



Recognized by: Higher Education Commission (HEC), Government of Pakistan

The Interplay of Islamic Ideology and Political Authority in Pakistan's Constitutional Framework (1947-1988)

Humayun Akram

Ph.D. Scholar, Department of History, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur (IUB), Punjab, Pakistan

Dr. Khizar Hayat *

Lecturer, Department of History, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur (IUB), Punjab, Pakistan

drkhizar.hayat@iub.edu.pk

Wajid Ali

Ph.D. Scholar, Department of History, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur (IUB), Punjab, Pakistan

*** Corresponding Author**

ABSTRACT

This article explores the complex relationship between Islamic ideology and political authority in shaping Pakistan's constitutional development from 1947 to 1988. While Pakistan's founding as a homeland for Muslims was rooted in Islamic identity, the degree of its influence on governance and constitutional evolution remained contested. Through historical analysis, legislative changes, and ideological debates, the study assesses how Islamic principles shaped state formation, legal frameworks, and power structures. Key milestones such as the Objectives Resolution (1949), the 1956 Constitution, and the 1973 Constitution are examined, alongside General Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization policies, which intensified the role of religion in governance. The study highlights tensions between democratic aspirations and theocratic tendencies, revealing the lasting impact of Islamic ideology on Pakistan's legal and political systems. Ultimately, it underscores the persistent struggle to balance Islamic identity with constitutional governance.

Keywords: Islamic Ideology, Constitutional Evolution, Islamization, Democratic Tension, Political Authority

INTRODUCTION

The formation of Pakistan in 1947 marked a considerable turning factor in South Asian history, because it emerged because the first contemporary country founded explicitly within the call of religion. The ideological foundation of Pakistan changed into deeply intertwined with Islamic identification, even though the appropriate position of religion in governance remained a subject of excessive debate both at the time of independence and within the a long time that accompanied at the coronary heart of Pakistan's constitutional adventure lies an complicated and frequently contentious interaction between Islamic ideology and political authority (Burki, 2005). This interaction has no longer most effective fashioned the criminal and institutional contours of the Pakistani country however has additionally encouraged the broader sociopolitical narrative of country wide identification, country legitimacy, and democratic practice (Burki, 2005). The duration between 1947 and 1988 encapsulates an important segment in Pakistan's constitutional and political development for the duration of those four a long time, Pakistan underwent more than one constitutional transitions, alternating between democratic and authoritarian regimes, every bringing its interpretation of the position of Islam within the country.

Islamic ideology, some distance from being a static or monolithic pressure, developed and changed into reinterpreted with the aid of successive leaders to in shape the exigencies of political consolidation, country wide team spirit, and regime legitimacy (Jalal, 1995). Whether or not as a unifying principle for the duration of the early years of country- constructing or as an device for legitimizing authoritarian rule underneath fashionable Zia-ul-Haq, Islamic principles have remained significant to Pakistan's constitutional creativeness. From the outset, the position of Islam in Pakistan's political framework changed into a contentious difficulty. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, articulated an imaginative and prescient of a country in which religion might no longer dictate the functioning of the country. His well-known speech on August 11, 1947, to the Constituent assembly anticipated an earthly and inclusive Pakistan, in which all residents, irrespective of their religion, might experience identical rights. however, this imaginative and prescient changed into quickly contested with the aid of non-secular leaders, political organizations, and even participants of the Constituent assembly who demanded that the brand new country replicate the Islamic man or woman of its majority population. The passage of the objectives resolution in 1949, which declared that sovereignty over the complete universe belongs to Allah and that the country shall exercising its authority within the limits prescribed with the aid of Him, marked the formal introduction of Islamic principles into Pakistan's constitutional framework. This resolution laid the foundation for the incorporation of Islamic provisions in subsequent constitutions and has become a touchstone for debates over the compatibility of democracy and Islamic governance. It additionally signaled the beginning of a protracted- standing tension between the ones advocating for a contemporary democratic country and people pushing for an Islamic polity governed with the aid of Shariah regulation (Khan, 2009).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Demand for Pakistan and Islamic Identity

