conducted a number of follow-up activities including the Community Engagement Programs, TV and Radio programs and social media activities to amplify the constructive messages on democracy, democratic system and values.

PEF`s Democracy Engagement Model



Improvements in PEF's Engagement Model - Over the Years:

The table below provides a brief summary of improvements in PEF's strategy for engaging religious segments on democracy.

Improvements in PEF's Strategy	Year	Impact
Publications on Democracy: Building upon the reflection of religious engagement experience under democracy projects, PEF ensured three credible publications on democracy as per the following: **i.** The first PEF publication titled as "Islam, Democracy and Constitution of Pakistan" in 2017. **ii.** Second publication titled as Constitution of Pakistan and the Structure of Islamic Democratic State in 2019, based upon the transcription of lectures of key speakers of training workshops. **iii.** Third publication titled as "Democracy, Democratic Values and Role of Youth" in 2021 with addition of few new chapters for youth group.	2017-2021	As there are limited resources exist on democracy, the publications provided a credible resource to the target groups to enhance their understanding and further disseminate the message with full confidence in their circle of influence.
Wider Expansion of PEF's Engagement on Democracy: i. Over the year, PEF added new distract from Punjab, KPK, Balochistan and Sindh Province. ii. Addition of a new target group "Youth Leaders represent Madrasah & University". iii. Addition of Dialogue sessions with wider stakeholders (religious leaders, academicians, journalists and members of CSOs). iv. Addition of exclusive Dialogue sessions with Religio political groups.	2017-2021	Over the years, PEF expanded the engagement under the following areas/ dimensions: a) Further dissemination of a message on democracy in new districts through formation of a network of Democratic Advocates from with religious groups. b) Considering the need, PEF expanded the engagement to the diverse youth representing traditional and contemporary institutions of the society c) To raise awareness in other stakeholders such as religious

Improvements in PEF's Strategy	Year	Impact
v. Addition of Focus Group Discussions with religious and political actors		leaders, representative of religio-political leaders, political actors, academicians, journalists and members of CSO, additionally organize series of dialogue sessions, orientation session and Focus Groups Discussions in different regions.
Deeper Engagement by Reconvening Democratic Advocates from within the Religious Groups: PEF designed and implemented advanced level training programs for selected group of Democratic Advocates	2019-2020	PEF sustained the engagement with faith communities through re-engagement of the Advocates that ultimately led to enhance the trust in faith communities and strengthened their role as "Democratic Advocates".

PEF's has brought various improvements in the program over the last five years. In the first project 2016-2017, PEF's focus was to create a conducive environment and increase acceptance within faith communities to promote democracy. The first year was successful as the religious leaders showed openness to the concept and actively participated in the project activities. Building upon this success, PEF continued to work with the religious leaders in the subsequent years and expanded the network of Democratic Advocates geographically and engaged diverse stakeholders including leadership and representatives of religio-political parties, community leaders and activists and youth from madrasah and university in carefully designed programs such as Dialogue Forums, Focused Group Discussions, Conferences and Digital/ Social Media campaign. Prominent religious scholars, subject matter experts on democracy, academicians, politicians and media persons were invited as speakers in capacity-building workshops. Once trained, PEF Democratic Advocates conducted a number of follow-up community engagement programs within their communities, including dialogue forums, seminars, conferences, workshops, and media forums.

In the first year, PEF relied on a three-day training curriculum focused on the following thematic areas:

- Introduction to Democracy – The basic elements, principles, and institutions of a democratic system.
- Core democratic values – Including freedom of religion, freedom of expression, voting, and the rule of law.
- Human Rights (including minority and women's rights).
- Understands the democratic Constitution of Pakistan.

- Role of religious leaders in the promotion of democratic values.
- Compatibility of the concept of Democracy with Islamic principles.
- Democratic approaches address community issues – including intra- and inter-faith dialogue, reconciliation approaches, religious diversity, and disagreement.
- Engaging the community for democratic education.

The democratic advocates however faced some challenges in responding to their communities' 'pushback' when conducting the follow up Community Engagement Programs as the communities are more suspicious about why religious leaders are working to promote democracy ? What motives do they have in such activities? The religious leaders were also not well equipped to respond to the questions and suspicions on democracy. In the first year no particular literature was provided to the religious leaders, which could enable them to engage communities effectively.

The initial year training curriculum did not sufficiently address the multiple questions and concerns of the religious participants of our workshops, especially in the area of incorporating democratic values in Muslim context and disseminating related information within their communities. Religious leaders' questions were mostly about certain democratic principles that they seem to perceive as not compatible with Islam. PEF realized that most of these questions were emanating from militant Islamic groups and proposed a specific publication that would provide a response to such questions. As a result, NED's second tranche of funding included a PEF research study to enhance its curriculum to fully understand the resistance towards democracy from the religious leaders in Pakistan.

PEF assembled a research team to develop a publication on topic related to Islam and Democracy. The research team had multiple meetings with the conservative religious leaders, who were well-known in opposing democracy. Through multiple meetings, interviews, and one-on-one discussions with these leaders, their perceptions, grievances, questions, and religious arguments were documented. PEF then contacted experts (academic scholars, legal experts, government officials, and religious leaders) and asked them to provide a response on the data collected.

Finally, the PEF team compiled the research findings and responses from the experts and published the book *Islam, Democracy, and Constitution of Pakistan*. The book was distributed among religious and community leaders and madrasas, and PEF revised its training curriculum, to fully respond to the gaps in its workshops. PEF believes more in-depth research on these prevailing perceptions and narratives will enhance the process of identifying and addressing the challenge of resistance to democracy.

In the second year (2017-2018), PEF further conducted three-day intensive training workshops that encompassed the required content to train Democratic Advocates and

focused on engaging all the participants to conduct follow-up activities. In addition, PEF expanded the program from simply training and follow-up activities for religious leaders to conducting organized dialogue forums between religious leaders, teachers, and students of universities on the democratic principles of pluralism. Feedback from the religious training participants of the first year of program informed PEF to initiate a dialogue between religious and moderate segments of society. PEF engaged 258 participants through the dialogue forums, and also added a component of one-day sessions with religious, political parties, besides the ongoing capacity-building program in the third year.

There was a constant demand from the leaders of major religious-political parties to train their senior members about democratic values. It is found that the leadership of religio-political parties noticed a positive outcome from the religious participants attending PEF programs and wanted to do the same for their senior leadership. Therefore, PEF organized consultative meetings and four one-day orientation sessions with the religious, political parties to increase their understanding and interest in the project and develop their leadership skills to promote democratic practices within their parties.

In the first year PEF used the model of basic training workshops, PEF primarily engaged religious leaders. However, with a wider and deeper level of engagement the need to engage madrasah and university youth was also strongly felt as these students lack the exposure and understanding on the nuances of modern political systems. Coupled with lack of exposure and understanding of the constitutional democracies, these students are readily accessible to the religious parties and are the first line-protestors in denouncing democratically elected government and directly challenge core democratic principles. Thus, youth from madrasah and higher education universities were engaged in PEF capacity building programs.

The strategic partnership with universities is especially significant to bridge the academic linkages between madrasah and university, and narrow down the gap between the understanding of madrasah and university on democracy through academic debate and discussion. The dialogue attempted to bridge the gap of understanding between civil society and conservative religious segments about Democracy. Similarly, the number of follow-up activities was also increased to engage more community members through trained Youth Advocates. PEF has also launched a social media platform of 'Youth Advocates from Democracy' to lead a campaign on democracy.

Contribution in Democracy Literature:

During the five years of programming PEF developed multiple pamphlets and three comprehensive publications to debunk the widely mis-understood and often extremist narrative prevailing in religious communities and the general public about democracy.

Through these well researched publications, PEF contributed to the existing literature on Democracy. The books are highly appreciated and widely requested. *(Please see the list of publications on Democracy by PEF in Appendix-1).*

PEF Engagement on Democracy

Under the democracy project, PEF engaged religious and youth leaders and created the groups of Democratic Advocates from within the target groups in different regions including Punjab, KPK, Sindh, Baluchistan and Federal. The details are given below:

Capacity building program for Religious & Youth Leaders (2016-21)

Over the years, PEF's engagement strategy evolved and expanded in both dimensions: +**(A)** Wider expansion of the program for religious and youth leaders **(B)** Deeper Engagement by reconvening the target group through advanced training program to strengthen their role as Democratic Advocates for sustainable democracy. The details are given below:

A. Wider Expansion of PEF'S Engagement on Democracy:

As the program evolved, PEF adopted a strategy to expand the program in two ways: **(A)** increase the participation in the selected regions based upon the existing network of religious groups. **(B)** Include new regions to expand the network of Democratic Advocates. The expansion is based on the positive feedback from the participants and religious leaders from existing target regions. The participants also send the demands and recommendations to engage more religious leaders from their madrasas and institutions. From 2016- 2021, a total of 397 religious and youth leaders are capacitated as Democratic Advocates by PEF.

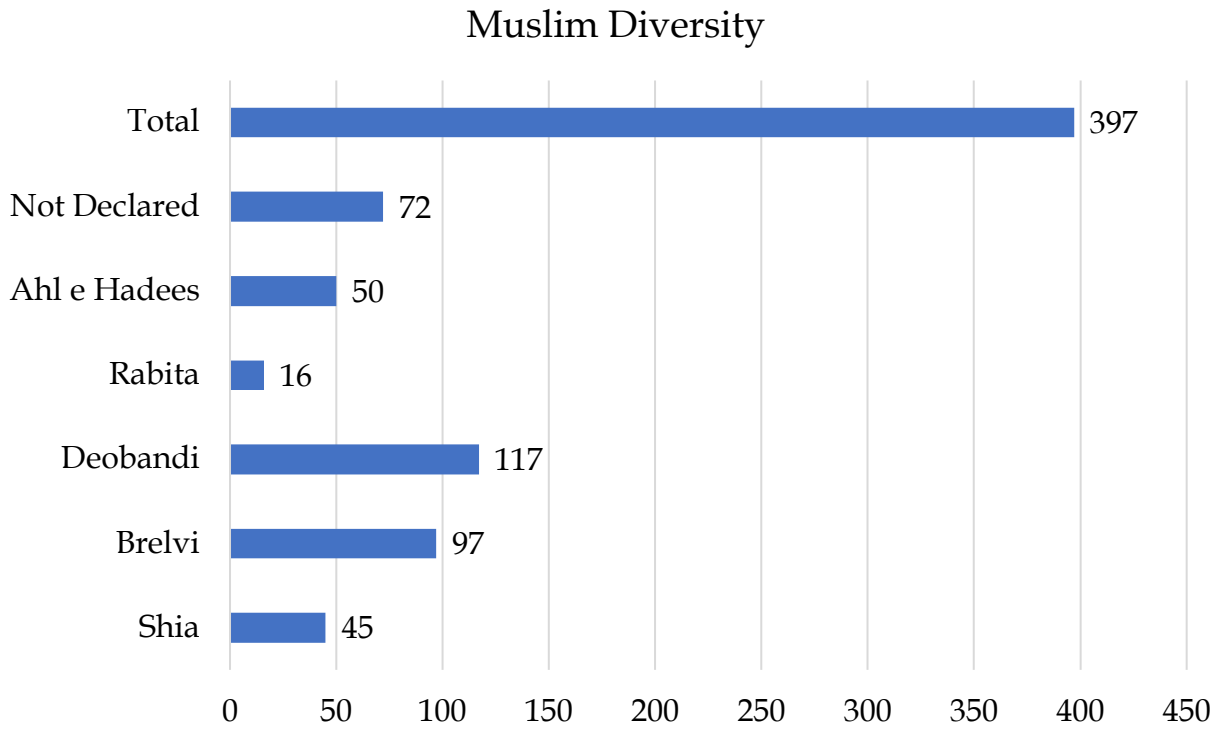
The table below shows the details:

Primary Trainings								
S#	Particular	Project Duration	Project Code	Target Regions	Proposed No. of Activities	Actual	Proposed Participation	Actual Engagement
1	Primary Capacity Building Workshops for Religious Leaders	Oct 2016 - Sep 2017	NED I	Peshawar, Islamabad Lahore	3	3	75	71

2	Primary Capacity Building Workshops for Religious Leaders	Oct 2017 - Sep 2018	NED II	Peshawar, Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi	4	4	100	114
3	Primary Capacity Building Workshops for Religious Leaders	Oct 2018 – Sep 2019	NED III	Quetta, Shiekhupura, Karachi, Swat, Islamabad	4	4	100	114
4	(04) Capacity Building Workshops for Youth leaders	Oct 2020 – Nov 2022	NED V	Faisalabad & Karachi	3	4	120	98
				Total	14	15	395	397

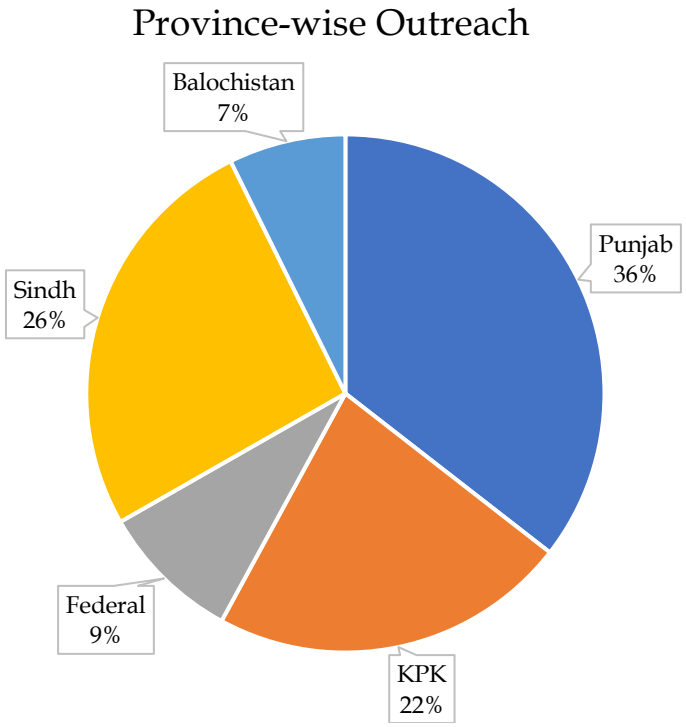
Representation of all Muslim Denominations:

While engaging the target groups; religious and youth leaders in primary trainings, PEF's ensured Muslim diversity by including all Muslim denominations including Barelvi, Deobandi, Ahle Hadees, Shia and Jamat.e.Islami (Rabita). The below chart provides the details of representation of different Muslim denominations based on the total engagement of 397 participants (Religious and Youth Leaders). It is pertinent to mention that 15% of the participants didn't declare their denomination while registering at the PEF program.



Geographical Outreach:

The charts below portray the target groups (religious and youth leaders' engagement in primary training workshops) from different provinces of Pakistan.



B. Deeper Engagement by Reconvening Religious Leaders as 'Democratic Advocates'

Along with wider expansion of the program, PEF re-engaged Democratic Advocates by adopting parallel strategy to select most active, motivated and influential group of Democratic Advocates from within the group of religious leaders and provided them advanced training program on democracy to further strengthen their role as Democratic Advocates that enabled them wider reach their communities and sustained the commitment of previously engaged advocates.

Advanced Workshops								
S#	Particular	Project Duration	Project Code	Target Regions	Proposed No. of Activities	Actual	Proposed Participation	Actual Engagement

1	Advanced Capacity Building Workshop for Religious Leaders	Oct 2016 - Sep 2017	NED I	Peshawar Islamabad, Lahore	1	1	20	26
2	Advanced Capacity Building Workshops for Religious Leaders	Oct 2019 – Sep 2020	NED IV	Punjab, Sindh, KPK, Balochistan	2	2	45	45
3	Mentorship Skills Workshop for Religious Leaders	Oct 2020 – Nov 2022	NED V	Islamabad	1	1	15	15
				Total	4	4	80	86

One Day Dialogue/ Orientation Sessions with Wider Stakeholders

During 2018-2019, PEF organized 12 Dialogue/ Orientation sessions with wider stakeholders including representatives of religious political groups, academia and civil society organizations in major cities including Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar. The purpose of these sessions was to initiate a debate on democracy, Islam and Democracy and prospects & challenges to democracy in Pakistan. Out of 12, four exclusive sessions with religio-political groups were held in collaboration with Council of Islamic Ideology in Islamabad that aimed to explicitly discuss the current challenges to democracy and critical role of religio-political parties in this regard.

Dialogue Forums								
S#	Particular	Project Duration	Project Code	Target Regions	Proposed No. of Activities	Actual	Proposed Participation	Actual Engagement
1	(08) Dialogue Forums with Wider Stakeholders	Oct 2017 - Sep 2018	NED II	Peshawar, Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi	8	8	200	258
2	(04) Dialogue Forums with Religio- Political Groups	Oct 2018 – Sep 2019	NED III	Islamabad	4	4	80	80
				Total	4	4	80	338

Focus Group Discussions:

During the year 2020, PEF conducted a series of five (05) Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) in major cities of Pakistan. The purpose of these Focused Group Discussions

(FGDs) was to provide a platform for discussion and foster collaboration between the religious and political leadership of their respective areas to develop a joint line of action with particular emphasis on: **(A)** how they can collaborate and work together to promote democratic values, and religious freedom mainly focusing on the fundamental human rights, **(B)** how to resolve community conflicts through democratic approaches, and **(C)** how to implement the similar principles of Islam and democracy within their respective communities. The participants included Democratic Advocates from religious scholars and renowned political leaders such as MNAs, MPAs, and members of the central executive committee of political parties who have participated in each FGD.

The below table provides brief FGDs details:

Focus Group Discussions								
S#	Particular	Project Duration	Project Code	Target Regions	Proposed No. of Activities	Actual	Proposed Participation	Actual Engagement
3	(05) FGDs with diverse Stakeholders (Political Actor, Religious Leaders & Civil Actors)	Oct 2019 – Sep 2020	NED IV	Punjab, Sindh, KPK, Balochistan	5	5	100	122

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

KIRKPATRICK MODEL OF EVALUATION

The four-level Kirkpatrick Model of Evaluation is used as the methodological framework to evaluate the five years of programming of PEF on Democracy. By applying the Kirkpatrick Evaluation Model, the impact of PEF's multi- layer engagement (religious & youth leaders from different streams of education) including training workshops, dialogue sessions with religio-political groups and focus groups discussions with political and religious leaders and set of community outreach activities is evaluated. The Kirkpatrick Evaluation Model is a globally recognized method of evaluating the results of training and learning programs. The model is designed to assess both formal and informal impact and outcomes in education, business and social change projects.

Rationale for Using Kirkpatrick Evaluation Model for PEF Program Evaluation:

The Kirkpatrick Evaluation Model helps in gauging the change that happens in participants based on the effectiveness of a training program and how that change, and learning translated into a positive impact for the individuals, institutions, and society at large. The evaluator team determined that this particular methodology will help to assess the impactful learning transformation in the direct beneficiaries of the programming on democracy in different regions of Pakistan. Each level builds upon the findings of the previous level and evaluates the effectiveness of a PEF project at all four levels. The model also helps in measuring the impact of both formal and informal learning in direct engagement, PEF workshops, as well as the indirect beneficiaries, PEF workshop participants community outreach. The evaluator team modified this model to evaluate the capacity building training programs and follow up activities that PEF conducted under the grants from National Endowment for Democracy.

The Kirkpatrick Evaluation Model is based on four-levels: (1) Reaction (2) Learning (3) Behavior, and (4) Results. (*The diagram above illustrates the flow of the model*)

As outlined, evaluation needs to start with *Level-one*, after which as time and resources will allow, should proceed in order through *Levels* two, three, and four. Data from all of the previous levels can be used as a foundation for the next levels' analysis. As a result, each subsequent level provides an even more accurate measurement of the usefulness of the training or a project.

LEVEL - 1: REACTION

The PEF model is based on a set of proven principles over the last 15 years of engaging very reluctant religious and hardline group members, oftentimes this segment does not trust the NGO's, their government and 'seculars'. The religious leaders are reluctant in sharing and participating in programs that discuss any other system of governance than Islamic form of governance and extremely suspicious of being influenced by 'western ideas'. Thus, it is crucial to gauge the effectiveness of PEF program participants' initial 'reaction' to evaluate their willingness, Trust, and level of safety they perceive in the PEF workshops, approach and contents. Perhaps level 1 of the Kirkpatrick model is most significant for this particular population as the majority of past initiatives by the government and the NGO community have failed to sustain meaningful interaction after the initial engagement with the religious community. PEF guiding principles in engaging religious community are: **(1)** developing personal relationships with religious leaders based on trust, **(2)** demonstrating respect for religious leaders, their culture and religion, **(3)** grounding all project activities in indigenous religio-cultural principles, **(4)** drawing upon Islam's historic educational and economic accomplishments, and **(5)** encouraging religious leaders to take ownership of the inclusive process and extend their learning within communities.

The first step of the Kirkpatrick evaluation model is related to the participants' reactions. It evaluates participants' initial reaction to the training program, including the logistics, content quality, trainer, training delivery and feedback. At this level, participants' attitudes were evaluated regarding the effect of training on their ability by administering questionnaires about overall quality of workshops and overall satisfaction of participants. Since PEF is in the business of capacitating often hardline religious participants, it is extremely important to gauge their initial *Reaction* to the PEF interventions. This would help PEF understand the learners' preferences and design follow on interventions more accurately.

LEVEL - 2: LEARNING

In the second level of the Kirkpatrick evaluation model, the effect of the program was evaluated on participants' learning using pre-and post-test. Level-2 gauges the learning of each participant based on whether learners acquire the intended knowledge, skills, attitude, confidence and *commitment to the training*. This measures how the attendees' knowledge has improved after attending the various sessions. PEF developed a comprehensive training manual encompassing a wide range of topics, including the concept of democracy, its values and institutions, and its compatibility with Islam, vote, active citizenship, human rights, youth leadership, democratic conflict resolution, and

designing social action projects. The questionnaire was evolved as PEF redesigned and upgraded its training manuals over the five-year democracy program from 2017-20 after participant feedback that resulted in varying trends on some indicators. PEF conducted pre and post surveys to measure the level of change in their learning outcomes after receiving the training workshops. Learning is measured by the workshop surveys and participants' comments on the specific questions related to the training contents.

LEVEL - 3: BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

At Level-3, the Behavior change in the engaged target groups is evaluated, it is assessed whether the learning was transformed into practice. This level helps to understand how well participants apply their knowledge and skills learned in the trainings into their daily interactions. It also gauge the degree to which the training program has influenced the behavior and perceptions of the participants. Assessing the behavioral changes makes it possible to know not only whether the skills were understood, but if it's logistically possible to use the skills in their institutions and larger community. The model evaluates the behavior of the PEF participants after the training programs that specifically attempts to assess the application of acquired learning by trained youth and religious leaders on various aspects of democracy, including human rights, democratic values, and religious freedom. The level of change is also measured by their active participation in PEF sponsored social action plans to gauge as to what extend participants utilized knowledge and skills acquired at PEF programs.

Another measure to gauge the behavioral level is to assess participant's ability and willingness to lead an effective social action projects or community outreach initiative taken independently. Working with the sensitive target groups like religious community, the behavioral change is difficult to measure as the religious participant' (madrasa teacher/student, mosque imam, or religious political leader/worker) may understand and agree with the democratic principles they learned at the PEF workshop, but upon 'return to their community' they may feel reluctant (face saving – their new learning contradicts their pre-PEF-training-behavior), fearful of persecution, or going against the community/cultural norms. This evaluation found that the majority of our trained participants exhibit the positive motivation towards bringing change in their circle of influence but not all from the majority were able to exhibit overt behavioral change within their communities and institution for the reasons given above.

LEVEL - 4: RESULTS

The final level, is dedicated to measuring direct results of the PEF intervention. Using the Kirkpatrick Model creates an actionable measurement plan to clearly define goals,

measure results and identify areas of notable impact. Analyzing data at each level allows organizations to evaluate the relationship between each level to better understand the training results— and, as an added benefit, it also allows to readjust plans and adopt a correct strategy throughout the learning process. At the end of the training and afterwards, youth and religious leaders were engaged in conceiving and developing small scale action plans for community outreach that exhibit the knowledge transfer from these trained youth to others within and outside their respective institutions, circle of influence and their larger community. The results of five years PEF programing revels that there is a significant positive change in the perceptions, knowledge and skills of the youth and religious leaders engaged in the democracy project. The PEF's five years of programing on democracy has demonstrated overall positive results at various levels in local communities, institutional level, media and policy level. The change at individual level varies at tangible and non-tangible level.

DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

A mixed-method data collection methodology is adopted for this evaluation study that advances the systematic integration, or mixing of quantitative and qualitative data within the evaluation of the single program. The study also used both primary and secondary data sources for the evaluation and data collection at all four levels. The basic premise of using mix-methodology is that such integration permits a more complete and synergistic utilization of data than separate quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Under this evaluation study the five years of PEF programing from 2016 - 2021 on democracy were evaluated.

It is also notable that the first four years of programming from 2016 – 2020 is conducted with religious leaders only, while 2020-2021 program is conducted with youth. Therefore, the classification of data according to the target group is also considered.

1. **Primary Data Sources:** The primary data sources consists of the following tools particularly designed for the 2020-2021 program: Survey Forms from Control group and Experiment groups, Pre-and-Post Survey Forms, Overall Feedback Form, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), Focused Group Discussions, Survey forms from second-tier beneficiaries.
2. **Secondary Data Sources**: The primary data sources consists of the following tools particularly designed for the 2016-2020 program includes: pre-and-post survey forms, Focused Group Discussions, findings from activity reports, project final reports, KIIs, Evaluation Workshop reports, accumulative assessment report.

