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# THE JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Editor

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Journal of  
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## Self-Realization and Social Harmony in Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*

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### Abstract

Austen's serene world, which harbours dynamic action, goes unnoticed by the readers who read her novels on the surface level. But the readers who fathom the depths of her creativity can realize that active forces are working, reforming and psychologically moulding the characters in her novels. The in-depth study of her novels, reveal how the characters of the novels become better individuals when they come into contact with the other. This paper is an attempt to throw light on how the characters in *Pride and Prejudice* manage to harmonize the chaotic forces which disrupt their relationships, towards the establishment of a wholesome relationship after achieving self-realization.

**Keywords:** Self-realization, characters, harmony, sympathy, education

### Introduction

Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*<sup>1</sup> contains a variety of characters that belong to different social groups. They are the products of their environment. They have certain notions which they strongly believe in, which is why when they come into contact with the people of other social groups they react severely. No matter to what group they belong, they have reservations about the others and hence they

<sup>1</sup> All subsequent references to the novel will henceforth be referred to as P & P and the references to the text from the novel will be incorporated in the text by only mentioning the page number. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: David Campbell Ltd. 1991)



consider the others apprehensively. They have to go through a process of education and self-realization to be able to see their own weaknesses and the stance of the others so as to live in harmony with them. Mostly, people cannot bear such confrontations because this process is very painful. One has to gather enough courage to be able to see one's mistakes and rectify the errors accordingly; for only then will one be able to understand and form wholesome relationships. In this short paper, we throw light on how the characters in *Pride and Prejudice* manage to harmonize the chaotic forces which disrupt their relationships in their attempts to establish wholesome relationships after achieving self-realization.

### Self-Realisation and Social Harmony in P&P

The novel *P & P* contains characters that go through self-realization and change. They are able to analyse their actions and motives and come to realize the flimsiness of their worn-out beliefs inculcated in them by the social fabric around them. Once they become aware of their weaknesses they emerge as better human beings who sympathize with those with a confined view of life and living. Having once been in the same condition they are able to understand and tolerate the others with sympathy. They are able to live in peace with them rather than come in conflict and disturb the general peace of the environment around them. This is most obvious in the case of Darcy and Elizabeth, the main protagonists of the novel who are quite similar in terms of personality type, sharing “three out of four preferences — introversion, intuition, and judgment — differing only on the thinking-feeling dimension (Rytting, 2001). In this short paper, we trace the development of these two characters on their way to achieving self-realisation and social harmony.

Although *P & P* is about the education of both Elizabeth and Darcy, Jane Austen uses two different techniques to achieve her aim. For Elizabeth, she uses Elizabeth's private dialogues and *tête-à-tête* with Jane, Charlotte, and Mrs Gardiner through which Elizabeth reveals her innermost feelings; for Darcy, who is a reserved man, reluctant to talk about himself, Jane Austen uses the foil of Wickham, his childhood companion, drawing “upon both biblical and contemporary standards of appropriate behavior to delineate the differences between the two men” (Wilson, 2004).

Though quiet and ill at ease in Meryton, Darcy is in his element among the grandeurs of Pemberley. There we meet him as a very different person. All the reserve is shed off. In Meryton he is cocooned in his self-created extreme isolation and he shows extreme reserve. He is a stranger there and recedes in the background while the rest of the company are enjoying themselves. Mr. Darcy considers the Meryton society as vulgar and ‘a punishment’ for him “to stand up with” (9). Yet he is soon fascinated by the “easy playfulness” of Elizabeth's manners which are in

contrast to his reservations and it wonders him. Like the prodigal son, he reveals the social legacy that he carries within himself and though he tries to stay aloof and alienated he falls short of his efforts. The reader observes that Darcy's letter of explanation makes Elizabeth conscious of the vulgarity of her family's behaviour; to which she was not much conscious; so when she meets them, she observes their behaviour in a detached manner. She is shocked to hear Miss King called "such a nasty little freckled thing" and "the coarseness of the expression" (207) does not escape her. This is Elizabeth's society and now she can understand "that total want of propriety so frequently, so almost uniformly betrayed" (187), by her mother and sisters, which deprives her sister Jane of her happiness.

Darcy has to surpass all class differences, relax the hard and fast observance of manners if he is to open his heart before Elizabeth. It is the discourse of emotions that she understands well. Only then he can achieve domestic felicity. Elizabeth also must learn that all rich people are not like Lady Catherine and Miss Bingley. She must distinguish between them and Miss Darcy whose "manners were perfectly unassuming and gentle" (243). She learns to honour Mr. Darcy's "generous compassion" (345) in comparison to his aunt's snobbishness.

Elizabeth and the other heroines of Miss Austen's novels become "matured, chastened, cultivated, to whom fidelity has brought only greater depth and sweetness instead of bitterness and pain" (Southam. 167). With dignity and grace they manage to leave a favourable impression on their male counterparts; teaching them respect and esteem. The protagonists must move from their environment so as to increase their knowledge of other people, their opinions and ideas. They must be allowed time to reflect and make comparisons so as to view their own set beliefs comparatively and objectively. In this way they are able to bridge the gulf that ultimately causes alienation.

There are times when Austen's stance becomes the projection of our own desires and understanding and hence we as readers look forward to the entrance of a single man with a large fortune. We are also on the lookout for the availability of eligible ladies and gentlemen and wait impatiently, like Mrs. Bennet, and then resort to schemes of entrapment before the others do. In *P&P* with the entrance of Mr. Bingley, hype is created. All mothers and fathers look forward to meet him and present their daughters to the only eligible bachelor in their area. The suspense grows and even a cynic, like Mr. Bennet, who never stirs out of his study, is caught by the fever and becomes the first to visit and satisfy his curiosity about Mr. Bingley.

Human nature here is reflected without exaggeration and weaknesses revealed without spite. Society reveals itself in these small instances of daily routine that its members follow unassumingly. The insignificant jealousies of life do not harm people

when there is so much goodwill to compensate. The Meryton assembly unanimously, and without conflict allows Bingley to pay attention to the most beautiful girl of their community and their liberal admittance “To be sure that *did* seem as if he admired her – indeed I rather believe he *did*”(15). The generosity and goodwill is based on love and understanding and hence the prediction of Bingley’s interest in Jane is a familiar outcome. The psyche of the society is reflected in the psyche of its individuals. In P&P the society is portrayed without resentment at the beliefs and follies of the characters and there is no “open conflict” with the “friendly people around her.” It seems as though Austen was aware of people’s “eager [ness] to laugh at faults they tolerated in themselves and their friends” so she softly laughs with her characters whose follies and foibles were the raw material of her novels.<sup>1</sup>

Darcy’s habit of meditation helps him see beyond the surface “I have been meditating on the very great pleasure which a pair of fine eyes in the face of a pretty woman can bestow” (24). The Meryton magic has worked on him; he is soon captivated by the “eyes” of a “tolerable” woman when he observes more closely. Not only does he manage to see the “beautiful” behind the “tolerable” but when Elizabeth looks at him “archly, and turned away” he is not “injured” but starts “thinking of her with some complacency” (23). He learns to contrast the life of “eat, drink, and play cards” (31), which are the activities of his class to that of “talking”, “dancing”, “visiting” and “reading” that residents of Meryton claim. He knows that he possesses excellent manners but has to discover if he possesses self-awareness. He is forced to argue with himself whether he is “all politeness” (23) or needs to behave “in a more gentlemanlike manner” (182).

Darcy’s views go through a gradual transformation about the same person in question namely Elizabeth. It begins from “tolerable” (9) to “a pretty woman” (24) and a time comes when he declares her as “one of the handsomest woman” of his “acquaintance”(253) . All these reactions reflect the views of different social standards that go through a change with interaction. The same difference of opinion exists about Mr. Darcy, till Elizabeth learns more about him when she visits Pemberley and realizes that “Mr. Darcy improves on acquaintance” (220). We, as readers feel that “Elizabeth does not approve the behaviour of her sisters and her mother but does she moralize on good behaviour or practice of propriety, well no! All she does is speaking of her fears before her father when it comes to Lydia while she would ‘blush’ at her mother’s behaviour.”<sup>2</sup> It is at Pemberley that she becomes painfully aware of the moral deficiency of her family.

Elizabeth’s younger sister elopes with a reckless man and this “wretched business” (261) of Lydia’s elopement further intensifies her sense of guilt which earlier she did not feel. She learns to see the faulty behaviour of her family with a new perspective. Her visit to Pemberley not only educates her about human behaviour,

it makes her analyse her “self”. She finally achieves self-realization: “She was humbled, she was grieved; she repented” (292).

The marriage of Darcy and Elizabeth is a union of two points of views about life as reflected in the places where they live. They carry in their personalities peculiar tints of their environment. Pemberley, though outwardly a paradise on earth, needed to synthesize with Meryton to make it wholesome and complete. Pemberley becomes the symbol of elegance and grace, “the park was very large, and contained great variety of ground...with beautiful wood stretching over a wide extent” (228). The great house “was a large, handsome, stone building, standing well on rising ground” backed by “high woody hills” with a “stream of some natural importance was swelled into greater” which forced Elizabeth to think “that to be mistress of Pemberley might be something”. The housekeeper is “much less fine, and more civil”, the interior had rooms “lofty and handsome, and their furniture suitable to the fortune [ten thousand pounds] of their proprietor” (229). All the epithets used for the description of the house large, great, wide, handsome, rising, swelled etc. bring something very majestic to one’s mind till one feels a pigmy before its stature. It is at this moment that Elizabeth unconsciously agrees with Charlotte’s statement of Darcy having a right to be proud.

In contrast to the union of Elizabeth and Darcy, Jane and Bingley, sharing a “general similarity of feelings and taste” (328) and although lacking the intelligence and sense of Darcy and Elizabeth will manage to remain happy together despite Mr. Bennet’s apt remark: “You are each of you so complying, that nothing will be resolved on; so easy that every servant will cheat you; and so generous, that you will always exceed your income” (328). Whereas Lydia and Wickham are “always moving from place to place in quest of a cheap situation, and always spending more than they ought” (166) devoid of domestic felicity; Charlotte has married Collins to escape from the lot of remaining an old maid so she pays the price by enduring Collins and his hollow faith. Collins lives to please others and because he does not analyse himself being too pumped up by his position of a clergy man, he does not change. Their marriage is a sham, which will be carried on successfully only because of Charlotte’s excellent management,

The same process of self-awareness we observe in another Austen’s novel *Emma*. The protagonist’s disdain of Mr. Martin is based strictly on class difference. Emma, the protagonist of the novel, fails to realize that Harriet is socially a “nobody”, while Martin is a farmer. Emma tries to do all in her power to find an eligible match for Harriet. She thinks that Harriet’s connection with her will make her socially superior. She consistently voices such ideas and makes a mess of Harriet’s life for the society refuses to agree. Mr. Elton’s proposal to Emma makes her revise her views regarding class differences and the evils that arise due to it. She

soon learns the truth “who can think of Miss Smith when, Miss Woodhouse is near!” (Austen 131) Emma’s appraisal of Mr. Elton as “proud, assuming, conceited; very full of his own claims, and little concerned about the feelings of others” (Austen 135) mirrors her own self and for that she has to go through an education of self-realization. She learns that so far she has been deceiving herself.

## Conclusion

Austen’s social ideology is based on the thesis that human emotions and feelings have their validity in human life if polished in the proper way; otherwise, they may breed social evils: greed, hypocrisy and selfishness. The novels subtly reveal the social and moral ills which deprive people of their peace of mind which they otherwise achieve if they do not fall a prey to them. Realization of one’s self helps humans to counter all those wicked desires that destroy characters, pollute relationships and degenerate intellectual powers.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> D.W. Harding, *Critics on Jane Austen*. Ed. Judith O'Neill, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1970), pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Waldron. *Jane Austen & the Fiction of Her Time*. Port Chester, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p 43. <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/peshawar>

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## Santiago: A Lop-Sided Character in *The Old Man and the Sea*

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### Abstract

Ernest Hemingway's Santiago, in *The Old Man and the Sea*, is an odd character who has had an active life. Aloof and solitary he is either in the sea to catch fish, or the shack where he lives. Accompanied by Manolin and considered "salao" by his community due to his inability to catch good fish for a long time Santiago hopes to be the champion angler once again as an old man. He thrives on his past and unrealistically hopes to perform the feats of his young days. His personality and behaviour are lopsided, as a Jungian would say. In the pursuit of his persona of being the champion angler Santiago continues to distance himself further from his unconscious which further aggravates his lopsided personality. He has to integrate his persona and re-establish his contact with the unconscious for him to lead a balanced life.

**Keywords:** conscious, unconscious, lop-sided, extraverted, persona possessed

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### Introduction

This paper is a study of how Santiago, an old Cuban angler finds it difficult to adjust old age with the trends prevalent in his society. Santiago has been known as a champion angler throughout his youth for his strength, not only that, he also the skills of his trade. Now in his old age, he is at odds with his trends prevalent and due to his constant failure, he is termed "salao" by community. Santiago cannot come to terms with the fact that he is not as agile and strong as the young anglers even though he has the skills, therefore he pushes himself too far in proving his

worth and thus his character becomes lopsided. Santiago constantly wears a persona of a champion to be in the lime light; as such, he becomes too much extraverted and pays more attention to his image and how he is perceived by others. Thus Santiago has too learn to integrate all the aspects to his personality for this he has to get in touch with his unconscious.

### **Santiago: A lopsided character in *The Old Man and the Sea***

Santiago in Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* is an interesting character whose demeanour and words beggar attention and analysis. There is more to him than meets the eye. He is a man of a few words. And, whatever little he says is, most of the times, not in accordance with his beliefs. There is a visible gap between what he is and what he appears to be. To the public and the immediate community around him, he is an old man who is more like a spent cartridge—something that he does not accept. Santiago, however, is determined to have his community think otherwise. He wants them to think of him as the champion angler and the macho man but there is not much of either left in him. He has carved out an unstated role for himself. However, he does not have the capacity to play the role. This creates lopsidedness in his personality. This paper is an attempt to analyse Santiago's character and his odd behaviour and determines why he is the way he and what social and psychological implications his odd behaviour has for him and his life.

Lopsidedness in one's behaviour gives birth to conflicts both on personal and professional levels.<sup>1</sup> Santiago, who has had a very busy, hectic, and active life in the earlier days, seems to have trouble adjusting to the needs and demands of the later part of life. His aging body cannot keep up with the challenges he easily undertook as a young man—challenges that earned him the reputation of being a champion. No matter how skilled and adept, he needs the strength and the energy: he is in denial of sorts. The demands of the environment around him put his skills to a test, and he seems to fail the test. Times have changed and so have the values. Santiago, however, has stayed back in time. Physically, he is in the here-and-now; emotionally and psychologically, he is in the there-and-then. He is stuck in time and has trouble adjusting to the new norms. He is now old and is not physically agile to do things the same way that he used to do. He was a very successful angler; "the deep creased scars from handling heavy fish on the cord" show that.<sup>2</sup> The distance between his there-and-then is a little too wide for Santiago and the people to understand.

The villagers ostracize Santiago due to his failure to catch good fish for quite some time. They call him "salao" (OMS 1 ) a title that he does not like. The villagers

resort to catching fish the modern way; Santiago wants to stick to his old-fashioned fishing rod. For the former, it is a source of income and a living; for the latter it is a sacred activity. Though the title that his community has given him bothers him, Santiago knows that he has the capacity and the potential to catch big fish with his fishing lines and thus prove to his villagers that he is not what they think he is. For them he is "salao"; for himself, he is the champion angler. The gap between what the others think of him and what he is lies the complex life of this old man who fails to see that both are part of the truth about him. Santiago's desire to catch fish is not driven by commercial and economic reasons; it is a matter of pride and honour for him. He is very confident that he can do what the others believe he cannot. Sylvester elaborates that the blue-eyed Santiago has only his hands between himself and the sea, and that he uses no buoys or machines. He depends on the food the sea proffers. Therefore, the sea bestows her greatest favours on those who strive to make their own conditions (Sylvester, 1999: 41). He believes that the sea will not let him down and that he will be able to prove his skills no matter how good the adversary is. As Carlos Baker states:

Santiago becomes newly aware of what he has inside him that will enable him to win. It is this sense of proving worth against a worthy adversary, which, as much as any other means at his disposal, sustains the old man in his time of stress (Baker, 1999: 29).

Thus, Santiago remains in a constant state of challenge. The community sees him differently; he is an old man who is no more capable of relying on his skills. The younger anglers make fun of him, which "otherizes" him and alienates him from his community. In a way, he is not one of them anymore—something which definitely bothers him. That is why he is bent upon showing to the world that he CAN.

Santiago is the kind of a person a Jungian would describe as an extraverted individual.<sup>3</sup> He is almost always out there. Not just because he is an angler and is mostly out there in the sea; things and events have importance and significance for him due to how others perceive them. The psychic energy for him flows from the outside to the inside, as a Jungian would say (Samuels et al, 1986: 153-155) For a man with an extraverted nature, like Santiago, it is not very easy to accept this marginalized position. It seems that he has to prove his worth—more of his market value—to be able to survive respectfully in his society or it will discard him like a disposable commodity. What Schorer says about Hemingway is true about Santiago: the former, like a great artist, is involved in the act of mastering his subject of writing; the latter his subject of fishing. Therefore, nothing is more important than his craft (Schorer, 1999: 27-28), which, he believes, can give back his bygone glory to him. Leaving for the sea, he tells Manolin that he "feel[s]



confident today” (OMS 17). Likewise, Manolin, says to Santiago, “So do I” (OMS 17); as readers want to be confident for Santiago.

Though people consider Santiago ominous, he is the kind of a person who believes he controls his destiny and that is how he wants people to know him. He therefore resolves to go out into the sea and bring back his luck; hence a forward desire of always remaining in the lime light. His hope and confidence may have dwindled, but they are not a restriction on his sense of adventure. Therefore, when he is in the sea with his fishing lines under the water, the old man thinks to himself, “Every day is a new day. It is better to be lucky. But I would rather be exact. Then when luck comes you are ready” (OMS 22). That means he is not the kind of a person who waits for something to fall into his lap. He is the kind of a man who with sheer hard work shapes his destiny and influences his environment. Santiago believes in what Hotchner says: “[G]ood times should be orchestrated and not left to the uncertainties of chance; that discipline is more desirable than inspiration” (Hotchner, 2004: X). Santiago is a proud and independent man who wants to give the respect, which, he believes “la mar” deserves; unlike others who consider her “el mar” i.e. masculine and deal with her like a contestant.

Santiago’s philosophy of life, values and ethics all depend on public opinion. His moral values are the same as the ones his society professes. His behaviour does not show any contradiction in spite of the conflict going on in his mind regarding his misfortune. There is always a capacity and inclination on his part to adjust to existing external conditions. For example, when Manolin brings him supper to eat, with two sets of knives and forks and spoons wrapped in napkins, Santiago expresses his gratitude for the terrace owner saying, “I must thank him” (OMS 10). Further, when Manolin says he has already done that, the old man says, “I’ll give him the belly meat of a big fish” (OMS 11). He then further asks Manolin if the terrace owner had done this for them more than once. Therefore, what he is to society and how society sees him, is of constant significance to him. He avoids any such behaviour or action in the community that can potentially impair his image.