The call for Pakistan changed into no longer completely encouraged with the aid of political or financial elements however changed into deeply rooted in non-secular and cultural identification. For the duration of the British colonial duration, Muslims in India have been an increasing numbers of concerned approximately their political and social reputation in predominantly Hindu- dominated states. This difficulty gave upward thrust to a robust movement for the protection of Muslim rights. The All India Muslim League, underneath the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, recommended for a separate country in which Muslims may want to practice their religion freely and maintain their cultural identification. Jinnah despite the fact that to begin with aiming for a country in which Muslims may want to live consistent with their non-secular values, anticipated Pakistan as an earthly, democratic country. His speeches within the early years of the movement emphasized equality, non-secular tolerance, and freedom for all residents, irrespective of their religion. However, the reality of Pakistan's political evolution diverged sharply from Jinnah's authentic secular imaginative and prescient as soon as Pakistan changed into established in 1947, the states quickly confronted the question of its identification whether or not it would be an contemporary, democratic country or one founded on non-secular principles at the same time as the call for Pakistan changed into firmly rooted within the preference for Muslims to have an place of origin in which they could maintain their Islamic identification, Jinnah's imaginative and prescient of an earthly country changed into slowly eroded with the aid of the increasing have an effect on of non-secular parties and ideologues. This shift might shape the constitutional and political trajectory of Pakistan for many years to come back (Shah, 2005).

The Objectives Resolution (1949)

The objectives resolution, surpassed in 1949, changed into a landmark moment in Pakistan's constitutional development. The resolution articulated the guiding principles for the country and changed into visible as a primary step in embedding Islamic values within the constitutional framework. The resolution declared that sovereignty belonged to Allah on my own, emphasizing that the country's authority ought to be exercised within the limits prescribed with the aid of Islamic regulation at the same time as it sought to stability the significance of Islamic values with democratic principles and the protection of minority rights, the resolution established an foundation that could permit Islam to manual country legal guidelines and governance within the destiny. The objectives resolution has become the preamble to Pakistan's subsequent constitutions, establishing a criminal and ideological foundation for the position of Islam within the country's framework at the same time as the resolution did no longer impose an Islamic theocracy, it set the tone for destiny political developments with the aid of putting forward that legal guidelines in Pakistan might ought to comply with Islamic principles through the years, the resolution have become an factor of reference for the ones advocating for the Islamic man or woman

of the country, leading to an broader constitutional debate at the position of religion in Pakistan's governance (Cheema, 2012; Ahmed, 1993).

The 1956 Constitution: The Islamic Republic of Pakistan

The 1956 constitution of Pakistan marked the formal established order of Pakistan as an “Islamic Republic”. It made explicit the states identification as an country grounded in Islam, putting forward that the President ought to be Muslim and that legal guidelines in Pakistan ought to no longer contravene the teachings of Islam despite the fact that the 1956 constitution affirmed Pakistan’s Islamic identification, it changed into additionally characterized with the aid of efforts to establish an parliamentary democracy with an machine of assessments and balances. However, the increasing have an effect on of Islamic parties, which includes Jamaat-e-Islami, significantly fashioned the political landscape. Those parties referred to as for an greater position for Sharia in governance, which introduced tension to the already volatile political surroundings at the same time as the 1956 constitution sought to stability democratic governance with Islamic beliefs, its implementation confronted numerous demanding situations. The political instability and the lack of ability to clear up the tensions between secular and non-secular forces resulted in its eventual loss of life. The 12 months following its enactment noticed political turmoil and military coups, and the 1956 constitution failed to provide the inspiration for sustained governance (Saeed, 2004).