Data Collection Methodology for Level – 1 (Reaction)

To gauge the initial reactions of PEF's target groups (religious and youth leaders), the following data collection methodology was adopted:

a) Consolidated participants (69% of the total participants-483 engaged under primary and advanced trainings) based on the activity feedback survey forms provided by the PEF. The survey received is based on the open and close-ended questions in which participants provide their feedback (quantitative and qualitative). PEF used these forms consistently during the five years of training sessions for both target groups (i.e. youth and religious leaders). *(Appendix-I (A)- Activity Feedback survey questionnaire designed for PEF's training workshops)*

b) Review of secondary data of PEF all democracy projects including PEF's proposals, activity reports, project final reports, cumulative assessment report to

measure the participants assumptions, expectations and initial qualitative feedback of different set of activities and PEF's engagement methodology during these interventions. The data including previous and current project documents were carefully analyzed to evaluate the participant's initial reactions, impressions and feedback of the participants.

Data Collection Methodology for Level – 2 (Learning)

At this level learning outcomes are evaluated of participants. The following approach was adopted:

a) To measure the learnings of previously engaged religious leaders from all four provinces of Pakistan during 2016-2020 (PEF-NED I to IV projects including primary and advanced workshops) consolidated pre & post survey analysis (288 training participants, 78% of the total engagement of 370) are used (the pre-and-post survey forms consists of both closed ended questions, in which participants evaluate on the Likert scale to mark their agreement on various statements). *Appendix-III (A & B)- Pre & Post Survey Questionnaires Designed for PEF's Basic Training Workshops for Religious Leaders.*

b) To measure the learning outcomes of the most recent project (Strengthening support for democratic values and systems) another approach, control group (who has not attended PEF's program) vs. experiment group (the group who attended PEF's program) is adopted. It is pertinent to mention that based on PEF's criteria for youth selection from madrasah and university during the implementation of most recent project, the control group surveys were administered with similar population (madrasah & university) and size from the target regions. This approach helped in measuring the effects and learning outcomes of the PEF training programs. *Appendix-III (C & D)- Pre & Post Survey Questionnaires Designed for PEF's Basic Training Workshops for Youth.*

c) To evaluate the learnings of twelve (12) dialogue forums with wider stakeholders including religio-political leaders, academia, journalists, civil society, youth and religious leaders consolidated analysis of 322 participants, 95% of the total engagement of 338) of activity evaluation survey consist of open and close ended questions. The purpose of the dialogue forum was to reflect and exchange ideas to address the modern-day challenges in promoting the democratic values. *Appendix-III (E & F) - Questionnaires Designed for Dialogue Forums and Orientation Sessions.*

Data Collection Methodology for Level – 3 (Behavioral Change)

To measure the behavioral change in PEF's trained religious and youth leaders, the following data collection methodology was adopted:

a) Review secondary data including findings of training workshops, dialogue forums, pre-recorded success stories and observations in activity reports including CEPs, findings of the Focused Group Discussions and Evaluation workshop with the trained religious leaders who have been part of PEF democracy initiative since 2016.

b) To collect the data from the field: (1) two FGDs were held - 01 FGDs with the youth leaders, 01 FGDs with the religious leaders. *Appendix-IV (A & B)- List of Participants in Focused Group Discussions (FGD) with Religious Leaders (Mentors) & Youth* **(2)** Five (05) field observations visits conducted by the evaluation team to observe the performance of religious and youth leaders trained as PEF's Democratic Advocates. **(3)** Five (05) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were conducted with PEF's Democratic Advocates (Religious & Youth Leaders). *Appendix-IV (C & D)- FGD Questionnaire with PEF Democratic Advocates- Religious Leaders) & Youth.*

These qualitative tools help to gauge the significant level of change, importance of change, and the sustainability of the change in the next levels of the evaluation model as well as beyond the project intervention.

Data Collection Methodology for Level – 4 (Results)

At the Level-4, results of PEF's engagement model are measured for religious and youth leaders at community level, institutional level and policy levels, the following methods and tools are used:

Consolidated analysis of 127 surveys (online form) filled by indirect beneficiaries or the second-tier beneficiaries, engaged by PEF Democratic Advocates. *Appendix V (A)- Online Survey Form for Second-Tier Beneficiaries.*

a) Total of two (02) FGDs were held: 01 FGD with youth leaders and 01 FGD with religious leaders.

b) Five (05) field observations visits were managed by the evaluation team to assess the impact at local level of the PEF religious engagement.

c) Five (05) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were conducted with PEF's Democratic Advocates (Religious & Youth Leaders) for documenting case studies.

d) Key Informant Interviews were held with secondary stakeholders:

i. Two (02) KIIs with PEF's collaborative partners (International Research Councils for Religious Affairs (IRCRA) & Council of Islamic ideology- (CII). *Appendix-V (B)- Questionnaire of KIIs with PEF's Implementing Partners*

ii. Three (03) KIIs with Media Anchor Person & Social Media experts. Appendix-V (C & D)- Questionnaire For Key Informant Interviews with Media Anchor Persons & Social Media Personnel

Ethical Standards Considered During Evaluation Process:

The experts supported research and evaluation adhere to universal concepts of justice and equity while remaining sensitive to the cultural norms and practices of the localities where the work is carried out. Participants were informed that they are taking part in a research or evaluation study and that they have the right to refuse to participate or cease participation at any time without negative consequences. Both research and evaluations endeavor to comply with accepted ethical principles:

1. Respect for persons and the environment. Evaluators respect the security, dignity and self-worth of respondents, program participants, clients, and other evaluation stakeholders.
2. Concern for the welfare of participants: researchers/evaluators should act to benefit or promote the wellbeing of participants (beneficence) and should do no harm (non-maleficence).
3. Justice: the obligation to treat people fairly, equitably, and with dignity.
4. Systematic inquiry: Evaluators conduct systematic, data-based inquiry.
5. Competence: Evaluators provide competent performance to stakeholders.
6. Integrity/Honesty: Evaluators display honesty and integrity of the entire evaluation process.
7. Responsibilities for general and public welfare: Evaluators articulate and take into account the diversity of general and public interests and values.

Limitations of the Evaluation:

All protocols of ethics as prescribed by United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG) to maintain data anonymity and confidentiality were strictly observed during evaluation of the program. key challenges during the course of evaluation includes:

- The coordination and collection of requisite information from respondents of target group and control group was a challenge as the respondents, generally, felt that government is collecting information by using PEF as a proxy.
- Time duration in field had to be shortened because of the restrictions due to Covid-19 that also limited the sample size, however, this did not have impact on overall evaluation.
- There was very limited access to the female beneficiaries and particularly in traditional educational institutes that may be contributed to the strict patriarchal societal basis and cultural norms. However, the female from universities were part of the surveys.

- Some key informants were not available and some of the people moved out of the area that was particularly true in case of some madrasah leaders and mosque Imams.
- Positive correlation might be associated with initial surveys of the workshops as participants were provided meals, accommodations, friendly and respectful environment/facilitators and the fact that the workshop name was 'promoting democracy' might have played a role in some participants scoring positive bias towards the workshop.

PEF PROGRAM EVALUATION- ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

LEVEL - 1: REACTION

PEF approach is to engage the conservative and sensitive religious cohorts who are often resistant to democracy for various reasons. PEF's engagement methodology created safe and trusting environment in their activities for the target groups that helped participants to express themselves freely. It is often observed that participants came up with concerns and doubts on democracy, democratic system, compatibility and contentions of Islam and democracy, understanding and orientation of human rights and prevailing mistrust for CSOs/ NGOs in the society. Bullet points below summarize participant's comments during the PEF's activities:

OVERALL SUMMARY OF PEF PRE-PROGRAM NEEDS ASSESSMENT:

(Religious, Religio political leaders & Youth Leaders)

- The target group was unaware of democracy and democratic system to a large extent. They hoped that sooner or later Islamic Law (Shariah) will be enforced in the country, as they expressed disappointment in past democratically appointed governments.
- Generally, the target group expressed that the Western-oriented democracy is regarded either as un-Islamic or in a temporary phase, which can only be used as a short-term governance model and eventually theocracy will take its place, leading to the establishment of a *Caliphate* (a similar belief of ISIS and Al-Qaeda).
- Majority of participants had anti-Western and anti-West notions, they blamed west for spreading their immoral social values and anti-Islamic rhetoric in Islamic societies through imposing democracy.
- A small number of the target group came with a mindset that the principle of Shura (consultative decision-making) is the source of democratic ethics in Islam. But they also lacked clarity on the relationship between Shura to democracy.
- It is noteworthy that even the political leaders engaged in dialogue sessions and Focus Group discussions (FGDs) lacks the fundamental understanding of democracy and Pakistani constitution.
- Many believed that Pakistan Political culture and parties destabilize democracy. The party system revolves around its central leadership. The political parties don't have democracy within their structure and they are practicing hereditary politics.

Hereditary (family members) politicians have relatively easy access to power and they often abuse their power.

- Democracy is not a successful model of government in the Muslim World. 'Muslim needs caliph model'.
- Democracy is a flawed system and it only benefits those who are in power it has nothing to do with common people and for common good for all.
- Some of the participants expressed their reservations to participate in NGOs activities, while it has been evident from the field interactions that some participants remain suspicious of NGO' and democracy training as a 'western agenda' after attending PEF's program.

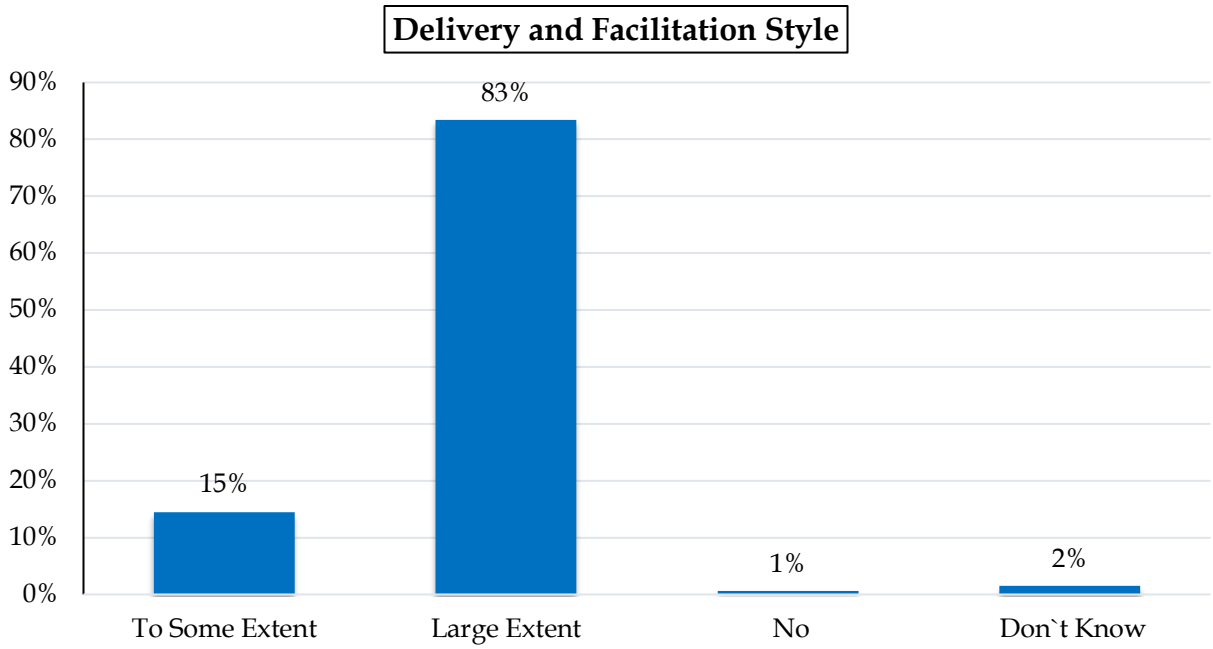
Initial Reaction of the Participants:

After a three-day capacity building training program, the initial reactions of the participants to the various aspects of the training workshop was measured to evaluate the content, training curriculum, design and delivery methodology. For this purpose, PEF administered an activity feedback form. This approach is used in all five years of PEF programs. Based on the total training workshop participants during all five years programming (2016-2021) on democracy. The graphs below represents the consolidated analysis of 331 training participants (69% of the total participants out of 483 engaged under primary and advanced training) based on the activity feedback survey form available at PEF. The evaluation team did not consider the rest of the surveys for these reasons: (1) were not legible (2) were partially filled (3) not filled at all and (4) Participants didn't fill out or left before the workshop concluded.

I. Delivery and Facilitation Style:

According to the data analysis, 83% of the participants responded that the *facilitators' style and delivery methods was effective and helped them to understand the training contents to a large extent,* while 15% of the participants responded that the trainer's style helped them to some extent in understanding the training content. Only 1% of the participants responded negatively and 2% participants said they 'Don't Know'.

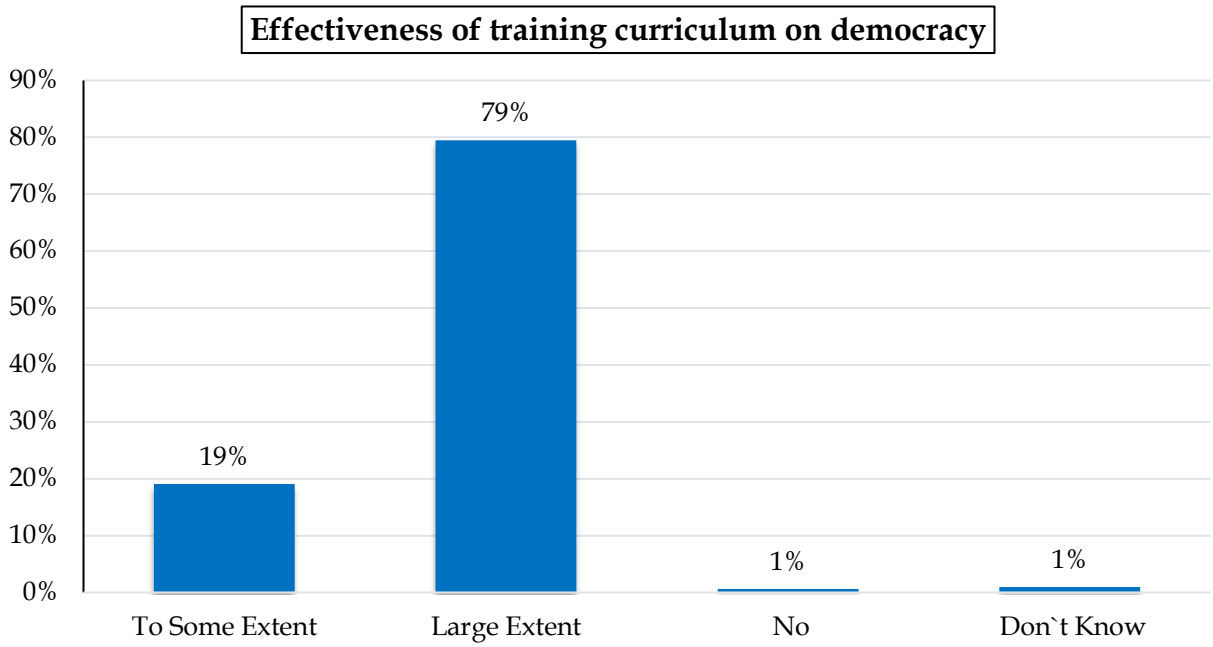
One of the major factors of the positive response from the participants is that PEF in its five years of programs engaged the subject matter experts and scholars to conduct the sessions. During its current programming with youth from Madrassa and University, a comprehensive manual explaining Democracy, its values and principles, Islamic teachings in the context of Democracy, voting, fundamental human rights, religious freedom, conflict resolution, social media, and youth leadership were developed. PEF carefully selected various trainers for each session by utilizing the university faculty and senior religious leaders, including previously trained Democratic Advocates (Mentors).



II. Effectiveness of training curriculum on democracy

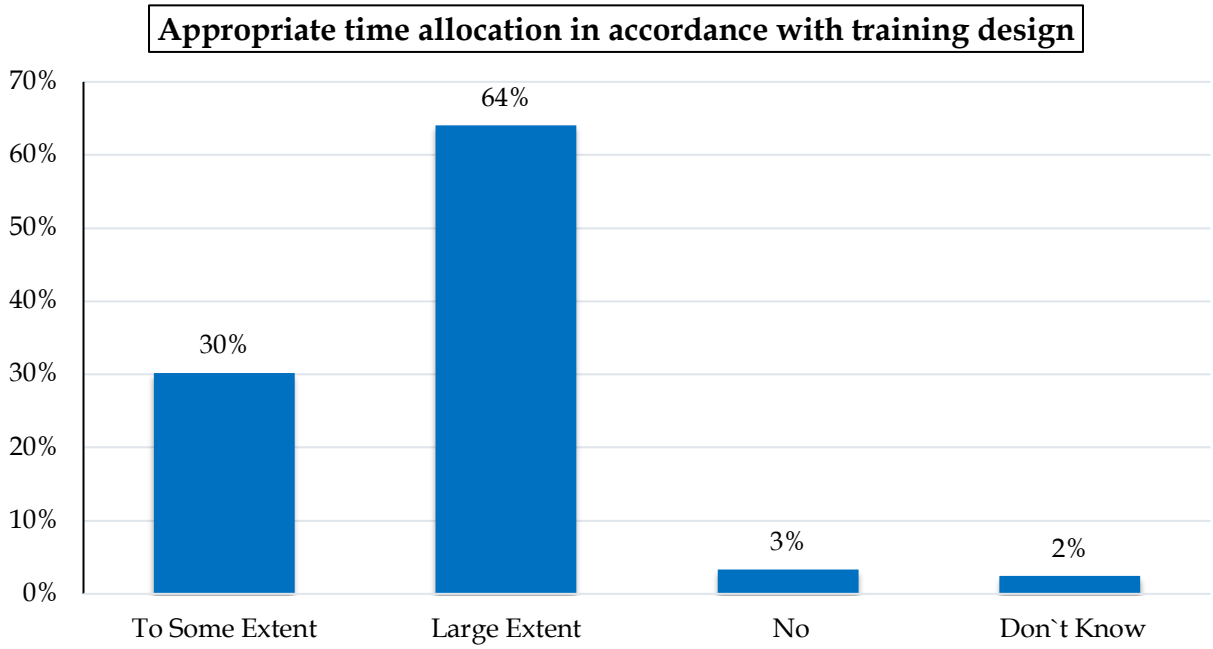
According to the analysis 79% of the participants responded that *the training materials and curriculum was easy to learn and utilize* to a large extent, while 19% participants responded that the material was easy to learn to 'some extent'. Only 1% of the participants responded negatively and 1% responded to don't know. It must be considered that the training curriculum and content used in trainers' presentations and delivery is specifically designed in Urdu language to make it easier to understand. The language is carefully kept simple yet effective. The content of the training curriculum is based on extensive research and engaging activities.

Majority of participants shared that they were only aware of anti-democracy literature and sermons, however, the training curriculum and publications based on research and authentic resources help them in knowing the literature on Islam and Democracy that added to their knowledge.



III. Appropriate time allocation in accordance with training design:

According to the data analysis, 64% of the participants responded that the time allocated for the contents and materials covered in the workshops was appropriate to a large extent, while 30% participants responded to some extent. Only 3% participants responded that the time contents and materials covered in the workshop was not appropriate and 2% responded that they didn't know.

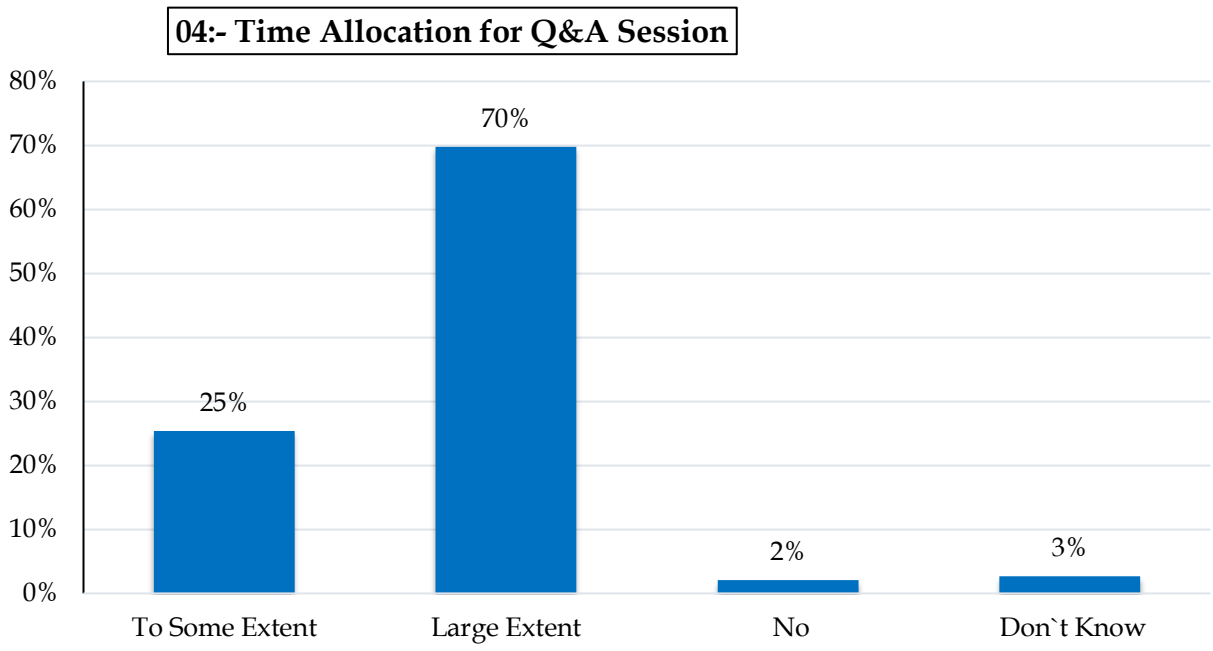


It is observed that PEF designs the sessions and agenda of the training workshop and shares it with participants and trainers well before the start of the training. The sessions are carefully planned with proper allocation of time, along with the group work of each activity. The exposure young participants gained in training workshops increased their curiosity to know more about democracy and democratic values. The participants showed keen interest to find out how democracy really works for the common good and welfare of the people.

Some of the sessions based require more discussions; most often the participants ask more questions from the trainer on the specific subject. For instance, during the training workshop in Karachi with youth groups the madrasah students were more curious about the discussion on subject of Islam and Democracy. However, most of the sessions are completed within the allocated time and all aspects of the content were comprehensively explained by the expert trainers.

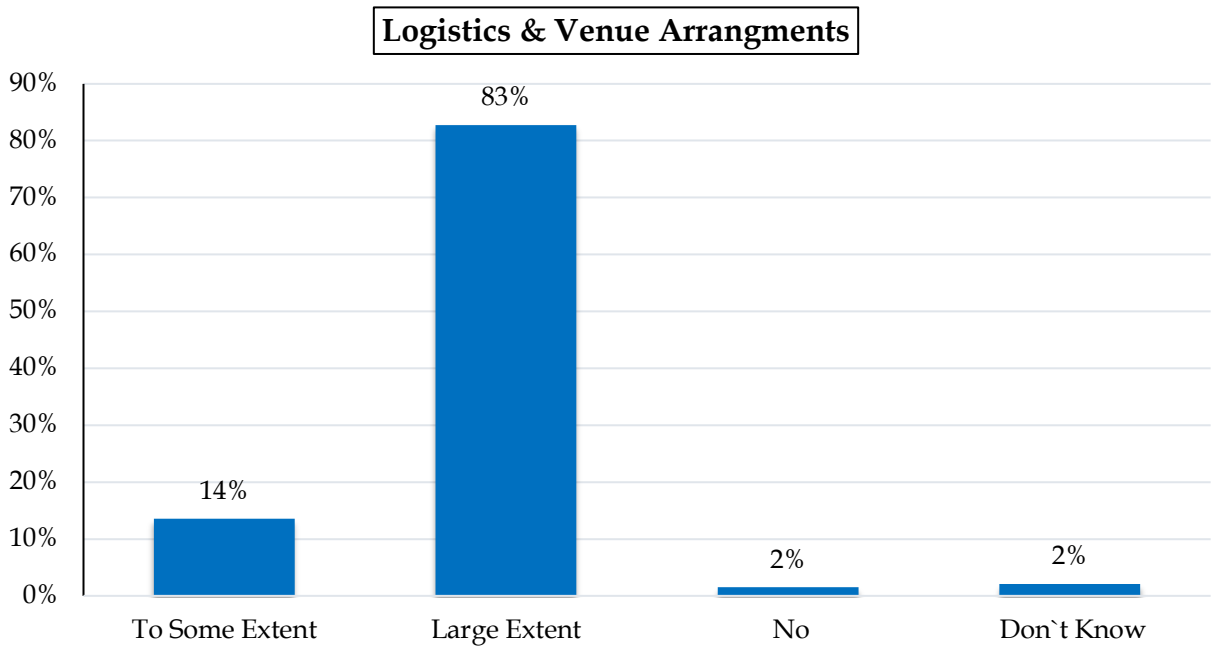
IV. Time Allocation for Q&A session during the activities:

A reasonable amount of time allocated for questions and answer session during PEF's training workshops. To respond to this question, 70% of the total participants responded to a large extent, while 25% responded to some extent. 2% responded dissatisfaction and 3% to don't know.



V. Logistics & Venue arrangements

According to the participants survey results, 83% of the participants responded that the venue and logistical arrangements of PEF's training workshops were appropriate to a large extent, while 14% responded to some extent. Only 2% participants responded negatively, and 2% participants responded to don't know. While selecting the venue, PEF ensured to provide a conducive learning environment for the participants and ensure all the logistical arrangements accordingly. The experience of placing the training sessions within university provided operational and intellectual space that is also utilized by holding training sessions with the support of university departments and engaging their experienced faculty. It also created a trusted and academic environment conducive for learning of the participants.



LEVEL - 2: LEARNING

To determine the learning outcomes of PEF's intervention, different set of tools are used including pre & post survey instruments, experiment vs. control group and activity evaluation surveys. For these surveys, the questionnaires are developed in line with the objectives and the contents of the workshop, pre and post surveys are administered by the PEF team. However, the content and some questions of these surveys has been modified over the five-year democracy program as the evolving needs of the participants' and in light of their feedback. For this evaluation purposes, the common trends and questions found in the survey data is picked and used at the level 2 findings. PEF and its

training facilitators also documented the qualitative feedback, which added to the analysis. This section is divided into following three sub-sections:

A. The learning outcomes of the capacity building workshops based on the pre-and-post evaluation survey forms that will present the enhanced knowledge about democracy and the second sub-section captures perceptions on attitudinal shift towards democracy.