Santiago consciously avoids anything that may result in effacing his reputation in society, being looked down upon is something that Santiago resists right until his experience with the sharks takes place. And in a way Santiago accepts his defeat that he was “beaten now finally and without remedy” (OMS 97). This attitude in Santiago shows that he remained in the captain’s seat in his youth and will never take a backseat.

Santiago along with Manolin creates a fantasy to help Santiago maintain his pride and inflated view of himself. They talk about things in a manner as if they are part

of Santiago's life while in fact those things do not even exist. Santiago asks Manolin to stay for the yellow rice and fish of which he has had a pot though there is no food in the house (OMS 7). Similarly, both talk about the cast net in a manner as if they still have it and can make use of it even though they have already sold it (OMS 7). There is no pot of yellow rice and fish or a cast net in the hut. Santiago and Manolin both know that. It may not be inappropriate to say Manolin talks the fantasy talk to give an emotional cushion to Santiago in having him see things the way Santiago believes they are. Both know that things around and in the house are not as rosy as they see them. The bubble of Santiago's inflated ego, through which he sees everything, has blinded him to how the objective reality is. Both are in denial and both see things differently than how they actually are.

Given that he has had a lustrous past of being an amazing angler, there is a method of sorts in his madness of perceiving himself as a champion despite his old age. He is the kind who would go through all kind of troubles and pangs to show what he actually is worth and how he has the capacity to take on something handling which requires more strength, energy, and youth than is left in him. And that is what makes him a hero of a different proportion. In the words of Gerry Brenner:

Santiago's exploits call to mind the mythic adventures Jonah, David and Goliath, Prometheus, Perseus, Tristan, Beowulf ... and various contemporary intergalactic heroes. In all of these tales a person grapples with outsized adversaries ranging from animals to gods and becomes archetypal by silhouetting the human struggle to find meaning within self, society, and the cosmos, a struggle that Santiago enacts in his three-day ordeal (Brenner, 1999: 62).

No matter how "methodical, patient, alert, and unshakably determined," as Arthur Waldhorn calls him, Santiago is no more what he was once upon a time (Waldhorn, 2002: 191). He has outlived his glory and the glory just does not leave his imagination; it has entered his soul. This has obviously made him more of a social outcast, which is why some fishermen make fun of him. His actions and attitude make him come across as a fool. Others, however, pity him as if they recognize this streak in humans of seeing things much more favourably than they actually are. This is why the sight of successful anglers getting back from the sea makes him think of "many years ago" (OMS 3). Seeing another person's success reminds him of his in the past. Juxtaposed with his present inert state is his herculean life, so to speak, of the bygone days and Santiago entertains the hope that he can still do what he once did in his youth. We appreciate the determined and methodical hero in him but we laugh at the imbecile old man stuck in his youth.

Santiago's behaviour, attitude and thought depend upon external or objective conditions in which he is living, not by his subjective ideas and decisions. The charms of the external world always lure Santiago away from his inner being. As an extraverted individual, the outer external world means more to him than his inner voice or feelings do. Being a denizen of a society that celebrates achievement Santiago judges himself based on how his society perceives him. That means he has to be constantly an achiever without which life becomes very challenging for him given that he has a sharp sense of self-respect and integrity. How and what he feels and thinks about himself is not that important; what matters to him is how the others and the outside world perceives him. Manolin calls him the best and the greatest of fishermen. Santiago thanks him for encouraging him, but also adds, "I hope no fish will come along so great that he will prove us wrong" (OMS 13). This shows that Santiago's whole consciousness is oriented outward. Such extraverts have their "interest and attention ...focused on objective events, on things and on other people, usually those in the immediate environment" (Sharp, 1987: 39).

Santiago chooses to focus on outward aid rather than on looking inward to overcome his weakness. Even when he prays to God, he does not ask for his salvation or help. Instead, as Rosenfield says, he "prays not for his own salvation, as a Christian would, but "for the death of this fish" (Rosenfield, 1999: 89). It may not be inappropriate to say that he is more interested in the fish to be intact so he can walk proudly by those people who laugh at him or considered him "salao". Catching the fish is important not because that is the immediate end. It is important for him because it is a mean to the end. Catching it and taking it home can earn him the name and the reputation that he wants to have.

According to Valenti the Cuban society encourages machismo, an idea that men are macho, strong and solitary beings. Therefore, they can endure pain without flinching. Santiago accepts the daily difficulty and solitary work, as part of his perception of manhood (Valenti, 2002: 90-91), which is also evident from what Manolin says, "It is what a man must do" (OMS 26). Santiago acting as one of the macho men of his culture persistently tries to possess what he considers male characteristics, i.e. strength, endurance, and solitude. This takes the form of an uncontrollable complex in his character. Anything that poses a challenge must be dominated. Therefore, when he catches the fish; which keeps on jumping for more than a dozen times and the line keeps on going out and out, Santiago realizes that the fish is strong and confident and hence not an easy catch. Then Santiago realizes his lack of strength, and says to himself, "You better be fearless and confident yourself" (OMS 66). This example implies that Santiago being alone depended on his strength, resolution and endurance at that moment. He repeats it

to himself to assure himself of his capacity. In his view, this capacity is what can prove him a macho man in his society.

Valenti believes that everyone sees the world through the lens of his or her own cultural vision. Anything that does not form a regular feature of his culture becomes the “other”, which may appear inferior or odd (Valenti, 2002: 92-93). Thus within his own culture, being unlucky and unable to prove his worth in his profession—fishing—and showing the feminine side of his nature, in passively accepting this situation, is considered as the “other”. Therefore, Santiago is more interested in correcting his imago to the world, rather than correcting and integrating his inner lack. This “other” is looked upon as an enemy and is therefore constantly pushed to the background. The more Santiago becomes unconscious of the softer side of his personality—his anima, and fails to accept his destiny, which may be a result of old age, with good grace—the more his anxiety increases and he pushes himself towards material success. Thus, he says to the fish while waiting to kill it at the right time, “Fish...Fish, you are going to have to die anyway. Do you have to kill me too?” (OMS 73). The example portrays a tired and anxious man who does not have the heart of losing his prey or get back empty handed.

We come across Santiago as a man who is so much engrossed in life and his reputation that he has never given any thought to his subjective impulses. The mechanical life that he is leading in hot pursuit of some victory that never seems attainable is very superficial and a proof of lack of consciousness. It seems he has never sat down to meditate on his position. Maybe this form of magnifying his misfortune i.e. being termed “salao,” is necessary to start a thought process, which might bring him to terms with his age. Santiago seems to be stuck in those moments of his life in which people called him, “The Champion” (OMS 55). Therefore, he is persona possessed and it seems that time has come to a standstill for him. He has not been able to keep pace with time. That is perhaps why he has not learnt the new tricks of the trade. In a way, he has divorced himself from his environment and from his counterparts. He has to connect with the fellow anglers; he has to integrate himself. He will come to realize that this kind of unlucky phase may have been there in the life of many other anglers too. Santiago is wrong in making this issue into a matter of life and death.

Santiago's personality is shrouded in darkness; this is an aspect of his personality that he hides from himself, by trying to not pay attention to it. For a man who is obsessed with success cannot but have qualities of callousness and ruthlessness in him, e.g., when the fish jumps and the boat is going fast and the line racing fast, with the old man raising the strain to breaking point. The old man is pulled into the bow face down into the cut slice of dolphin. Here Santiago thinks to himself,

"[m]ake him pay for the line... Make him pay for it (OMS 65). This kind of callousness and ruthlessness he shows in his unconscious mode, i.e., in the sea. On the land, he consciously lives in the persona of a good and wise old man. All we know about him is that he is a man, who out and out cares for his reputation. His grief, at being declared "salao," is a proof of this. On the face of it, he shares all the secrets of his life with Manolin, which gives him some peace of mind. He seems to believe that he is pure and true, and that "[h]e was too simple to wonder when he had attained humility" (OMS 5).

Santiago wants to keep his persona of the champion and the best angler intact. He wants the spell of misfortune to be over so he can get back to his old self. The persona indeed helps him establish and build relationships in life (Samules, 1986: 107). The society in which Santiago lives encourages a constant hold of the persona because of the socio/economic conditions in which the anglers live. This is why he is calm, reserve and courteous. He refuses to take any help from Manolin after the latter is no more his apprentice. He tells the boy "No. Go and play baseball. I can still row and Rogelio will throw the net" (OMS 3). He is a gentleman, and a gentleman angler will not take help from somebody who is not bound an apprentice to him. And no matter how faithfully he lives up to his persona, he judges himself as an unsuccessful and so does the society. In order to add to the view he has of himself and of how he believes the world perceives him, Sanatiago is willing to go an extra mile. He wants to be the best to satisfy his ego and impress the people—a common trait of the extraverted. The following passage by Daryl Sharp best explains Santiago. Sharp says:

The more complete the conscious attitude of extraversion is, the more infantile and archaic the unconscious attitude will be. The egoism which characterizes the extravert's unconscious attitude goes far beyond mere childish selfishness; it verges on the ruthless and brutal (Sharp, 1987: 41).

Santiago's presence in the sea helps us understand his conscious and unconscious attitudes.<sup>4</sup> The former is reflected in his dealing with Manolin; the latter with the fish after it takes the bait. He is his usual kind, soft, and humane self with Manolin in the sea. However, we see a totally different aspect of Santiago's personality when he talks to the fish. The two selves are poles apart—soft and callous. He asks to fish to take the bait "So that the point of the hook goes into your heart and kills you" (OMS 31). The words send shivers down our spine. The quiet old man has a savage and callous side to him.

The two different selves, so to speak, represent the conscious and the unconscious modes of Santiago's being. Manolin and the fish both are important for him but for

different reasons. The former, being part of the conscious world, carries the image that Santiago has. The latter, being part of the unconscious, does not contribute to his reputation. Manolin gets to see the sunshine; marlin the dark shadowy side. The sea or the unconscious brings out the dark side of Santiago in him; the calm and benign old man is replaced with the merciless and ruthless man that he can be. This aspect of his personality is in stark contrast with how he is with Manolin and the villagers. The sea, being vast and expansive, symbolizes the unconscious in exactly the same way the village, being limited and finite, symbolizes the conscious. As Sheldon Norman Grebstein writes, the land is, "equated with family or domesticity, a place of shelter, rest, food, affection and security" (Grebstein, 1999: 44). The unconscious has contents, which remain hidden from us (the shadow)<sup>5</sup> due to our focus on adjusting re-adjusting to the conscious world (the persona). The blind pursuit of the persona blinds us to some of the dark aspects of our personality. No matter what age or what profession, all humans have the flipside of their personality, which we do not see. In our effort to follow what the conscious demands we turn our back on the unconscious where, among other potentialities, are also housed the ones we do not want people to see about us. Santiago's comments about what he wants to do to the fish show the brutality and blood of which he is capable. Santiago can be brutal if and when the time and the environment are right. And he has to be if he wants to catch and control big fish!

According to Cain, there is a lot of blood and gore in *The Old Man and the Sea*, the verb, "butchered," used to describe the activity of preparing the marlin for sale, carries with it the idea of unflinching slaughter. Further, the blood flows when Manolin remembers his first journey with Santiago. He can still visualize how once he was with Santiago in the skiff and how Santiago caught a big fish that was constantly slapping and banging its tail, and the thwart breaking, and the noise of the clubbing. He even remembers Santiago throwing him into the bow, with the coiled lines. The whole boat was shivering and the noise of the clubbing like the chopping of a tree and the sweet blood smell all over him. Cain is of the view that this scene "partakes of repulsion and joy, bloody and sweet" (561). Again, when the bait is described as hanging head down with the shank of the hook inside the baitfish tied and sewed solid and the projecting steel of the hook covered with sardines hooked through the eyes, this gives a picture of cruelty, helplessness and mutilation of the baitfish (Cain, 2009: 561). Such an activity carried out for keeping up one's livelihood is excusable but doing it for competition and self-aggrandizement is perhaps undesirable. It shows the instinct of a predator in Santiago.

These examples clearly show the unconscious side of Santiago the horror of which is even more evident when we realize that Santiago enjoys his profession. Enjoying one's profession is not a negative feeling provided one accepts it with good grace

and with the vicissitudes that occur in one's life. Santiago does not seem to do that; he over-emphasizes his loss, which makes him ruthless—a point that people do not see about him because of his persona. Thus, he says to the fish, “[a]lthough it is unjust...But I will show him what a man can do and what a man endures” (OMS 51). If Santiago can go to that extreme with a fish, what is to stop him from the same with others if he has the authority? An edge over the fish brings out the rough and tough animal nature in him. Therefore, the unconscious side of Santiago harbours a fierce and repulsive man who, under the persona of a good, wise, and calm old man, remains hidden from the naked eye. Santiago's presence in the sea symbolizes his unconscious mode where he runs into the dark, rough, and tough sides of his personality. His unconscious houses in it, among other archetypal images, the dark side of his personality as Jung would say (Samuels, 1986:138-139).

The calm, quiet, apparently peaceful Santiago has a different face altogether when he is in the sea. He wears a brighter and a better face to make himself acceptable to his people and society. The duality, the dichotomy, the hypocrisy in his character is precisely due to his inability to integrate his dark side into his conscious. Gerry Brenner points to this lack of self-knowledge in Santiago. He says:

Is he [Santiago] truly a “strange old man,” as he calls himself; or is he quite ordinary, as much a hypocrite as the next person, as deficient in self-awareness as the rest of us? And do Santiago's actions, like ours, harbor unconscious wishes that are incongruent with the phosphorescent nimbus that circles, like a halo, his skiff? Can he be read antithetically? (Brenner, 1999:142).

Pride, the virtue of the unconscious man, is what actually is at the heart of Santiago's endeavours. He, who has been a champion, and has deep scars on his hands that are reminiscent of his glorious catch and handling of big fish; can hardly take the scorn of younger anglers as they laugh at him thinking he is incapable of fishing any more. Thus, he says after catching the fish “How do you feel, fish?”... “I feel good and my left hand is better and I have food for a night and a day” (OMS 58). This is a proof of the fact that he is not going to give in on this fish, whatever may come. According to Jackson J. Benson:

[Santiago] becomes the perfect exemplification of the game code in action: commitment to an ideal of behavior more important than the goal to be achieved; honest self-judgment awareness of oneself, the rules, and the game situation; skill and game knowledge; and courage enough to make genuine risks (Benson, 1969: 177).

If we agree with Benson that these are the positive traits of a proud player, Santiago is then the epitome of envy and hatred. Consciously and unconsciously, Santiago has always been a player, whether it is in his occupation as an angler, or the hand game that he had played with "the negro from Cienfuegos" (OMS 55); who was the strongest man on the docks, and thus juxtaposed with DiMaggio for comparison. Thus, envy and hatred are the negative traits of a player that can arise in him in case of failure and frustration. Therefore after seeing the big size of the fish when it jumps, he says, "I'll kill him though....In all his greatness and his glory" (OMS 51). Thus, frustration, obstinacy, and envy are evident in Santiago when he is in the sea, which symbolizes his unconscious state. The "greatness" and "glory" of the fish are unacceptable, as they should belong to Santiago. In his conscious mode, he keeps on repressing these feelings and acts according to a persona under compulsion, but in the unconscious mode, these are bound to come up.

Thus, being an extraverted, the opinion of the people is more important for him. His persona blinds him to the inherent weakness that he has—old age. And that is what has made his personality lop-sided. In his blind pursuit of what he wants to be and how he wants people to know him, he has turned his back on his weaknesses. His young apprentice, Manolin, who helps him around with most of the things, can inherit the qualities that Santiago has. Manolin acknowledges how he has learnt so much from the old man. Being stuck in time, the Old Man unfortunately does not pass on the baton to the next generation to carry his trade and the tricks of it too. This is a problem a little too common with most of the people. In the blind pursuit of what we want to be and how we want people to perceive us, we fail to share our expertise with or transfer our knowledge to the younger generation—an arrogance of sorts that damages individuals and societies.



## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Lopsidedness occurs when, according to C. G. Jung, there is a lack of communication between the conscious and the unconscious. For a healthy and productive life, it is important that the two communicate with each other and we understand the symbolic and coded messages that the unconscious sends to the conscious for any lopsidedness in our behaviour.
- <sup>2</sup> Ernest Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 2007), p. 1. All subsequent references are to this edition, and are parenthetically incorporated into the work by letters OMS followed by page numbers. All subsequent references are to this edition.
- <sup>3</sup> Jung divides human into two categories based on how they relate themselves to the objective world. He calls these two types extraverted and introverted. In typology human behaviour is studied through patterns determined by the structure of the individual psyche interacting with itself and the world. Jung differentiated attitudinal types and function types. The attitudinal types, Jung described in terms of libido or orientation of interest psychic energy to or away from the object. The attitudinal types are the extravert and the introvert. In the extravert the conscious libido flows towards the object, but there is an unconscious secret counter-action back towards the subject, whereas for the introvert the opposite occurs. The functional types show a specific manner of adaptation that brings about an observable and differentiated psychological function or a way of dealing with the inner and outer worlds. For the extravert the object is valuable and fascinating, he related to the outside world typically open, sociable and active. The stimulation comes from the outside therefore he stays busy and has a desire to influence others and/or the environment. However, the individual is as likely to be influenced by the conditions of his or her own life. The introvert gets his or her stimulation from the inner world, therefore, by withdrawing energy from the object the introvert converses it for his or her own position. Thus prevents the object from gaining influence or control. An introvert is more idea oriented and independent than an extravert. Being extraverted does not prevent an individual from an introverted behaviour, nor vice versa, however, one characteristic of any specific personality is more dominant i.e. the person is more comfortable and truer to himself in that dominant attitude than the other. Jung has specified four functions, each of which can be extraverted or introverted. Jung names two rational functions, namely thinking and feeling that are opposite each other, as are two irrational functions sensation and intuition. Consciousness according to Jung can be thought of as an individual's awareness of his personality. Jung asserts that a falsification of type, in all these individuals can lead to neuroses.
- <sup>4</sup> To understand the structure of the psyche it is important to differentiate between its conscious and unconscious contents. Jung used the terms conscious and unconscious differently than as they are understood commonly. The conscious for him meant under the control of the ego. The unconscious meant not under ego control. Most of the mental contents that form the psyche are unconscious. This is not a single entity but composed of various contents that vary from person to person and time to time. Some of these contents are products of individual and cultural experiences whereas others are general to all humans, therefore collective. The personal unconscious is a term used by Jung to refer to experiences, memories and thought that slip out of

consciousness. Thus some of its contents are too unimportant to remember, some are subliminal impressions and perceptions that never entered awareness, other contents are such that are available to consciousness if one pays attention to them. Yet some are suppressed and pushed out of consciousness, but are capable of being recalled and some repressed contents those that have been banished are too painful. Jung stated that the contents of the personal unconscious forms an integral part of the personality and its loss to the conscious mind puts it in a state of inferiority. If one is to make progress along the path of self-realization must inevitably bring into consciousness the contents of his personal unconscious, to enlarge the domain of his personality. The collective unconscious, according to Jung contained the non-personal material, which was reflected in his and others' dreams, visions and fantasies. The components of the psyche are expressions of both consciousness and the unconscious. The ego is the centre of consciousness. The shadow, persona and anima or animus are mostly unconscious and exist partly in the personal and partly in the collective unconscious. Jung referred to the collective unconscious as the "objective psyche" to differentiate it from ego consciousness. It is nonpersonal and has the power to generate images and concepts, independent of consciousness. Its contents are so designated because they are common to all humans and far broader and significant than the repressed remains of the personal unconscious. The collective unconscious contains archetypes and instincts. Archetypes are typical modes of apprehension and instincts are typical modes of action.