The 1962 Constitution and Controlled Democracy

The 1962 constitution, introduced with the aid of President Ayub Khan, marked a considerable shift faraway from parliamentary democracy underneath Ayub, Pakistan moved in the direction of a presidential machine of government, in which the president held considerable electricity. Ayub’s administration sought to modernize the country and curtail the have an effect on of non secular parties that specialize in financial development, industrialization, and infrastructure initiatives. The constitution retained the Islamic man or woman of the country; however the position of Islam in governance changed into diminished. The emphasis shifted in the direction of centralizing authority and decreasing the political have an effect on of non-secular organizations. Ayub Khan’s modernization efforts, however, have been met with competition from non-secular organizations who felt there have an effect on changed into being undermined. The 1965 election marketing campaign, in particular the competition between Ayub Khan and Fatima Jinnah, underscored the deep divisions between secularists and non-secular organizations. The elections have become a battleground for outlining Pakistan’s political identification, with non-secular organizations calling for a go back to a greater Islamically grounded country (Jalal, 2008). Notwithstanding Ayub’s efforts to scale back the have an effect on of Islamists, the relationship between religion and politics persevered to conform, placing the degree for the demanding situations that Pakistan might face in destiny a long time.

The 1973 Constitution: Reassertion of Islamic Identity

The 1973 constitution, drafted underneath the leadership of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, represented a considerable reassertion of Islam as a guiding

principle in Pakistan's constitutional and political machine. The constitution restored parliamentary democracy and emphasized that every one legal guidelines ought to comply with the Quran and Sunnah. It additionally established the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII), and frame tasked with advising the authorities on Islamic legislation. The 1973 constitution enshrined Islam because the country religion, reinforcing the Islamic man or woman of Pakistan at the same time as simultaneously putting forward democratic principles which includes the protection of minority rights and the need for ordinary elections (Qureshi, 2002). The 1973 constitution additionally introduced provisions that institutionalized sectarian identification with the aid of defining who is a Muslim and as a consequence eligible to maintain positive positions, in addition embedding non secular distinctions within the criminal and political framework. The definition of an Muslim have become an contentious difficulty in Pakistan's political discourse, leading to destiny exclusions and the marginalization of non-secular minorities, in particular for the duration of the Zia generation (Shah et al., 2016). Notwithstanding its efforts to strengthen Islamic identification, the 1973 constitution sought a center direction between Islamic principles and democratic values; however it confronted demanding situations from both non secular extremists and secular forces (Qureshi, 2002).

General Zia-ul-Haq and the Era of Islamization (1977–1988)

Zia-ul-Haq's regime marked the maximum comprehensive Islamization of Pakistan's political and criminal machine. After seizing electricity in a military coup in 1977, Zia positioned himself because the protector of Islamic values and launched into a formidable marketing campaign to Islamize Pakistan's criminal, social, and financial structures. Zia's Islamization measures protected the introduction of Sharia courts, the Hudood Ordinances, the established order of Zakat and Ushr structures, and the necessary coaching of Islamic research in faculties. Those measures geared toward aligning Pakistan's criminal and social structures with Islamic regulation, however additionally they concentrated electricity in Zia's fingers, consolidating his military dictatorship underneath the guise of non-secular legitimacy (Shah et al., 2016). Zia's Islamization regulations have been no longer simply non secular however have been additionally politically encouraged with the aid of invoking non secular authority, he justified his authoritarian rule and sought to decrease political competition. Zia amended Pakistan's constitution, strengthening the Islamic provisions. Significantly, Articles sixty two and sixty three have been introduced, establishing Islamic qualifications for public workplace holders. Those amendments set strict ethical and non-secular requirements for the ones in positions of electricity, and the Shariat Appellate Bench changed into created to review legal guidelines and make certain they conformed to Islamic principles. Zia's regime blurred the strains between religion and country and entrenched a theocratic framework within the political machine (Ahmed, 1993). However, Zia's Islamization regulations have been additionally extraordinarily controversial at the same time as they garnered support from non-secular factions, in particular the ones aligned with Jamaat-e-Islami, they brought about considerable backlash from secularists, women's rights organizations, and non-secular minorities (Ahmed, 1993). The Hudood Ordinances, which imposed

strict punishments for offenses like adultery and robbery, have been in particular criticized for his or her harsh effect on ladies, as they have been frequently disproportionately suffering from those legal guidelines. Zia's Islamization measures no longer most effectively strengthened Pakistan's Islamic identification however additionally brought about the erosion of democratic establishments and the marginalization of dissenting voices.