B. The learning from the dialogue sessions with representatives of the religio-political parties and diverse stakeholders.

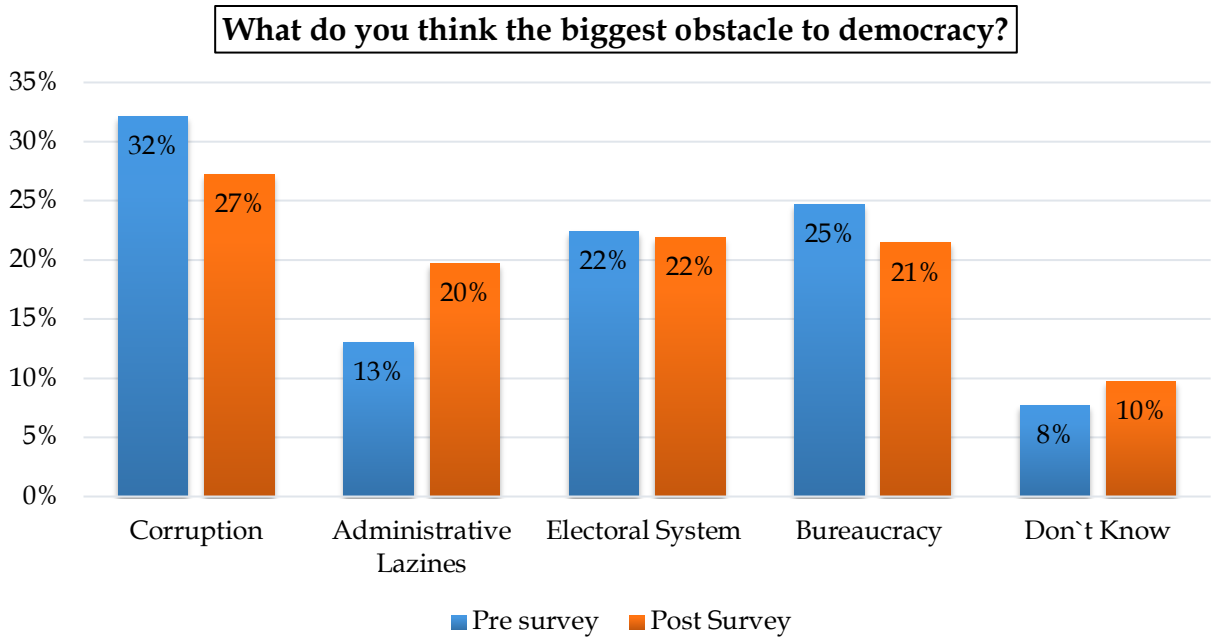
C. The learning of the youth groups collected through control vs. experiment group (as part of primary data collection) to gauge the difference between the learning of youth groups.

A. INTERMEDIATE Outcomes Of The Capacity Building Workshops With Religious Leaders:

To gauge the learning of engaged religious leaders from all four provinces of Pakistan during 2016-2020 (PEF-NED I to IV projects including primary and advanced trainings) consolidated pre & post survey analysis (288 training participants, 78% of the total engagement of 370) are used (the pre-and-post survey forms consists of both closed ended questions, in which participants evaluate on the Likert scale to mark their agreement on various statements). The questions reflect the shift in knowledge and perception of the participants before and after attending the training workshops.

I. What do you think the biggest obstacle to democracy?

Democracy in Pakistan has faced multiple challenges that shape the people's perception towards its fulfillment of constitutional rights and provision of essential services. PEF included topics on various principles of Democracy and democratic values in its four years of the program helped participants broaden and deepen their understanding of these topics.

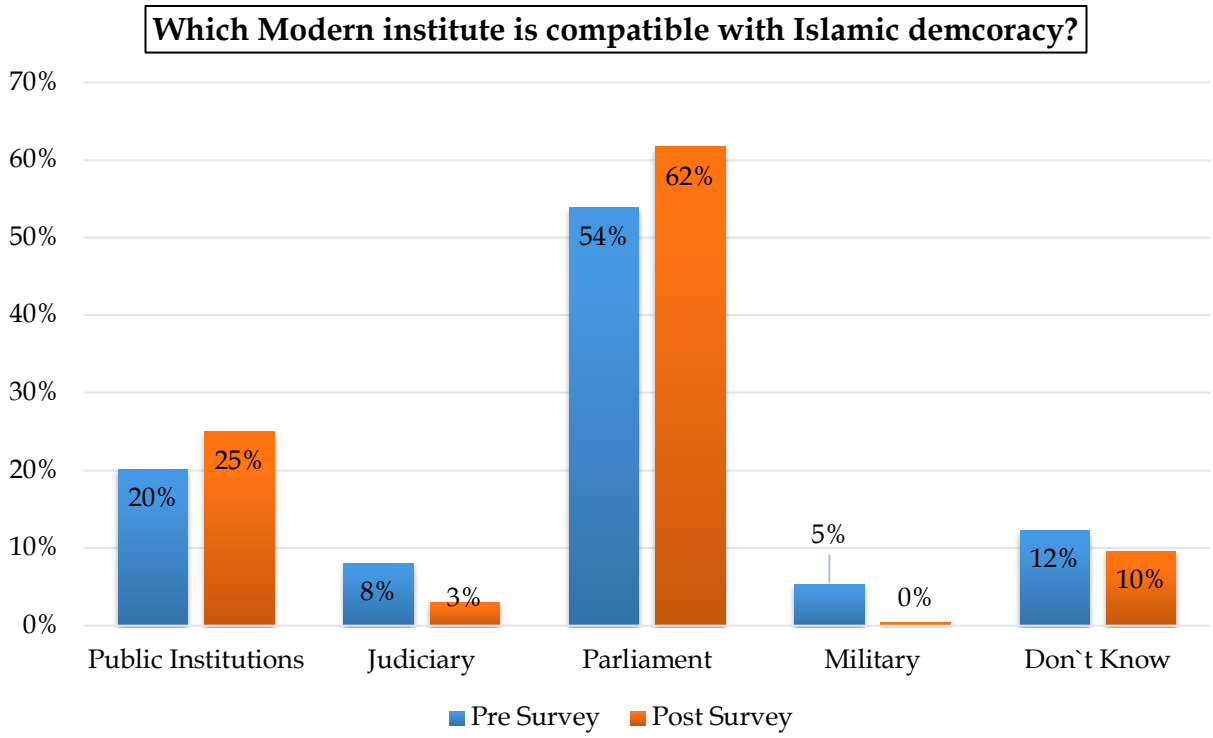


Over the four years' program, a large majority of the 27% participants termed corruption as the biggest challenge to democracy, followed by 22% of the majority who think that mal-electoral practices, lack of apathy among public in voting and flawed election mechanism as the biggest challenge to democracy. Similarly, 21% of the participants consider the bureaucratic system and 20% of the participants consider administrative laziness and lack of political will as the major obstacle to the democratic system in Pakistan, as these factors weakens the overall quality of the democratic system and state structure.

It was also observed that participants' knowledge has improved and varied significantly across the obstacles to democracy in the targeted geographies. There have been examples from inside Pakistan where extremist groups take advantage of failing services and penetrate local communities and build a solid extremist narrative against the state.

II. Which modern institute is compatible with Islamic democracy?

The most misconstrued concept amongst the general public and particularly religious leaders is the democracy as western concept which is entirely conflicting to Islam. After rigorous training workshops over the four years, which were participated by religious' leaders from diverse regions, and more vulnerable regions including Swat and Quetta many changed their opinion on the compatibility of democratic institutions such as parliament to the Islamic Shura system.

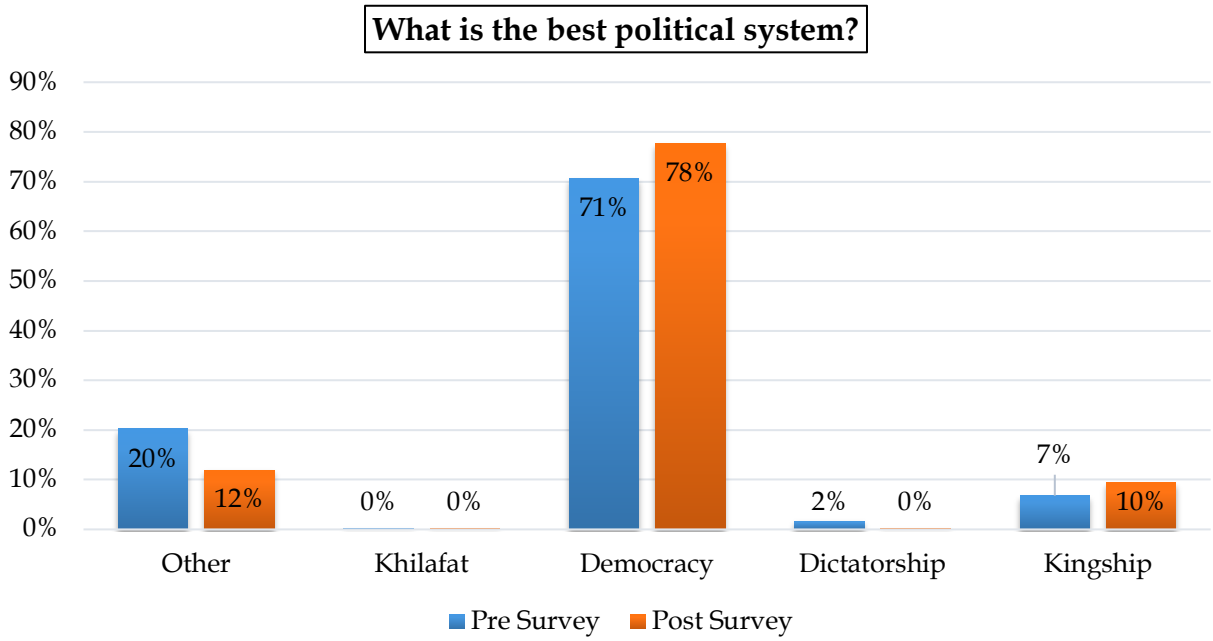


According to the analysis in the pre-survey 54% of the participants think that modern parliament system is the most compatible with Islamic Shura while in post survey, 62% of the participants think that parliament system is the most compatible with Islamic Shura as it is based on the similar concept of consultation that is emphasized in the Islamic teachings.

During the first year of engagement 80% of the participants believed that modern parliament is most compatible with Islamic Shura after attending the training. In the later years the ratio increased to 86%, and therefore registered an increase between 8% - 10%. However, there were some still who considered democracy as anti-Islamic due to absence of Islamic legislation at many levels.

Considering the learning of participants from conservative and vulnerable regions regional variations amongst the participants' improvements in knowledge have considerably increased such as Swat (7%) and Quetta (26%) that experienced enforcement of Islamic Sharia by the extremist groups. Interestingly, participants from Sheikhupura, a semi-urban region in Punjab that is home to a radical group, also showed a significant increase in their knowledge of the compatibility of Shura and parliament.

III. What Is the Best Political System?



The majority of the participants in the four-year democracy program overwhelmingly approved Democracy as the best political system in the country. Many of the religious leaders acknowledged that they were opposing democracy without even really knowing about it. They expressed that we will continue to educate ourselves about democracy so we can form our opinions about it based on accuracy.

In the pre survey the ratio was 71% which increased to 78% in post surveys, showing an increase of 7% in the overall perception of the participants. In the first year of training 73% of the participants think that democracy is the best system while in the second year the ratio increased to 86%, while in later years this number reduced significantly to 77%. One of the major reasons behind is perception and concerns that democracy, despite being the best system, is failing to deliver people's expectations in the country. Religious leaders relate it to the current challenges of democracy, including weak political leadership, dictatorship, feudal political systems. The 12% participants who opted for another system believe that there can be an alternate system in place…

One of the major reasons why participants opted for the other system is based on the underlying factors of reservations related to democracy and lack of clarity on the different conflicting concepts of western and Islamic systems such as the concept of sovereignty. Based on the earlier discussions of training workshops, PEF evolved a series of content that helped answer religious leaders' significant reservations and suspicions about democracy. These include supremacy of peoples' power against Allah's sovereignty, the importance of public opinion, majority voting, equality of opinions of illiterate and

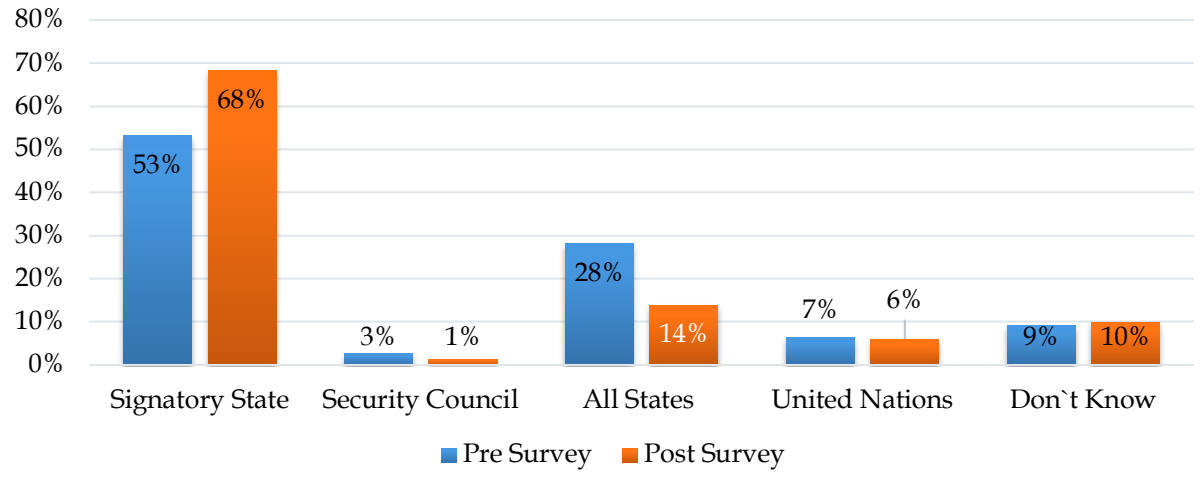
educated, Jihad, and the modern state's concept. PEF's developed a booklet on 'Islam, Democracy and Constitution' of Pakistan that contained answers to most of these suspicions duly endorsed by leading religious scholars of Pakistan. Based on this booklet, PEF developed a comprehensive manual that explains these concepts clearly and openly.

IV. Is It Important to obey the International Laws and Agreements?

In PEF's book on Islam, Democracy and Constitution of Pakistan, a chapter on national and international laws is included to signify their importance in the teachings of Islam. In its four- year program, participants were asked to report who is responsible for their commitment to international laws and covenants. One-third participants exhibited an increase in understanding after attending the sessions on international obligations.

In the pre-survey 53% participants responded that signatory states are responsible, while 28% responded that all states are responsible to obey the international laws and agreements. However, in the post-survey 68% participants responded that signatory states are responsible and 14% responded that all states are responsible to obey the international laws and agreements.

Is it important to obey the international laws and agreements?



B. Dialogue Forums/ orientation sessions with wider stakeholders:

In the second year and third year of programming, PEF expanded the program by adding dialogue forums/ orientation sessions with wider stakeholders based on the constant feedback from the Democratic Advocates. The purpose of the dialogue forum was to reflect and exchange ideas to address the modern-day challenges in promoting the

democratic values and to develop an understanding of the leadership of religio-political parties, academia and civil society members on their perceptions and narratives on democratic systems.

With strategic networking with religious communities and Democratic Advocates, PEF conducted 12 dialogue forums/ orientation sessions with wider stakeholders. A total of 338 participants were engaged in these sessions in various targeted regions of Pakistan. PEF engaged diverse stakeholders in these sessions including representatives of religio-political parties, including Jamiat-ul-Islam (Pakistan), Majlis Wahdat-ul-Muslimeen, Tehrik-e-Islami Pakistan, Jamaat-e-Islami, JamiatAhleHadees, and Jamiat-ul-Islam (Fazlur Rehman), eligious leaders and scholars, local civil society organizations, journalists and PEF Democratic Advocates. Four (04) out of 12 dialogue forums were held at the CII office in Islamabad and facilitated by renowned religious scholars and democracy experts, including Amir Rana, Khurshid Nadeem, Ammar Khan Nasir, and Zafar Ullah. To evaluate the learnings of twelve (12) dialogue forums/ orientation sessions with wider stakeholders, consolidated analysis of 322 participants, (95% of the total engagement) of activity evaluation survey consist of open and close-ended questions.

Each dialogue forum was divided into two sessions: (1) the challenges and problems in the Pakistani Democratic system (2) Finding solutions of the challenges to democracy in Pakistan. Participants from various segments of the society shared a wide range that is considered into broader categories presented in the table below.

Challenges

Democratic system	Democratic Institutions	Constitution of Pakistan	Religious Narratives (Islam and Democracy, vote & extremism)
Democracy is a man-made system and it has built-in flaws and weakness	Judicial system failing in its delivering of justice to all citizens equally	Constitution of Pakistan is Un-Islamic	Political leadership lacks Islamic knowledge and teachings
Lack of democracy within political parties as they pass on the power within their own families	Concentration of power in electoral power in limited groups and no real benefits reach common man	Lack of awareness in common public on Constitution of Pakistan and its relevance to the Islamic teachings	Equality of vote of the illiterate and educated individual
Corruption, lack of transparency and weak rule of law	Transparency and credibility of electoral system as mal-electoral practices are widespread	Non-compliance of equality of basic fundamental and human rights	Women are not allowed in Islam in the governance system

Democratic system	Democratic Institutions	Constitution of Pakistan	Religious Narratives (Islam and Democracy, vote & extremism)
Monopolization of power by elite within the political and governance system	Influence/interventio n of military and bureaucracy in political system		Interest-based economic system
	Unregulated power of media		Terrorism, extremism and religious and sectarian intolerance
The substandard and class-based education system	Lack of balance between various institutions		Lack of implementation of Islamic principles added in constitution of Pakistan

Participants focused on identifying challenges to the current governance system, explaining Democracy and its values, legal and constitutional ways to form an Islamic state, and the role of religio-political parties in advancing democracy in the country. They are not aware of any literature or trainings that could provide them with an opportunity to learn more about compatibility of Islam and democracy. They termed voting and the Constitution of Pakistan as un-Islamic. The problems related to service delivery, including corruption, failing public services, and incompetent bureaucracy were shared as weakness that disrupts the trust between citizens and the state.

The monopolization of power by elites, influence of military and bureaucracy in the political system and low credibility of the electoral system were also identified by participants as challenges. There are groups in the country that precisely discuss the Islamization of governance in Pakistan and criticize the country's Constitution for not delivering as per the people's aspirations and in line with the Islamic principles. The most quoted example is the elimination of the interest based economic system as un-Islamic, and the constitution promises to uproot it from society. Still, no concrete actions are seen on the grounds of the political governments.

Solutions

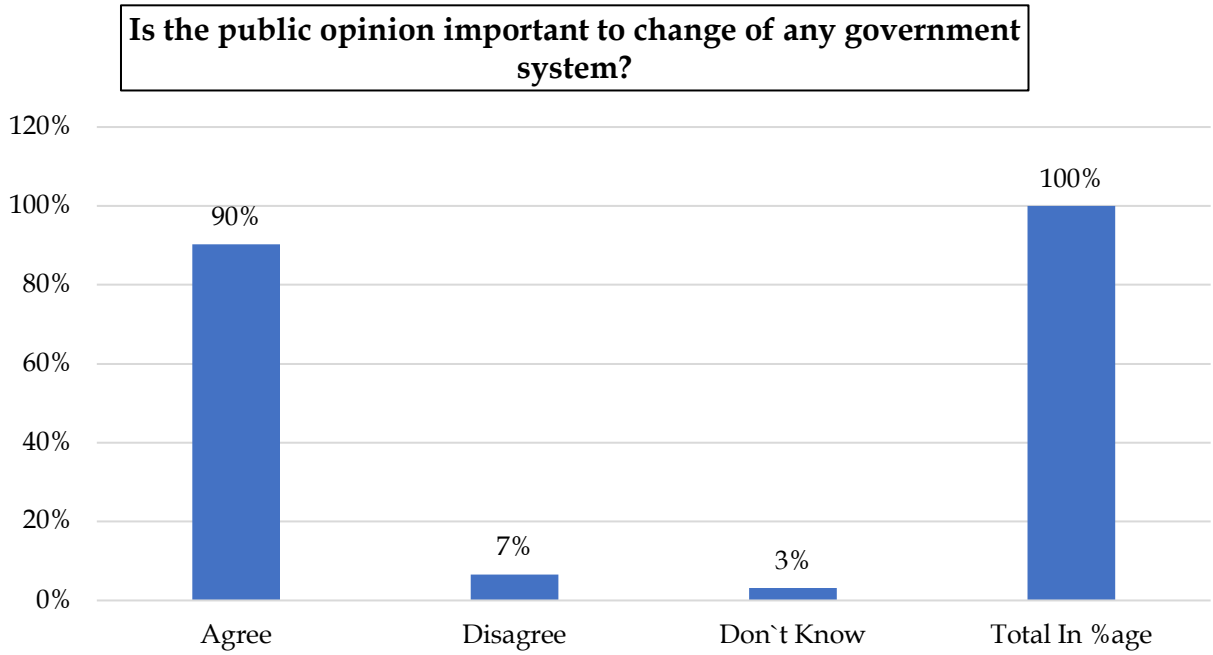
Democratic System	Democratic Institutions	Constitution of Pakistan	Religious Narratives (Islam and Democracy, vote & extremism)

Strengthening the system of accountability at all levels	Constitutional literacy programs and courses should be introduced in schools, madrasa an d universities	Awareness of the constitutional rights	The Islamic system of governance should be used as a role model
Role of religio-political parties should be strengthened in political system	Role of Council of Islamic Ideology should be enhanced	Human Rights and minority rights should be ensured according to constitution	Experienced, educated and credible leadership
	Improvement in Electoral System and mal-electoral practices must be addressed		Strengthen the role of religious leaders in addressing the anti-democratic narratives
	Media role in the promotion of democratic values and principles		Mass awareness on shared values and principles between Democracy and Islam

A large majority of the participants suggested electing capable and pious leadership who could deliver to the common public as per teachings of Islam. They emphasized to take guidance from the role models from the Islamic system of governance introduced by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and rightly guided Caliphs. It is also recommended to include the constitution of Pakistan in the schools and madrassas curriculum.

I. Is public opinion important to change any government system?

The current debate by various political parties on interference into the electoral system was also discussed. Participants stressed reforms in the electoral system to ensure credible and good character candidates in the parliament at all levels. Impartiality of the media and its role in promoting democratic values and principles were also emphasized. The participants also highlighted the need to strengthen the roles of religious leaders, in the political and governance systems. Institutions such as the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) termed it essential to provide continuous guidance on any proposed constitutional amendments and interpretation of existing constitutional sections in light of Islamic values and principles. PEF also conducted a survey in the dialogue forums to gauge the participants' knowledge of democratic values and principles.



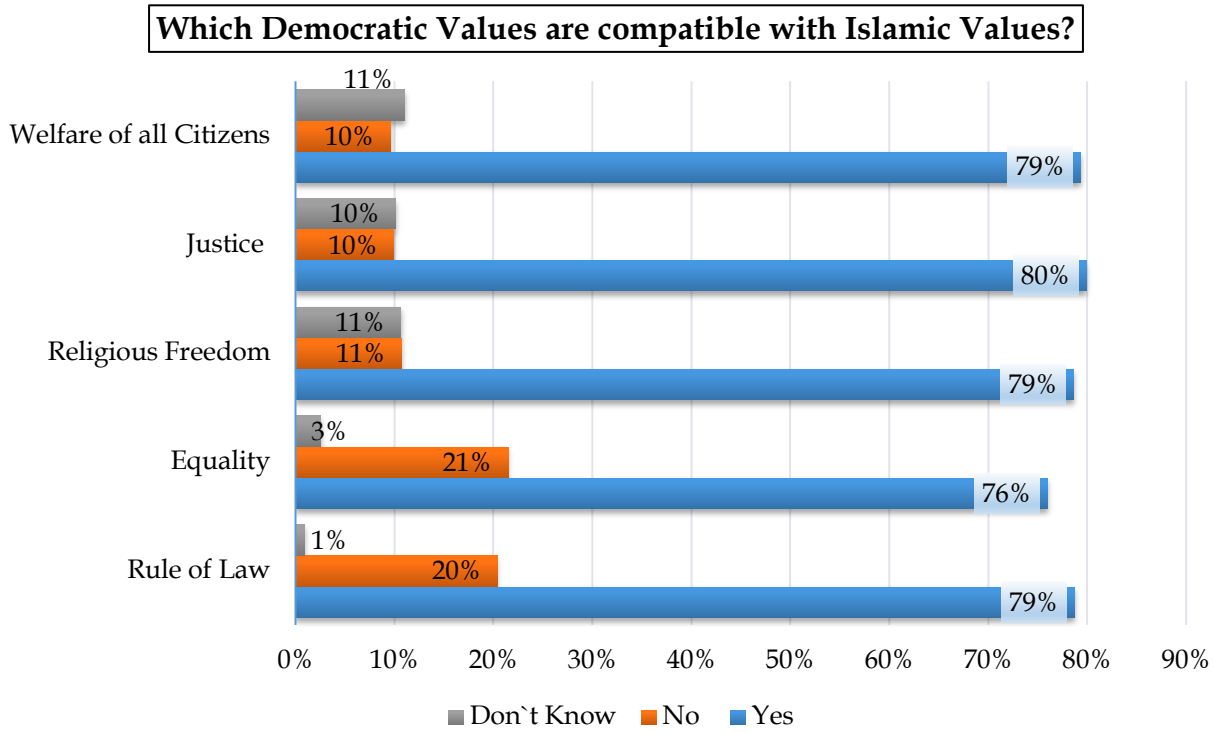
In response to the question on is public opinion important to change any government system, 90% of the participants termed public opinion as the best tool to change in the government. Participants lamented the current government system as they were unable to implement the Islamic principles included in the Constitution of Pakistan. Various experts described the participants about the role of religious leaders and their political parties in approving the Objective Resolution and ensured including Islamic values and principles in the Constitution of Pakistan. CII explained its role in making the legislation by Islamic teachings and commonalities between the values and regulations of the Islamic system and Democracy in light of the Quran and Sunnah.