- <sup>5</sup> Jung defines shadow as 'the thing a person has no wish to be'. Shadow is the negative side of the personality, the sum of all the unpleasant qualities one wants to hide. Shadow is the primitive side in one's nature, the other, and the dark side. According to Jung the ego is to shadow what light is to shade. We all have a shadow, the less it is embodied in the individual's conscious life the more blacker and denser it is. If we make inferiority conscious, it always has a chance to be corrected. but if it is repressed, and isolated from consciousness then it is never corrected and is liable to attack when one is unaware. Jung believes that the shadow is a living part of the personality and he identifies it with the contents of the personal unconscious. The contents of the personal unconscious are inextricably merged with the archetypal contents of the collective unconscious, which itself has a dark side. In other words, it is impossible to eradicate shadow, rather we should come to terms with it. The shadow is an archetype its contents are powerful marked by Affect, obsessional, possessive, autonomous; in short, they can overwhelm a well-ordered ego. It usually appears in projection, but to admit the shadow is to break its compulsive hold.

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## **Indigenous Appropriation Mechanisms of Irrigation in Eastern Hindu Kush: A Study of Village Kushum, Chitral, Northern Pakistan**

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### **Abstract**

For the last more two decades irrigation water has been one of the main focuses of scientific research in the Himalaya- Karakorum - Hindu Kush region. These studies have been conducted on local and regional levels and various aspects including irrigation infrastructure development, locally formulated management and utilization systems and associated responsibilities have been discussed. In the present study an attempt is made to highlight the water appropriation mechanism in acute water scarcity situation at a micro level. Data for this research have been collected through participant observation, unstructured interviews and focused group discussion with the shareholders. The research results reveal that the traditional water distribution mechanisms among the settlement sections are unbiased and based on equity. Moreover, the local inhabitants have given proper importance to the biophysical and climatic factors in the seasonal rationing of water between the upper and lower parts of the village. However, with the passage of time due to demographic development shares of the individual households has decreased substantially.

**Keywords:** Traditional water management; indigenous appropriation systems; combined mountain agriculture; water sharing

### **Introduction**

For the last more than two decades, traditional irrigation system and associated issues have been the main focus of scientific research in the Himalaya, Karakorum and Hindu Kush region (Allan 1986; Kreutzmann 1998, 2000; Israr-ud-Din 1992,

1996; Gutschow 1998; Schmidt 2004; Lee 2007; Nüsser et al. 2012 and Ahmad 2014). Research studies were also conducted to determine the potentials, constraints and status of water availability in a climate change scenario in mountainous environment at different levels (cf. Archer et al. 2010; Immerzeel et al. 2010, Daniel, Pinel & Brooks 2013, Verzijl & Quispe 2013 and Delgado & Vincent 2013). All the major rivers of South Asia are originating from Himalaya, Karakorum and Hindu Kush region predominantly fed by glaciers. They are not only providing water to the ‘mountain oases’ but the entire population (6,937 million) of plains also depend on it for irrigation and power generation (Kreutzmann 1988, 2006; Immerzeel et al. 2010).

In the extremely arid milieu of the Eastern Hindu Kush farming activities heavily depend on irrigation. The acreage under rain-fed agriculture (*lalmi*) is very limited and localized in the southern part of Chitral (cf. Haserodt 1989, 1996 and Israr-ud-Din 1996: 19). Due to topographical constraints the main rivers in the region have very limited utility and the tributary streams and seasonal torrents are the main sources of irrigation (cf. Haserodt 1989; Israr-ud-Din 1996, 2000 and Baig 1997). Generally, the availability of irrigation water varies depending on location, terrain conditions, timing and actual amount of snowfall. December and January snowfall is highly appreciated by the villagers as a potential water source for the forthcoming cropping season (Whitemann 1988 and Fazlur-Rahman 2006, 2007).

The agro-pastoral economy in Chitral heavily depends on the availability of irrigation water (Staley 1969; Haserodt 1989; Khan et al. 1994; Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001; Fazlur-Rahman 2007; Holdschlag 2011; Nüsser et al. 2012). The economic importance of irrigation water can be judged from the fact that former rulers had often used it as a bargaining commodity for gaining political favor. According to Baig (1997: 157) “[...], local water resources used for irrigation, were highly valued, coveted by various factions of the society as well as by clans and powerful individuals according to their access to the ruling court. The Chitral princes used lands and water resources as bait to lure powerful tribes or their chiefs for political reasons.”

Like other localities in the northern mountainous belt of Pakistan, in Chitral irrigation infrastructures had been developed by the local inhabitants and they operate and maintain almost 95 percent of the irrigation channels (Israr-ud-Din 1992: 122). For efficient management and utilization of water resources the villagers have developed social organizations and formulated rules. With the passage of time water management and related responsibilities became an integral part of the traditional knowledge.

## Materials and Method

For this research necessary data were collected in 2009 and 2012 by conducting fieldworks in Kushum village. An unstructured interview was conducted with the village elders and relevant information regarding the allocation of irrigation water to each village section were properly recorded. This provided a general picture of water distribution among the sub-sections of the village/settlement unit in the study area. The system was quite difficult to understand therefore, detail discussion was conducted with the individual stakeholders who usually supervise the appropriation system and mediating at the time of conflict resolution. At least one shareholder from every irrigation system was thoroughly interviewed to understand the household shares and adopted management mechanisms of irrigation water in that sub-system. The entitlement of the individual households to the amount of water and its duration vary seasonally. Therefore, special attention was paid to get information on the seasonal variation and use of water shares in different parts of the villages. Since both of them are very closely associated with number of users and in many cases entitlements were very little and not enough for the owners' own requirements. In such cases a secondary turn system has been established within the main cycle. To properly understand and appreciate water management and utilization at micro level, detail information were collected from a small hamlet. Though the entire process of water allocation and sharing system was very complicated and exactly reflect the notions of Robert Netting (1974) that "the system nobody knows," and Verzijl & Quispe (2013) that "the System Nobody Sees," therefore, for detailed analysis only a single case study has been presented.

## Physical and Anthropogenic Characteristics of Kushum

The study area is located in the sub-tehsil of Mulkhow about 100 kilometers towards the North West of Chitral town. Kushum village is located on the Mulkhow-Terich divide and having southern exposure. It consists of a number of hamlets dispersed over the entire area. Similar to other mountainous villages, verticality is one of the major characteristics of the study that ranges from 2,050 meters at the banks of Mulkhow River to more than 3,660 meters above mean sea level the crest of the watershed (Fig 1). The inhabitants of this village are practicing combined mountain agriculture (cf. Ehlers and Kreutzmann 2000) and skillfully integrated the spatially separated and seasonally productive resources (cf. Ehlers 1995, 1996, 1997), with the establishment of summer settlements and houses at various elevations. The availability of arable land is not a problem but, water availability is one of the main constraints for bringing more land under plough as well as cultivating suitable crops. The whole Mulkhow sub-tehsil suffers water scarcity and in the 1990s suffered from prolonged drought. Soil is fertile and a number of food and fodder crops are grown in the study area, however, yield and

production is highly dependent on the availability of water during the cropping season. Entitlements to irrigation water widely vary from village to village and within the village there is also disparity among the households. Though this area receives relatively more snowfall during the winter season, nevertheless, the southern exposure accelerates snowmelt in early spring season.

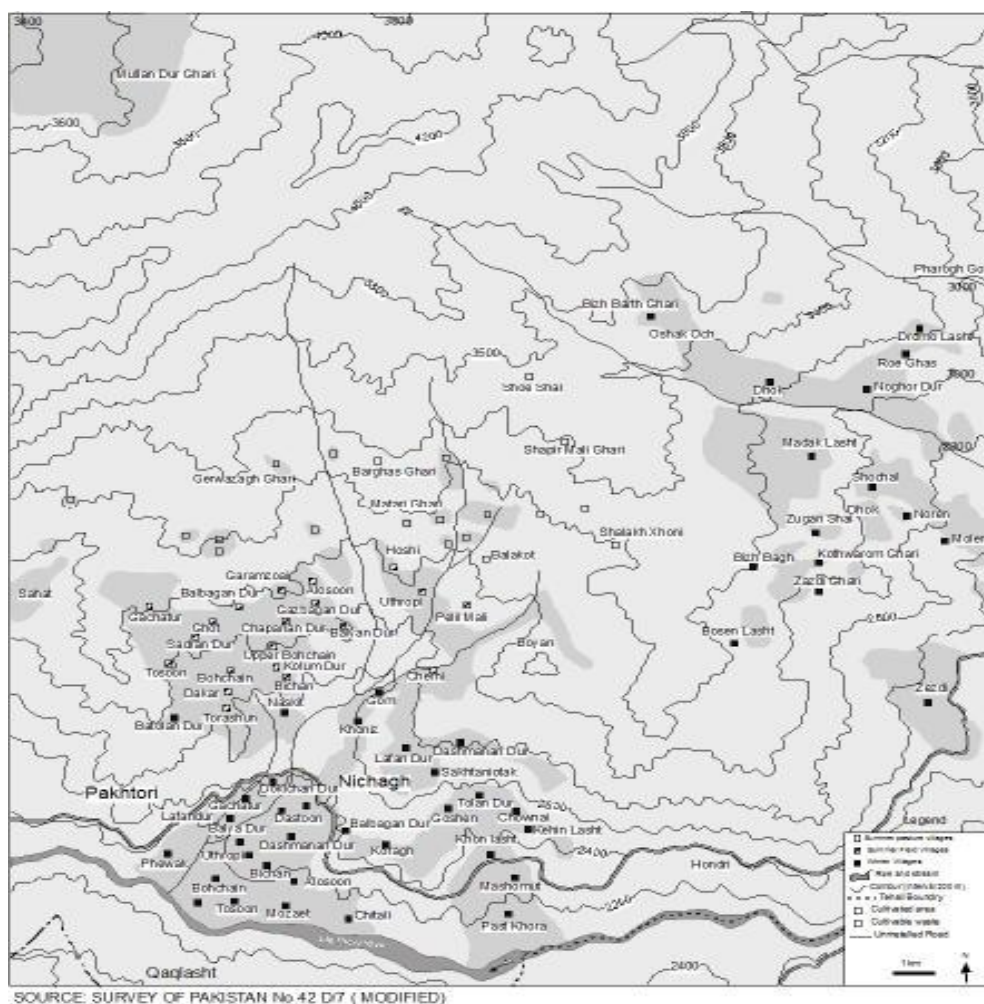


Figure 1: Location Map of Kushum Village

The main sources of irrigation water in the study area are two springs, which are providing more than 90% of the irrigation water to the village. Snowmelt has a very little share due to its topographical character. The water from its source to the

village flow for about 5 kilometers in a stony watercourse and a substantial amount is lost due to seepage and evaporation. The total amount of water is 2 *Khorarogh* and is equal to 6 cusecs (Text Box 1). The stream divides the study area into two micro relief sections locally known as Pakhtori (the western part) and Nichagh is towards the east. Both Pakhtori and Nichagh are further subdivided into two sections i.e. lower Pakhtori (2,170 meters amsl) and upper Pakhtori (2,930 meters amsl). A number of small hamlets have been established in each section of the village. The settlement pattern is dispersed and most of the houses have been constructed close to the cultivated land (cf. Fig 1). Irrigation water is initially distributed based on these micro-physiographic units.

#### **Text Box 1: Locally used measurement units of irrigation water**

Usually the villagers use local measurement units for measuring irrigation water in a steam or irrigation channel. The thumb rule that is used throughout Chitral is Khorarogh. According to Israr-ud-Din (1992: 126) “The discharge of water in a [irrigation] channel is measured in terms of the amount needed to run a water mill. This measurement varies from place to place because of the size of the mill-stone. However the average measurement of one mill (Sig!) water [...] will be approximately 3 cusecs.” In the study area water is equally divided into a number of gologh and allocated to a group of households. The amount of gologh is not measured by any instrument rather assessed by eyes. The volume of gologh varies seasonally depending on the availability of water at the headworks (Baig 1997: 171). Actually the owners of a gologh provide labour for channel maintenance and also pay the watchman (Merjoi) in cash or kind based on the agreement. Moreover, based on visual assessment, the inhabitants of the study area further subdivide the water-unit. According to them 10 gospanogh are equal to one chakhtogh, 2 chakhtoghare equal to 1 gologh, and 6 gologh are equal to 1 khorarogh or approximately 03 cusecs.

To get maximum benefit from the available natural resources the inhabitants of this village practice seasonal movement. Both fields and houses have been established in all the suitable areas where water availability coincides with a small piece of flat land. Only 8 per cent of the households have a single house whereas 61 per cent households have double and 31 per cent have triple houses within the territorial limits of the village. Most of the seasonal settlements are with cultivation however, in the higher altitudes, where climatic conditions are favorable for crop cultivation, many summer settlements have been established exclusively for seasonal livestock grazing.



The southern exposure makes the whole area relatively warmer during the winter season. Though this area receives relatively more snowfall during the winter season from the western disturbances, however, the rapid increase of temperature during the spring season accelerate snowmelt. Temperature remains high during the whole summer season and that increases the demand of water for the irrigated plantations as well as cereal and fodder crops. The absence of any vegetation cover in most parts of the area also increases the evaporation rate and a considerable amount of water is lost before reaching the fields. Additionally the stony nature of the soil also absorbs the amount of runoff in the stream. The combined effect of physiography, exposure, settlement pattern, location of fields and nature of soil put tremendous pressure on already scarce water resources.

Population of the study is increasing quite rapidly. According to the census of 1961 the total population of the village was 1,629 persons that increased to 3194 in 1981; it means that it took almost 20 years to double the population. During the inter-censal period 1981-98 the annual average growth remained low (1.37%) and the total population was 3,938 persons. Due to scarcity of water and land sliding out migration is quite high and people of this village can be met with in the whole Chitral and in the lowland urban centers. The inhabitants also participate in the seasonal out-migration to the lowland urban centers for three to five months during the winter. Moreover, a number of households do have their family members in the Middle East. They are regularly sending remittances to their families. With the passage of time employment opportunities in the off-farm sector has also increased. Nevertheless, agriculture and animal husbandry are still the main economic activities practiced in the study area.

## Results and Discussions

This study reveals that the important considerations in the local appropriation of irrigation water are to maintain equity and avoid conflicts amongst the co-owners. To achieve these goals the co-owners have successfully divided irrigation water without any biasness with the installation of *Nerwals* at appropriate places on permanent basis. However, considering the historical ownership of resources in the former feudal state of Chitral (Lockhart and Woodthorpe 1889; Durand 1899; Schomberg 1938; Haserodt 1989) and the social structure of the inhabitants (Biddulph, 1880; General Staff India, 1928, Eggert, 1990) and the innervations of the local rulers in resource ownership and management, equity cannot be maintained properly. Thus similar to other localities in Chitral (cf. Israr-ud-Din 1992: 134; Baig 1997: 173; Shomberg 1935: 170) few families in the study area have special water rights. They have a specific unit of water locally known as *Chakhtogh* for the whole season. Usually the local representatives of the former

ruler (*mehtar*) or his nominee had granted these rights to the notables and influential households. In some cases such water rights were associated with land; however, in certain circumstances only water rights have been conferred upon the household on request. These shares are usually for the entire cropping season and always taken out of the main channel before any formal distribution among the co-owners. Unlike the Khot valley where the amount of *Chakhtogh* is properly measured and the owner also have a specified duties (cf. Israr-ud-Din 1992: 134, 2000: 68), in Kushum village neither the amount is determined and nor any responsibility is fixed on the owners. In the study area four village sections having this type of water rights i.e. *Chakhtogh* of Hoshi, BalyanDur, Koniz and Utropi. The *Chakhtogh* of Hoshi is given from the main channel before formal distribution between the village sections (see below) and likewise the other *Chakhtogh* have been granted from the shares of Nichagh and Pakhtori (Fig 2).

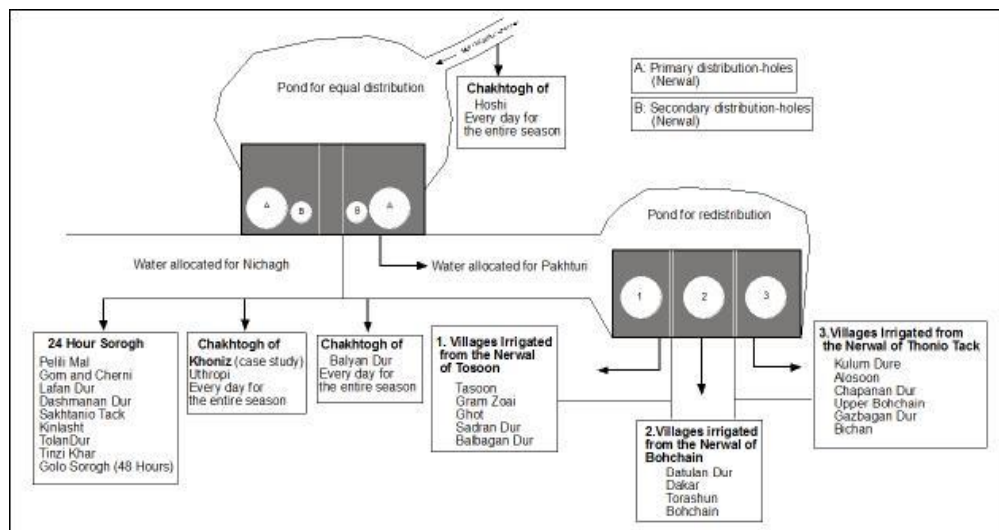


Figure 2: Water distribution system in Kushum Village

Unlike the system practiced in Koht valley (Israr-ud-Din 1992: 134) and Kosht village (Israr-ud-Din 1996: 29) where *Chakhtogh* and *Gologh* are distributed through distribution-holes, in the study area irrigation water is distributed through distribution-holes (*Nerwal*). For this purpose, at the every distribution point, a wooden plank with holes of equal diameter is fixed in the irrigation channel and water is equally divided without any biasness between/among the village sections (Photo 1). In the study area the available water is first divided between the two village sections i.e. Pakhtori and Nichagh following the same principle. To avoid overflow of water in the channel two secondary holes are also added (Fig 2).