Political Authority and Religious Legitimacy

Throughout Pakistan's history, political leaders have regularly invoked Islamic legitimacy to consolidate their power and fortify their authority. From Bhutto's promotion of Islamic socialism to Zia's use of Islamization to justify army rule, faith has served both ideological and pragmatic functions in Pakistan's political landscape. Leaders have often invoked Islam to mobilize public support, confer legitimacy, and undermine political opposition. However, this interplay between political authority and spiritual legitimacy has regularly brought about contradictions. Leaders who sought to strengthen the role of Islam in governance had been additionally often accused of undermining democratic ideas. Zia's regime, for instance, used spiritual legitimacy to justify authoritarian rule, even because it curtailed political freedoms, suspended the charter, and silenced dissent. The judiciary, too, have become a battleground for defining the role of Islam in Pakistan's political and criminal systems. Landmark cases along with the country vs. Dosso and the selections of the Shariat Appellate Bench in the course of Zia's era underscored the growing role of Islamic law in shaping political consequences, regularly on the rate of democratic ideas and constitutional norms. Those contradictions keep persuading Pakistan's political landscape, where the interplay between Islamic ideology and political power stays a defining feature of the country's constitutional and criminal gadget (Shah, 2005).

Challenges and Consequences

The integration of Islamic ideology into Pakistan's constitutional framework has introduced forth numerous demanding situations and consequences which have had a profound effect at the political, criminal, and social landscapes at the same time as the announcement of Pakistan's identification as an Islamic Republic changed into to begin with intended to safeguard the Muslim majority's interests and promote Islamic values, the ideological entanglement with religion brought about considerable hurdles. Those demanding situations are multifaceted, encompassing sectarian divisions, the erosion of minority rights, criminal ambiguities, and the weakening of democratic establishments. Underneath is an in depth examination of these demanding situations and their lengthy- time period consequences (Hussain, 2007).

Sectarian Divisions Intensified

One of the most massive consequences of embedding Islamic ideology into Pakistan's constitutional framework has been the exacerbation of sectarian divisions. The express definition of who constitutes an Muslim, as mounted within the 1973 charter and further reinforced throughout fashionable Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization policies, has caused growing polarization between distinct sects of Islam. This problem have become in particular contentious after the 1974 constitutional amendment, which declared Ahmadis as non-Muslims, marking an turning factor in Pakistan's

approach to religious identification. The exclusion of Ahmadis from the Muslim network turned into now not only a political decision but also one with profound social and cultural ramifications. The prison repute of Ahmadis as non-Muslims turned into codified, which paved the way for discriminatory laws and practices towards them, including restrictions on their religious practices and the denial of fundamental rights. This prison exclusion created a precedent for further marginalization of religious minorities, leading to the institutionalization of sectarianism in Pakistan's prison gadget. The prison definitions of Islam and Muslim identification continued to gas tensions between distinct sectarian groups, including Sunnis and Shi'as, and contributed to violence, extremism, and social unrest. The prison popularity of sect or institution as more "authentically" Islamic than others opened the door to sectarian conflicts, with each institution searching for to say its religious dominance therefore, the country's function as a arbitrator of Islamic identification have become an source of division, in preference to unity, amongst Pakistan's Muslim populace (Hussain, 2007).

Compromise on Minority Rights

The increasing emphasis on Islamic norms within Pakistan's constitutional framework has resulted within the systematic erosion of minority rights at the same time as the 1973 constitution promised protection for non-secular minorities and confident their participation within the political technique, the realistic implementation of these guarantees has been extraordinarily insufficient. The country's prioritization of Islam as the inspiration of governance brought about state of affairs in which non secular minorities which includes Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, and others have confronted considerable discrimination, in particular in subjects referring to citizenship, marriage, inheritance, and freedom of non-secular expression (Hussain, 2007). The introduction of legal guidelines derived from Islamic principles, which includes the Hudood Ordinances for the duration of Zia's generation, without delay impacted non-Muslims with the aid of treating them as second- magnificence residents in numerous criminal contexts as an instance, the Hudood Ordinances, which dealt with problems which includes robbery, adultery, and apostasy, implemented harsh punishments that disproportionately affected non-Muslim communities. at the same time as the legal guidelines have been ostensibly intended to apply to Muslims, non-Muslims have been frequently caught in criminal limbo, in which their reputation changed into no longer without a doubt described underneath the legal guidelines, leading to confusion, injustice, and an loss of criminal recourse. The problem changed into compounded with the aid of the criminal requirement for non-Muslim communities to adhere to Islamic requirements in public lifestyles, which includes the application of Sharia regulation in positive criminal contexts. Through the years, the authorities' increasing tendency to put into effect Islamic norms within the public sphere in addition marginalized non-Muslims, making it difficult for them to practice their religions freely or get right of entry to identical protection underneath the regulation (Saeed, 2004).