The religious narrative provides little importance to the public opinion as Shura holds intellectual and religious power to nominate and select anyone for governing the state. In contrast to this, Democracy provides greater weight on the consideration and inclusion of public opinion into electing their representatives by the power of the vote. The evaluation found that nearly 33% of the JI/Jamat Ahl Hadith's participants disagreed with the importance of public opinion. In comparison, 90% of participants of other parties agreed with it. A similar trend is also found on questions related to respecting religious freedom in society. Over one-third of JI/Jamaat Ahl Hadith participants disagreed that there should not be freedom of religion in Pakistan, while less than 5% of other political parties disagreed. The PEF team implementing the democracy programs also endorsed these facts as there seems to be a resistance against democracy within these religio-political parties even though JI's leadership played an instrumental role in making the 1973 constitution according to the Quran and Islamic principles. However, PEF added such component into the discussion during dialogue that explains the similarity of

methods used by both Islam and Democracy in finding out the best ones for the governance of the state.

II. Which Democratic Values are compatible with Islamic Values?

However, most of the participants think that democratic values are more similar with the principles of Islam especially citizens' rights, minority and women rights and freedom of expression as Islam also ensures the same rights to its citizens. The graph below shows the results on the question that which democratic value is compatible with the Islamic values.



According to the analysis 80% of the participants believe that the most common value between Islam and Democracy is Justice as both systems ensure that justice should be ensured to all citizens. 79% of the participants responded that Rule of Law, Welfare of all citizens and religious freedom are the values that are emphasized by Islam and Democracy and 76% of the participants responded to Equality as the most common value between Islam and Democracy.

C. Control Vs. Experiment Groups (Youth Leaders)

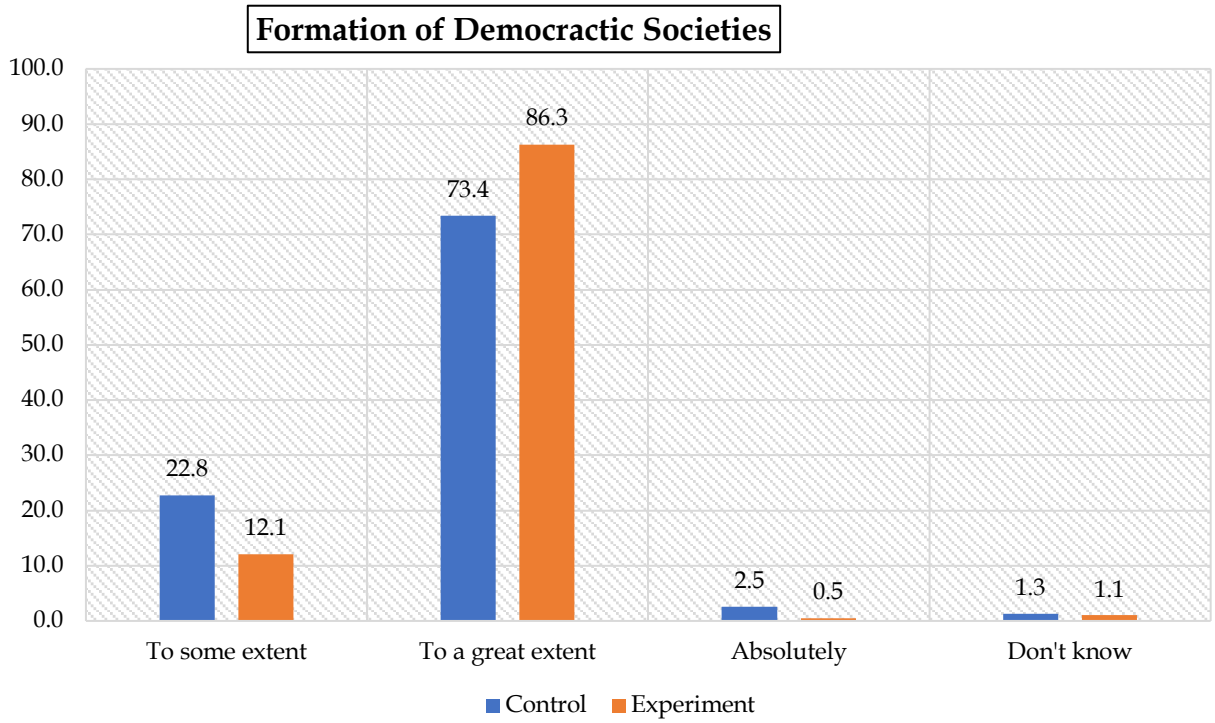
PEF current year (2020 - 2021) of programming is focused on engaging and mobilizing diverse youth groups from madrasah and university from the target regions of Karachi (Sindh) and Faisalabad (Punjab). To gauge the learning of youth the methodology of the

Control vs. Experiment group was adopted. A questionnaire based on the training objectives was developed. A total of 160 questionnaires were administered, 80 each with the control and experimental group youth from the universities and madrassas. The consolidated analysis of 81% of the total participants from both groups were administered. To administer surveys from the control group, the evaluation team also reached out to the students from both institutions (madrasah & university) in the target regions. The data is punched in excel and analyzed in SPSS.

PEF developed a comprehensive training manual covering a wide range of topics, including the concept of Islam and Democracy, vote in light of Islamic teachings, democratic system, institutions and values (such as women and minority rights, fundamental rights in constitution, religious freedom) active citizenship, youth leadership, democratic conflict resolution.

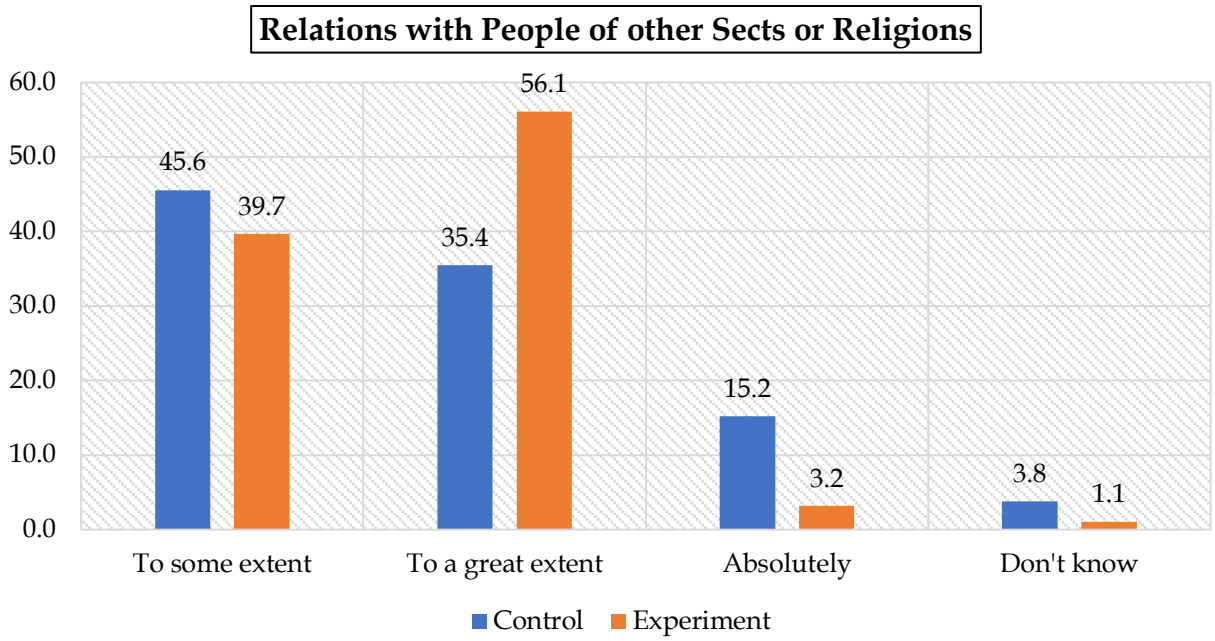
I. Formation of a Democratic Society:

The democratic values are essential to forming a democratic society taught to the youth during the training sessions in Karachi and Faisalabad. The findings reveal that youth who participated in the PEF training showed more tendency towards forming society by promoting democratic values. This is encouraging that 86.3% of respondents of the experiment group favored it to "a great extent" as against 73.4% of the control group. No significant variation is recorded in pre- and post-analysis of the experiment group. The youth group also included young female participants from modern higher education universities who showed better intention to work for the promotion of the democratic society. It is interesting to document that 83.1% of females responded to the question of "to a greater extent than 79.6% male youth. On the question of youth role in the promotion of a democratic society, data reveals that 94.3% of youth experiment groups responded to "a great extent" than 81.8% control group youth.



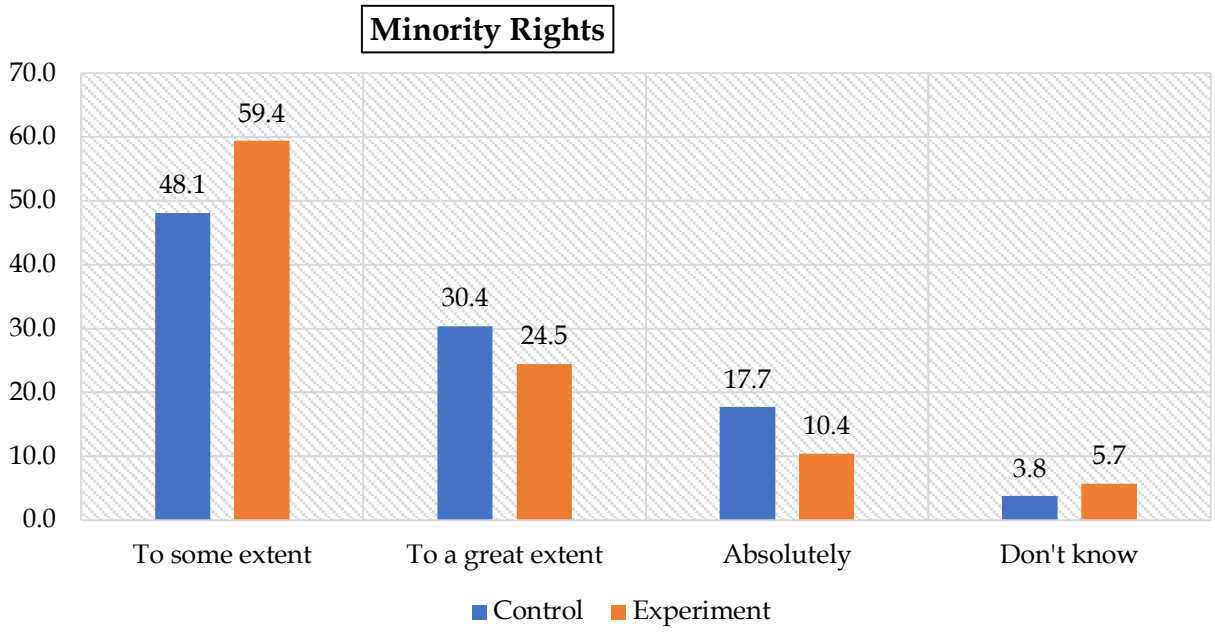
II. Acceptance and Building Pluralistic Societies:

Youth is an essential segment in spreading, accepting and building pluralistic society. Recent incidents of violence, extremism and indicate that youth are more vulnerable to such tendencies, and its ramifications are seen in and outside campuses of educational institutions. PEF has a decade-long experience and considers it an essential leverage to include in youth training curricula. The current year includes topics and questions related to pluralism in society. Data delineates encouraging numbers as youth who attended PEF training have shown positive behavior towards having or maintaining relationships with others in the society. A stark difference of over 20% was recorded in the responses of the experiment as against the control group. Similarly, youth who attended sessions also registered an increase of 7% in the "a great extent" compared to its initial values at the start of the sessions.



III. Realization of Minority Rights:

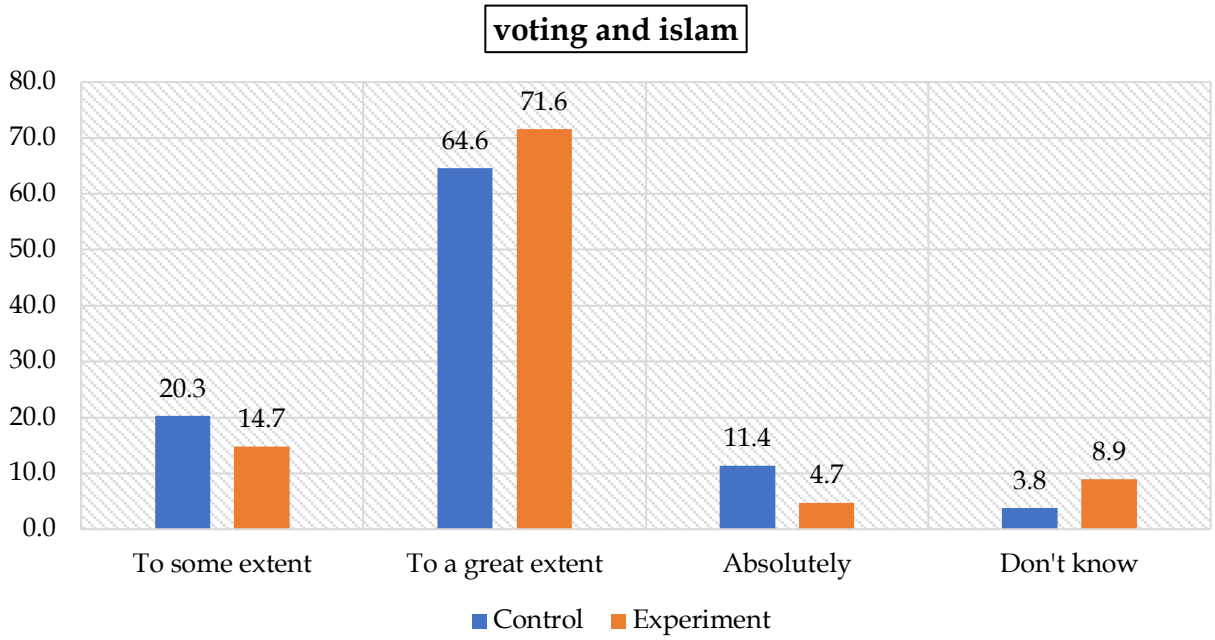
The rights of the minorities are a much-debated topic in religious and social circles. Recent incidents of denial of rights of the minorities show a debilitating state of affairs for Non-Muslims in Pakistan.



Since, the young population has been lured by the extremist ideologies, posing a threat for human rights in Pakistan. *PEF added a question on ensuring the minority rights enshrined under the constitution of Pakistan* and used Likert scale with four options i.e. to some extent, to great extent, absolutely and don't know. Experiment group showed the effectiveness of the training curricula taught to the youth as they responded 10.4% in "absolutely" as against 17.7% of the control group. However, the experiment group recorded 59.4% in "to some extent" compared to 48.1% of the control group. The discussions happened during the workshops and group work helped young people to expand their understanding of the core democratic values and principles. The youth participants appreciated the democratic approaches to resolve community conflicts; they appreciated the idea of promoting community dialogue between faith-based groups to avoid intra and interfaith conflicts.

IV. Voting in light of Islamic Teachings and Constitution

Based on its experience with the religious leaders, PEF added a section on the status of vote in Islamic teachings in training curricula. A religious scholar delivered a lecture to the students and responded tough questions during the sessions. Youth from Madrassas were more concerned on voting status and its utilization in the democratic system.



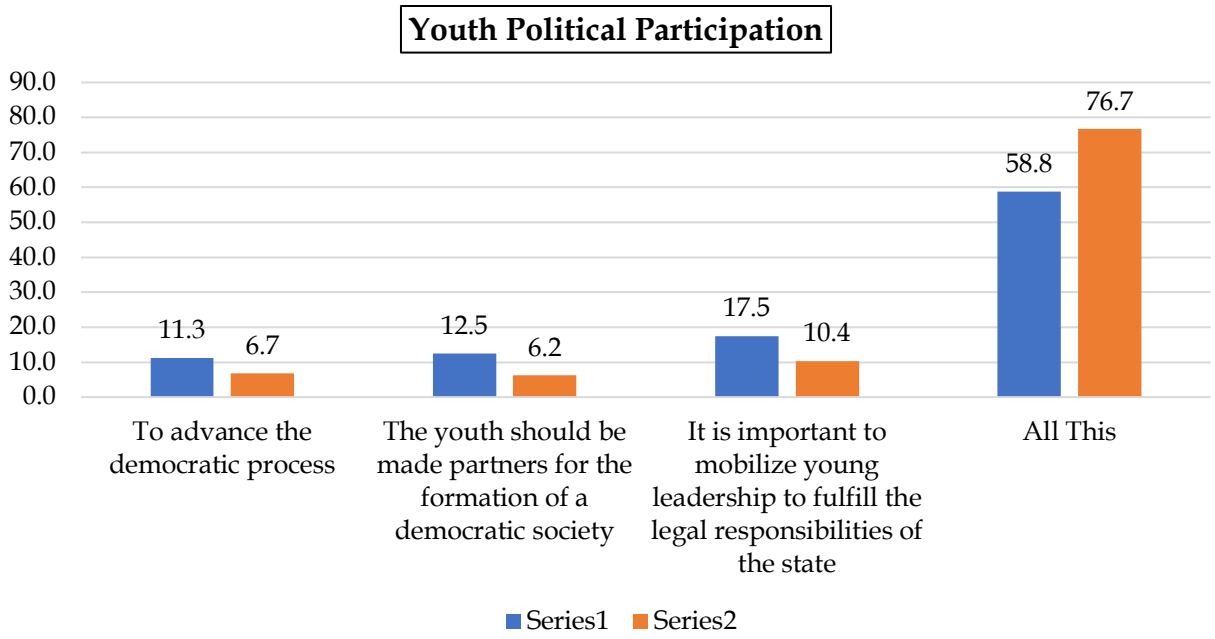
A question was added to capture the responses of university and madrassa youth on the voting being the religious obligation and measured on a Likert scale. Those who attended the trainings linked the voting to Islam as against control group. 71.6% of the experimental group compared to 64.6% of control group considered it to a great extent

exhibiting greater understanding of PEF training beneficiaries. Regional disparities exhibit a greater understanding of the youth from Karachi as against Faisalabad. Almost 77% of youth from Karachi considered it as a religious obligation, while 63% from Faisalabad. There were few female participants (11.9% in absolutely) from universities who endorsed the fact that we must oblige this religious duty.

The major reservation on democracy in religious communities is the use of people's power by casting votes to elect their representatives who participate in the country's governance. Extremist groups often quote the selection of the first four caliphs by forging consensus in the Shura body to determine the best candidate for the caliphate as an excuse to forbid voting. PEF publications and training manuals address this narrative thoroughly. PEF developed a booklet that contains religious references from the Quran, Hadith and Sunnah to the significance of majority opinion in the formation of a government in the Islamic system. The book specifically designed for youth also encourages youth to participate in the political and democratic process.

V. Youth Political Participation and Active Citizenship

Youth constitute over 60% of Pakistan's population and is considered an important stakeholder in the democratic process and its promotion in the society. Their participation in the political process is an important determinant of the success of democracy and building an inclusive society. PEF included sessions on the importance of youth being politically aware and making part of the process. Few questions were added and administered with the youth of experimental and control groups in Karachi and Faisalabad. 76% of the Youth from the experiment responded positively to the questions on formation, participation, and mobilization in the democratic process against nearly 58% of the control group. No significant differential is found across regions and gender. In another question on active citizenship, a greater understanding is exhibited within the youth of the experimental group. These encouraging results refer to the effectiveness of the training workshops delivered by PFE in each of the regions. The youth groups engaged shared that they were completely unaware of their power and potential in the country’s development.



LEVEL - 3: BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

To evaluate what the trained PEF religious and youth leaders have done to support democracy within their respective communities or circle of influence as a result of their participation in PEF's programs on democracy. Through observational visits, FGDs & KIIs, a range of improvements in behavioral change were observed in the target groups that further classified into two categories based on the following criterion/ considerations:

1. A group of Democratic Advocates' contribution for democracy and democratic values in the society.
2. A group of Democratic Advocates who are relatively less active/ limited behavioral change for further dissemination of a message on democracy.

A Group of Democratic Advocates' Contribution for Democracy and Democratic Values in the Society:

The data provide evidence for the group of Democratic Advocates who have made significant contribution to support democracy in their target areas. Considering the behavioral change, level of motivation and activism, and the group further classified into two categories:

I. Transformational journey of PEF Democratic Advocates from supporting anti-democracy campaigns to become supporter of democracy

II. Increases support for democracy when religious and youth group enhanced their understanding how democracy and democratic systems functions

From within the religious and youth groups who participated in PEF's training programs, a large number of people came up with various misconceptions about democracy that can be divided into two; **(A)** misconceptions about co-relations of Islam and Democracy **(B)** misconceptions about prevailing democratic system of Pakistan. The below case studies of Democratic Advocates verifies the claim.

Case Study-I: From orator of preaching anti-democratic speeches to become Democratic Advocates

PEF Democratic Advocate Imam Abdul Hafeez from Faisalabad, Punjab revealed expressed his experience in these words, "I used to give sermons against democratic systems and firmly believed that the prevailing democratic systems of Pakistan is not compatible with Islam and its teachings. However, after attending PEF's training programs and constant follow up discussions with key speakers who delivered lectures in PEF's training programs, I have been able to reflect and change my opinion on Islam and the current democratic system in Pakistan is the correct governance model for Muslims. This transformational journey does not end here. As a religious leader I am obliged to state my newfound 'truth' in my mosque and to my community at large.

With the support of PEF, Dr. Abdul Hafeez organized a series of activities including seminars, dialogue sessions, speech competitions and conferences on various themes such as human rights, minority rights, rights of minorities enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan.

Furthermore, to take this message at community level wasn't easy for him when he started organizing the community outreach activities, some of his followers and members of the local community questioned his loyalty to his faith and community as he integrated democratic principals in his sermons and speeches. Soon his large fellowship and worshippers stop attending his mosque and sermon. The community reaction about his continued support for the democratic system grew stronger and he was investigated by the law enforcement agencies on motives and hidden agenda behind arranging the seminar and other activities on democracy related topics.

However, he stood determined and engaged the local community. During the activity, he briefed in details the purpose of activity and why religious leaders need to talk democratic system in light of Islamic teachings and that it is well suited for the Muslim everywhere. He also shared PEF's publication on democracy with his followers which helped him to regain the trust of those local leaders and representatives of local administrations. His resilience and efforts made him successful in creating a conducive

environment for open discussions within his mosque and community at large. He is now a recognized speaker who delivers talks on various events beyond his immediate community on democracy.

Case Study-II: PEF's program on democracy mobilizing religious leader to support democracy campaign in their circle of influence:

From within the groups, the advocates expressed that PEF's programs enhanced their understanding about democracy, democratic system including fundamental rights in light of the constitution of Pakistan. One such case study is PEF Democratic Advocates Muhammad Sajjad Raza Madani from Karachi. He expressed his view in this way:

> ***"I already had misunderstandings about democracy, compatibility of Islam and democracy before coming to PEF's workshops. Once I got opportunity to join PEF's training program and listened to the talks on democracy, Islam and democracy and fundamental rights in light of constitutions of Pakistan. Furthermore, the exposure visit to the Provincial Assembly of Sindh was a great experience to learn about the legislative process and eventually how democratic institutions function. All these experiences and learnings mobilized us to further share these messages in our communities. As a result, I have organized a number of activities to promote human rights, religious freedom by inviting prominent religious leaders to deliver talks on Islam and democracy in these activities".***

Being a religious leader, I believe there are misconception about Islam and democracy prevails at large scale within the religious groups and communities. Keeping in view, I would like to share one example from my personal experience; within some of the religious groups, a Sunni Islamic organization (based in Pakistan), announce "travel for preaching Islam" around the year especially in vocations/ holidays to maximize the participation of common Muslims in these travels. When the general election, 2018 was announced, one of the groups announced a journey to traveling to another area for learning and propagating Qura'an and Sunnahs. They encourage their followers including madrasah teachers and students to join this trip on the election holiday.

When I came to know this, I launched a campaign on social media "The Importance of vote in Islam" and started a debate on social media how important for every single citizen of Pakistan to cast their vote on this occasion. I also personally met the leadership of the Tabligi Jamaat several times and finally convinced them to cancel this trip. To cast a vote is our fundamental right and responsibility in light of Islamic teachings and being a citizen of Pakistan. In my view, such efforts continues at community level bringing positive impact, I personally received many requests by other religious and religio-political groups to engage and educate their youth on Islam and democracy."