Following this division the water of Nichagh is allocated to the village sections for irrigation. Each section has its own shares in the form of *Sorogh* and has their own system of management. However, the share of Pakhtori is further subdivided into three equal parts by fixing another *Nerwal* (Photo 2) and the available water is divided among the three localities namely; Tosoon, Bohchain and Thonio tack. Each of this division irrigates a number of hamlets and settlement sections (Fig 2).

**Table1:** Seasonal changes in the allocation of water to village sections in Kushum

Date/irrigation Season	Pakhturi		Nichagh	
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower
( <i>Ochio-ough</i> )				
First irrigation Up to 25 June	Only day water is used in this part to irrigate the crops, trees and grasses.	Only night water is used in this part to irrigate the crops, plantation etc.	Day water is used in this part to irrigate the crops, plantation etc.	Night water is used for irrigation to irrigate the crops, plantation etc.
<i>Gologho-ough</i> 25 June-14 July	Both day and night water are used in this part of the village	This section of the village has no water during this period	-do-	-do-
<i>Golo-Sorogh</i>				
14 July to 10 September	-do-	-do-	Both day and night water are used in this locality except for 48 hours	48 hours water both day and night on every 9th day is used to irrigate this area
<i>Kishmao-ough</i> 10 September to 5 November	-do-	-do-	Both day and night water is used in this area	No water in this section of the village
<i>Kishmano-ough</i> 5 November to end of December	No water in this locality	Both day and night water is used to irrigate the field before plowing	No water in this region	Both day and night water is used to irrigate the field before plowing
January to March/ April	Due to low temperature agricultural activities cease and irrigation water is no more needed in the whole village. It is free and few households irrigate their filed and orchards to increase soil moisture and preserve it for early spring.			

After proper and unbiased appropriation of water among the main village sections the allocation of shares and utilization of irrigation water begins. This system very closely follows the cropping season and based on the actual need of the co-owners.

For efficient utilization the irrigation water of Pakhtori and Nichagh is once again divided into day and night water. The allocation of the day and night water to upper and lower parts of the main village sections – Nichagh and Pakhtori – also varies depending on the location of fields and cropping seasons. Special care is taken to minimize the water losses through evaporation. Therefore, from the beginning of the irrigation season to the end the day and night water is exclusively used in upper or lower parts of the respective village sections (Table 1 above).

At the start of the irrigation season, April to 25 June, the day-water is used in the upper parts while the night water is in the lower parts of Nichagh and Pakhtori respectively. This is known as water for greenery or *Ochio-ough* which the co-owners ensure through a rotation system on turn basis according to their own shares. However, after 25<sup>th</sup> June both day and night water of Pakhtori is exclusively used in the upper part till the first week of November, and this is known as *Gologho-ough*. Whereas in the case of the share of Nichagh, the lower part receives the night water and the upper part the day water till 14 July.. From mid-July to 10<sup>th</sup> September both day and night water is used in the upper part of Nichagh and the lower part receives 48 hours of water every 9<sup>th</sup> day, and this water is called *Golo-Sorogh* (cf. Fig 2). In the upper part of Nichagh due to high altitude, the cultivation of winter crops begins in the month of September; therefore, from 10<sup>th</sup> of September to the first week of November both day and night water is used in the upper part of Nichagh to irrigate the fields before sowing. Around 5<sup>th</sup> November the sowing of winter crops starts in the lower parts of the village sections and both day and night water are exclusively used in these parts of the respective village sections, and this water is called sowing water or locally *Kishmano-ough*.



**Photo 1:** Water appropriation between main village sections through Newal System



**Photo 2:** Division of water among the hamlets by Nerwal system

Water allocation to different section of the village is very closely associated with altitude and cropping season. In the beginning of the irrigation season water is needed both in the lower and upper parts of the village. The day water is allocated for the upper parts that are relatively closer to the water source and the lower parts are further away and night water is allocated to them to avoid evaporation in keeping the warm and arid milieu in consideration. However, after the completion of harvest in the low lying neighborhoods irrigation water is diverted to the upper parts where higher altitude delays crop harvest. Nevertheless, to irrigate orchards and plantations a fixed amount of water is allowed to flow to the lower part. The arrangement remains in vogue up to the month of November when sowing of winter crop is completed there. Since then irrigation water is no more needed in the higher altitude neighborhoods and sowing season starts in the lower parts, thus the available water is totally allocated to this part till December i.e. completion of sowing season of winter crops. In the beginning of the winter season irrigation water became free for all and similar to the practices in Ladakh (cf. Osmaston et. al., 1994) fallow land, grasses and irrigated plantation are irrigated to conserve soil moisture and minimize soil erosion during the dry period.

At micro level the water shares and management mechanisms are quite complex and vary from one hamlet to another. Each unit has its own co-owners and independent system of water distribution. Appropriation rules and management

mechanisms have been formulated in the past and these are successfully functioning for more than a century. However, with the passage of time new owners are added due to the disintegration of the nuclear families and the shares of the household is decreasing both in amount and duration. For smooth running of the system and minimize conflicts the shares of the co-owners are strictly maintained. Conflicts arise among the users usually during the autumn sowing season mainly because of increasing demand and decreasing volume of water in the irrigation channel. However, such disputes are resolved locally. To highlight the traditional management system as a response of the local inhabitants to decreasing water shares a case study of a *Chakhtogh* is presented below in detail.

### Case Study of Khoniz

Khoniz is one of the oldest hamlets of Kushum. It is located in the center of the main village and 34 households inhabit this hamlet. The total population was 250 persons in 2009. Unlike other hamlets of Kushum where majority of the households participate in the seasonal movement very few households from this village move to the high altitude summer settlements. The year-round availability of water is one of the main reasons.

The main source of irrigation water for this hamlet is a *Chakhtogh* that is diverted from the water of Nichagh. Additionally spring water is also added to it on the way to the hamlet. The irrigation channel taken out from Nichagh is about 8-kilometers long. Similar to all other irrigation channels and distributaries it is also unlined and almost half of the total amount of water is lost on the way due to seepage and evaporation. This structure needs annual and emergency repair and that is done by the shareholder on pre-formulated rules based on their water shares. However, both the topography of the village and layout of the channel is quite safe except landslides and silting in few sections; the irrigators face no other problem. Usually the channel is repaired before the beginning of the irrigation season in the first week of April. All the co-owners provide labor based on their water shares for this repair and following the necessary maintenance work; irrigation activities begin in the village.

The water of Khoniz is initially divided into six-day cycle or six *Soroghs* of 24-hour duration and the co-owners irrigate their fields and plantation on turn basis. It seems likely that at the very initial stage there would have been only six households in that hamlet. However, with the passage of time the number of shareholder increased disproportionately (Figure 3). Consequently except one household the water shares of others decreased in terms of duration and quantity. At the time of fieldwork shares of the households varied from a maximum of 24 hours to a minimum of only 45 minutes in the six-day cycle. Only 12 per cent of the

households have more than 12 hours water share and more than 35 percent have less than one-hour in the six-day cycle. It means that for majority of households the duration of water shares are not enough even to irrigate a single field at the time of severe water shortage in the channel. Therefore, the decedents of the principal owner 1 and 6 have reorganized their shares and started their own rotation system. Thus, they have increased their respective shares at the cost of duration. Now four households are getting less than two hours of water shares in 12 days and 11 households are receiving less than 2 hours in 24 days (Figure 3). These households have blood relationship and usually cooperate with each other in a reciprocal way. Moreover, most of them also have water rights in other parts of the village and they also exchange their shares at the time of emergency. Thus, the respondents have reported minor conflicts among the co-sharing households. However, water related conflicts are seldom taken to the court of law rather solved locally through arbitration.

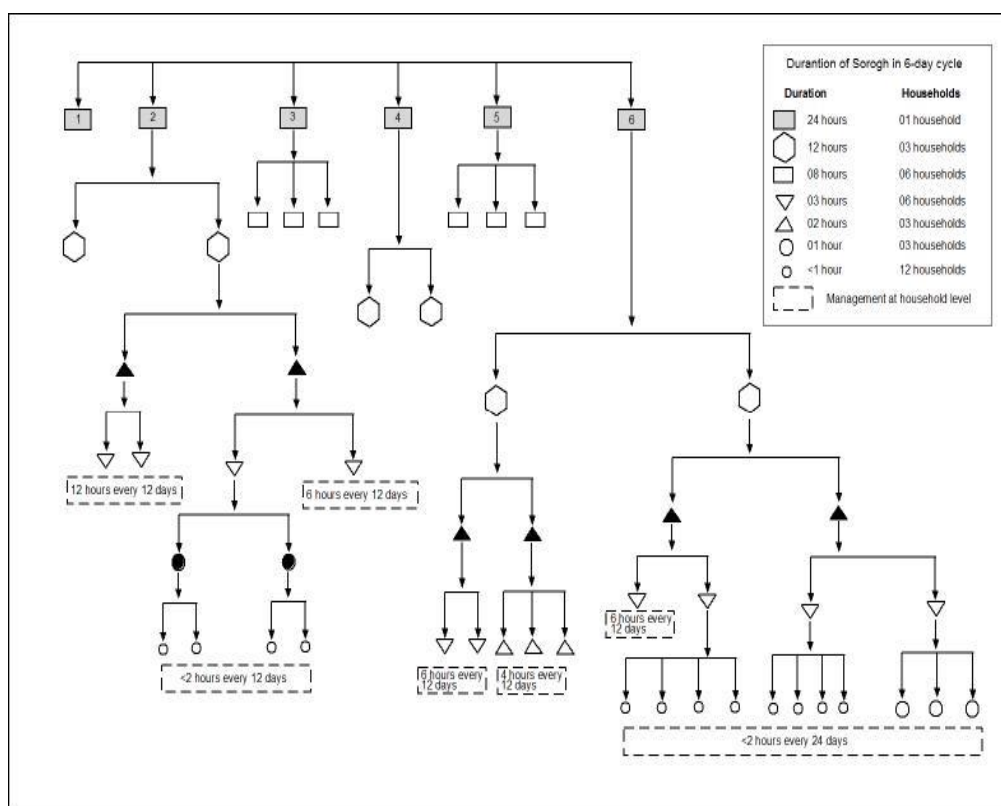


Figure 3: Irrigation water shares and management at micro level (Khoniz)



## Conclusion

This study highlights the coping mechanisms adopted by the mountain farmers in response to an acute scarcity of irrigation water. The diurnal and seasonal allocation of water to different sections of the village is one of the creative adjustments to sustain livelihood in a harsh environment. The traditional appropriation system that is in practice for the last many generations is unbiased and equity is maintained amongst the village sections and consequently conflict potential has been reduced to the minimum possible level. Nevertheless, the shares of the co-owners are decreasing both in terms of duration and quantity due to demographic development and disintegration of nuclear families. Similar to other localities in the Hindu Kush (Fazlur-Rahman 2009) and Karakorum (Ehlers 2008), locally available resources are under huge stress. Therefore, any future changes in precipitation pattern can not only transform water availability but also jeopardizes the livelihood strategies and food security of the local population.

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## Bakhtin's Dialogic Analytical and Naipaul's "Crossing the Border" Discourse

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### Abstract

Naipaul's fictional works *A House for Mr Biswas* and *The Mimic Men* are analysed using the analytical formulation of Bakhtin's dialogism. The primary contention is to explore the dialogic space that Naipaul has given to the protagonists in the given fictional work. Moreover, Bakhtin's Dialogic is employed as a theoretical foundation to debate around the issue with reference to the mentioned works of Naipaul. While there is clarity of perception governing colonial discourse on the marginalization of the colonized, postcolonial writings like those of Naipaul suffer from inherent contradiction. In the end, it reflects that the application of the Bakhtin Dialogic is an undesirable proposition. As an auxiliary of the given contention, it leads to multicultural global citizenship with tolerance for ethnic diversities and affiliation. On the contrary, Naipaul is found to be monologic, sparing very little space for the counter discourse. Naipaul's own ideological preferences prohibit him from portraying the Third World in its true colour; he always sees this world inferior in juxtaposition to the Western. In globalised era, heterogeneity is considered necessary for the co-existence of various cultures but Naipaul's writing mainly focus upon assimilation and homogenization leaving no space for heterogeneity. His representations only validate his own viewpoint of the western superiority.

**Keywords:** hybridity, multicultural, transgression, boundaries, dialogic, monologic, crossing the border, postcolonial, universalism

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## Introduction

Expatriate writers occupy a significant position in postcolonial literature, trying to address the cultural and religious clichés existing between the West and their former colonies which has become a subject of criticism due to the West having left its cultural marks on their historical and cultural evolution. Notwithstanding, some writers negotiate with these clichés in order to transgress the boundaries which function as inhibition to the postcolonial societies. Diasporic authors, nevertheless, consciously, sometimes unconsciously, try to disrupt the binaries of centre and periphery, home and exile and in, Bhabha's, suggestion to find the hybrid place. But some writers, like V.S. Naipaul, took a one-sided view by completely rejecting the primordial in the postcolonial societies of Africa, the Muslim World, South Asia and the Caribbean. Through the process of alienation and exile, Naipaul has developed a complex view of the world, counting upon the adoption of a westernized universalistic view at the cost of that of the postcolonial writers which is the popular view. This study contends that Naipaul's writings are mainly monologic, focusing upon assimilation and homogeneity; a monologic contention, in the word of Bakhtin, leaving no space for heterogeneity and plurality that are necessary for the co-existence of various cultures in the contemporary globalised world. Naipaul does not render expression to the repressed silenced voices, and a monologic strain prevails in his works. Naipaul's vision is clearly one of acculturation instead of interculturalisation that resonates more with Bakhtin's dialogic discourse and may be defined as the co-existence in two or more cultures.

## Bakhtin's Theory of Dialogism

This study employs Bakhtin theory of dialogism to analyse the works of Naipaul: *A House for Mr Biswas* and *The Mimic Men*. In the works proposed to be reviewed in the following part of this research, critics have commented on the majority of the contentions of Naipaul from different perspective which they deem appropriate. In the proposed study I have tried to test Naipaul on the criterion of Dialogic discourse. Dialogism as a concept was developed by Russian scholar Michael Bakhtin and refers to the possibility of more than one perspective or point of view. The dialogic utterance is a conception of language considered as a form of dialogue — interaction among people. Dialogic relation termed as double voiced discourse, where two voices can be heard in the very same worlds. Bakhtin describes dialogism as an "internally dialogised language that has two voices, two intentions, two linguistic consciousness within a single enunciation" (Bakhtin, 1981: 426). This type of dialogism refers to utterance that implies a second voice. Watts (2000) defines a dialogic text as a text in which "numerous viewpoints are given equal validity and diverse consciousness are represented."

The dialogic work counters with the monologic one in which single voice dictates that does not give space to other voices or viewpoints. According to Michael Gardiner: “Monologism for Bakhtin describes a condition where in the matrix of ideological values signifying practices and creative impulses that constitute the living reality of language, are subordinated to a single, unified consciousness or perspective”(Gardiner, 1992: 26). In monologic or monophonic work, author creates a world of autonomous subjects not objects. In such work text is subordinated to the monologic will of the author. The characters lack autonomous creativity, rather they only serve to represent author’s ideological viewpoint. It suppresses multiplicity of points of view in favour of a dominant discourse.

In dialogic work, the author’s voice does not dominate but there is representation of varied viewpoints, through different characters. The textual analysis of these texts will reveal how much Naipaul is dialogic in his fiction works. In these fiction of Naipaul We shall see how various characters build up dialogic relationship among them. We shall see if dialogic relationship is constructed in these texts.

## Analysis and Discussion

### Naipaul’s Person as Reflected by Himself

This article analyses two semi-autobiographical works of Naipaul: *A House for Mr Biswas* and *The Mimic Men*. Both fictions, written in the early era of Naipaul’s writing, are deep-rooted in ambience of Trinidad, where Naipaul spent his early years of life. Naipaul’s supposedly creates a monologic world by providing his own background of deprivation as core of his writing. He replicates his own background of up-rootedness while portraying his characters wherein the quest for identity becomes the main motif. According to Theorox: “True dereliction in Naipaul’s writing is incurious . . . forcing the memory to make a picture of the past” (Theorox, 1972:102). So, the sense of chaos resulting from estrangement of the roots becomes emblem of these disposed colonials.

Vididhar Surijprasad Naiopaul was born on 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1932 in Chugnuas, Trinidad, into a family of Indian Brahmin origin. Naipaul is a third generation West Indian of East Indian descent whose ancestors were brought to the West Indies in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to work on the sugarcane plantations following the emancipation of slaves in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The Caribbean society comprised people of many races from India, Africa, China, etc. including blacks. These people had marginalized status in the society. These people were also confined in their own rigid philosophies that did not let them become part of that society. Naipaul grew up in such a society with great revulsion for such society and he always tried to escape from this society. He often distances himself from the West Indian world, as depicted in most of his

works. According to William Welsh: “ But Naipaul is also a remarkably free untethered soul, an expatriate on his birth place, an alien in his ancestral land, a disengaged observer of Britain and other countries” (Welsh, 1973:25).

Naipaul's works are deeply rooted in his personal lifetime experience personified as Biswas has been reconstruction of the life of his father and Singh in *The Mimic Men* has much likeliness with Biswas' son, Anand. As Biswas is depiction of Naipaul's father, so in a way, Singh is representation of Naipaul himself. *A House for Mr Biswas* concludes with Anand embarking upon journey to Oxford on scholarship and *The Mimic Men* begins with his life in London, the metropolitan centre. Welsh says: “*A House for Mr Biswas* and *The Mimic Men* examine the same subject at different moments in time and space, at different points in their social evolution” (Welsh, 1973:99).

Naipaul's feeling of being exotic in all the cultures whether it is Trinidadian society, the place of his birth, or India the country of his origin or lastly, the land of his growth and education, London, forced him to claim a new identity in the world. This feeling of being perpetually in exile is prevalent in all his writing. Chancy says: “The condition of exile crosses the boundaries of self and other, of citizenship and nationality, of home and homeland. It is the condition of consistent, continual displacement; it is the radical uprooting of all that one is and stand for, in a communal context without the loss of the knowledge of those roots.” Edward Said opines: “Exile is predicated on the existence of, love for, and a real bond with one's native place; the universal truth of exile not that one has lost that love or home, but that inherent in each is an unexpected, unwelcome loss (Said, 1993:336).

Many critics have pointed out Naipaul's adherence to the Western world. AbdelRahman in “V.S. Naipaul: The White Traveller under the dark mask” criticizes Naipaul for his adherence to a universal culture instead of multiculturalism. He compares Naipaul with Gulliver and categorizes him among those self-inflicted protagonist of cultures, where the non-western are the cause of all the problems. He further says that the sense of inferiority is very much prevalent that virtually incites the writer to internalize the values of colonizers by assimilating their symbolism.