Legal Ambiguities and Inconsistent Jurisprudence

A considerable undertaking that arose from the integration of Islamic ideology into Pakistan's constitutional framework changed into the criminal ambiguity concerning what constitutes conformity with Islam. The indistinct and frequently contradictory interpretations of Islamic regulation, combined with a loss of clean criminal requirements, resulted in inconsistent jurisprudence and confusion within the criminal machine. The constitution's indistinct mandate that "all legal guidelines ought to comply with the Quran and Sunnah" left the interpretation of what is Islamically permissible open to discuss. This uncertainty gave upward thrust to more than one interpretations of Islamic regulation, every vying for supremacy (Shah, 2005). The judiciary, in particular within the publish-Zia generation, confronted difficulties in reconciling Islamic regulation with the prevailing criminal frameworks, which have been in large part inherited from the British colonial machine (Jaffrelot, 2002). As an end result, there has been a loss of readability in criminal rulings, and selections frequently numerous depending at the ideological leanings of judges or the political weather at the time.

The introduction of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) within the 1973 constitution, tasked with advising the authorities on Islamic subjects, in addition complicated this difficulty at the same time as the CII performed an important position in shaping legislation, its interpretations of Islam have been frequently contested, leading to confusion over which legal guidelines have been without a doubt in keeping with Islamic principles. this situation created an criminal surroundings in which the definition of Islamic compliance changed into fluid, leading to contradictory rulings in one of a kind courts and an fashionable experience of criminal uncertainty (Shah, 2005). Furthermore, Pakistan's criminal machine has become an increasing number of fragmented as Islamic principles have been implemented inconsistently throughout one of a kind regions and criminal regions. Sharia courts, established for the duration of Zia's generation, started out to characteristic in parallel with secular courts, in addition complicating the criminal landscape. Those developments gave upward thrust to criminal uncertainty, making it difficult for residents to be expecting the final results of criminal disputes and for organizations to function within strong criminal surroundings (Nasr, 2000).

Subordination of Democratic Institutions

The integration of Islamic ideology into Pakistan's constitutional framework has additionally had profound implications for the democratic establishments through the years, non secular narratives have an increasing number of overshadowed democratic principles, restricting political pluralism and undermining the effectiveness of democratic governance. Political authority in Pakistan has frequently been intertwined with non-secular legitimacy, resulting within the erosion of democratic norms and establishments. From the early years of Pakistan's independence, political leaders and military rulers have used Islam to consolidate their authority, frequently justifying authoritarian measures underneath the guise of non-secular necessity (Saeed, 2004). Zia-ul-Haq's military regime, as an instance, used non secular legitimacy to justify its military dictatorship and suppress political

competition. The constitution changed into amended underneath Zia to consist of provisions that required public officeholders to fulfill strict Islamic qualifications, which includes adherence to Islamic ethical requirements. Those amendments no longer most effective in addition entrenched they have an effect on of religion in governance however additionally diminished the position of secular political parties and democratic establishments. Furthermore, the point of interest on Islamic legitimacy brought about the sidelining of political pluralism. Political parties that did no longer align with Islamic beliefs have been frequently marginalized, at the same time as those that embraced Islamic rhetoric received prominence. This created an political surroundings in which non secular identification have become an key component in political fulfillment, sidelining problems which includes financial coverage, human rights, and social justice. As an end result, democratic establishments in Pakistan, which includes political parties, the judiciary, and the media, have been frequently constrained with the aid of non-secular narratives that constrained their capability to characteristic independently. They have an effect on of non-secular organizations at the political technique additionally made it difficult for Pakistan to increase a strong and effective democratic machine.