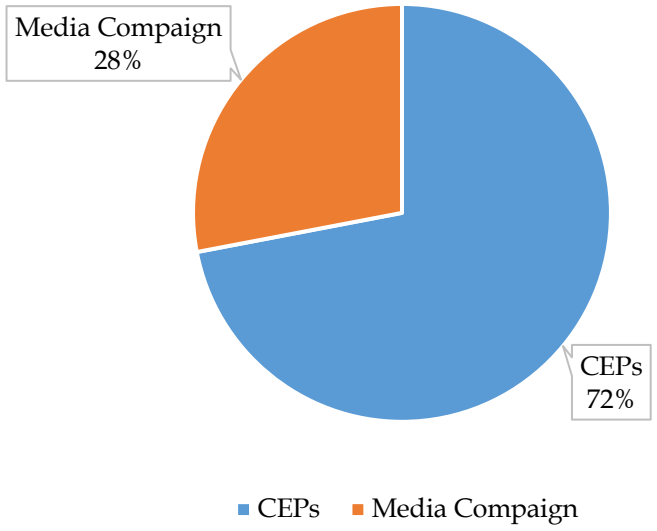
Advocates' Strategy for disseminating democracy message within the community/ circle of influence:

The dissemination strategy for the democracy campaign evolved over the years. Considering the feedback of PEF Advocates of Democracy and observations in the field, PEF ensured the dissemination of democracy messages at local level through different sets of activities including Community Engagement Programs (CEPs) and media campaigns. The details are below:

Nature of Community Outreach Activities for Democracy led by Democratic Advocates

Primarily, two types of activities; Community Engagement Programs (CEPs) and media campaigns were organized by the Advocates of Democracy. Out of the total 194 activities, the seminars remained the most used platform in 48% (94) CEPs activities; however 15.97% (30) activities, the social media platform, were used to support democracy campaigns. To capture different types of target audience in the general public, the Advocates used different platforms including conference, dialogue sessions, Friday sermons, workshops, speech competitions and sports in under CEPs activities, however, TV & Radio talk shows including print media (writing articles) in media campaign were used to promote fundamental human rights, compatibility of Islam & Democracy and religious freedom.

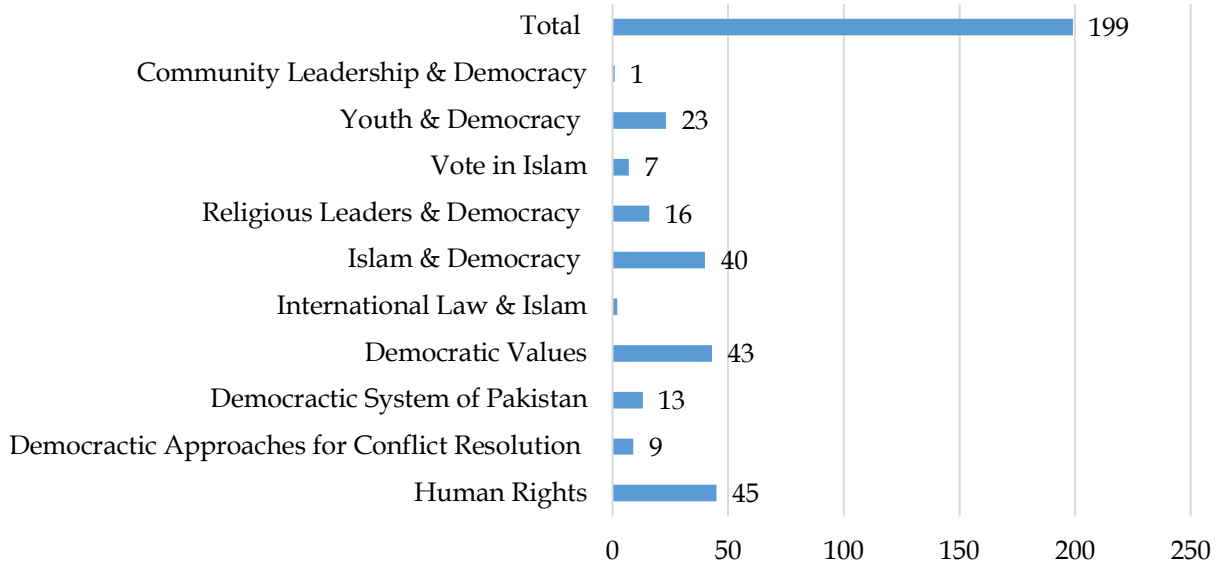
Nature of Community Outreach Activities for Democracy



Dissemination of Democracy Themes

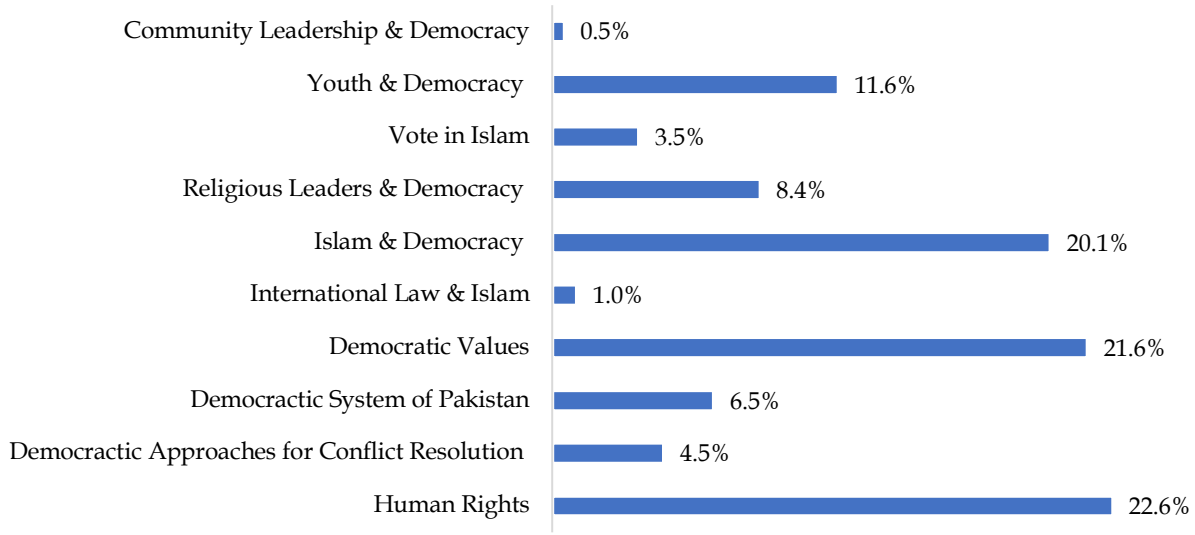
The theme/ topics of community outreach activities evolved and expanded over a period of time by the Advocates of Democracy. Considering the community need, acceptance and learning of the Advocates, they have selected the themes for these activities.

Dissemination of Democracy Themes



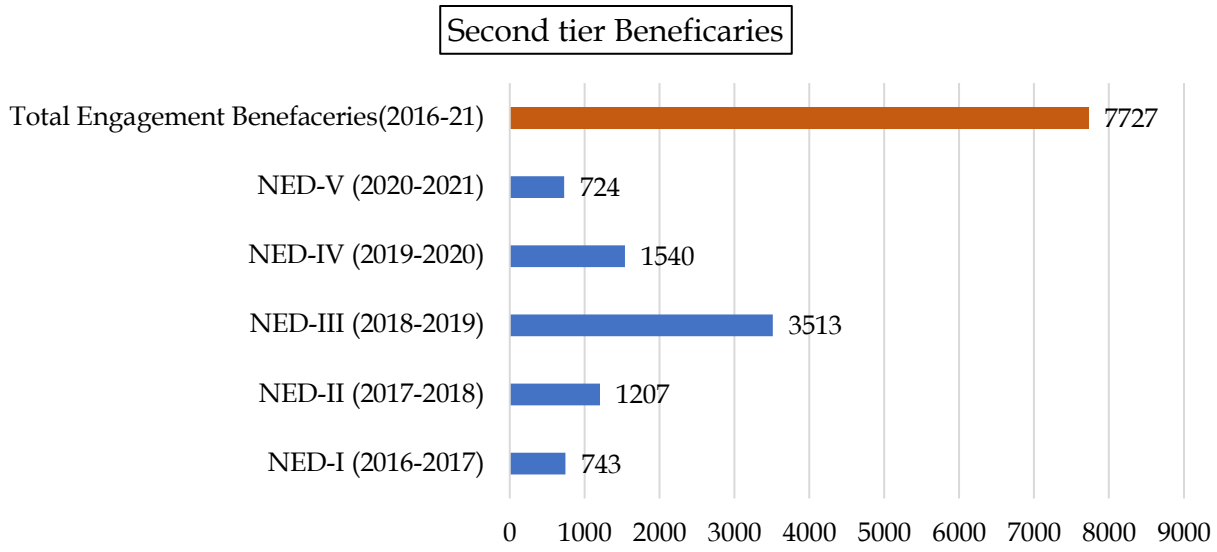
The data shows that in 23% (45) of the total activities the theme of the discussion was "Fundamental Human Rights in light of constitution of Pakistan", followed by the democratic values (religious freedom, pluralism, equality, social justice and rule of law) 21.3% (41) activities, followed by Islam and democracy 19.58% (38) activities, followed by role of youth in promoting democracy 11.85% (23) activities, followed by role of religious leaders in promoting democracy 8.24% (16) activities, followed by the democratic system of Pakistan 6.70% (13) activities, followed by the democratic approach for conflict resolution 4.63 % (9) activities, followed by vote in Islam 3.60% (7) activities, followed by international law and Islam (01) activities respectively.

Dissemination of Democracy Themes



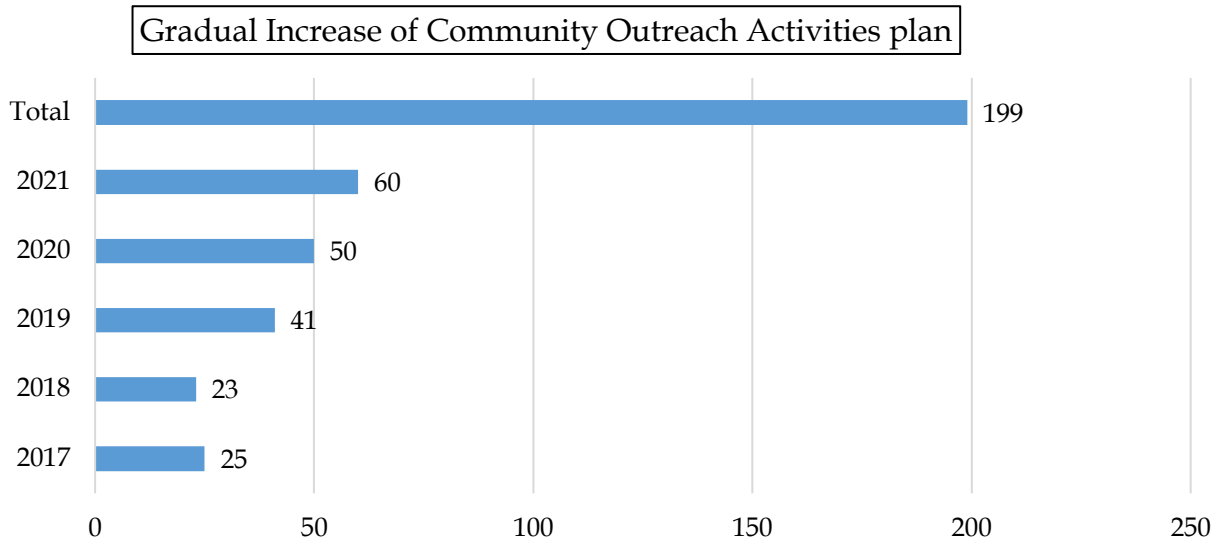
Second-tier Beneficiaries in Community Outreach Activities of PEF's Engagement on Democracy?

To outreach the message at community level, more than 13,000 people from different walks of life participated in community outreach activities organized by PEF's alumni "Advocates of Democracy" from 2016-2021 under PEF's engagement on democracy. The beneficiaries belonged to different segments of society including religious scholars, madrasah teachers, and youth from religious seminaries, youth from the universities, social workers, teachers, lawyers, and political leaders respectively.



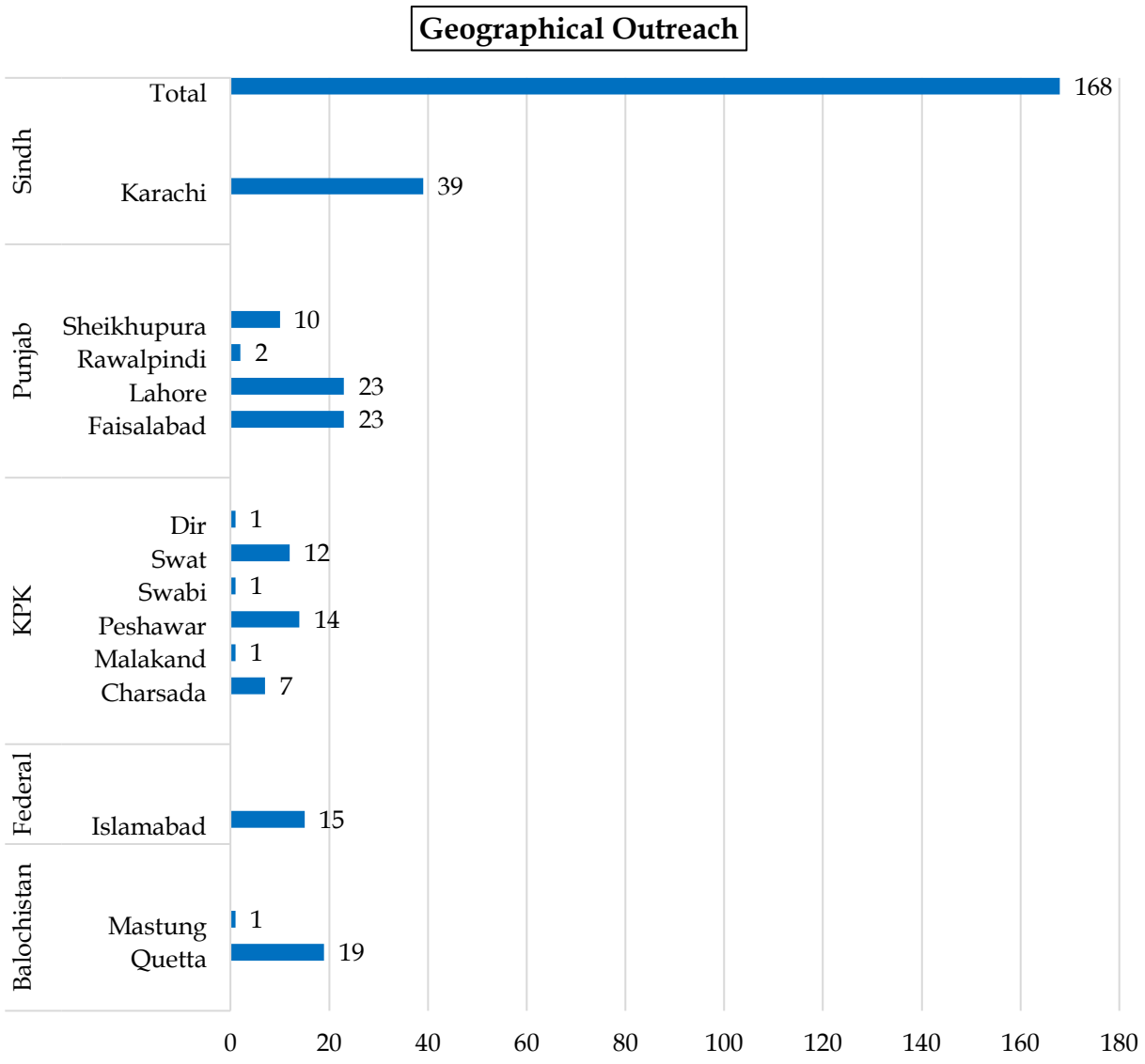
Gradual Increase of Community Outreach Activities Plan - Over the Years (2016-2021)

As the program evolved and expanded, the community outreach activities led by the Advocates gradually increased to maximize the message within their communities and circle of influence. As the below chart shows the trends that the community outreach activities including community engagement programs and media campaign for democracy increased every next year with a slight exception of the year 2018. Until now, total of 194 activities were conducted to support democracy campaigns at community level.



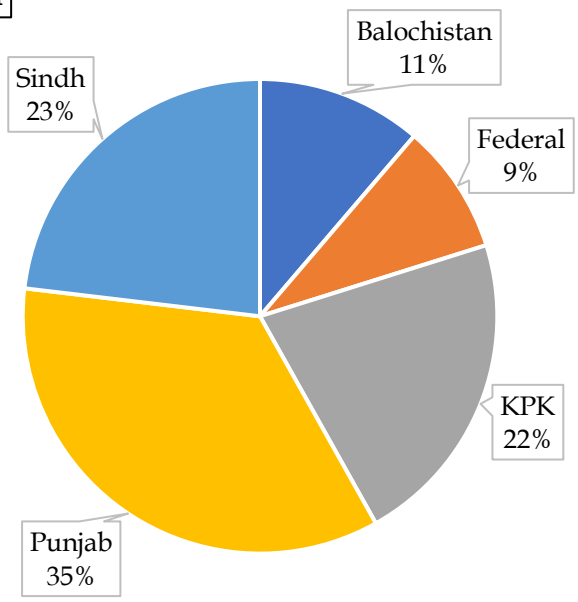
Geographical outreach

It is laudable to mention that the PEF Advocates disseminated the message of democracy across Pakistan from Islamabad to Mastung, covering rural/remote, urban and semi-urban areas. The below chart depicts the geographical outreach including some districts of Punjab, KPK, Baluchistan and Sindh. Considering the major trends, majority of the activities (37) organized in Karachi, with some differences 22 and 20 activities organized in Faisalabad and Lahore respectively.



Note: Out of the total 199 activities, 31 social media activities are not included in any particular geographic regions as they have national and global outreach

Geographical Outreach



A GROUP OF DEMOCRATIC ADVOCATES WHO ARE RELATIVELY LESS ACTIVE FOR FURTHER DISSEMINATION OF A MESSAGE ON DEMOCRACY

The evaluation team also identified a small number of Advocates who are relatively less or no active after attending PEF's program. Considering their state of behavior towards democracy, the group further classified into two categories as per below:

I. Reduce a certain level of resistance against democracy from within the religious and youth groups.

II. No significant change or improvement in religious and youth groups towards democracy after attending PEF's intervention.

Reduce a certain level of resistance against democracy from within the religious and youth group

From within the group of Democratic Advocates, a small number of Advocates felt PEF's training program was somewhat effective at individual level that helped them to think and review their opinion on democracy by addressing some of their preconceived notions, assumptions on democracy. As a result, the level of resistance against democracy were reduced by increasing somewhat knowledge and understanding on democracy. However, there is no significant action have taken by them to further expand/ promote this message at community level.

Case Study-III: My Journey to Learn Co-Relation of Islam and Democracy Is Still Continued

Maulana Muhammad Nadeem, a prominent imam from Faisalabad got opportunity to join PEF's training workshops on democracy. He belongs to Salafi school of thought. He expressed his view that "*Attending PEF's training program on democracy was a great learning experience for me, I have been able to learn a few things on democracy and co-relations of Islam and democracy. However, this isn't enough for me, I still have several concerns and questions on democracy. I am still curious about certain elements/ dimensions that how Islam and Democracy is compatible entirely. My learning journey on the subject is continued. However, if I am not fully convinced with this, how should I promote democracy in my circle of influence but I don't talk against the democracy on any public platform.*"

No significant change or improvement in religious and youth groups towards democracy after attending PEF's intervention

A few numbers of Advocates from within the groups were identified who expressed their concerns, reservations and preconceived notions about democracy and democratic system after attending PEF's training program. There are no significant behavior changes were observed among them. They firmly believe that Democracy/ democratic system came from the west. In its essence, it cannot be fully compatible with Islam. It has been observed that some external factors i.e. Taliban took over Afghanistan and they started glorying the success of the Taliban as the success of Islamic sharia. The target group of religious youth is vulnerable to the push and pull factors. One of youth leader Muhammad Umar Siddiqui, from Faisalabad expressed:

"The democratic structure of Pakistan portrays Islam symbolically for me. In real essence, there is no consideration of Islam or Islamic teachings in legislative process then how we believe that democracy in Pakistan is fully compatible with Islam".

Another participants Buraq Syed from Karachi expressed that:

> ***"As the afghan Taliban came back to power that shows the power of faith, commitment and Jihad that lead to bring Islamic government back to Afghanistan. The struggle of Taliban in Afghanistan proves that there is no need of democracy more. Pakistan also need the similar revolution".***

LEVEL – 4: RESULTS

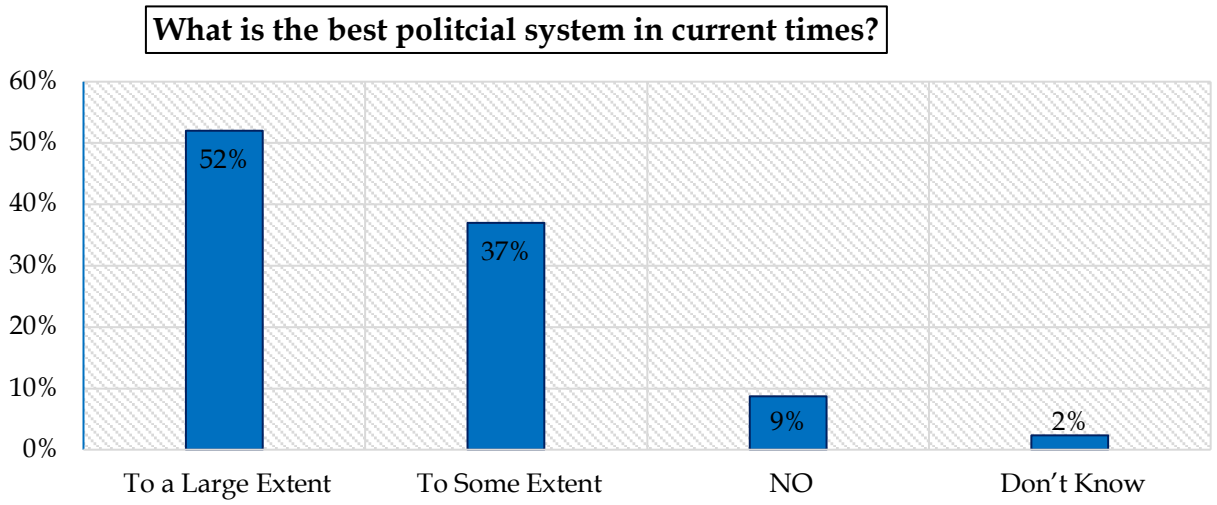
PEF's interventions showed results at multiple levels including community level, institutional level and policy level. The results are entirely based on the data collected from the field.

Community Level Impact:

To evaluate the impact of PEF's interventions at community level, the evaluation team designed and administered an online survey from the second-tier beneficiaries to see the level of awareness increased due to PEF's programming in the target regions. With the support of PEF's field staff, the surveys were filled by the participants of community outreach activities and members from the respective communities in the target regions. To respond to this survey, people from different segments of the society participated including youth leaders, religious leaders, social workers and women. The evaluation team ensured to fill that survey from different regions including Faisalabad, Lahore, Sheikhupura from Punjab, Peshawar, Charsadda from KPK, Karachi from Sindh and Islamabad, Federal. Total of 127 respondents who filled this survey. The impact of PEF publications, media campaign and the support by religio-political parties is also evaluated as part of community level impact.

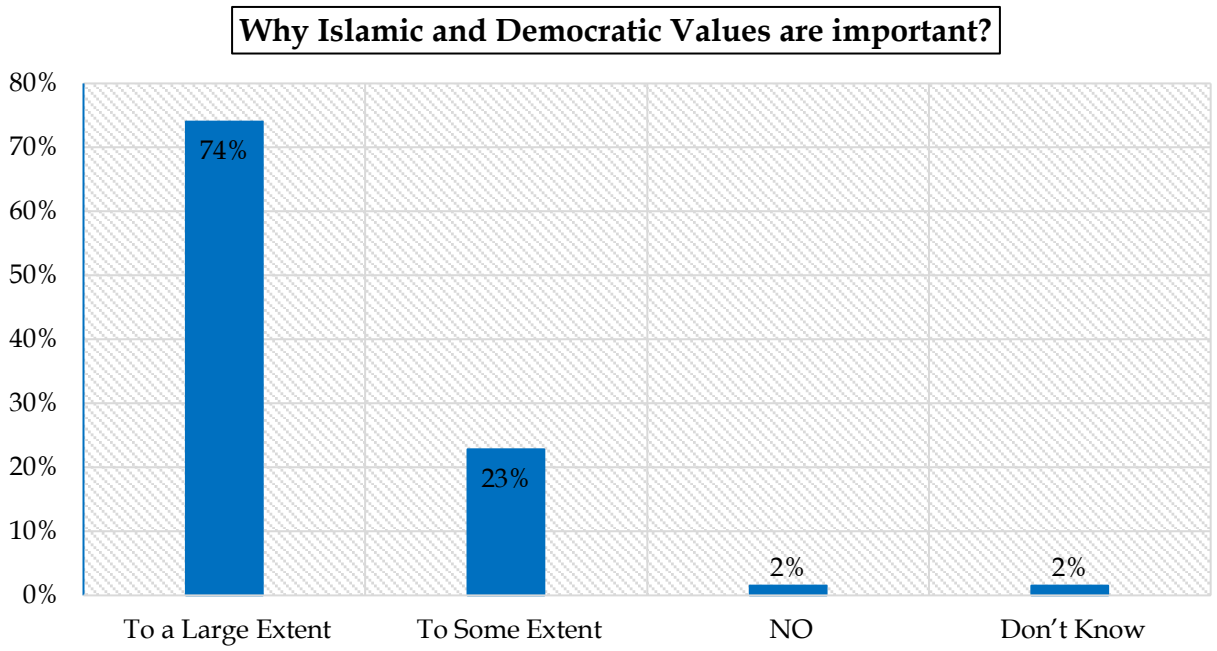
I. What Is The Best Political System In Current Times?

To the extent "Do you agree that democracy is the best possible option while comparing with other political systems in current times", 52% of the total participants responded to a large extent, followed by 37% to some extent.