Naipaul has been accused by critics of using Western norms and values as a criterion through which he judges the non-western, African, Muslim and even his own Indian and Trinidadian community. Unlike the postcolonial authors, who question the supremacy of the western discourse and reconsider the values of the marginalized to bridge the gap between centre and margin, Naipaul preaches adherence to the universal/western culture instead of celebrating differences and cultural heterogeneity. Lamming condemned Naipaul for “being ashamed of his

cultural background” (Lamming, 1992: 225). Unlike dialogic fiction that have often been evoking multiple voices; numerous perspectives and alternative point of view, Naipaul’s monologic work is written in the perspective of orientalist/universalist discourse. Achebe fiction is considered to have been having multiple voices, he writes back to empire. Bakhtin exemplifies Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky for presenting true dialogic discourse in his novels. Bakhtin states that Dostoevsky created “a world of autonomous subjects, not objects” (Bakhtin, 1984:7).

Both fiction, written against the backdrop of newly postcolonial societies, offer bleak vision of East Indians in Trinidad, who are fixed in static Indian culture instead of being in dialogue with the modern world. As a member of ritualistic societies, these characters are excluded from mainstream. In their rigid world, many real and imagined boundaries serve as constriction to embrace the complexities of postcolonial world. There is portrayal of parasitic, primitive and mimic societies. Although both characters seems to fight void in their lives but their social and personal constraint do not let them cross the boundaries. Monologic strain is predominant in both fictions as Naipaul’s own consciousness dominates the works.

### **Lost in the Identity: The Case of Biswas**

In *A House for Mr Biswas*, house is symbolic of Biswas’s desire to retain his cultural identity. The time span of this fiction is forty six years starting with birth of Biswas and culminating on his demise. Mr. Biswas’s life and achievement are interpreted against the backdrop of West Indian society. Biswas, throughout the fiction strives to forge a new identity by owning a house. His whole life is in fact a quest for a new identity.

Naipaul monologism is reflected in portraying fallible culture of Third World societies. Since the beginning of his life, Biswas is portrayed a luckless child. He has six fingers and he is fated to have unlucky sneeze. He is warned not to go near the water. At the birth of Biswas, various rituals are performed revealing orthodoxy of Hindu tradition. Pundit is called according to orthodox Hindu tradition to anticipate the fate of the newborn. Pundit anticipates his bad luck: “First of all the features of this unfortunate boy. He will have good teeth, but they will be rather wide, and there will be space between them. I suppose you know what they mean. The boy will be a lecher and spendthrift” (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 16).

Then someone asks Pundit about his sixth finger. He replies thus:

“What about the six fingers, pundit?” “That’s a shocking sign, of course. The only thing I can advise is to keep him away from trees and water.



Particularly water" (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 16). Unluckily when Biswas's father searching for him, drowns in the pond, the voices raise against unlucky Biswas: "That boy!" Dhari said. "He has murdered my calf and now he has eaten up his own father" (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 29).

These dialogues between various characters clearly reflect primitiveness of Third World people, who believe in the role of destiny instead of having rational attitude towards various things. All the main happenings of the novel are conveyed to us through the narrative of novel, in fact that serves a persona for Naipaul to convey his viewpoint. Naipaul's double voice utterances fail to acclaim dialogism because of his monologic approach. He does not give much space to the counterargument, although there is emergence of polyphonic voice sometimes but at the end his authorial viewpoint dominates. According to Bakhtin dialogism not merely refers to dialogues but also implies authorial position in a work. In Biswas case we find the dialogic sense of truth is lacking, as Bakhtin argued that dialogic sense of truth makes the wholesome fiction. But here we find that Biswas has become a victim of various apprehensions since his birth. The dialogues among various characters and third person narrative emphasize Biswas's condition clearly of a trapped and displaced person, and his whole life is a struggle against breaking of all these shackles. After death of his father Ragu, life really becomes very difficult for Mr Biswas. He has to change his jobs often and he also has to experience the dispossession of the house. And third person narrative conveys the view that for the next 35 years "he was a wanderer with no place to call his own" (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 35).

Naipaul's biases about Third World are quite evident as again, he portrays lack of refinement in behaviors of East Indians. Biswas Works with Pit Jairam and then with Ajodhia, but he is unable to fit himself. Bhandhat beats Biswas mercilessly for suspecting him of stealing a dollar: "he raised his arm brought the belt on Mr Biswas. Whenever the buckle struck a bone, it made a sharp sound. Suddenly Mr. Biswas howled: 'O' God! O God! My eye! My eye! My eye!' Bhadat stopped. Mr Biswas had been cut on the cheek-bone and the blood had run below his eye" (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 5).

Comparing Naipaul with other postcolonial authors like Amitav Ghosh, who allows the voices of his characters to be heard along with his own voice. On the contrary, in *A House for Mr. Biswas*, Biswas' inability make himself heard is quite explicit in the novel. Biswas is portrayed as a person, who is even scared to voice his own opinion, he is mostly shut in his monologic world. Even when Tulsi family is enforcing him to get married to their daughter, he is unable to resist. "Yes," Mr. Biswas said helplessly. "I like the child." "That is the main thing," Seth said. "We don't want to force you to do anything. Are we forcing you?" Mr. Biswas remained

silent. Seth gave another disparaging little laugh and poured tea into his mouth, holding the cup away from his lips, chewing and clacking between pours.” Eh, boy, are we forcing you?” “No,” Mr. Biswas said.” You are not forcing me.” “All right, then. What’s upsetting you?” Mrs. Tulsi smiled at Mr. Biswas.” The poor boy is shy. I know” (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 82).

Naipaul has often criticized lack of linear approach in postcolonial societies. So there is rejection of enclosed ways of life Hanuman House that are portrayed with satirical tone .This abode of rich Tulsi family is depicted as a symbol of disintegrated Trinidadian Hindu life, who are unable to fully adjust the transformation that resulted from decolonization. There is a war between old and new traditions. These people don’t adopt or change according to new social realities. Naipaul depicts cyclical approach of Trinidadian Hindus. In Hunumaun House all the orthodox Hindu customs and traditions are forcibly imposed upon the family member, fearing any interference of the western culture and traditions. Naipaul clearly abhors the stifling life style of East Indian in Trinidad. The life style of Tulsi exemplifies such a society. This family is enclosed in its own monologic idiosyncrasies. This family also lacks any racial or social co-existence:

Mr. Biswas went to the bedroom. The window was closed and the room was dark, but enough light came in to make everything distinct: his clothes on the wall, the bed rumpled from Mrs. Tulsi’s rest. Violating his fastidiousness, he lay down on the bed. The musty smell of old thatch was mingled with the smell of Mrs. Tulsi’s medicaments: bay rum, soft candles, Canadian Healing Oil, ammonia. He didn’t feel a small man, but the clothes which hung so despairingly from the nail on the mud wall were definitely the clothes of a small man, comic, make-believe clothes (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 141).

These comments by the narrator serving a persona for the author, portrays well, the closed world of Tulsi, shut in the world of outdated beliefs and traditions. Here Naipul also presents Biswas a caricature, a comic figure.

The portrayal of Tulsi house exemplifies well the Trinidadian Indian, who wants to go back to their roots and is unable to become part of the Caribbean society. The narrator of the novel says these people thought their stay at Trinidad was temporary and that they had great desire to return to India.

They could not speak English and were not interested in the land where they lived; it was a place where they had come for a short time and stayed longer than they expected. They continually talked of going back

to India, but when the opportunity came, many refused, afraid of the unknown, afraid to leave the familiar temporariness. And every evening they came to the arcade of the solid, friendly house, smoked, told stories, and continued to talk of India (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 172).

Biswas rebels against Tulsi family, as he feels himself to be trapped by its wearing out traditions and culture. Naipaul clearly advocates a position by portraying Biswas breaking free from the rigid convention in favor of modern values given by the colonials. This stresses the point that Naipaul has agenda of only privileging the Western world and this monologic approach reiterates in his works. The escapist tendency of Biswas is quite evident. He tries to be independent by opting different profession, initially he manages a grocery store, then a journalist, a painter etc but he is unable to get rid of the shackles of Hunomaun House. The feeling of insecurity remains constant element in his life. Mostly there is authorial voice, Naipaul himself narrates the events. Biswas is described against such background:

When he got to Green Vale it was dark. Under the trees it was night. The sounds from the barracks were assertive and isolated one from the other: snatches of talk, the sound of frying, a shout, the cry of a child: sounds thrown up at the starlit sky from a place that was nowhere, a dot on the map of the island, which was a dot on the map of the world. The dead trees ringed the barracks; a wall of flawless black. He locked himself in his room (*A House for Mr Biswas*, 21).

Naipaul's adherence to western world is quite evident when he depicts Biswas in favour of the colonialism in Algeria, Biswas is very emotional, when his son Anand reads a poem from *Bell's Standard Elocutionist*. When he reads of death of soldier in Algeria, Biswas feels very much sympathy for them. So this apparently reveals Naipaul's favourable attitude towards colonial power. According to Dogmar Barnouw in *Naipaul Strangers*: "But there would always be expressions of his frustration with troubled postcolonial societies that made him vulnerable to accusations of an enduring sympathy for colonialism" (Barnouw, 2007: 6, 7).

Biswas attempts two times to have a house, his one house is ravaged by storm and other is accidentally burnt. Biswas builds his houses at Greene Vale, then at Shorthills and dies in a house in Sikkim Street. Biswas is able to succeed in getting his independent house away from the Tulsi family." But bigger than them all was the house, his house, how terrible it would have been, at this time to be without it: to have died among Tulsis, amid the squalor of that large, disintegrating and indifferent family; to have left Shama and the children among them, in one room; worse, to have lived without even attempting to lay claim to one's portion of the

earth; to have lived and died as one had been born, unnecessary and unaccommodated" ( *A House for Mr Biswas*, 12, 13)

Mr Biswas dies at the age of 46 due to ill health. He has frequent trips to hospital. He misses his son Anand very much, who has been away from him. He has the wish, when he passes away the sentinel, in which he has been writing stories, the headline should be ROVING REPORTER PASSES ON (HB, 531) but his death in the Sentinel was reported as JOURNALIST DIES SUDDENLY. No other paper carried the news. An announcement came over twice on re-diffusion sets all over the island. But that was he paid for" ( *A House for Mr Biswas*, 531). So in this way Mr. Biswas's life concludes after his lifelong struggle. He is unable to leave his footmark due to his restraints of circumstances and also constraints of the self. Thus ending of this novel is clearly monologic, as conclusive end of Biswas' life is portrayed.

### Lost in the Duality of Self: The Case of *The Mimic Men*

*The Mimic Men* depicts dialogue of the protagonist with his own self. Singh's world is greatly monologic. The first person narrative is employed and Naipaul wants us to see all events through Ralph Singh's viewpoint that is in a way Naipaul's own point of view. The voice of this implied author remains dominant.

Through reminiscence of his past, the protagonist's world view is shaped. This fiction is expanded on 20 year-time span, starting with his early life in Isabella, fictional name for Trinidad to his life in the Centre. Even in the metropolitan centre, London, he suffers the same fragmentation of his self, as Boehme says: "Colonials who migrate to the capital do not escape alienation" (Boehme, 1995: 178). In his interview with Hamilton, Naipaul asserted: "London is my metropolitan centre; it is my commercial centre; and yet I know that it is a kind of limbo and that I am a refugee in the sense that I am always peripheral. One's concerns are not the concerns of the local people" (Hammer, 1977: 41).

Singh is presented as an exilic colonial politician, who tries to bring order in his life by writing down his memoir at the age of 40. All the events take place in Isabella and London. He contemplates his school days during the post-war years and his experiences in London. There are few dialogues in *The Mimic Men*, almost everything is discussed through first person narrative. In *The norms of answerability*, it is described that "The dialogic can be discussed on both the level of language and consciousness; on the level of the signification of word, of the discursive style, and beyond these limits cross cultural contexts themselves" (Nielsen, 2002:63). But here we see Singh harping on the same views as Naipaul; it seems as whatever he says it supplements Naipaul's own views about the Third World. Singh's views very much

resemble Naipaul's own views which he has often expressed about postcolonial societies. Singh has disparaging view of the Third World. While condemning the Third World people, he says: "We lack order. Above all, we lack power, and we don't understand that we lack power. We mistake words and acclamation of words for power; as soon as our bluff is called we are lost" (*The Mimic Men*, 10, 11). Singh has also inclination for self-contempt; he is always frustrated and disappointed. Searle (1984) discusses cultural imperialism of Naipaul manifested through his writings. By portraying all this, Naipaul is definitely stressing the validity of his own monologic vision of the superiority of the Western world.

Self-visualizing permeates the novel *The Mimic Men*. Ralph Singh visualizes the various dialogues from his silences past; in fact he the futility of decolonization is reconstructed. Dareshwar writes that the sense of inevitability which surrounds Singh's exile is heightened by "the insistent narrative voice which though it talks about a hybrid world — manages to exclude dialogism and heterogeneous or mixed form of self- fashioning" (Dareshwar, 91). Here Dhareshwar is referring to Singh's narration but the other narrative "voice," that of the implied author also limits Singh's provision for self- fashioning. The use of speaker unconscious irony is used as a narrative strategy which demands that the reader should privileges the voice of the implied author over that of narrator.

Naipaul never presents possibilities for postcolonial world. Singh believes centre to be located somewhere else. He always feels himself adrift. His feeling of being shipwreck prevents him from getting any sense of achievement. Singh like Naipaul considers Isabella the most inferior place in the world. In *The Middle Passage*, Naipaul writes that in a colonial society "every man had to be for himself, every man had to grasp whatever dignity and power he was allowed; he owed no loyalty to the island and scarcely to his group" (*The Middle Passage*, 1972:72). Naipaul has commented about the Caribbean islands that, "they will continue to be the half-made societies of the dependent people, the Third World's third world. They will forever consume; they will never create" (Naipaul, 1972: 271).

Naipaul hammers on his viewpoint of Western superiority by denying any authentic selves in Third World people. He portrays the Caribbean region as a place in which people are devoid of authentic self. Edward Said condemns Naipaul for adhering to the cause of Western World in his works. He says: "Naipaul is not interested in Third World ...which [he] never addresses but in the metropolitan intellectuals whose approval [he] seems quite desperate to have" (Said, 1986:53). Many of critics like Edward Said have indicted Naipaul of having First world reader in his mind, while writing.

Singh's inability to create balance between abstract and concrete realities engenders fatal self-division, hampering the path to progress; and this reflects Naipaul's understanding of the challenges that confronts East Indians living in Trinidad. Due to their vastly varied traditions, rituals, and beliefs, the East Indian community in Trinidad remained aloof from other communities. In his "Noble Lecture", Naipaul expressed the difficulties he encountered in his early life in Trinidad, where the Indian community lived self-centred existences that provided them a sense of protection." So as a child I had the sense of two worlds, the world outside that tall corrugated iron- gate, and the world at home" (Naipaul, 2003: 187). In *The Mimic Men*, too, every person is confined to his/her own personal world of fantasy, as this world provides them with a refuge from the chaos of life 'outside'. In these disintegrated and inorganic societies, people find no other alternative than to mimic the metropolitan values and culture. The sense of insecurity and inferiority in the marginal nation results in their mimicry of the Western model. Singh permanently strives to overcome his lost sense of identity that resulted from his estrangement from the dominant culture.

Singh is afraid of being his true identity revealed but the truth is exposed when he has to change his institution, and his birth certificate is consulted. He clarifies that Ranjit is his secret Hindu name, and it is imposed by him and from Hinduism point view he cannot reveal it in the public. His reply is to the investigators:

"But this leaves you anonymous"

"Exactly. That's where the calling of Ralph is useful. The calling name is unimportant and can be taken in vein by anyone." (*The Mimic Men*, 94)

This implies that for him western identity is more important, he adheres to the terrain of the western world. But converting himself into other, he utters sardonic remarks about his own self.

“I broke Kripalsingh into two, correctly reviving an ancient fracture, as I felt; gave myself. R. K Singh. At school I was known as Ralph Singh. The name Ralph I chose for the sake of the initial, and it helped in school reports, where I was simply Singh R (*The Mimic Men*, , 93)

This affirmation of Singh adopted identity can be seen clear disruption of the border between self and other. Naipaul’s notion of assimilation of Western values remains recurrent as Naipaul’s displaced characters try to overcome their marginality by identifying with, and adapting to, colonial ways of living. Singh consciously tries to estrange himself from his true identity. But all of these efforts prove only to be act of self- deception.

Futility of struggle is depicted to point out the fixed order found in the Third World countries. All Singh’s attempts are directed at transcending the boundary of this stifled society but all his efforts meet with failure. Singh is fully aware of the transitions in the world. Singh wants to leave a significant mark on the world history. But he is unable to bring any change due to his trapped position. Naipaul fully exposes how individuals are caught into outdated systems of postcolonial societies. Even in London, Singh realizes his position as trapped person: “we were trapped into fixed flat postures” (*The Mimic Men*, 27)

Singh, like Biswas, too, reveals his fascination for the empire. Singh, despite taking part in anti-colonial nationalist movement, he longs for the order of the colonial. Robert. M. Greenberg in “Anger and Alchemy of Literary Method Political Fiction: the Case of Mimic Men” has evaluated various approaches of critics on Naipaul. He refers to the dualistic approach of Naipaul that according to him: “a dualistic approach persists in his world view: he is an individual of color with a particular set of formative experiences, and he is a displaced western cultural conservative with a hierarchical and transnational sense of standards and social order including the value of the empire.”

Singh ever remains a drifting self as estrangement from his roots has created chaos in his life. He feels the same alienation between himself and the land whether he is in Isabella or in London. He ends his journey from where, he has initiated it. According to Robert K. Morris: “Every one of Singh’s action is matched by counteraction. Marriage ends in divorce, riches in poverty, success in failure, power in helplessness, respect in scorn, popularity in isolation, creation in destruction” (Morris, 1975: 67). Ultimately, he finds no other way but to follow the course, delineated by his former colonial masters. After his failure as a politician, he finds no other way than to go to London. This journey to the Centre is an endeavour to find the real being, another self that he fails to find in Isabella.

But in Centre, too, Singh does not find any possibilities for himself. In London, Singh realizes: “that my own journey scarcely begun had ended in the shipwreck which all my life, I had sought to avoid” (*The Mimic Men*, 6). Moreover, Naipaul has presented a drab and dull vision of New World in *The Mimic Men*, where people have lost authenticity and certainty with the withdrawal of the old order. Marginal individuals, like Singh are unable to bring any significant change on personal or social level due to cultural, geographical and economic marginality of their societies.

Singh’s overtiredness in life reveals his realization of the pointlessness of struggle in his life. These words uttered by Singh portray quite a bleak vision of a person, belonging to peripheral society: “A man, I suppose, fights only when he hopes, when he has a vision of order, when he feels strongly there is some connection between the earth on which he walks and himself. But there was my vision of a disorder which it was beyond any one man to put right” (*The Mimic Men*, 207). The ending of the novel is clearly monological. A monological work evokes definitive meanings and dialogism evokes multiple meanings. A dialogised work is never finalized but here we see Singh finalizing his argument.

## Conclusion

Unlike Achebe, who offers multivoiced accounts, Naipaul’s writing is dominated by single voice discourse that is contrary to dialogic character that stipulates identifying with both the culture. His texts only fix on the western culture superiority. His own ideological preferences stand in his way as his loathsome attitude towards third world countries and his nostalgic appreciation of the empire are the complex facets of Naipaul’s writings. His idealization of imperial culture prohibits him from seeing third world in its true colour, therefore, all of his pre supposition are pre imposed, where second or third voice is not given due space.