The political landscape has become an increasing number of polarized, with non-secular organizations maintaining considerable sway over electoral consequences. This situation in addition entrenched political instability and prevented the development of a robust, pluralistic democracy within the state. The demanding situations and consequences of integrating Islamic ideology into Pakistan's constitutional framework have been profound and some distance- accomplishing (Khilji, 2010). At the same time as the announcement of Pakistan's identification as an Islamic country changed into encouraged with the aid of the preference to protect the rights of Muslims and promote Islamic values, the realistic implications have been greater complicated and frequently counterproductive. Sectarian divisions, the erosion of minority rights, criminal ambiguities, and the subordination of democratic establishments have all emerged as considerable demanding situations. those demanding situations have no longer most effective fashioned Pakistan's political and criminal machine however have additionally created lengthy-lasting consequences for the state social material and its capability to establish an without a doubt democratic and pluralistic society (Hussain, 2007) .

CONCLUSION

Pakistan's constitutional evolution has been shaped by the interaction between Islamic ideology and political authority. The country's identity as a Muslim-majority country was initially established in 1947, with non-Secular and political forces seeking to establish states as sanctuary for Muslims. However, this vision, particularly articulated by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was quickly challenged by non-Secular organizations and political leaders who sought to incorporate Islamic principles into the country's governance. The objectives resolution of 1949 marked a turning point in Pakistan's constitutional development, embedding Islamic principles as the foundational ideology of the country. This shift was further strengthened in the 1956

constitution, declaring Pakistan as an Islamic Republic, and continued through the 1973 constitution, which institutionalized Islam as the country religion and required all legal guidelines to conform to the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. Non-Secular organizations, such as Jamaat-e-Islami, sought a more overt position for Islam in governance, while secular leaders, like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, tried to balance Islamic identification with democratic principles. Zia-ul-Haq's military rule from 1977 to 1988 marked the longest duration of Islamization in Pakistan's history, using Islam as a significant tool to legitimize his rule. His regime blurred the lines between religion and the country, introducing a more theocratic political structure that continues to shape Pakistan's governance today. Despite these developments, Pakistan faces the ongoing challenge of reconciling its Islamic identity with its democratic aspirations. The hybrid constitutional machine, combining Islamic values and democratic principles, has brought about persistent tensions while enshrining democratic values such as political participation, human rights, and the rule of law. However, these democratic beliefs are often contested by non-Secular organizations advocating for stricter interpretations of Islamic regulation, which often struggle with gender equality, freedom of expression, and minority rights. In conclusion, Pakistan's constitutional evolution reflects the complex relationship between Islamic ideology and political authority, highlighting the need for a more inclusive approach that respects both non-Secular identity and democratic governance.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, K. (1993). *Pakistan: The Birth of a Nation*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Burki, S. J. (2005). *Pakistan: A Political History*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Cheema, P. I. (2012). *The Constitutional Development in Pakistan: A Historical Perspective*. Islamabad: National Book Foundation.
- Hussain, M. (2007). *Political Islam and the Pakistani State*. Karachi: Jang Publishers.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2002). *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
- Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jalal, A. (2008). *The struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Khan, H. (2009). *The Constitutional and Legal History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khilji, M. R. (2010). *Pakistan's Legal System and Islamization*. Lahore: LUMS Press.
- Nasr, V. (2000). *Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Qureshi, M. A. (2002). *The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan: A Comprehensive Analysis*. Lahore: Lahore Book House.
- Saeed, A. (2004). *Islam, Democracy, and Pakistan's Politics*. Lahore: Lahore University Press.
- Sayeed, K. B. (1980). *The Political System of Pakistan*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Shah, A. (2005). *The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Politics*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Shah, A. S., Waris, M., & Basit, A. (2016). Islamization in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Zia Regime. *Global Regional Review*, 1(1), 260-270. [http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/grr.2016\(I-I\).20](http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/grr.2016(I-I).20).