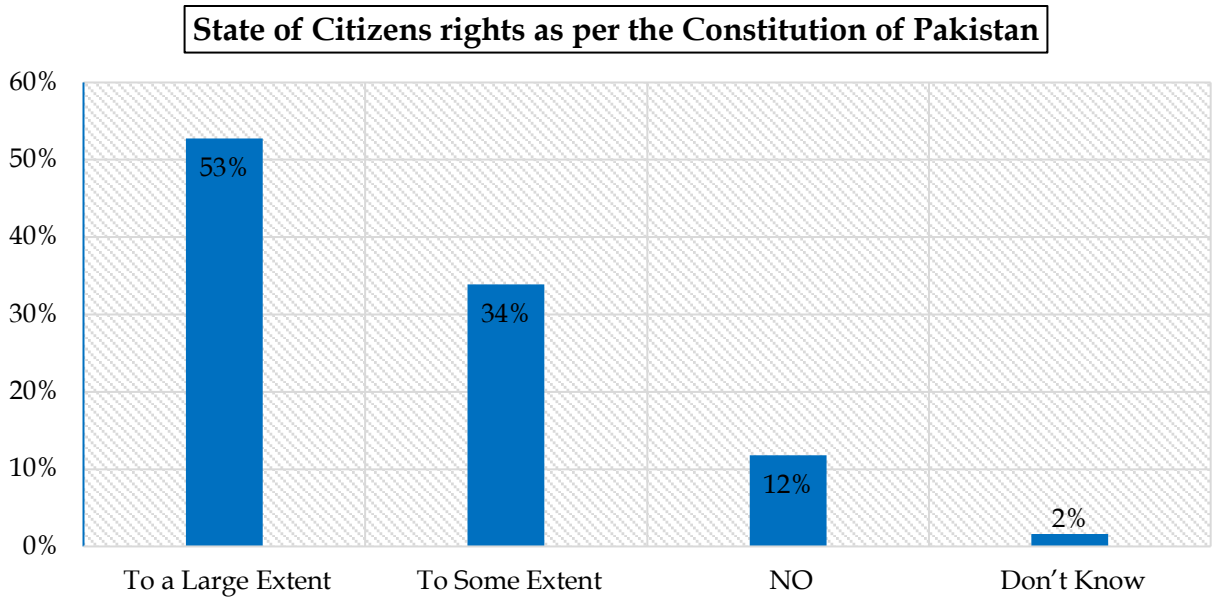
II. Why Islamic and Democratic Values Important?

When asked the question, "keeping in view the current situation, do you agree that the promotion of Islamic and democratic values is essential for the formation of a prosperous society in Pakistan" 74% of the total respondents expressed their view to the large extent followed by the 23% to some extent. Thus, data provided significant evidence of increased awareness in the local communities to promote Islamic and democratic values is critical for the society.



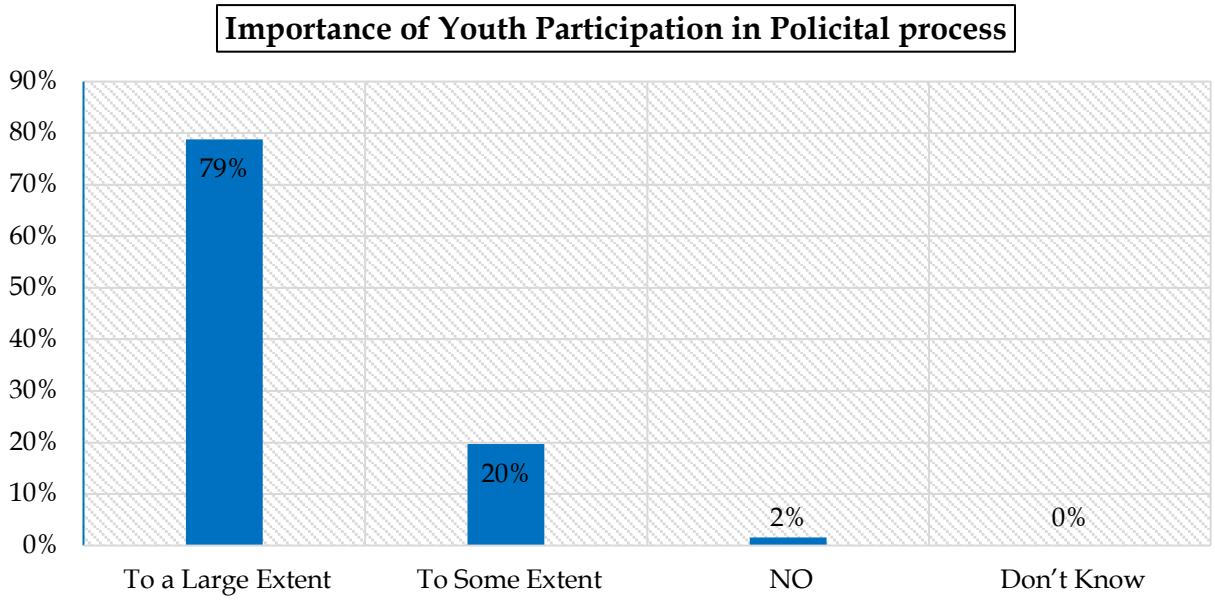
III. State Of Citizens Rights According to the Constitution of Pakistan:

To respond to the question "Do you agree that the Constitution of Pakistan gives equal rights to all citizens of Pakistan regardless of their religion or creed" 53% respondents firmly endorsed to a large extent while 34% respondents agreed to some extent. The result shows that local communities have improved their understanding of equal citizenry defined in the constitution of Pakistan.



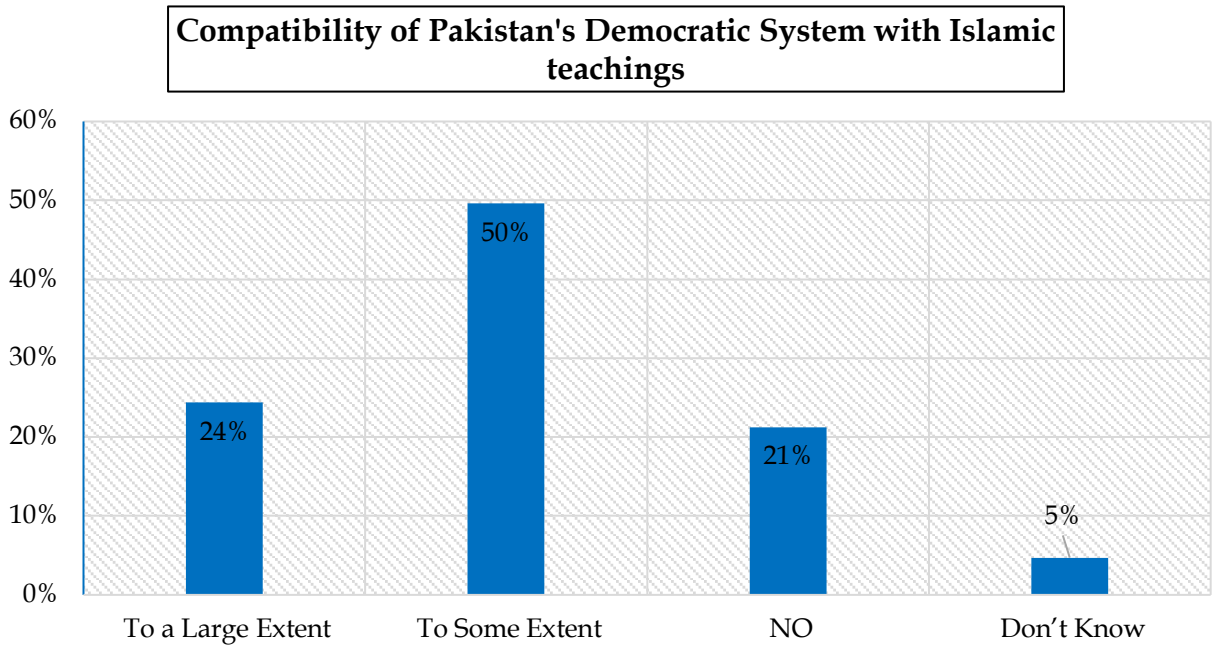
IV. Importance of Youth Participation in Political Process:

It is widely believed that youth can make a critical contribution in the advancement of democracy by stepping into politics. To respond to the question "To what extent do you agree that youth's political participation is necessary to advance the democratic process in Pakistan" 79% participants agreed to the large extent which was followed by 20% to some extent. This shows that the PEF advocates enabled second tier beneficiaries to grasp the role of youth in politics.



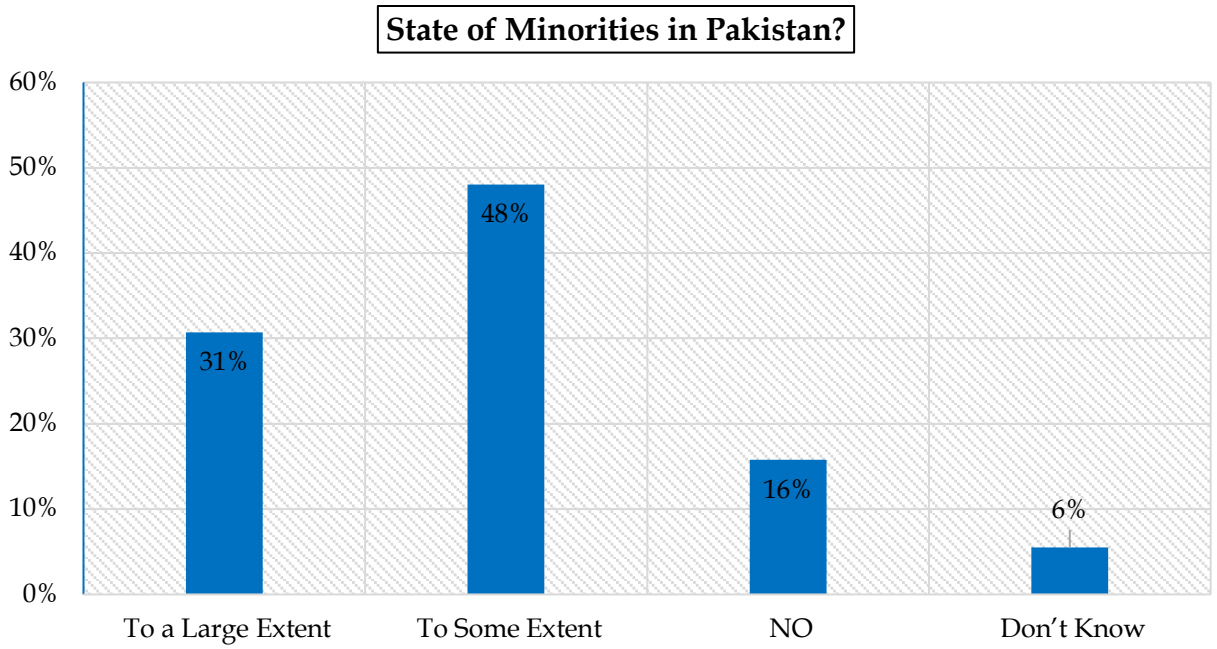
V Compatibility of Pakistan's Democratic System with Islamic Teachings

To respond to the question "to what extent do you agree that the current system of democracy in Pakistan is compatible with the principles of Islamic democracy" 50% of the total respondents agreed to some extent, followed by 24% responded to the large extent. However, 21% respondents disagreed with this statement while 5% were not sure whether to support this notion or not. The result shows that the local community had a slim understanding about the compatibility of Pakistan's democratic system in light of Islamic traditions. However, significant efforts are needed to further increase level of awareness of the local communities.



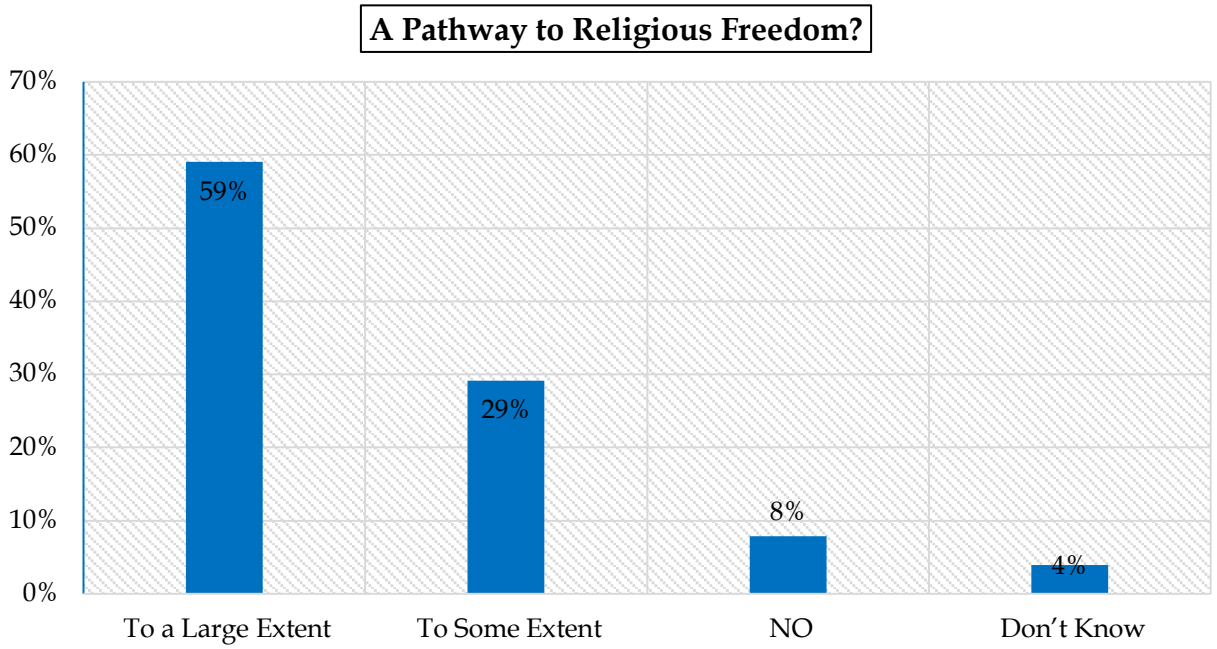
VI. State of Minorities in Pakistan?

"To what extent do you agree that minorities in Pakistan are fully enjoying the rights enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan" 48% of the total respondents agreed with this statement to some extent, followed by 31% to the large extent while 16% disagreed with this statement. 6% of respondents were unaware of minorities rights in the constitution. Thus, the results show that the majority of Muslim religious participants believe the minorities are not fully enjoying their constitutional rights in Pakistan.



VII. A Pathway to Religious Freedom?

To respond to a question "to what extent do you agree that religious freedom is based on respect for individual freedom" 59% of the total respondents agreed with this statement to a large extent, followed by 29% to some extent. The result shows that the overwhelming majority believe that the path of religious freedom is entirely based on individual freedom irrespective of religions, cast or creed.



Impact of PEF's literature on Democracy

PEF developed literature to support democracy and democratic principles by specifically addressing anti-democratic narratives prevalent in the society. The literature was distributed with religious and youth leaders during the training program. During KIIs with Democracy experts and FGDs with the group of Advocates who explicitly described that PEF's literature was effective in the following dimensions;

a) To large extent, it helped the target groups in minimizing their pre-conceived notions and misconceptions about compatibility and contentions of Islam and democracy by providing counter narrative of democracy and democratic system.

b) Considering the background of target groups (faith communities) who were unaware about the prevailing democratic system in Pakistan to large extent, the PEF's literatures enlightened with constitutional literacy by including fundamental rights of the citizens, this enhanced their knowledge and understanding about current democratic system of Pakistan and enabled them to compare the constitutional rights in light of Islamic teachings.

c) To large extent, enabled to the group of Advocates (religious and youth leaders) to respond concerns or questions on democracy raised by the local communities during the field activities.

It was difficult for us to entirely respond to the local community members who ask number of questions on democracy or current democratic system of Pakistan. I give credit to PEF for publishing authenticated books on democracy that helped us in addressing concerns and reservations of the local communities on democracy during field activities. Allama Abdul Khaliq Faridi, Jamia Sattaria, Karachi

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Increased Support for Democracy by Religio-Political Groups in Pakistan:

The religio-political groups/ parties have significant impact in the society in Pakistan, as the Pakistan is a religiously Muslim dominated society. The following results have been demonstrated as result of their participation in PEF's programs:

The data shows that religio-political groups have more participation in general elections 2018 with compare to 2013 general elections. While drawing the comparative analysis of the religio-political parties' participation in general elections of 2013 and 2018, a certain increase in polled votes is reported in 2018. Some media reports observed a hike in religious parties vote ratio in 2018 where they made around 5% of total polled votes. [5]Gallup, a leading research and consultancy firm reported 4% increase in vote bank of religio-political parties from 2013 to 2018. According to report, the parties obtained 2.6 million (6%) votes in 2013 general elections while achieved 5.1 million (10%) votes in 2018 elections. There are many contributing factors for this, however the representatives of religio-political groups appreciated PEF's programming on democracy that enhance their understanding on democracy and democratic system that led to create space within them that the continuation of democracy with some hurdles/ barriers also significant to strengthen democracy with the passage of time.

Impact of mainstreaming media engagement:

PEF launched a media campaign through prominent national and regional TV & radio channels including Such, AbbTak, City41, Royal News, Roze, GTV and Khyber TV, FM 99 and FM 101. A dedicated Facebook page (social media platform) was created to support democracy campaign. In these programs, several topics/ themes were discussed including human rights, religious freedom, appreciating diversity, freedom of expression, the importance of the vote, and Islam and Democracy to amplify this narrative in general public. These programs/ shows were attended by PEF democracy advocates, senior members of religio-political parties, and religious scholars.

As a result, a majority of the Democratic Advocates in different regions gained visibility of their work on TV channels. Moreover, in some of the programs, they were invited by anchorpersons to discuss various fundamental human rights in light of Islamic teachings. Now, there is an increased awareness amongst the media outlets, including anchorpersons and producers, to design and broadcast talk shows on Islam and

5 http://gallup.com.pk/wp/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/General-Election-2018-Who-Voted-for-Whom-and-Why-1.pdf

Democracy to legitimize the narratives of Paigham-e-Pakistan and the Constitution of Pakistan.

This uptake also strengthens the existing discussions and help build a movement around these issues. Inspired by PEF's initiatives on democracy, one of PEF Democratic Advocates, Muhammad Uzair ul Huda have took self-initiative and organized two programs on Islam and democracy on Ab Tak TV Channel, as he used to be a content writer at the channel. They invited prominent scholars and democracy experts in these shows. As a result of social media campaign, PEF team and a group of Youth Advocates received series of request to include youth from different institutions in Democracy program. Considering the significance of these programs, one of second tier beneficiary Ms. Nawal Mehdi requested PEF to make her part of the program as a result she hosted two webinar conference on role of social media in engaging youth to promote democracy.

It is recommended that for the continuation of the democracy campaign is critical through media (digital and social media engagement) which is an effective tool in the 21st century to amplify the narratives of democracy in the society.

- Short video documentaries to capture views of religious and youth leaders on democracy can be produced and disseminated.
- To amplify such narratives through social media, a relevant social media optimizer/ bloggers can be engaged to create a multiplier impact of this campaign.
- A video documentary can be produced and disseminated on media how the youth from different streams of education (madrasah & university) are accepting diversity through mutual interactions and exchange of thoughts with each other.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL:

I. The International Research Council for Religious Affairs (IRCRA) was an implementing partner of PEF's earlier projects on democracy. The organization is incredibly influential within the religious circles as the founder of the organization Mr. Muhammad Israr Madni is a recognized religious scholar in Pakistan. This collaborative partnership developed synergies, as a result currently, they are managing their independent projects funded by NED and other donor agencies and sustaining their work on democracy, religious freedom and human rights. Mr. Muhammad Israr Madani has specifically acknowledged that:

"In the last five years, the IRCRA's has been working to engaging diverse faith groups from across Pakistan on democracy, inter-religious dialogue and harmony. To make this all happen was not

possible without PEF's constant support, mentoring and training to IRCRA's team". We are still working and supporting each other for this greater cause".

II. The council of Islamic Ideology (CII) was also a collaborative partner of PEF for religious engagement on democracy. The council fully endorsed and supported PEF's programming on democracy that enhanced the credibility and acceptance of PEF's program within and beyond the religious circles. Secondly, the partnership also led to create conducive environment and space for other organization to collaborate with the councils such as IRCRA (International Research Council for Religious Affairs), Islamic Research Institute of Social Sciences (IRISS). However, the council also enjoys the interaction and mutual dialogue with the diverse leaderships of religio-political groups.

Sustainable Factors- A Few PEF Democratic Advocates Established Their Organization to Continue Such Work in Future

To sustain such efforts at communal level, PEF's engagement brought results at two levels:

(A) By inspiring PEF's work on democracy, human rights and inter-religious dialogue and harmony, a few religious leaders formed their own community-based organizations to sustain the religious freedom and awareness-building efforts such as Society for Peace & Interfaith Harmony in Faisalabad, Punjab province, Punjab province, Interfaith Commission for Peace & Harmony and Irtiqa Foundation in Karachi, Sindh province to amplify the impact of this initiative beyond the project life cycle.

(B) Formation of inter-religious networks from within the faith groups who constantly support democracy, human rights including minority and women rights. A recent example quoted by the Advocates during KIIs, PEF's Advocates in Punjab and Sindh held press conference on the incident of mob lynching of Sri Lankan citizen Priyantha Kumara and burning his body for alleged blasphemy at a private factory on Wazirabad Road in Sialkot city, in Pakistan's Punjab province. PEF's Advocates condemned the incident and showed the solidarity with the victim and requested the government to give justice and punishment to the culprits.

Impact on Academic Circles

Within the academic circles, the intervention increased awareness on democracy, human rights and Islam and democracy. Through FGDs with youth, it was observed that few students started to select their thesis topic about the workshop themes such as religious freedom including different dimensions of minority rights and Islam & democracy compatibility and contentions. One of the Youth Advocate from Faisalabad, Ms. Tooba from Government College University, Faisalabad expressed her view:

"First time I have experienced to participate such workshop on democracy in which we were able to interact with the youth from madrasah too. These interactions and it's follow up engagement led me to select a topic for my thesis is "state of religious freedom in south Asian countries".

C. POLICY LEVEL:

Considering the key role of Council of Islamic Ideology to advises the legislature (Federal-National Assembly, Senate or provincial authorities) whether or not a certain law is repugnant to Islam, namely to the Qur'an and Sunnah. Being a collaborative partner, PEF's religious engagement on democracy helped the council in the following dimensions/ areas:

The Council of Islamic Ideology promptly respond especially the matter related to minority affairs, for instance an incident of mob lynching of Sri Lankan citizen Priyantha Kumara and burning his body for alleged blasphemy recently who had been working as operational manager at a private factory on Wazirabad Road in Sialkot city, in Pakistan's Punjab province. A unanimous declaration was announced by the chairman of the council with the consensus of prominent ulema representing all Muslim schools of thought including member of the councils that condemning the incidents and showing solidarity with the victim by managing the delegation visit to the representative embassy
Dr Ikram ul haq, Secretary, CII

i. Framing the issues in conceptual domains by increasing their understanding on various major challenges/ issues related to debate for compatibility and contentions of Islam & democracy, action or reaction of religious mind-set on

fundamental human rights including religious freedom, equality, social justice, rule of law. This was a great support for CII that directly contribute in CIIs constitutional role to advise the government regarding legislative process.

ii. Increase trust between faith communities including all the religio-political groups and the council by bridging the gaps between them through organizing series of activities within the council.

iii. The council rapid respond to the issues related to religious freedom including minority affairs/ related incidents.

iv. Now the CII is receptive towards the civil society organizations. The council now has opened its avenues for CSOs and have built collaborative partnership with multiple organizations working on human rights, women rights, minority rights, transgender rights, child rights, judiciary reforms and other initiatives. Considering the ongoing challenges in legislative process, when and where needed, CII need to seek expert opinion or suggestion on any issue, the council encourage collaboration with the relevant organizations and invites subject matter experts from different fields in roundtable discussions, seminars and conference for thoughtful provoking sessions that contribute in legislative process.

LESSON LEARNED AND INSIGHTS

Based on PEF's programming on democracy following are the Lesson Learned & Insights:

1) Content:

The non-availability of literature on Democracy and Islam in local languages and powerful arguments presented by the extremist elements were the non-starters on any work around these issues in Pakistan. However, PEF tackled these issues by involving local religious researchers who drew references from Quran scriptures, Sunnah of Prophet building an alternative narrative based on solid references and generated evidence for future. Muhammad (PBUH), and the practical life of the caliphate. This proved a successful strategy in deliberations. During the sessions with different religious leaders and scholars, it was observed that the religious-political leaders have insufficient knowledge about political systems, constitutional frameworks, and government functions. They do not comprehend the vital role that religious clergy hold in the political system in Pakistan. There is still much need to work with religious, and political parties further.

2) Sensitive Geographies:

PEF intervened in some very sensitive and conflict geographic regions, including Swat, Dir, Quetta, and Karachi, has seen efforts of implementation of Sharia and interplay between violent forces and political ideologies. With the workshops and deepening of community outreach, PEF adopted a Wide Approach in the target geographies. Despite that, these interventions went successful, but the duration and length of various components were not that long to sustain and deepen their impacts in the larger communities. Therefore, based on the feedback from experts, it is recommended to adopt Deep Approach that could run the activities for a longer time in the smaller geographic regions to sustain and deepen the impacts on the religious communities.

3) Providing Alternate Narrative:

With the support of like-minded religious experts, democracy advocates, media persons, government bodies, and religious leaders, the alternate narrative gained strength over the years. It evolved as a powerful narrative against the anti-democracy solid narrative.

4) Comprehensive Approach:

Based on the analysis, it is appropriate to adopt a comprehensive approach to addressing the anti-democracy narrative at various frontiers. PEF worked with religious fraternity and focused on religio-political parties, which worked well within the religious community. Still, it should gain more strength and visibility if coupled with dedicated programs with media and religio-political parties. Placing this narrative within the academia can provide sustainable support to its local research and link with the international community working on Islam and democracy. There is significantly less penetration in the media and academia to research and introduce courses on Islam and Democracy in Pakistan. Supplementing already work with religious fraternity will gain support from the academia and media work.