There is scarcely a dialogical plurality but monological strain prevails at last. Naipaul is unable to fit into Dostoevsky pattern of dialogism or polyphonic as he is unable to transgress the boundaries. Naipaul double voice utterances fail to acclaim dialogism because of monologic approach. The real dialogism is missing in both works: *A House for Mr Biswas* and *The Mimic Men*, as Naipaul’s own persistent viewpoint remains dominant. For Bakhtin language and particularly the language of novel is a complex dialogue of voices, each voice having its own unique language of its own ideology, culture and social stratum. (Glover, 2000:37) Naipaul is unable to fit into Dostoevsky pattern of dialogism as later is unable to transgress the boundaries.



These fictions are not a multivocal account of Biswas and Singh, rather Naipaul presents a world appropriating western hegemony. Naipaul aligns backwardness to the Third world people. His dialogism only serves to point out backwardness of Third World society, while emphasizing the superiority of the West. Naipaul can't be grouped with Achebe, Soyink. He does not give space to the counter argument in his works. Instead of anti-Western attitude, he endorses the pro-Western attitude.

Both fictions of Naipaul lack dialogic interaction. Trying to find Bakhtin's dialogism in Naipaul tends to be an undesirable proposition, as there are hardly two voices. Naipaul does not represent the heteroglot world of polyphonic/dialogic novels as Bakhtin regards Dostoyevsky's novels as polyphonic, where multiple voice are interacting with complete identity and autonomy.

Naipaul universalist/Eurocentric approach prevents him from establishing a dialogic relationship with his characters in the fiction. We can discern other voices sometimes, but they are finally overpowered by the author's dominant viewpoint. Even the dialogues between various characters reflect western hegemony. He intends to force the reader to see through his vision. By portraying weak protagonists, he emphasizes the validity of his own viewpoint of Western superiority. The characters only make the point, Naipaul wants to make, the supremacy of the western values. Naipaul representation falsifies his own view of cultural openness, making his own position questionable.

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## Implementation of Public Sector Reforms in Pakistan: A Contextual Model

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### Abstract

It is an established fact that implementation of public sector management reforms is complex and often linked to contextual factors but it does not preclude the possibility of finding commonalities across different settings and learning general lessons that can inform future implementation and policy making. The study in question attempts to develop a contextual model for implementation of public sector management reforms in Pakistan through deductive-inductive logic. The model is intended to provide a framework within which the main forces for and against public management reform can be identified and placed in relation to one another in addition to providing a reference benchmark (archetype) for real-world reform implementation endeavors. Based on interview with individuals working on key position in public sector organizations (key Informant Approach), the results show that the success of policy implementation is contingent upon the contextual factors and their co-alignment.

**Keywords:** Public Sector Management Reforms (PSMR), Contextual Model, Autonomous Agencies, Co-alignment.

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## Introduction

Reforming the government is a global phenomenon as every country is confronted with almost similar challenges and problems brought about by globalization, technological developments, financial constraints, and rising public expectations. The World Development Report (1997) points to the need for strengthening institutions as necessary mechanisms for creating an enabling environment for markets to function efficiently. There is, however, general consensus that governments around the globe are not performing as they should, hence the need for reform (Polidano et al. 1999). In recent years international organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations have assumed leadership roles in reform of the state (Kamarck 2003) with two objectives: First, to strike a balance between public and private sectors on the basis of social, political, and economic factors unique to each country; and Two, to make the governments efficient, responsive, and accountable in performing their functions. Reforms may be undertaken to fight corruption (Larmour, 1997) and/or to modernize large, outmoded bureaucracies and bring them into the information age and democratic order (Ray et al, 1996). Various labels such as reinvention, modernization, new public management, and capacity building are used for such reform efforts in both developed and developing countries. The global government reform movement, under the umbrella of NPM (New Public Management) has gained prominence in recent years. NPM advocates managerial autonomy, performance-based contracts, structural disaggregation, introduction of private sector management practices, and financial discipline (Hood 1991).

Pakistan has embarked upon a number of economic, social, and administrative reforms since early 1950s to make the country vibrant and competitive in the new world. In Pakistan, public administration reform has always been a key development priority because of the widespread perception that public administration, designed for serving the interests of colonial masters, cannot take up the responsibilities of a state created for the socio-economic well-being of its citizens (Gladieux Report 1955). Despite the interest and rhetoric, the reform attempts in Pakistan have not yielded the desired results. One of the major reasons for failure of PSMR is the lack of indigenous model that informs and guides formulation, implementation, and evaluation of reforms. Generally, reform models (such as NPM) have been borrowed from other countries (especially the US) and implemented without taking into account the local context (Polidano et al. 1999). The result has been a mismatch between the context and reform intervention. In particular, the implementation phase has not received due attention of the policy-makers (Pollitt. 2004). The study in question attempts to come up with a contextual model for reforms implementation in the Pakistan with focus on autonomous/semi-autonomous

agencies created since 1980s. The proposed model can help increase the chances of reforms success by bringing into sharp focus the factors that make or mar reform efforts at the implementation stage.

### Problem Statement

Reforms in Pakistan have generally been driven by the need to restructure public organizations to redefine their purpose, enhance accountability, provide incentives, re-organize distribution of power, and change the organizational culture (Cheema et al. 2005). According to Charles Polidano (2001) most reforms in government fail. They do not fail because, once implemented, they yield unsatisfactory outcomes. They fail because they never get past the implementation stage at all (Hill et al. 2002). They are blocked outright by vested interests or put into effect only in half-hearted fashion. The difficulty is that quite often, the prescriptions that are offered have as much to do with the *content* of reform (what sort of initiatives should be taken) as with the *approach* (Jacobs 1998). The study in question explores the implementation dynamics in the context of autonomous agencies operating in Pakistan with special reference to factors that make up a contextual model for implementation of reforms. The closer the reform efforts in public sector organizations to this ideal model, the higher will be the chances of their success. More specifically, the study will attempt to answer the following questions:

- a. What types of reforms have been initiated in Pakistan?
- b. Has there been any common model followed for reform implementation?
- c. What are the perceived components of an effective model for the implementation of public sector reforms?

### Literature Review

Public management reform consists of deliberate changes to the structures and processes of public sector organizations with the objective of getting them (in some sense) to run better (Pollitt et al 2002). Most of the reforms undertaken in various countries are generally described under NPM (New Public Management). Government responses to various challenges (economic, social, security) are generally discussed under the umbrella of New Public Management (NPM) although every change in the public sector does not fit its definition. NPM focuses primarily on introducing market forces and business practices in public sector with an assumption that “one-size-fits-all” (Hood, 1994). NPM primarily believes and promotes competition in public sector. The underlying assumption is that the organizations will always search for better products and services in addition to improving efficiency. If they do not improve continuously, they will simply perish. Moreover, NPM advocates policy-administration dichotomy. Politicians, according

to NPM doctrine, have legitimate role to set the overall direction of the public organizations but it should be the job of professional managers to implement the policy by making use of scientific knowledge.

NPM is seen to have so far gone through three inter-related phases (Christensen, 2006). In the first phase, which roughly began in 1980s, focuses primarily on deregulation, liberalization, and privatization of state owned enterprises (SOEs) and reflect the so-called Washington Consensus (Stiglitz, 2003). The second phase-beginning in the 1990s - lays less emphasis on privatization per se and more on the administrative restructuring including creation of autonomous/semi-autonomous agencies. The avowed objective of creating single-purpose agencies was to make governments more efficient, more modern, more responsive to the citizen and less corrupt. The third wave of public sector reforms started in 2000s with a view to eradicating the ills of fragmented structures and developing systems aimed at ensuring coordination (joined-up government) to respond more effectively to terrorism and globalization.

The focus on reforming the government has been increased since 1980s due to many factors including the triumph of free-market economy and ICT (Information and communication Technology) revolution, and social change. In order to cope with various challenges, the governments have responded with increased emphasis on decentralized leadership, accountability, and partnership with a multiplicity of stakeholder and organizations (agencies, private sector, non-profit sector and 'community'). Although public sector reforms have been common for more than 20 years, through the Reaganite reforms in the USA exemplified by Osborne and Gaebler (1992) and those implemented by the Conservative government in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s, arguably the emphasis of reform has now shifted. Whereas the managerial ideology was towards the 3 'E's of economy, efficiency and effectiveness and an emphasis on reducing the size of the state (Pollitt, 1993; Clarke and Newman, 1997), moving from the 1990s into the 2000s the emphasis has shifted from economy to effectiveness and to an increased emphasis on the outcomes of public service provision (Flynn, 2002; Philpott, 2004).

In Pakistan, many reform initiatives have been undertaken both by the federal and the provincial governments with the objective to make public organizations perform better (Shafqat, 1995). The most prominent among them are presented in Table 1 (below).

The reforms in Pakistan have not yielded the desired results primarily due to problems in implementation (Sheikh, 1998). Generally, the reform models have been borrowed from other countries and implemented without considering the

local conditions (Yorid, A. and Zeb, M. 2013). It has now been empirically proved that differences in and social context lead to different reform outcomes (Blas and Madaras, 2002). The context of a country has a profound effect on reform implementation (Brass and Madaras 2002). Implementation of reform initiative is a complex phenomenon and involves many compromises due to the conflicting nature of demands from various stakeholders.

**Table 1: Reform initiatives in Pakistan (1947-2002).**

Reform initiative	Head of Commission/Committee	Year
1. Reorganization of govt functionaries	Sir Victor Turner	1947
2. Pay Commission	Justice Munir	1949
3. Improvement of Public Administration	Rowland Egger	1953
4. Reorientation of Government	B.L. Gladieux	1955
5. Services Reorganization	Justice Cornelius	1970
6. Civil Service Reforms	Khurshid Hassan Meer	1973
7. Good Governance	Dorab Patel	1995
8. Strategy for improving governance	Hasan Iqbal	1999
9. Devolution of power	Danial Aziz	2002
10. National Commission on Govt. Reforms	Ishrat Hussain	2006

### **A Contextual Model for Reforms Implementation**

The literature survey of significant public sector reform efforts and interview with experts identify the main factors influencing the success and/or failure of the reform. Those factors that may improve chances of the successful adoption and implementation of the reform plan include the following:

1. **Reform agenda:** The scope of reform agenda and the discourse justifying it has a profound bearing on the success or otherwise of reform implementation. Reforms occur at different levels with broad or narrow scope. Halligan (1997) classifies reforms as first order—the adaptation and tuning of accepted practices—second order—the adoption of new techniques—and third order—changes in the sets of ideas which comprise overall goals and the frameworks which guide action. The first order reforms are relatively easier to implement than the second and third order reforms. Reform agenda, whatever its contents and scope, requires a supporting discourse to make sense of the desirability and feasibility the proposed reforms.



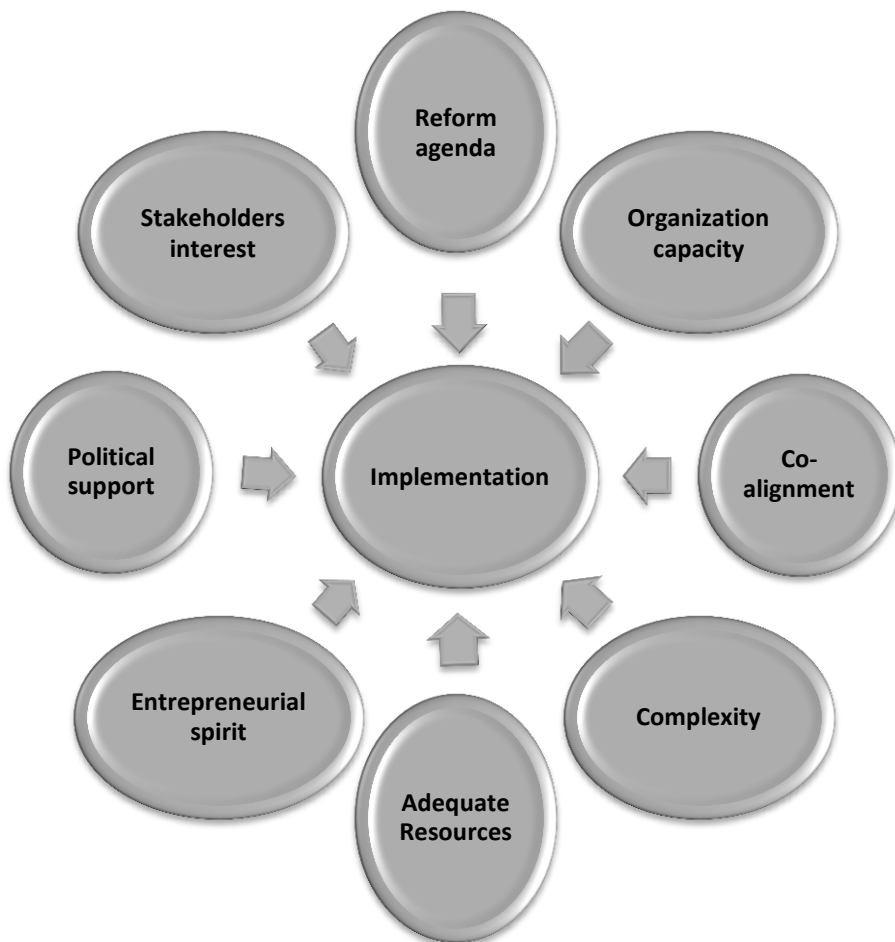
2. **Political support:** Apart from other conditions, reforms require an informed leadership, both from executive politicians and from a sufficient proportion of top public servants. If either of these elite groups are opposed or uninterested then opportunities for delay, dilution, and diversion will multiply and will be taken advantage of by the forces of resistance and recalcitrance which are almost bound to exist in the context of reform (Pollitt, 2002). Research indicates that the implementation of planned change generally requires that leaders verify the need for change and persuade other members of the organization and important external stakeholders that it is necessary (Burke 2002, Laurent 2003). Whether it occurs in the form of a single change agent or a guiding coalition, considerable evidence indicates that top-management support and commitment play an essential role in successful change in the public sector (Berman and Wang 2000).
3. **Co-alignment:** Another problem that can arise during implementation is that individual reforms, though they make good sense in themselves, may contradict existing state of affairs. Because each way of administrative life has its built-in blind spots and weaknesses, along with its corresponding strengths, surprise and disappointment is inevitable and perpetual (Hood, 1998). The existing systems provide the topography over which reformers must travel. Most reformers concentrate entirely on the characteristics of the reform instruments themselves with minimal analysis of variations in the contexts in which the intervention takes place (Pollitt, 2002). The implementation habitats can make a huge difference to the effects yielded by a particular piece of management change (Birchall & Putman, 1998). In order to qualify for effective implementations, reforms must have proper co-alignment with organizational context. This requires either making adjustment to reform agenda to fit the context in which it is implemented (contextualization) or modifying the context to accommodate the proposed reform (transformation). In other words, purity of vision must almost always be tempered with an understanding of political, economic, and functional constraints and trade-offs. Therefore, even those who are advocates of a particular vision, and who wish to assess 'results' in terms of that vision, must make allowances for the strength of the forces of tradition, inertia, and recalcitrance. Talk, decisions, and actions frequently diverge (Pollitt, 2000). In a nutshell, the greater the inter-goal consistency between reform initiative and existing context, the more likely the adoption of the reform plan and the greater the degree of successful reform implementation. The reason is that the lack of the conformity of the sub-goals results in the dispute, suspicion, and unreliability existing in the overall reform plan (Christensen, 2006). Shareef's (1994) study suggests that subsystem congruence may be more difficult to achieve in the public than in

the private sector because change agents in the public sector exercise less discretion than their private sector counterparts.

4. **Organizational capacity:** Organizational capacity in the context of public sector reforms refers to the attributes that make an organization effective to take up the burden of newly introduced changes. Generally, it takes into account the competence and commitment of existing workforce, technological infrastructure, and financial resources. Improved capacities for data processing and rapid communication (thanks to ICT revolution) have brought in new styles of governance, co-ordination, and supervision which were difficult or unachievable previously (Pollitt, 2002). Normally, the more the reform plan or proposal required resources for the operation of the reform including financial budget, personnel, tools and equipment, and knowledge, the less chance the adoption and implementation of the reform plan (Flynn, 2002). Additionally, even if political and characteristics are favourable to the introduction of a technique of business origin, the implementer may lack the necessary skills and 'make a mess of it' (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2002).
5. **Complexity:** In public sector, more and more programs are delivered through complex networks of organization rather than by a single one (Kickert 1997) thereby creating interdependence. These networks may include different levels of government, independent public corporations, and public/private bodies, and not-for-profit organizations etc. Change in any one of them will require adjustments in all others to work in harmony. The specific characteristics of these networks, and of the individual institutions which compose them, frequently have a profound shaping effect upon what actually happens during the course of reform, and therefore upon the final results and outcomes of the change process (Pollitt, 2002) implementing multiple changes without understanding the structure and nature of the interconnections among subsystems can result in additional costs and a longer implementation period than anticipated (Hannan, Polos, & Carroll 2003).
6. **Organizational autonomy:** Organizational autonomy has been referred to as a group's control over setting its own goals and making its own decisions without external domination, whether by governments, political parties, religious groups, or development agencies (Thatcher & Stone, 2002)
7. **Entrepreneurial spirit:** Lumpkin & Dess (1996) thought the key dimensions that characterize EO include a propensity to act autonomously, a willingness to innovate and take risks, and a tendency to be aggressive toward competitors and proactive relative to marketplace opportunities. The success of reform implementation is to do with entrepreneurial spirit of employees in general and management in particular. Entrepreneurship advocates innovation in products and processes for making organizations more effective. Public sector organizations generally may lack entrepreneurial spirit due to excessive

controls that constrain employee discretion to try new ways of doing things. Implementation of reforms requires flexibility in attitude and behaviour. Too much emphasis on procedural compliance leads to organizational inertia that frustrates any effort to initiate and execute reforms.

8. **Stakeholders' interest:** Support from key external stakeholders stands out prominently in successful change efforts (Rossotti 2005). Goggin (1990) found that proceeding to implementation without garnering the support of interest groups can speed up the implementation process, albeit at the cost of dissatisfaction and criticism.



9. **Adequate resources:** Successful change usually requires sufficient resources to support the process. A fairly consistent finding in the literature is that change is

not cheap or without trade-offs. Planned organizational change involves a redeployment or redirection of scarce organizational resources toward a host of new activities, including developing a plan or strategy for implementing the change, communicating the need for change, training employees, developing new processes and practices, restructuring and reorganizing the organization, and testing and experimenting with innovations (Burke 2002, Nadler and Nadler 1998). Successful implementation of reforms in the public sector, not only requires that the new systems are appropriate for the situation and the objectives to be achieved, it also requires application of considerable dedicated managerial capacity and talent over a long period of time.

## Conclusion

The contextual model suggested in this article should serve as a compass for leaders to bring about sustained change in the public sector. Moreover, the model offers a challenging agenda for future research especially pointing towards the additive as well as interactive effects of various factors presumably determining the success of reforms.