5) Implementation During COVID-19:

In the current year program during COVID19, PEF faced several challenges, including frequent closure of the schools, universities, and madrassas, strict adherence to the government COVID19 social distancing policy, non-availability of the youth due to changes in the academic and examination calendar, weak connectivity in some regions within Faisalabad and Karachi, and inability to handle digital communication means. The second and third deadly waves of COVID19 severely hit the operations of the project activities. Initially, PEF could not spare enough time to create institutional support from the universities in Faisalabad and Karachi. Besides the fact that PEF previously worked in the University of Faisalabad on CVE, but new Vice-Chancellor took it differently and did not acknowledge the importance of such activities. Apart from this, Karachi University is a different case where the Teacher Training Department gave resource persons and venues. Although this seems a significant step towards grounding these democracy discussions within the university department, there is still not much ownership from the university administration that is required.

6) Youth Mobilization & Recruitment:

PEF selected students from universities and madrassas by using its influence and outreach in Faisalabad and Karachi. In initial discussions, PFE also added few students from the natural sciences department in the university cohort while the majority representation was from social sciences. During the training workshops, very little interest was registered by the natural sciences' students, and very few out of them come up in organizing the digital media programs. However, even within the social science cohort, the departments exhibited a greater understanding, including political science and International Relations.

Due to COVID19 restrictions on students from both streams, a weaker level of interaction within their cohort and across the institutions is observed. PEF organized additional online events and facilitated WhatsApp groups that did work but not to a required level to intensify their engagements. This goes back to how PEF recruited the youth as institutional support varies across institutions and regions. Due to its strong base and presence of alumni in large madrassas, PFE could attract the right size and type of youth from madrassas from Faisalabad and Karachi. However, the universities showed resistance and reluctance towards recruitment and allowing students to partake in digital media activities.

7) Digital Leverage and Barriers:

The model evolved over the years, and PEF added additional components that helped improve its outcome delivery. Specifically, PEF capitalized on the national outreach of the various mediums including mainstream, and digital media. This proved effective as messages multiplied in local communities and integrated into mainstream media stations. In its current year program, PEF included social media that is proving fruitful in advancing the debate amongst youth. The current year 2020-21 program added various online youth engagement programs on different digital platforms, including Zoom and Facebook. The two-day training workshop included multiple topics on Democracy, Islam and youth, but there was very little focus on building the capacities of youth on digital means. This lack of capacity is visible in youth while implementing its digital media programs. On many occasions, youth from both streams have not fully comprehended the digital means that caused delays in its implementation. Therefore, PEF had to intervene to provide support for Facebook live sessions and Zoom seminars.

8) Youth resistance towards democracy:

It was observed during the training workshops that youth from madrassas have more resistance towards democracy as against university youth. Madrasa youth asked difficult questions on compatibility of the Islam and democracy and tracing it back to the Caliphate. Although these questions were answered by the PEF trainers but still a level of resistance is visible in the madrasa students. Largely, it is because of Madrassas do not have any curricula on social sciences including democracy. During the sessions, book on Islam, Democracy and The Constitution of Pakistan was also distributed. Questions were also asked by the university youth but those were more titled towards functioning of the democracy in Pakistan. Within university cohort, PEF experienced with adding students from Natural Sciences departments but their participation and interest in the workshops were relatively low. Students from Social Sciences have shown greater interest towards learning and taking self- actions in their communities. Even social sciences students have

not shown any resistance towards the democracy and its values; however, they were more interested topics including constitutional rights, accountability and transparency.

9) Community Engagement Programs:

Although religious leaders and youth have trained and imparted skills to develop and implement the community programs, the PEF team faced particular administrative challenges to organizing programs at online platforms and physical venues. The uncertain situation due to COVID19, the inability of the beneficiaries to undertake administrative arrangements, and the lack of ownership by the university in Faisalabad put an extra administrative burden on the PEF team. Though many community programs mobilized various stakeholders in the grassroots communities, design and implementation facilitation by the PEF team eased out the target beneficiaries.

10) Information Channels:

Over the years, the questions were added and deleted based on the curriculum adopted in various capacity building workshops. This has made it difficult to find common trends in the learning patterns of the workshop participants. Moreover, it was also observed that questions varied across the targeted regions, making comparison difficult across years and areas. Nonetheless PEF collected data by administering pre-and-post training workshop questionnaires, the training reports did not include participation of the beneficiaries in various sessions, which could also be a factor in changing one's' behavior towards democracy and its values. Trainer and PEF team observations were missed which could have supplemented the quantitative analysis.

PEF did well in designing the training workshop but remained weak in following the individual beneficiaries' activities over time. However, PEF maintained a database of its alumni but could not track what its alumni are doing in their respective domains of social influence. Few examples document that PEF Democracy Advocates is influenced by the training workshop and follow-on programs and initiates several actions on deepening and localizing this narrative at the grassroots levels. Sometimes PEF tried to capture that information, but religious leaders do not want to public their stories for fear of reprimand by the local community and senior leadership.

PEF team did not maintain a sustained flow of information at all levels of project implementation, including the conduction of CEPs and further engagements by the democracy advocates at the grassroots level. PEF team gathered very little information on the effectiveness of the delivery of CEPs at the grassroots. Anecdotal evidence was collected and translated into individual stories. In future, PEF has to develop a database to collect information on each of the activities with complete details within its

organization and identify a dedicated resource to compile and analyze data to find trends and make alignments accordingly in the implementation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Key Recommendations for PEF

1. PEF should continue to work with religious leaders, youth and representatives of religio-political parties. First, there is still work to be done. Second, while the scope of PEF valuable democracy support work in Pakistan has been widening, educating the masses on democratic systems and values remains an area open to work on.
2. In considering possibilities for further work, PEF should engage women. With a more than 50% women population and a reasonable number of progressive women now in civil society and parliament and a large number of women slated to be on local councils by the next year, PEF should target its work towards both genders.
3. Develop long-term relationships with target groups, and local authorities to ensure impact and sustainability. Also Integrate sustainability plans into project design to promote a continuation of activities into the future. This could include the development of learning networks among partner target groups, the development of courses or certificates offered by universities or the capacity building of CSOs.
4. Considering the narrative against prevailing democratic system in Pakistan, a section or module can be incorporated in PEF's interventions to educate the target groups about democratic struggle for formation of state of Pakistan and its constitution.
5. PEF should continue to concentrate on analysis and content development to support its advocacy and training actions. While developing and updating the literature incorporate questions, concerns or comments raised by the religious/ youth groups during the field activities.
6. Manage and store data more efficiently, empirical evidence is a critical component of PEF's work. Increase the utilization of PEF data management software "PEF insight". Also organize files of hard copies of data.
7. Improve the existing qualitative evidence of case studies of the project beneficiaries' achievements, and disseminate it to facilitate efficient replication for the benefit of sustainability elsewhere.

8. Develop a comprehensive strategy for community engagement programs that devise a proper strategy for follow up activities that address the issue of planning, execution and reporting of these activities.
9. Invest more in Media outreach. PEF is currently managing media as a supplementary component of the project. Given the excellent quality of the content being produced and steady stream of activities, PEF should consider whether it is desirable to upgrade media relations to a full-time function.
10. Work with the federal and provincial governments to incorporate constitutional literacy programs at all levels of educational curricula. There has been significantly less focus on the awareness of various constitutional rights, which will help younger generations better understand and adopt these rights for sustainable impacts at large. Be it a secular public sector university or a religious seminary, they found very little awareness and limited knowledge on the individual rights enshrined under the Constitution of Pakistan.

Recommendations for Civil Society Organizations and Government Institutions Constitutional Literacy Programs:

Civil society should work with the federal and provincial governments to incorporate constitutional literacy programs at all levels of educational curricula. There has been significantly less focus on the awareness of various constitutional rights, which will help younger generations better understand and adopt these rights for sustainable impacts at large. Be it a secular public sector university or a religious seminary, there found very little awareness and limited knowledge on the individual rights enshrined under the Constitution of Pakistan. In PEF's work on democracy, it is also felt that contentions between Islam and democracy can be well removed by discussing the Constitution and its basic tenets drawing references from the Quran, Sunnah and practical life of four rightly guided Caliphs. Based on the PEF's observations, the youth in Madrassas are more concerned about the Islamization of the Constitution. However, the youth studying in secular universities are not much apprehensive about it. Student bodies in the universities could also play an important role in advancing the discussion of the Constitution, individual rights, and youth involvement at the campus and the society.

Collaborative work with Religio-Political parties:

PEF's found that religio-political parties', who are part of the democratic system, raised various concerns about the system and its process. Civil society works on democracy, and the Constitution is primarily focused on mainstream political parties with very little focus on the religio-political parties. In PEF's discussion with members of these parties who are ignorant of the Constitution, and on many occasions, are unable to connect with the

Islamic values and principles, like to include in such programs. The structure and systems of the religio-political parties are well defined and comprehensive, and only those advance who are knowledgeable in Quran and Sunnah. The need is to include the Pakistani Constitution in their literature and professional development within the political party. However, there is a perception that civil society promotes certain ideologies deep-rooted in the West, so working and adopting something could derail us. It is important as only those civil society actors who have worked with them for years now can better collaborate with the religio-political parties on comprehending political process, democratic values, and principles with particular reference to the Quran and Sunnah.

Research on Islam and Democracy:

Several scholars, including Dr Fazul Rehman, Javed Ghamidi, and Muhammad Asad, have theorized the forms of governments, structure, and values in the Sub-Continent. This scholarship is well researched in the West, but very little is found in the Pakistani literature exploring these models, their assumptions, and their contextualization to contemporary issues. Civil society can develop fellowship programs for social science students to research various topics of interest on Islam and democracy. There are local factors that facilitate the interplay between religion and democracy. Pakistan has seen both violent and nonviolent movements against democracy, and some of them have been dismantled by the government. However, their relations and ideological basis own a shared vision and values, which are important to understand in the Pakistani context. The trans-nationality of the antidemocratic narrative is inextricably linked to the localization of narrative. A comprehensive program aimed at finding national, regional and local interconnections amongst various stakeholders with Islam and democratic discourse could align donor, civil society and governmental decisions in the future.

Localization of Consensus between Government and Religious Leaders:

Since its creation in 1947, various consensuses have been forged between state and religious leaders on the basic contours of the constitution of the country. Most recently, a national narrative on peaceful coexistence was developed by a large majority of the religious scholars of various domains has not taken traction at the grassroots level. By benefitting from the experience of Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia, utilized the local communities to address the growing terrorism and extremism in the country[6], Pakistan

[6] Community involvement is realized through the Terrorism Prevention Coordination Forum (FKPT). In 2020, FKPTs were formed in 32 provinces across Indonesia.

can also localize the State narratives by establishing the local community forums[7] . There have been efforts to strengthen community resilience towards divisive narratives in the last few years, but large-scale development has not been seen from the governmental level. On similar lines, civil society and donors can support the formation of committees at each administrative level to raise awareness on topics including Paigham-e-Pakistan, and objective resolution. This will help forge consensus at the community level to develop resilience against anti-democratic narratives. Structures such as Interfaith Councils, Peace & Reconciliation Committees, and Coordination Forums can serve multiple purposes, including the localization of state narratives. In wake of Taliban takeover in Afghanistan and announcement of Islamic Emirate, Pakistan should seriously consider establishing such structures in addressing the anti-democracy, and Constitution narratives.

Advocacy on Religious Freedom Affairs:

Considering the current challenge of religious freedom, it's dynamics and prevailing perceptions of religious groups and communities in Pakistan, the civil society may lead and organize advocacy sessions with legislative bodies including Council of Islamic Ideologies, Pakistan institute of parliamentary studies (PIPS), representatives from relevant standing committees of senate and national or provincial assemblies.

Strengthen the role of National Commission for Minorities:

There is a need to empower a newly established national commission for minorities on religious freedom affairs by developing synergies and collaborations with civil society organizations. And develop and publish annual reports on the state of minorities in Pakistan that includes all regions including Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan, Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJK) and Gilgit Baltistan (GB). These reports should also be published and disseminated at national and international forums.

[7] NACTA CVE policy 2018 also emphasizes on establishing the local community structures

Appendix I

Publication by PEF on Democracy

Islam, Democracy and Constitution of Pakistan (2017)

With the collaboration of a research team, Peace and Education Foundation conducted a research study addressing myths and misperceptions about democracy propagated by extremist Islamic groups in light of Islamic teachings. The research team comprised of Muhammad Israr Madni, Muhammad Jan and Rashid Yousafzai, drafted the booklet containing information about modern concept of democracy and its values, rule of law and human rights. PEF finalized and published 2,000 copies of the book. The book contents were then used to develop a comprehensive training module and a toolkit to capacitate selected faith leaders to raise public awareness and support for democratic principles.

Constitution of Pakistan and the Structure of Islamic Democratic State (2019)

The second book is titled Constitution of Pakistan and the Structure of Islamic Democratic State was published to address the myths and apprehensions about democracy and democratic values In light of the constitution of Pakistan. PEF transcribed and reviewed the lectures conducted in previous capacity building programs (2018-19) by subject matter experts and trainers and converted them into the booklet format. The book contains the key themes of democratic principles such as, religious freedom, Islam and democracy, democratic principles, conflict resolution, human rights etc.

Democracy, Democratic Values and Role of Youth (2021)

The youth leadership has enormous potential to promote democracy, democratic values, peace and good governance in bringing real change and prosperity. To mobilize support from youth, PEF specifically developed a book for Pakistani youth to address challenges in youth participation and encourage them to partake in democratic process. Keeping in view the potential role of youth, the book is based on the themes of Power and Potential of Youth for Leadership and the Importance of Political Participation, Challenges Youth Face in Advocating for Their Rights and Political Participation; Youth Actions to Strengthen Democracy and Promote Peace-building.

Appendix-II

Activity Feedback Survey Questionnaire Designed for PEF's Training Workshops

ورکشاپ تاثرات نامہ (شرکاء)

تین روزہ تربیتی ورکشاپ-جمہوری روایت اور شہری حقوق کے فروغ میں نوجوانوں کا کردار

نام:----------مسلک:----------

بمقام:----------تاریخ:----------

1. آپ ورکشاپ کے متعلق انتظامی امور کے بارے مندرجہ ذیل بیانات سے کس حد تک متفق ہیں۔

نمبر شمار	سوالات	کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
.1	تربیت کار کے انداز نے تربیتی مواد کو سمجھنے میں میری بھرپور مدد کی۔				
.2	تربیتی مواد سمجھنے اور استعمال میں آسان تھا۔				
.3	ورکشاپ کا دورانیہ تربیتی مواد کے لحاظ سے مناسب تھا۔				
.4	سوالات اور گفتگو کے لئے مناسب وقت فراہم کیا گیا تھا۔				
.5	ورکشاپ کی جگہ اور انتظامات نہایت مناسب تھے۔				

2۔ درج ذیل سوالات کے جواب دیجیے:

2.1 منعقدہ ورکشاپ میں شرکت کے نتیجے میں آپ کی کون سی معلومات اور مہارتوں میں اضافہ ہوا؟

2.2 منعقدہ ورکشاپ میں سیکھی گئی مہارتوں کی بنیاد پر آپ نوجوانوں کی جمہوریت و جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ کے لئے کیسے راہنمائی کر سکتے ہیں۔

2.3 منعقدہ ورکشاپ میں پیش کیے گئے موضوعات میں سے آپ کی نظر میں سب سے مؤثر / فائدہ مند موضوع / سیشن کونسا تھا اور کیوں؟

2.4 ورکشاپ کو بہتر بنانے سے متعلق آپ کی آراء و تجاویز:

Appendix-III (A)

Pre-Survey Questionnaires Designed for PEF's Basic Training Workshops for Religious Leaders

جمہوریت اور جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ میں علماء کا کردار
قبل از ورکشاپ تاثرات نامہ (شرکاء)

نام:_____ مسلک:_____

بمقام:_____ تاریخ:_____

سوال نمبر 1: جمہوریت سے کیا مراد ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

فرد واحد کی حکومت	بادشاہت / ایک خاندان کی حکومت	عوام کی حکومت	کسی ایک پارٹی کی مستقل حکومت	یا کوئی اور

سوال نمبر 2: درج ذیل میں سے کون سے جمہوریت کے بنیادی عناصر ہیں؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

انفرادی آزادی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
آئین اور قانون	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
عوام کی حاکمیت	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
عدلیہ	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مساوات	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
پارلیمنٹ	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 3: اظہار رائے کی آزادی سے مراد؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

اپنی پسند اور مرضی کے کام کرنا	مذہب کو اختیار کرنے کی آزادی	جذبات کا اظہار کرنے کی آزادی	اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کرنے کی آزادی

سوال نمبر 4: اسلام کا شورائی نظام جدید جمہوریت کے کس ادارے سے مطابقت رکھتا ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

عدلیہ	حکومت	پارلیمنٹ	فوج	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 5: پاکستان میں اس وقت کون سا آئین نافذ ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

1962ء	1956ء	اٹھارویں ترمیم	1973ء	2001ء

سوال نمبر 6: جمہوریت کیوں ضروری ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

مذہبی آزادی کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مرد و خواتین کے لئے یکساں مواقع	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مراعات کے حصول کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
قانون کی حکمرانی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
حکومت اور اقتدار کے حصول کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مسائل حل کرنے کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 7: آپ کے خیال میں بہترین سیاسی نظام کیا ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بادشاہت	آمریت	جمہوریت	ملوکیت	یا کوئی اور----------

سوال نمبر8: آپ کے نزدیک جمہوریت میں سب سے بڑی خرابی کیا ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بیوروکریسی	کرپشن	انتظامی سست روی	انتخابی نظام	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر9: بین الاقوامی قانون کا نفاذ ضروری ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

اقوام متحدہ کے لئے	تمام ریاستوں کے لئے	وہ ریاست جو کسی عالمی سمجھوتے پر دستخط کرتی ہے	سلامتی کونسل کے ادارے

سوال نمبر10: بطور پاکستانی شہری آپ آئین پاکستان میں دیے گئے اپنے بنیادی حقوق سے واقف ہیں؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر11: تنازع کے حل سے مراد ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

افراد کے درمیان جھگڑا	افراد کے درمیان اختلاف کا پرامن حل	قیام امن پر بات چیت	تنازعات کے منفی پہلوؤں کو محدود کرنے کا عمل

سوال نمبر12: کیا آپ پاکستان کے جمہوری نظام سے مطمئن ہیں؟

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر13: ورکشاپ سے متعلق آپ کی توقعات:

شکریہ--

Appendix-III (B)

Post-Survey Questionnaires Designed for PEF's Basic Training Workshops for Religious Leaders

جمہوریت اور جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ میں علماء کا کردار

بعد از ورکشاپ تاثرات نامہ (شرکاء)

نام:---------- مسلک:----------

بمقام:---------- تاریخ:----------

سوال نمبر1: آپ ورکشاپ کے متعلق انتظامی امور کے بارے مندرجہ ذیل بیانات سے کس حد تک متفق ہیں۔

نمبر شمار	سوالات	کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
.1	مربی کے انداز نے سیکھنے کے عمل میں بھرپور مدد کی۔				
.2	تربیتی مواد سمجھنے اور استعمال میں آسان تھا۔				
.3	ورکشاپ کا دورانیہ تربیتی مواد کے لحاظ سے مناسب تھا۔				
.4	سوالات اور گفتگو کے لئے مناسب وقت فراہم کیا گیا تھا۔				
.5	ورکشاپ کی جگہ اور انتظامات نہایت مناسب تھے۔				

سوال نمبر2:جمہوریت سے کیا مراد ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

فرد واحد کی حکومت	بادشاہت / ایک خاندان کی حکومت	عوام کی حکومت	کسی ایک پارٹی کی مستقل حکومت	یا کوئی اور

سوال نمبر3:درج ذیل میں سے کون سے جمہوریت کے بنیادی عناصر ہیں؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

انفرادی آزادی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
آئین اور قانون	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
عوام کی حاکمیت	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
عدلیہ	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مساوات	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
پارلیمنٹ	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر4:اظہار رائے کی آزادی سے مراد؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

اپنی پسند اور مرضی کے کام کرنا	مذہب کو اختیار کرنے کی آزادی	جذبات کا اظہار کرنے کی آزادی	اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کرنے کی آزادی

سوال نمبر5:اسلام کا شورائی نظام جدید جمہوریت کے کس ادارے سے مطابقت رکھتا ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

عدلیہ	حکومت	پارلیمنٹ	فوج	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر6:پاکستان میں اس وقت کون سا آئین نافذ ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

1962ء	1956ء	اٹھارویں ترمیم	1973ء	2001ء

سوال نمبر7:جمہوریت کیوں ضروری ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

مذہبی آزادی کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مرد و خواتین کے لئے یکساں مواقع	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مراعات کے حصول کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
قانون کی حکمرانی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
حکومت اور اقتدار کے حصول کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مسائل حل کرنے کے لئے	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر8: آپ کے خیال میں بہترین سیاسی نظام کیا ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بادشاہت	آمریت	جمہوریت	ملوکیت	یا کوئی اور----------

سوال نمبر9: آپ کے نزدیک جمہوریت میں سب سے بڑی خرابی کیا ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بیوروکریسی	کرپشن	انتظامی سست روی	انتخابی نظام	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر10: بین الاقوامی قانون کا نفاذ ضروری ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

اقوام متحدہ کے لئے	تمام ریاستوں کے لئے	وہ ریاست جو کسی عالمی سمجھوتے پر دستخط کرتی ہے	سلامتی کونسل کے ادارے

سوال نمبر11: بطور پاکستانی شہری آپ آئین پاکستان میں دیے گئے اپنے بنیادی حقوق سے واقف ہیں؟

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر12: تنازع کے حل سے مراد ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

افراد کے درمیان جھگڑا	افراد کے درمیان اختلاف کا پرامن حل	قیام امن پر بات چیت	تنازعات کے منفی پہلوؤں کو محدود کرنے کا عمل

سوال نمبر13: کیا آپ پاکستان کے جمہوری نظام سے مطمئن ہیں؟

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر14: جمہوریت کے بارے میں تربیتی ورکشاپ نے جمہوری نظام اور اقدار کو سمجھنے میں مدد کی:(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں

کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	بالکل نہیں

سوال نمبر15: جمہوریت کی افادیت کے پیغام کو عوام تک پہنچانے کے لیے آپ کس ذریعہ کا استعمال کریں گے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

خطبات / لیکچر	تحریر / کالم	سوشل میڈیا	تربیتی پروگرام

درج ذیل سوالات کے مختصر جواب دیجیے:

1. ورکشاپ کے بارے میں اپنے تاثرات بیان کریں۔

---

2. ورکشاپ سے آپ نے وہ کونسی مہارتیں سیکھیں جو آپ کو معاشرے میں جمہوری اقدار اور رویوں کے فروغ دینے میں مددگار ثابت ہو سکتی ہیں؟

ورکشاپ میں پیش کیے گئے موضوعات میں سے آپ کی نظر میں سب سے مؤثر / فائدہ مند موضوع / سیشن کونسا تھا اور کیوں؟

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3. ورکشاپ سے متعلق آپ کی آراءو تجاویز:

---شکریہ--

Appendix-III (C)

Pre-Survey Questionnaires Designed for PEF's Basic Training Workshops for Youth

قبل از ورکشاپ تاثرات نامہ (شرکاء)

تین روزہ تربیتی ورکشاپ برائے جمہوری روایت اور شہری حقوق کے فروغ میں نوجوانوں کا کردار

نام:_____مکتب فکر:_____

بمقام:_____تاریخ:_____

1- درج ذیل سوالات میں دیے گئے آپشنز میں سے مناسب ترین (کوئی ایک) آپشن کی نشاندہی کریں۔

نمبر شمار	سوالات	کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	بالکل نہیں	معلوم نہیں
.i	جمہوری معاشرے کی تشکیل کے لئے جمہوری اقدار کا فروغ ضروری ہے				
.ii	جمہوری روایات، اقدار اور رویوں کے فروغ میں نوجوانوں کا کردار اہم ہے				
.iii	کیا آپ کے دوسرے مسالک / مذاہب / طبقات سے جڑے افراد سے تعلقات قائم ہیں یا کرنا چاہتے ہیں؟				
.iv	آپ کس حد تک اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ پاکستان میں اقلیتیں آئین پاکستان میں دیئے گئے حقوق سے پوری طرح مستفید ہو رہی ہیں؟				
.v	کیا آپ پاکستان کے جمہوری نظام سے مطمئن ہیں؟				
.vi	آپ کے نزدیک اسلامی تعلیمات کی روشنی میں ووٹ ڈالنا مذہبی فریضہ ہے				
.vii	آپ کس حد تک اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ معاشرے کی سطح پر سماجی تبدیلی لانے کے لئے نوجوانوں کا سیاسی عمل میں حصہ لینا ناگزیر ہے۔				
.viii	آپ کے خیال میں سوشل میڈیا جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ کے لیے ایک مؤثر پلیٹ فارم ہے؟				

2۔ جمہوریت نفاذ اسلام میں سب سے بڑی رکاوٹ ہے؟

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

3۔ آپ کے خیال میں اس جدید دور میں بہترین سیاسی نظام کون سا ہونا چاہئے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بادشاہت	آمریت	جمہوریت	ملوکیت	یا کوئی اور_____

4۔ آپ کے نزدیک جمہوریت میں خرابی کی وجوہات کیا ہیں؟ درجہ بندی کریں (1 سے مراد سب سے اہم اور 5 سے مراد سب سے کم)

انتظامی سست روی	انتخابی نظام	کرپشن	بیوروکریسی	معلوم نہیں

5- کیا آپ نے دوسرے لوگوں کو ووٹ ڈالنے اور جمہوری اقدار کو فروغ دینے کی ترغیب دی؟

ہاں	نہیں	بالکل نہیں	معلوم نہیں

6۔ پاکستان میں درج ذیل اسلامی وجمہوری اقدار میں سے کون سے اقدار کا فقدان ہے؟

عام شہری کی فلاح وبہبود	ہاں	نہیں
انصاف	ہاں	نہیں
مذہبی آزادی	ہاں	نہیں
معاشرتی مساوات	ہاں	نہیں
قانون کی حکمرانی	ہاں	نہیں
دیگر:		