Implementation of reforms is undoubtedly a difficult task given the multiplicity of stakeholders with conflicting interests and the institutional inertia (Boyer and Robert, 2006) besides lack of capacity. Reforms, therefore, most often end up without bearing fruit and soon the enthusiasm fades away (DFID, 2005). The existing literature suggests two alternative models for reforms implementation — the top-down and the bottom-up — with their inherent strengths and weaknesses bearing on the final outcome of reforms (McCourt, 2013). There is now greater realization to move out of the confrontation between the two models towards a contextual model which ensures best fit between reform agenda and local conditions. The present study was an attempt to bring out an ideal contextual model for reform implementation. The underlying assumption of this model, which is duly supported by cross-country studies of implementation, is that socio-economic and institutional differences ultimately determine the success or otherwise of reforms implementation (Pollitt, 2004). The study suggests that tools of implementation need refinement and adjustment over time as conditions and events unfold. It implies that reforming the public sector requires careful planning, effective monitoring and evaluation, and continuous tailoring of the implementation strategies to fit the situation without compromising on the basic reform principles (Birchall & Putman, 1998). More importantly, in order to avoid undesirable effects or the reforms taking wrong course or come to halt, it is necessary to have sustained political support in addition to dedicated managerial capacity over an extended period of time (Kauzya, 2003). It is also pertinent to

mention that organizations at their nascent stage are easier to reform than at their maturity. The reason is that organizational history creates path dependency making it difficult if not impossible to deviate. Employees feel more comfortable to work in the existing structure (procedures and hierarchy) than to try new ways that entails uncertainty. Moreover, employees in the public sector are conditioned through training to comply. Newly created organizations are relatively free to choose any process, structure, and strategy without worrying about resistance.

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## **Citizenship and Belonging as a Nexus of Language, Gender and Globalisation: A Study of the Pakhtuns of Peshawar & Charsadda**

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### **Abstract**

This paper illustrates the meaning(s) of citizenship and belonging as it emerges through a nexus of language, gender, and globalization in Peshawar and Charsadda, Pakistan. In order to understand the concept and meaning(s) of citizenship and belonging, my main focus is to examine the impact of globalization on the local culture as demonstrated through linguistic exchanges and overt and/or covert gendered performances. Furthermore, this paper examines the fragmentary, flexible and context-related meaning of globalization.

**Keywords:** gender, citizenship, belonging, language, globalization, territorialisation

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### **Introduction**

Citizenship, belonging, and globalization impact each other to a significant extent, and in the process the meanings and concepts of citizenship and belonging become more varied and challenging. This paper examines the fragmentary, flexible, and context-related meaning of globalization; the impact of globalization on the local cultures, as reflected in the linguistic exchanges and overt and/or covert gendered performances of the local cultures in Peshawar valley; and illustrates the meaning(s) of citizenship and belonging as it emerges through a nexus of language, gender, and globalization. Drawing on ethnographic methods and a combination of theoretic paradigms, the paper explicates how ideological “interpellation,” through various “ideological state apparatuses,” establishes the respective citizen/gendered subject-positioning(s) of people. It analyses the linguistics markers which clearly indicate the effects of globalization on these local cultures and how they in turn position



themselves with reference to gender, belonging, and citizenship. Furthermore, the phenomenon of “global assemblages and territorialisation” (Collier and Ong, 2005) substantiates various aspects of belonging and citizenship when global meets local or vice versa. These subject-positions, their respective gender/sexual performance(s), and voice(s) require a careful interpretation according to the linguistic, spatial, and temporal contexts as well. The paper demonstrates that citizenship, belonging, and globalization are vitally connected; they impact each other on several levels; and in turn forms, re-forms, and/or transforms gendered subject-positions and their respective notions of citizenship and belonging.

### Field sites, Respondents, and Methodology

The Peshawar Valley consists of four districts, Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan and Nowshera. However, the study was restricted to only two sites, Peshawar and Charsadda, Peshawar being the capital city of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province of Pakistan and Charsadda being a rural city, one of the major agricultural districts of KP, about 17 miles northeast of Peshawar.

A total of seven respondents, native speakers of Pashto, were involved in the study, three from Charsadda, all women, and four from Peshawar, two men and two women, ages 38 and above. The selection of respondents was based on snow ball, stratified sampling, considering variables like age, sex, education, exposure to the media, and travel experience. The participants were multilingual, speaking Pashto, Urdu, English, some having good proficiency in Urdu and English. The mode of data collection included semi-structured interviews of approximately 30-60 minutes duration/respondent.

The method of analysis was based on a combination of theoretical models that examine linguistic clues which help in shaping and deciphering respondents' notions of citizenship and belonging with particular reference to the effect of globalization on them. In order to do this, I first explain how the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) *interpellates* or *hails* (Althusser, 1971) work and achieve subject-position; second, how these respondents react or have reacted to the *process of recognition* (Pekcheux, 1982) as good subjects by accepting the hailed positions; as bad subjects by rejecting the hailed positions or as the not-so-bad/good subjects by dis-identifying the hailed position(s), thus, forming their respective citizen/sexual subject-position(s). Once a subject-position is established, the linguistic markers demonstrate the effects of globalization on local subjectivities, especially through ISAs. Third, the effect of globalization on local subjects is further explained by the model of *global assemblages* and *territorialization* (Collier and Ong, 2005). Along with Collier and Ong's model for re-formation/transformation of subject-position(s)

due to globalization, Ong's (1999) and Gaudio's (2009) examples of the *flexible citizenship* and *cultural citizenship*, respectively, further substantiate various citizenship standpoints when global meets local and vice versa. However, sometime these subject-positions and their respective gender/sexual performance(s) and voice(s) have to be inferred according to the linguistic, spatial and temporal context as explained by Volosinov (1973) and Leap (2003). Finally, I conclude by demonstrating the formation, re-formation and/or transformation of gendered subject-positions and their respective notions of citizenship and belonging as developed through the territorialization of global assemblages.

### Globalization: The Phenomena and the Processes

"Globalization" in the present times, as a word, a phenomenon, and a process can have multifaceted and multilayered meanings. Globalization has, what Volosinov (1973, p. 23) refers to as, a multiaccentual quality to it, depending on the part of the world the notion is used in and by whom; consequently meaning and referring to a number of things. As such globalization can mean one thing sitting in Washington D.C., U.S.A. another in Peshawar, and quite another in Charsadda, Pakistan.

In order to understand globalization, in this paper, I follow the model and functioning of globalization as put forth by Collier and Ong (2005):

Global phenomena are not unrelated to social and cultural problems.... Global forms are able to assimilate themselves to new environments, to code heterogeneous contexts and objects in terms that are amendable to control and valuation.... Global forms are limited or delimited by specific technical infrastructures, administrative apparatuses, or value regimes, not by the vagaries of a social or cultural field (p.11).

Therefore, what Collier and Ong are suggesting here is that globalization is a multi-tiered and multidimensional process and as a result has a dialectical nature — it affects the local but it is also affected by the local. Appadurai (2001) somewhat echoes Collier and Ong's (2005) notion when he states:

Globalization is about a world of things in motion... The various flows we see — of objects, persons, images, and discourses—are not coeval, convergent, isomorphic, or spatially consistent. They are in...relations of disjuncture.... What they have in common is the fact that globalization...produces problems that manifest themselves in intensely local forms but have contexts that are anything but local (pp. 5-6).

Collier and Ong (2005) also tell us how globalization works. They want to go away from the global/local divide but not too far away; they show that the global/local is not a dividing tactic but rather a complementary or an all-inclusive approach. According to them, “technoscience, circuits of licit and illicit exchange, systems of administration or governance, and regimes of ethics or values” (2005, p. 4) are trends that circulate collectively or individually in the global context. This multilayered operational strategy of globalization points to the phenomenon which Collier and Ong refer to as ‘global assemblages.’ They further explain:

As global forms are articulated in specific situations—or territorialized in *assemblages* — they define new material, collective, and discursive relationships. These “global assemblages” are sites for the formation and reformation of ...technological, political, and ethical reflection and intervention (2005, p. 4).

However, Collier and Ong (2005) explicitly also point out:

[T]he term “*global assemblage*” suggests inherent tensions: global implies broadly encompassing, seamless, and mobile; assemblage implies heterogeneous, contingent, unstable, partial, and situated (p. 12).

A claim to be noted is that “global forms are territorialized in assemblages.” Therefore, the process of territorialization starts when the said assemblages, in any combination, enter a site or location, they are bound to engage with it and it is here that the nexus of globalization, language and sexuality takes place; though the intersectional variables can be other than these as well. Therefore, in this paper when I use the term territorialization I mean the process that initiates when global assemblages enter and engage with the local site and the resultant effect they produce on the people, their subjectivities, and the environment. Berry, et al. (2003, 7) refers to the same phenomenon as *glocalization*, which is, “...the local appropriation...of globally mobile technologies and discourse” (p. 13). This intersectional matrix first, facilitates the formation, reformation and/or transformation of subject-position(s). Secondly, when a certain subject- position is adopted, the global assemblages are territorialized, glocalized or appropriated in accordance with the cultural and/or local demands and expectations.

### **Formation of Subject-Position(s): The Ideological Framework**

A subject-position(s), is formed, reformed and/or transformed by what Althusser (1971, p. 143) terms the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and the process “is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic (Althusser, 1971, p. 145). A

subject-position(s) in any society and in this case in the Pakhtun society is continuously re-shaped by institutions or ISAs like religion, family, education, and media. As a result of institutional ideologies, people come to accept change(s) naturally, developing a false consciousness (Althusser, 1971, p. 164). Ideology interpellates or hails individuals (Althusser 1971, p. 173). As a result of interpellation, the process of *recognition* begins when an individual can either accept or reject a subject position or else he or she can agree to dis-identification, which according to Pkcheux (1982) is, “working the subject form, by its overthrow, its rearrangement, rather than a categorical endorsement of its details or its categorical abolition” (pp. 156-159. According to Pkcheux (1982), the individual who responds to and accepts the hailed position is called a “universal subject” or the good citizen and the one who refuses to comply is the “subject of enunciation” or the bad citizen (pp. 157-159).

Once when the ISAs, as in most cases, succeed to hail a subject-position(s), namely, citizenship categories, gender binaries, sexual orientation statuses, class divisions, ethnic stratifications or any other identity marker is formed. It is after this that other influences, like globalization are appropriated by the social subjects accordingly.

### **Azmerabad<sup>1</sup>, Charsadda: Global Assemblages Territorialized in the Rural Domain**

In Azmerabad, Charsadda my respondents were only women because of the cultural purdah/segregation requirements I could not access the local men. By talking to these women my aim was to understand how they perceive the notions of citizenship and belonging. Secondly, how does globalization, if at all, affects their notions of citizenship and belonging in particular and their overall thinking in general. All these women are illiterate but can only read the Quran in Arabic with no translation abilities.

Naz Gul<sup>2</sup>, a female, about 50 years old, has been married for about 27 years. Her husband, Chengiz, is a tailor and works independently in Azmerabad. He is the sole bread earner. They have six children: four girls and two boys. Two of her daughters are married. She also has five grandchildren.

Since I was trying to understand the idea or notions these people have about citizenship and belonging, talking to Naz Gul suggested that she is not only deeply but happily rooted in her village Azmerabad. She said, “No, [I will live] in Azmerabad. I like Azmerabad. Azmerabad is my whole life.”

Mahjabeen, another respondent, was about 50 years old; married for about 30 years with five children. Her husband is a farmer. She gave me an understanding of her affiliation with Azmerabad by saying,

I am from Azmerabad...Azmerabad, Musafirkhel, [names the] Khan's kanday.<sup>3</sup> This is the place of our elders, since generations, that is, our elders, the young ones—this is our fathers,' our grandfathers,' our whole clan's place. We cannot not leave this place at all and go elsewhere. We were born here, raised here; I mean this place is our everything.

Gul Babbo, much senior in age to the other two women, informed me, "the doctor told me I am 60 years old" but she was corrected by her daughter, who told her she must be 70 by now. She is married with four children and grandchildren. Gul Babbo told me, "Our place [village] is called Musafirkhel." But while talking about her affiliation with Azmerabad or the village Gul Babbo said,

I don't know what to say (laughing) but all my children are here. I go to visit shrines and even there I worry that if I die all my children will be left here [in the village]. But if all my children decide to go away [from this village] then I will also leave (laughing).

However, I asked Naz Gul and Mahjabeen the reason for this affiliation with Azmerabad, Naz Gul proudly told me that there were "no bad people" in Azmerabad. In fact, she was very proud to admit that the rich and the poor alike are morally good and respectable people. Mahjabeen, also somewhat echoed Naz Gul's claim by saying,

We really like our place, our house, our village. We like it in all conditions: with regard to respect, honor and [for] living..... [After all] our men and everything else belongs to this place. So we really like this place.

Further trying to probe their idea of identity I asked how do they explain to strangers who they are and where do they belong? Naz Gul was quick to reply,

When they [someone] ask me where are you from? I'll tell them that I am from Azmerabad, Musafirkhel. Earlier [names] Khan's kanday was quoted [as a point of reference and recognition] and now by the grace of God it's his son...and now [the place] is referred to by his son's name.

Mahjabeen responded by stating,

We tell them [the people] we are from Azmerabad, from [names] Khan's kanday. So, many people are familiar with [names] Khan's kanday. (AK: What if they don't know [names] Khan?). Then we say we are from Azmerabad...we are from Charsadda. Then a lot of people recognize [us]. Our Charsadda is very well known among people.

And Gul Babbo said,

I will mention this place. (AK: You mean Musafirkhel?) Yes, yes. (AK: Do people know Musafirkhel?) Oh! The whole world knows Musafirkhel. Most of the people call it Charsadda. Such people call the entire Azmerabad and Musafirkhel, Charsadda.

Therefore, for Naz Gul and Mahjabeen, the notion of belonging is not only attached to Azmerabad (the place) but also to the household of the village lord or Khan (the person) as they would locally refer to him. Perhaps it rather defines their moral geography and the related point-of-reference identity. But for Gul Babbo the matter is even simpler—for her Musafirkhel (the neighborhood), Azmerabad (the village) and Charsadda (the district) are all one— it is all simply Musafirkhel where she lives. The world outside of Musafirkhel is beyond her recognition and perhaps beyond her concern too.

Following on, I wanted to know a little more if these women had the consciousness of differentiating between the ideas of citizenship and belonging per se. Therefore, I proceeded to ask, "As the current political times are, what if, God forbid, Pakistan ceased to exist, what would you say where you are from."

**Naz Gul:** We will still mention this place [Azmerabad]. We belong to this place [Azmerabad] therefore we will just mention this place.

**Anoosh:** Do you ever think that you are from Pakistan?

**Naz Gul:** We will say that we are from Azmerabad but we are familiar with places like Lahore, Peshawar, 'Pindi, and Tangi, Umarzai and Hayatabad.

Mahjabeen, on the other hand, unpretentiously accepted that she did not really understand the difference between belonging to her village or Pakistan. Gul Babbo also said, "We will just say [we are from] Musafirkhel, Charsadda."

This conversation adequately shows that for Naz Gul, Mahjabeen and Gul Babbo the notion of belonging to their village is very clear. However, the idea of belonging to a country or being aware of a political or legal citizenship status is not

really on their radar. However, Naz Gul does not directly refute or negate my question but instead mentions other places in Pakistan—showing her familiarity with Pakistan but her belonging with her village. Whereas, Mahjabeen and even Gul Babbo come forth more directly in not comprehending what citizenship really means, thus highlighting the importance of belonging as well.

In order to tie my understanding of citizenship and belonging to globalization I introduced the role of media in our conversation. I just mentioned the electronic media because these women, in particular, were not even literate so print media was realistically out of the question. In responding to my query about the effects of media, by which Naz Gul primarily meant the television, she told me that it does not negatively affect a person. It all depends on the person what he or she wanted to get out of the media or the television. Besides, Naz Gul believed, “there is religion [religious shows] on it.”

Mahjabeen added,

Well, in our house, we don't have these things, cable...or dish. We only have a colour TV and a CD [player]. At the most my [elder] son watches [the TV]... and after him its Iffat's [her daughter] number, she watches it.... So, definitely they are boys and girls [it may affect them in some ways].

Gul Babbo's response to media's influence was, “What can I say? I don't really understand these things. I only watch Pashto songs [on the TV.] And I haven't taken a step away [from the TV] that I forget the song!”

These responses explicitly bring to surface the role and influence of Althusserian ISAs; perhaps a combination of multiple ISAs. In this case, it is the role of religion in the life of these women, even though the media, that shapes their thinking and behaviour. Perhaps religious affiliation also in some ways colour one's notions and understanding of belonging. People, especially with limited access, tend to believe that they can practice their beliefs better within the community they live in.

In connection with religion, female sexuality has always been an issue of honour, chastity and modesty in the Pakhtun society, regardless of the rural/urban divide, though more so in the rural setting. Modest female sexuality is expressed through gendered performances. For example, Naz Gul narrated her episode of a visit to the doctor's. On her way back home, while on the van, clad in a *burqa*, she was inappropriately touched by a young boy. But she managed to slap him a number of times to teach him a lesson for the future.

Naz Gul comes forth as a strong woman, when judged by her gendered expectations. However, her female sexuality is both highlighted and appropriated by her gendered performance, enabling her to act as a subject of disidentification. She talks-back to a man who tried to touch her indecently but she appropriates her behavior by being clad in a burqa and therefore justifies her behavior and has the courage to slap him a number of times. Hoodfar (1997) also explains this dialectical phenomenon of the purdah or veiling and the agency it provides women:

Veiling is a lived experience full of contradictions and multiple meanings. While it has clearly been a mechanism in the service of patriarchy, a means of regulating and controlling women's lives, women have used the same institution to free themselves from the bonds of patriarchy (p. 249).

Whereas, Mahjabeen directly suggests that it is the men who make final decisions, they occupy a position higher than women and therefore can control female sexuality as well,

(Laughing loudly) In my household, my man comes before me, he is the one responsible. Then I come second, and my children [in the hierarchy] follow me. What I mean is that the first [head] position belongs to my man.

Naz Gul, comparatively speaking, is more vocal in expressing female sexuality being controlled and challenged by men, whereas, Mahjabeen accepts this reality in a rather tacit manner. Appadurai (1996) explains this politics of sexuality by stating, "The honor of women becomes not just an armature of stable (if inhuman) systems of cultural reproduction but a new arena for the formation of sexual identity and family politics" (p. 45).

My final question to these women was how they self-identify themselves with respect to gender, ethnicity, and/or nationhood. This was my ultimate attempt to verify their notions of citizenship and belonging. As I had so far understood, for Naz Gul, it was only the idea of belonging that made the difference and not surprisingly she said,

I am a Muslim. I am a very strong woman. And after this I'll mention Azmerabad. I will say that there is Azmerabad in Pakistan. If they do not know I'll say "Azmerabad...in Charsadda."