7۔ پاکستان میں نوجوانوں کا جمہوریت یا جمہوری عمل میں حصہ لینا ضروری ہے؟

جمہوری عمل کو آگے بڑھانے کے لئے	جمہوری معاشرے کی تشکیل کے لئے نوجوانوں کو شریک کار بنایا جائے	ریاست کی قانونی ذمہ داریوں کو پورا کرنے کے لئے نوجوان قیادت کو متحرک کرنا ضروری ہے	یہ سب

8۔ آپ کے نزدیک فعال شہریت کیا ہے؟

فرد اور ریاست کے مابین ایک قانونی اور سیاسی رشتہ	فرد اور ریاست کے مابین ایک مذہبی حیثیت	فرد اور ریاست کے مابین ایک معاشرتی رشتہ	معلوم نہیں

9۔ معاشرے کی تعمیر وترقی میں حصہ ڈالنے کے لئے درج ذیل دی گئی آپشنز میں سے کون کونسے اصول / مہارتیں آپ کی شخصیت میں موجود ہیں؟

وژن اور اہداف کا تعین کرنا	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
لوگوں کا اعتماد حاصل کرنا	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
جمہوری طرز فکر سے تنازعات کا حل	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
ٹیم ورک	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
دیگر:			

Appendix-III (D)

Post-Survey Questionnaires Designed for PEF's Basic Training Workshops for Youth

تین روزہ تربیتی ورکشاپ برائے جمہوری روایت اور شہری حقوق کے فروغ میں نوجوانوں کا کردار

بعد از ورکشاپ تاثرات نامہ (شرکاء)

نام:_____مکتب فکر:_____

بمقام:_____تاریخ:_____

2- درج ذیل سوالات میں دیے گئے آپشنز میں سے مناسب ترین (کوئی ایک) آپشن کی نشاندہی کریں۔

نمبر شمار	سوالات	کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	بالکل نہیں	معلوم نہیں

.ix	جمہوری معاشرے کی تشکیل کے لئے جمہوری اقدار کا فروغ ضروری ہے				
.x	جمہوری روایات، اقدار اور رویوں کے فروغ میں نوجوانوں کا کردار اہم ہے				
.xi	کیا آپ کے دوسرے مسالک / مذاہب / طبقات سے جڑے افراد سے تعلقات قائم ہیں یا کرنا چاہتے ہیں؟				
.xii	آپ کس حد تک اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ پاکستان میں اقلیتیں آئین پاکستان میں دیئے گئے حقوق سے پوری طرح مستفید ہو رہی ہیں؟				
.xiii	کیا آپ پاکستان کے جمہوری نظام سے مطمئن ہیں؟				
.xiv	آپ کے نزدیک اسلامی تعلیمات کی روشنی میں ووٹ ڈالنا مذہبی فریضہ ہے				
.xv	آپ کس حد تک اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ معاشرے کی سطح پر سماجی تبدیلی لانے کے لئے نوجوانوں کا سیاسی عمل میں حصہ لینا ناگزیر ہے۔				
.xvi	آپ کے خیال میں سوشل میڈیا جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ کے لیے ایک مؤثر پلیٹ فارم ہے؟				

2۔ جمہوریت نفاذ اسلام میں سب سے بڑی رکاوٹ ہے؟

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

3۔ آپ کے خیال میں اس جدید دور میں بہترین سیاسی نظام کون سا ہونا چاہئے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بادشاہت	آمریت	جمہوریت	ملوکیت	یا کوئی اور۔۔۔۔۔۔۔۔۔۔

4۔۔ آپ کے نزدیک جمہوریت میں خرابی کی وجوہات کیا ہیں؟ درجہ بندی کریں (1 سے مراد سب سے اہم اور 5 سے مراد سب سے کم)

انتظامی سست روی	انتخابی نظام	کرپشن	بیوروکریسی	معلوم نہیں

5- کیا آپ نے دوسرے لوگوں کو ووٹ ڈالنے اور جمہوری اقدار کو فروغ دینے کی ترغیب دی؟

ہاں	نہیں	بالکل نہیں	معلوم نہیں

6۔ پاکستان میں درج ذیل اسلامی و جمہوری اقدار میں سے کون سے اقدار کا فقدان ہے؟

عام شہری کی فلاح و بہبود	ہاں	نہیں
انصاف	ہاں	نہیں
مذہبی آزادی	ہاں	نہیں
معاشرتی مساوات	ہاں	نہیں
قانون کی حکمرانی	ہاں	نہیں

دیگر:

7۔ پاکستان میں نوجوانوں کا جمہوریت یا جمہوری عمل میں حصہ لینا ضروری ہے؟

جمہوری عمل کو آگے بڑھانے کے لئے	جمہوری معاشرے کی تشکیل کے لئے نوجوانوں کو شریک کار بنایا جائے	ریاست کی قانونی ذمہ داریوں کو پورا کرنے کے لئے نوجوان قیادت کو متحرک کرنا ضروری ہے	یہ سب

8۔ آپ کے نزدیک فعال شہریت کیا ہے؟

فرد اور ریاست کے مابین ایک قانونی اور سیاسی رشتہ	فرد اور ریاست کے مابین ایک مذہبی حیثیت	فرد اور ریاست کے مابین ایک معاشرتی رشتہ	معلوم نہیں

9۔ معاشرے کی تعمیر و ترقی میں حصہ ڈالنے کے لئے درج ذیل دی گئی آپشنز میں سے کون کونسے اصول / مہارتیں آپ کی شخصیت میں موجود ہیں؟

وژن اور اہداف کا تعین کرنا	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
لوگوں کا اعتماد حاصل کرنا	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
جمہوری طرز فکر سے تنازعات کا حل	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
ٹیم ورک	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
دیگر:			

Appendix-III (E)

Questionnaires Designed for Dialogue Forums and Orientation Sessions

جمہوریت اور جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ میں علماء کا کردار

نام:_____ مسلک:_____

بمقام:_____ تاریخ:_____

سوال نمبر 1: آپ ورکشاپ کے متعلق انتظامی امور کے بارے مندرجہ ذیل بیانات سے کس حد تک متفق ہیں۔

نمبر شمار	سوالات	کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
	ٹرینر کے انداز نے سیکھنے کے عمل میں بھرپور مدد کی۔				
	تربیتی مواد سمجھنے اور استعمال میں آسان تھا۔				
	ورکشاپ کا دورانیہ تربیتی مواد کے لحاظ سے مناسب تھا۔				
	سوالات اور گفتگو کے لئے مناسب وقت فراہم کیا گیا تھا۔				
	ورکشاپ کی جگہ اور انتظامات نہایت مناسب تھے۔				

سوال نمبر 2: جمہوری نظام میں حکومت براہ راست کس کو جوابدہ ہوتی ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

پارلیمنٹ / مقننہ	عوام	عدلیہ	فوج	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 3: درج ذیل جمہوری اقدار میں سے کون سی اقدار اسلام سے مطابقت رکھتی ہیں؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

مسلم اور غیر مسلم کی بھلائی			
انصاف			
مذہبی آزادی			
سماجی مساوات			
قانون کی حکمرانی			

سوال نمبر4:عدلیہ کا کام قانون سازی ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر5:کیا پاکستان کا جمہوری نظام اسلام کے نظام حکومت سے مطابقت رکھتا ہے؟

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
اگر نہیں تو کیوں؟		

سوال نمبر6:اسلام کا شورائی نظام جدید جمہوریت کے کس ادارے سے مطابقت رکھتا ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

پارلیمنٹ / مقننہ	عوام	عدلیہ	فوج	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر7:آئین پاکستان میں قرارداد مقاصد کے تحت اقتدار اعلیٰ کس کے پاس ہے؟

پارلیمنٹ / مقننہ	قرآن و سنت	اللہ تعالیٰ	اسلامی نظریاتی کونسل	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر8:جمہوریت نفاذ اسلام میں سب سے بڑی رکاوٹ ہے۔

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر9:آئین پاکستان کے مطابق ہندوؤں کو اپنے مذہب کی پیروی کرنے،اس پر عمل کرنے اور اس کی تبلیغ کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے۔

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر10:بین الاقوامی قوانین اور معاہدات کی پاسداری لازمی ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

اقوام متحدہ کے لئے	تمام ریاستوں کے لئے	وہ ریاست جو بین الاقوامی معاہدہ یا قانون پر دستخط کرتی ہے	سلامتی کونسل کے ادارے	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر11:بطور پاکستانی شہری آپ آئین پاکستان میں دیے گئے اپنے بنیادی حقوق سے واقف ہیں؟

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر12:ووٹ کے ذریعے اپنی رائے کا اظہار کرنے کی شرعی حیثیت کیا ہے؟

حرام	جائز	لازمی	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر13: کسی بھی حکومتی نظام کی تبدیلی میں جمہور / کثرت رائے / عوام کا فیصلہ نہایت ضروری ہے۔

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر14: آپ کے خیال میں اس جدید دور میں بہترین سیاسی نظام کون سا ہونا چاہئے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بادشاہت	آمریت	جمہوریت	ملوکیت	یا کوئی اور----------

سوال نمبر15: آپ کے نزدیک جمہوریت میں سب سے بڑی خرابی کیا ہے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

انتظامی سست روی	انتخابی نظام	کرپشن	بیوروکریسی	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر16: جمہوریت کے بارے میں تربیتی ورکشاپ نے جمہوری نظام اور اقدار کو سمجھنے میں مدد کی:(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	بالکل نہیں

سوال نمبر17: جمہوریت کی افادیت کے پیغام کو عوام تک پہنچانے کے لیے آپ کس ذریعہ کا استعمال کریں گے؟(مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

خطبات / لیکچر	تحریر / کالم	سوشل میڈیا	تربیتی پروگرام

سوال نمبر18: ورکشاپ نے جمہوریت کے متعلق خدشات وشبہات کو دور کرنے میں میری مدد کی۔

بہت حد تک	کسی حد تک	بالکل نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر19: آپ کے حلقہ (اثرورسوخ) میں کون لوگ شامل ہیں؟

سوال نمبر20: آپ کے اپنے حلقہ میں جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ کے لیے اقدامات؟

کون سے اقدامات کر چکے ہیں
کرتے ہیں؟
کریں گے؟

درج ذیل سوالات کے مختصر جواب دیجیے:

1. ورکشاپ کے بارے میں اپنے تاثرات بیان کریں۔

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2. ورکشاپ سے آپ نے وہ کونسی مہارتیں سیکھیں جو آپ کو معاشرے میں جمہوری اقدار اور رویوں کے فروغ دینے میں مددگار ثابت ہو سکتی ہیں؟

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3. ورکشاپ میں پیش کیے گئے موضوعات میں سے آپ کی نظر میں سب سے مؤثر / فائدہ مند موضوع / سیشن کونسا تھا اور کیوں؟

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4. ورکشاپ سے متعلق آپ کی آراء و تجاویز:

شکریہ---

Appendix-III (F)

Questionnaires Designed for Orientation Sessions

نام:_____مسلک:_____

بمقام:_____تاریخ:_____

سوال نمبر 1: آپ ورکشاپ کے متعلق انتظامی امور کے بارے مندرجہ ذیل بیانات سے کس حد تک متفق ہیں۔

نمبر شمار	سوالات	کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
	ٹرینر کے انداز نے سیکھنے کے عمل میں بھرپور مدد کی۔				
	تربیتی مواد سمجھنے اور استعمال میں آسان تھا۔				
	ورکشاپ کا دورانیہ تربیتی مواد کے لحاظ سے مناسب تھا۔				
	سوالات اور گفتگو کے لئے مناسب وقت فراہم کیا گیا تھا۔				
	ورکشاپ کی جگہ اور انتظامات نہایت مناسب تھے۔				

سوال نمبر 2: جمہوری نظام میں حکومت براہ راست کس کو جوابدہ ہوتی ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

پارلیمنٹ / مقننہ	عوام	عدلیہ	فوج	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 3: درج ذیل جمہوری اقدار میں سے کون سی اقدار اسلام سے مطابقت رکھتی ہیں؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

مسلم اور غیر مسلم کی بھلائی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں	
انصاف	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں	
مذہبی آزادی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں	
سماجی مساوات	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں	
قانون کی حکمرانی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں	

سوال نمبر 4: عدلیہ کا کام قانون سازی ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 5: پاکستان کا آئین اور جمہوری نظام حکومت، اسلامی نظام حکومت کے ساتھ کس حد تک مطابقت رکھتا ہے؟

کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 6: اسلام کا شورائی نظام جدید جمہوریت کے کس ادارے سے مطابقت رکھتا ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

پارلیمنٹ / مقننہ	عوام	عدلیہ	فوج	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 7: آئین پاکستان میں قرارداد مقاصد کے تحت اقتدار اعلیٰ کس کے پاس ہے؟

پارلیمنٹ / مقننہ	قرآن و سنت	اللہ تعالیٰ	اسلامی نظریاتی کونسل	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر 8: جمہوریت نفاذ اسلام میں سب سے بڑی رکاوٹ ہے۔

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر9: آئین پاکستان کے مطابق ہندوؤں کو اپنے مذہب کی پیروی کرنے، اس پر عمل کرنے اور اس کی تبلیغ کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے۔

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر10: بین الاقوامی قوانین اور معاہدات کی پاسداری لازمی ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

اقوام متحدہ کے لئے	تمام ریاستوں کے لئے	وہ ریاست جو بین الاقوامی معاہدہ یا قانون پر دستخط کرتی ہے	سلامتی کونسل کے ادارے	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر11: بطور پاکستانی شہری آپ آئین پاکستان میں دیے گئے درج ذیل بنیادی انسانی حقوق سے واقف ہیں؟

تعلیم کا حق	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مذہبی آزادی	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
مساوی شہری حقوق	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
اقلیتوں کا تحفظ	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں
معاشی حقوق	ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر12: ووٹ کے ذریعے اپنی رائے کا اظہار کرنے کی شرعی حیثیت کیا ہے؟

حرام	جائز	لازمی	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر13: کسی بھی حکومتی نظام کی تبدیلی میں جمہور / کثرت رائے / عوام کا فیصلہ نہایت ضروری ہے۔

متفق	غیر متفق	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر14: آپ کے خیال میں اس جدید دور میں بہترین سیاسی نظام کون سا ہونا چاہئے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

بادشاہت	آمریت	جمہوریت	ملوکیت	یا کوئی اور----------

سوال نمبر15: آپ کے نزدیک جمہوریت میں سب سے بڑی خرابی کیا ہے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

انتظامی سست روی	انتخابی نظام	کرپشن	بیوروکریسی	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر16: جمہوریت کے بارے میں تربیتی ورکشاپ نے جمہوری نظام اور اقدار کو سمجھنے میں مدد کی: (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

کسی حد تک	بہت حد تک	بالکل نہیں

سوال نمبر17: آپ بطور مذہبی قائد معاشرے میں جمہوریت اور جمہوری اقدار کو فروغ دینے کے لیے اپنی صلاحیتیں بروئے کار لائیں گے؟

ہاں	نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر18: جمہوریت کی افادیت کے پیغام کو عوام تک پہنچانے کے لیے آپ کس ذریعہ کا استعمال کریں گے؟ (مناسب ترین ایک آپشن کا انتخاب کریں)

خطبات / لیکچر	تحریر / کالم	سوشل میڈیا	تربیتی پروگرام

سوال نمبر19: ورکشاپ نے جمہوریت کے متعلق خدشات وشبہات کو دور کرنے میں میری مدد کی۔

بہت حد تک	کسی حد تک	بالکل نہیں	معلوم نہیں

سوال نمبر20: آپ کے حلقہ (اثرورسوخ) میں کون لوگ شامل ہیں؟

سوال نمبر21: آپ کے اپنے حلقہ میں جمہوری اقدار کے فروغ کے لیے اقدامات؟

کون سے اقدامات کر چکے ہیں
کرتے ہیں؟
کریں گے؟

درج ذیل سوالات کے مختصر جواب دیجیے:

5. ورکشاپ کے بارے میں اپنے تاثرات بیان کریں۔

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6. ورکشاپ سے آپ نے وہ کونسی مہارتیں سیکھیں جو آپ کو معاشرے میں جمہوری اقدار اور رویوں کے فروغ دینے میں مددگار ثابت ہو سکتی ہیں؟

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7. ورکشاپ میں پیش کیے گئے موضوعات میں سے آپ کی نظر میں سب سے مؤثر / فائدہ مند موضوع / سیشن کونسا تھا اور کیوں؟

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8. ورکشاپ سے متعلق آپ کی آراء و تجاویز:

شکریہ---

Appendix-IV (A)

List of Participants in Focused Group Discussions (FGD) with Religious Leaders (Mentors)

S.No	Name	City/ District	Province	Sect
1.	Dr. Abdul Hafeez	Faisalabad	Punjab	Ahl.e.Hadees
2.	Syed Izhar Bukhari	Rawalpindi	Punjab	Shia
3.	Dr. Muhammad Nadeem Abbas	Islamabad	Federal	Shia
4.	Asghar Askari	Islamabad	Federal	Shia
5.	Sajjad Madani	Karachi	Sindh	Brelvi
6.	Abdul Khaliq Fareedi	Karachi	Sindh	Ahl.e.Hadees
7.	Allama Muhammad Faisal Baig	Karachi	Sindh	Brelvi
8.	Husnain Shirazi	Faisalabad	Punjab	Ahl.e.Hadees
9.	Tanveer Tahir Rathore	Faisalabad	Punjab	Brelvi
10.	Muhammad Muzaffar Iqbal	Faisalabad	Punjab	Deobandi
11.	Loqman Ahmad	Charsadda	KPK	Deobandi
12.	Shahidullah	Malakand	KPK	Brelvi
13.	Asghar Arif Chishti	Lahore	Punjab	Brelvi
14.	Haseeb Ahmed Naziri	Islamabad	Federal	Brelvi
15.	Tahir Riaz	Faisalabad	Punjab	Deobandi

Appendix-IV (B)

List of Participants in Focused Group Discussions (FGD) with Youth Advocates for Democracy

S.No	Name	City/ District	Province	Institution
	Hafiz Muhammad Usman	Faisalabad	Punjab	Government College University
	Tooba Ahmed	Faisalabad	Punjab	Government College University
	Khubab Zahir	Faisalabad	Punjab	Government College University
	Muhammad Shoaib	Faisalabad	Punjab	Government College University
	Muhammad Shoaib	Faisalabad	Punjab	Government College University
	Amir Ahmed Usmani	Karachi	Sindh	Karachi University
	Syed Uzair.ul.Huda	Karachi	Sindh	Madrasah
	Junaid Faraz	Karachi	Sindh	Karachi University
	Adeel Zakir Shah	Karachi	Sindh	Al-Noorain Islamic Academy
	Ismail Aslam	Karachi	Sindh	Madrasah

Appendix-IV (C)

FGD Questionnaire with PEF Democratic Advocates (Mentors)

1. What are the learnings you take from the projects of democracy implemented by PEF?
2. What misperceptions you have about democracy? And what are your views about Islam and democracy now?
3. What forums and mediums do you used for the dissemination of the message on democracy?
4. What positive/ negative response do you received from the respective community?
5. What challenges and problems you faced in the promotion of democratic values and system?
6. What recommendations do will you give to improve future programs on engaging religious sector for strengthening democracy in Pakistan?

Appendix-IV (D)

FGDs Questionnaire with PEF Youth Advocates for Democracy

1. What are your learnings from the project on democracy implemented by PEF? What attitudinal/behavioral changes occurred after the training?

2. What misperceptions you have about democracy? And what are your views about Islam and democracy now?

3. What are your concerns about the current state of democracy in Pakistan?

4. What initiatives you took for the promotion of democratic system and values within your communities?

5. What challenges and problems you faced in the promotion of democratic values and system?

6. What recommendations do will you give to improve future programs on engaging religious sector for strengthening democracy in Pakistan?

Appendix V (A)

Online Survey Form for Second-Tier Beneficiaries

Key basis of questionnaire driven by PEF programming on democracy

a) level of understanding about democracy and democratic system
b) Increase knowledge/ understanding to promote democratic values and culture in the society
c) increase awareness about fundamental rights in light the constitution of Pakistan
d) Increase awareness about the relationship/ compatibility of Islam and democracy.

1. Do you agree that democracy is the best of all the modern political systems in current time period?

کیا آپ اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ دور جدید میں موجود مختلف سیاسی نظاموں میں سے جمہوریت ہی بہترین نظام ہے۔؟

To Some Extent	کسی حد تک
To a Large Extent	بہت حد تک
Don't Know	معلوم نہیں
NO	بالکل نہیں

2. Keeping In view of the current situation, do you agree that the promotion of Islamic and democratic values is essential for the formation of a prosperous society in Pakistan?

کیا آپ اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ موجودہ صورتحال کے تناظر میں پاکستان میں خوشحال معاشرے کی تشکیل کے لئے اسلامی وجمہوری اقدار کا فروغ ضروری ہے؟

To Some Extent	کسی حد تک
To a Large Extent	بہت حد تک
Don't Know	معلوم نہیں
NO	بالکل نہیں

3. Do you agree that the Constitution of Pakistan gives equal rights to all citizens of Pakistan regardless of their religion or creed?

کیا آئین پاکستان، پاکستان میں بسنے والے تمام شہریوں (خواہ ان کا تعلق کسی بھی مذہب یا مسلک سے ہو) کو مساوی حقوق دیتا ہے

To Some Extent	کسی حد تک
To a Large Extent	بہت حد تک
Don't Know	معلوم نہیں
NO	بالکل نہیں

4. To what extent you agree that youth's political participation is necessary to advance the democratic process in Pakistan?

کیا آپ اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ جمہوری عمل کو آگے بڑھانے کے لئے پاکستان میں نوجوانوں کا سیاسی عمل میں حصہ لینا ضروری ہے؟

To Some Extent	کسی حد تک

To a Large Extent	بہت حد تک
Don't Know	معلوم نہیں
NO	بالکل نہیں

5. If the current system of democracy in Pakistan is examined in the light of Islamic teachings and history, it is clear that this system is compatible with the principles of Islamic democracy, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

کیا پاکستان میں رائج نظام جمہوریت کو اسلامی تعلیمات و تاریخ کی روشنی میں جائزہ لیا جائے تو معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ نظام اسلامی جمہوری اصولوں سے ہم آہنگ ہے؟

To Some Extent	کسی حد تک
To a Large Extent	بہت حد تک
Don't Know	معلوم نہیں
NO	بالکل نہیں

6. To what extent do you agree that minorities in Pakistan are fully enjoying the rights enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan?

کیا آپ اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ پاکستان میں اقلیتیں آئین پاکستان میں دیئے گئے حقوق سے پوری طرح مستفید ہو رہی ہیں؟

To Some Extent	کسی حد تک
To a Large Extent	بہت حد تک
Don't Know	معلوم نہیں
NO	بالکل نہیں

7. Do you agree that religious freedom is based on respect for individual freedom?

کیا آپ اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ مذہبی آزادی انفرادی آزادی کے احترام پر مبنی ہے؟

To Some Extent	کسی حد تک
To a Large Extent	بہت حد تک
Don't Know	معلوم نہیں
NO	بالکل نہیں

Appendix-V (B)

Questionnaire of KIIs with PEF's Implementing Partners

1. What is your feedback about the design process of the project? What are their considerations in designing and implementation of the project?

2. How did the project interventions evolved over the time?

3. What is the rationale behind engaging youth and religious leaders for promoting democracy?

4. What changes they observed in the target groups before and after attending/participating in the trainings and other project activities?

5. What is the impact of project in target regions and communities according to their observations from field?

6. What are the recommendations to improve and expand future engagement strategy?

7. What is the way forward to promote democracy in Pakistan by engaging diverse groups?

Questionnaire of KIIs with Representative of Council of Islamic Ideology

1. In your view anti-democracy narratives exist in our society. How pervasive is opposition to democracy? Which segment/s is most indifferent/oppositional about democracy? Why?

2. To what extent you endorse Peace and Education Foundation's (PEF) approach to amplifying democratic values (compatibility of Islam and democracy and awareness of democratic principals in Pakistan) through engaging religious community in Pakistan?

3. How you see PEF's literature on democracy is relevant and effective? What can be improved in future interventions?

4. How valuable is it for Democracy in Pakistan if religious leaders began to advocate the importance of democratic values and principles to their communities? Would that lessen extremism stemming from religious groups?

5. How CII see the impact of religious engagement on democracy led by PEF?

6. As the CII was our collaborative partner, to what extent, this initiative is adding a value for CII? Along with, to what extent this initiative is contributing for lobbying on Islam and democracy at policy level?

7. How PEF can improve or enhance its democracy project in the future? Furthermore, what specific role Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) can play to further expand this campaign on democracy?

Appendix-V (C)

Questionnaire For Key Informant Interviews with Media Anchor Persons

1. Do you agree that anti democracy narratives exist in our society?
2. To what extent you endorsed Peace and Education Foundation's (PEF) approach to amplify democracy support narratives (compatibility of Islam and democracy and promotion of democratic principals in Pakistan) through engaging mainstream media?
3. Do you see any impact of organizing such programs on democracy and democratic principles through engaging mainstream media?
4. Have you seen any other initiative on such topics or themes in the mainstream media before or after PEF's programs? If yes, please explain?
5. How to improve or enhance PEF's led democracy campaign in future through mainstream media engagement?

Appendix-V (D)

Questionnaire For Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with Social Media Personnel

1. Do you agree that anti democracy narratives exist in our society?

2. To what extent you endorsed Peace and Education Foundation's (PEF) approach to amplify democracy support narratives (compatibility of Islam and democracy and promotion of democratic principals in Pakistan) through engaging social media?

3. Do you see any impact of social media campaign on democracy, if yes please explain how? And the nature and level of impact?

4. Have you seen likewise other campaign on social media before or after PEF's campaign? If yes, what is the difference in terms of methodology, content and approach?

5. How to continue, expand or enhance PEF's led campaign on democracy through social media?