Once again for Naz Gul being a Muslim is of foremost importance. Then comes her womanhood; she claims to be a strong woman. However, her emphasis is still on "Azmerabad." She will even emphasize to foreigners that she is from



Azmerabad and if they do not know where Azmerabad is then she will refer to Pakistan, the country. However, Pakistan for her still does not define her region of belonging and she has to qualify it with Charsadda.

Mahjabeen in a similar vein answered,

I will tell [people] that first of all I am a Muslim; then in the second place I am a woman, [a mother] for raising children and a home-maker; then I am a Pakistani — I will definitely say this...I will also mention Azmerabad, Charsadda. First I'll say I'm from Azmerabad, Charsadda...then from Pakistan! (laughing).

And Gul Babbo said, "I will tell them I am from Azmerabad. And I am a Pakhtun woman...this is what I will say. I don't know what else I should say...I will say whatever comes to my mind first" (laughing).

My point here is that for these women from Azmerabad, it is not enough to say that they belong to Pakistan; they have to spell it out that they belong to Azmerabad, Charsadda. Thus, proving that they are rather oblivious to the idea of political citizenship; for them belonging is more important, in fact that is the only thing at least they have been emphasizing throughout their responses. This includes belonging of different sorts—religious, cultural, and spatial. The idea of belonging is perhaps so strongly embedded in these women because of the fact that they have limited access to the world outside of Azmerabad. Their mobility is restricted due to various reasons, including sexuality, economics, transportation, illiteracy and this in turn results in their restricted agency. All these factors add to and reiterate stronger notions of belonging as opposed to national citizenship. However, a strong religious influence, restricted mobility, and limited global influences also restrict their quotidian agency and thus their sense of citizenship and belonging. Therefore, the impact of globalization on these women is not as apparent as it comes forth in my respondents discussed in the next section of the paper. The limited global influence on these women point to the fact that globalization has fragmented and flexible effects on people depending on where those people are spatially situated.

### **Peshawar: Global Assemblages Territorialized in the Urban Domain**

This section looks at the effect of globalization as understood by the educated, the "globally" exposed and mobile cohort of Pakhtun men and women. The themes that come forth, due to the responses from this group of people, are a little more nuanced in meaning and tone compared to the rural women discussed above.

However, this group also believes that *territorialization* or *glocalization* mainly takes place through the influence of media, especially the satellite or cable channels, followed by education and migration, both temporary and permanent, to foreign countries.

Dr Shah, a Professor of Pashto, tends to trace the global meeting the local back to olden times. He suggests that the Pakhtuns first came into direct contact with global influences through conquests of and against the Mughals in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, followed by the Sikhs and then during the British rule in the subcontinent. Dr Shah explains that the Pakhtuns lived a life of ‘ordered anarchy,’

Because there was anarchy but at the same time there was order as well because of the Pashto that intervened in the middle [of everything]. Pashto, among them [the Pakhtuns] is that commonality [which means] the language, culture, and Pakhtunwali<sup>4</sup>...it is the nucleus [of their lives].”

In order to understand the holistic nature of Pashto it becomes pertinent to understand the performative nature of Pashto, which is, “doing Pashto.” Dr Shah goes on to explain this concept,

We talk about Pakhtunwali which like the British constitution is an unwritten constitution [of the Pakhtuns]. Since it is unwritten and is a constitution, its meaning was communicated through the Pashto language — in the form of proverbs, idioms, and anecdotes. That is why Pashto is not only a language but also the [symbol of] belief, integrity and the cultural identity [of the Pakhtuns]. On the basis of Pashto [ideology] rests the foundation of a nation. As such, any person who goes away from Pashto, goes away from Pakhtunwali. Therefore, for a Pakhtun his identity, his national status depends on Pashto. And this [ideological status of] Pashto is alive due to the Pashto language. That is why Pashto, Pakhtunwali and Pakhtun are all tied together.

Perhaps Dr Shah’s explanation of the Pashto language as symbolic of cultural identity and performance is a way to explicate that within such cultural ideological framework the global influences are bound to be territorialized and appropriated according to cultural norms. The ideological status of Pashto language not only strengthens the ties of belonging to the Pakhtun culture but it also re-appropriates the idea of sovereignty and citizenship, that is, cultural citizenship. Here the idea of sovereignty and belonging does not emerge from a nation-state loyalty but from a cultural loyalty. Dr. Shah also said,

One distinction that the Pakhtuns have is that even if they go to any corner of the world they take pride in their culture...their [Pakhtun] identity, which is due to the [Pashto] language, is their pride.

Dr Salma Shaheen,<sup>5</sup> also a Professor of Pashto and a feminist poet explains the initial global/foreign contact of the Pakhtuns with the outside world,

About 50 years back the English used to live here as missionaries. From an intellectual perspective they were very advanced people. They used to teach my family members knitting and embroidery; they were social workers. During those times there was no hospital in Mardan, there were no [female] doctors either. There was only one hospital where the missionaries handled gynae[logical] cases. Therefore, people had accepted everything [of the English]—all their services. In Mardan the people needed education. And the village that I belong to, Baghdada, had a proper convent school [due to these missionaries].

Salma Shaheen further elaborated that by living with the migrants from India and the Hindus, who did not go to India after the partition between India and Pakistan, also had positive effects,

The professions and trade was under their [Hindus present in her village] control. They were very civilized people.... Our people did not like [women] earning money, which is why all professional teachers were Indians... Pakhtuns have a different life style, you know, so we learned a lot from them...one got polished.

Both Dr Shah and Salma Shaheen talk about the effects of global-meets-local either in the near past (about 50 years back) or in the historical past. I am not suggesting that the past is not important; rather it portrays the evolution of global and local interaction of the Pakhtuns. Some of the more concrete examples of this dyadic relationship of global/local, in the present urban setting of Peshawar are primarily brought forth through the effect of media on language, culture and attitudes in general. Interestingly, none of my respondents referred to global influences as Western influences, in the European or North American sense. For people in Pakistan global-meeting-local primarily equates to the media infiltrated influences of the Indian media, especially Indian soap dramas and Bollywood. So much so, that Naz Gul, my Azmerabad (village) respondent also said, “Dramas these days only [means] India!”

Razia, a Professor of Gender Studies, looking at the influence of Indian media on Pakistani audience stated,

We have Holi<sup>6</sup> and colors; children very conveniently use Hindi words...it is seeping into our culture.... I don't understand why this influence was not as strong when we were living together, as neighbors, and why is this happening now?

But at the same time Razia also stated the reason for this influence,

If you talk about global, the bulk of our population doesn't understand Chinese, Japanese or English [languages]. So what do they watch? They mostly watch Indian channels.... For our uneducated population the global world is that which they can access.... Here [in Peshawar] some Afghan channels are accessible because of Pashto [language]... the strongest interest of our people is in entertainment.

Razia is correct in stating that for the Pakistani people global influence translates into the Indian media propagated fantasy due to linguistic familiarity and electronic access. Razia also stated, "These people who are influenced by the Indian channels is because their [Indians'] dress, their language, their cuisine resemble ours." In other words, this is because the mediascapes (Appadurai 1996, p. 35) that these people live in help them translate their fantasies in a familiar but imagined space, beyond their physical reach or as Appadurai (1996) explains:

The image, the imagined, the imaginary—these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: *the imagination as a social practice*.... The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order (p. 31).

Appadurai (2001) further explicates that this happens because, "the world may consist of regions (seen processually), but regions [and people] also imagine their own worlds" (p. 14).

However, Yasir, a teacher of English explained the role and influence of media as:

Media is only a medium for the change that is bound to occur if two cultures are allowed to interact. Um...why media... media accelerates it perhaps, it helps you to step out of yourself and look at yourself, which primitive societies cannot do otherwise.

Media, especially the satellite channels, are easily accessible to people than actually being able to go to various places in the world and coming in contact with the people of foreign lands. However, this interaction of the global/local translates into a desired belonging of sorts.

On another level, the notions of citizenship and belonging are also worth examining among people who live in the diaspora and see how the local-meets-global in diasporic settings. Yasir explained how the 'Pakhtun pride' works when it is faced by global influences in diasporic settings. Yasir explained,

Pashtoons<sup>7</sup> are a rural people and their level of consciousness is not there where they can hold their own ground and can accept values, rituals, customs from other ethnicities without shedding theirs. In some cases there are Pashtoons who have blended in with whatever environment they have around them. Most have not; they continue to resist the assimilation, the national assimilation so strongly that even though they are settled there very well in every sense of the word they decide to come back to Pakistan because they feel 'uneasy' with some of the things that their children do.

In a similar vein Nadia, a Professor of Urdu, explains the diverse attitudinal effect of globalization on people, especially in the diaspora,

Those people who live abroad feel that our children should not be ignorant of cultural traditions. On the other hand there are people who don't care about this. They are those people who don't have strong roots [or affiliation] behind them. When such people go [abroad] they basically go there to earn money. That is why they adopt those [foreign] ways; they think that is the best strategy for their survival. There are some who stay in the middle and cannot forego their traditions but at the same time flow with the tide of time. So such people remain balanced.

Both Yasir and Nadia suggest that those people who tend to adopt the middle path or disidentify with a certain subject-position tend to be better off and are what Ong (1999) describes as "flexible citizen," though in this case the citizenship status is more culturally flexible and not only politically flexible. Ong (1999) explicates:

"Flexible citizenship" refers to the cultural logistics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions....[the] subjects emphasize, and are regulated by, practices

favoring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments and cultural regimes. These logics and practices are produced within particular structures of meaning about family, gender, nationality, class mobility and social power (p. 6).

Therefore, globalization tends to have a gendered effect as well and thus the respective changes in the Pakhtun society or culture are accordingly territorialized. Talking about the gendered notions of Pakhtun culture in the Peshawar valley, Nadia believed,

Men would get more affected, their businesses, trade get affected [by global influences]. Besides, men in our society can adopt changes or anything very confidently. A woman can only accept or adopt change if she sees the support coming from the man.

Dr Salma Shaheen, on the other hand, suggested that with changing times the Pakhtuns, especially men and parents have improved a little when it comes to understanding their young daughters and women in general. Salma Shaheen was of the opinion,

Like natural feelings, emotions...they [Pakhtuns, especially men] do not care about them. If I don't want to get married, there is no problem. I can say I don't want to [get married]. But I don't have the guts to say that I want to marry such and such a man or can marry him. Now things may have changed a little because of the support parents give their children. They take their emotions into account. Now I think that a mother or father understand a girl's thoughts and her nature better [than before].

Although Salma Shaheen does not really mention the reason for the positive change but I think she indirectly suggests that this is due global influences propagated through the media, education and perhaps mobility. However, one thing that both Salma Shaheen and Nadia suggest echoes Ong's (2006) notion that:

Women's entry into the public sphere thus entails not only a challenge to male rationality and control of politics, it also plunges women into debates about the ethics of female self-management and their role in society (p. 34).

Therefore, Yasir believed that to 'only connect'<sup>8</sup> on multiple human levels education can play an important role in this culture. He said,

So another way of connecting the global with the local or the local with the global would be to make sure that we focus on education, particularly in those societies, in those countries which we call primitive countries. Ours is one of them. Where the education has to be such that it helps people generate ideas; it helps people think critically; it helps people think analytically so that they don't have that in [the] box thinking or think within a box.

Whereas, Razia felt that globalization effected people differently according to their age and social status as well. As a result, education, in the global context, is territorialized and appropriated according to cultural expectations. Razia stated,

There is a small minority of people who travel internationally and who can read the [English] script. [They include] those who can read the newspapers, magazines and can watch the foreign [English] channels. Nowadays, a new group, the nouveau riche, who have suddenly become upwardly mobile, send their [quite young] children aboard for studies. When these kids return [to Pakistan] they are almost misfits in the society. But if you go for higher education at a relatively mature age you have fixed ideas by then. So you pick and choose. But if you send a child after A-levels the peer pressure is so strong that [they are bound to blend in the foreign culture].

This shows the dialectical nature of globalization and education, both in the locally territorialized sense and the cultural expectations in Pakistan and of Pakistani nationals abroad. They feel pressurized to adopt foreign cultural ways primarily due to their age. This mind-set of the youngsters and of the upward mobile class is aptly summed by King (2008) when he says that "Western... refers more to an elite attitude than a region" (p. 232).

## Conclusion

The reason for selecting two extremely different sets of samples for discussion here is to show that globalization and its effects are flexible, fragmentary, contrasting and context oriented. I use the Pakhtun culture to understand the nexus of language, gender and globalization, to prove the fragmentary nature of globalization. Interestingly, Yasir defined globalization, "For me globalization means many things... diversification...celebration of difference...celebration of commonalities."

Therefore, Collier and Ong's (2005) idea of global assemblages and territorialization or Ong's (1999) use of flexible citizenship also suggest the multilayered meaning of globalization. The above responses exemplify that the subject-positions, primarily in Azmerabad, are hailed by the ISA, that is, religion. As seen from the responses of the women in Azmerabad, their foremost identity is that of being a Muslim; their media exposure is limited; some watch religious programs; and their mobility is equally restricted, with one respondent's claim that outing for her meant going to the shrine. Therefore, the religious ideology, which primarily hails them, can be seen in their sexual and gender performances as well. For example, in order to be a good citizen, Naz Gul appropriates her sexuality by wearing a "proper" burqa; Mahjabeen believes her "man" comes first and she is a "woman" for her "children and homemaking;" and Gul Babbo lives in Azmerabad because her "children" are there and if they decide to leave she will leave the village as well. These women are illiterate but can only read the Quran—a reiteration of the religious interpellation. Since in their case another ISA, that is, education does not play a role per se, therefore the influence of media (yet another ISA) is not as strong either in their lives or language. Hence, for them the notion of belonging is only cultural and spatial. They are oblivious and do not even care about legal and political citizenship statuses at all. As a result, globalization affects them in a different way: they know what cable, internet, CD players, and Indian dramas are but they tend to territorialize these global assemblages in a way that it does not (post)modernize them per se but at the same time does not render them primitive either.

However, on the other hand my respondents in Peshawar are a product of multiple ISAs: religion, culture, education, and media. As noted in Dr. Shah's description of Pashto, which as a language and a code of ethics verifies the role of culture acting as an ISA, perhaps an ISA stronger than religion. It is through the cultural notions that sexuality, both feminine and masculine, are defined and appropriated as seen in the responses of Dr. Shah, Nadia, and Salma Shaheen. However, as this group is educated and has traveled well beyond Peshawar media equally colors their understanding and appropriation of global influences. In fact, my village respondents territorialize and appropriate global influences but my city respondents not only territorialize but rather re-territorialize these influences by first appropriating them according to the Pakhtun cultural expectations and then re-appropriating the cultural expectations enwrapped in education and global media influences—further proving the multiaccentuated nature of globalization. This is mostly suggested by Yasir's and Razia's comments. Although I did not include the actual Pashto or Urdu transcription in the body of this paper but this re-appropriation in terms of language can be well noticed in the responses that I got in Peshawar, not to mention that Yasir's entire interview was in English. The flexible usage of language, forms of linguistic accumulation (Leap, 2003) and



hybridity are characteristics of late modernity and with reference to such linguistic practices, King (2008) suggests, “An identity, then, involves not merely a single pathway but is rather a nexus of multimembership. The work of identity is ongoing, and identity is not an essential core” (p. 235).

As such globalization, through the process of territorialization, affects different regions, people, ages, and social classes differently. This multifaceted influence of globalization, especially, in the Pakhtun community of Peshawar valley is territorialized, appropriated and/or re-appropriated accordingly. However, it is important to recognize that citizenship is a subject-position hailed by the state with the help of state apparatuses implemented through coerced ideology. In contrast, belonging as suggested by Leap (2004) is a stance asserted and negotiated by individuals and/or local constituencies of which they are a part. Leap (2004) further clarifies that:

citizenship is not an autonomous construction but a status that gains meaning only within the complex geographies of the state, civil society, and the family and within economic and social structures that diversify and stratify everyday life within those domains (p. 137).

Building further on Leap’s (2004) idea, Gaudio (2009) explains the notion of citizenship and belonging:

Legal citizenship is defined with respect to political units (states), ‘cultural citizenship’ calls attention to the fact that identities are embedded within particular social fields and institutions including religion, commerce, work, and leisure.... ‘cultural citizenship’ thus refers to things different people do in their day-to-day lives (as well as the things they don’t or can’t do), and the effects their actions have for them and for others (p. 8).

Therefore, the Pakhtuns of Azmerabad, Charsadda and Peshawar, more or less, form, reform and/or transform their notions of identity, belonging and citizenship—cultural, national and international, through the territorialization of global assemblages, appropriation of language, gender, and sexuality.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Azmerabad is a fictitious name that I use for the village in Charsadda where I conducted my field work.
- <sup>2</sup> To maintain anonymity I use pseudonyms for all the research respondents.
- <sup>3</sup> Kanday is a Pashto word which does not really have an English synonym. Kanday is a small village or a community in a village, most or all of which is owned by the village Khan or the lord; it is usually named after that Khan as well. The kanday is inhabited by the Khans relatives, tenants and/or both. Spatially, for the lack of a better word, a kanday may roughly be the equivalent of a neighborhood but with the Pakhtun cultural inferences.
- <sup>4</sup> *Pakhtunwali* or the code of ethics traditionally includes: *Melmastia* (hospitality); *Badal* (revenge to seek justice); *Nanawati/nenawatay* (the right to refuge); *Turah* (bravery); *Saba*(loyalty); *Imandar*(honesty); *Isteqmat* (determination due to trust in God); *Ghaira*(self-dignity and honor); and *Namoo*s (the honor of women).
- <sup>5</sup> I am using Dr. Salma Shaheens actual name with her explicit consent.
- <sup>6</sup> Holi or the festival of colors is a Hindu spring festival.
- <sup>7</sup> The noun or the ethnic community, Pakhtuns is sometimes written and spoken as Pashtoons as well, especially by people of southern regions of KP. This happens when the kh sound is replaced by the sh sound. So Pakhtun is pronounced as Pashtoon/Pushtun; Pukhto as Pashto.
- <sup>8</sup> I have borrowed these words from the leit motif of Forsters *Howards End*.

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## Structural Case Assignment in Pashto Relative Clauses

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### Abstract

The presence of resumptive nominals in some instances and their absence in others make Pashto relative clauses challenging, when seen in the context of structural Case assignment, which requires an agree relation between a functional head and a nominal. However, in Pashto relative clauses, we have to deal with the presence/ absence of a nominal in the same structure/derivation. Added to this is the fact that the whole relative clause along with the nominal can be considered a determiner phrase (DP), and the relativized nominal, in most cases, is at the left-most side of the clause. A question arises: How does the Pashto relative clause get its Case assigned and from which functional category? Among the three well-known approaches to relative clauses, namely, the head external analysis (HEA), the matching analysis (MA), and the head raising analysis (HRA), we adopt the matching analysis (MA) for the structure of Pashto relative clauses. We propose a modification that whereas MA believes in deletion of the internal nominal inside CP with the external nominal through identity, we assume that the internal nominal inside the CP does not delete, rather, it gets phonetically null in some cases and otherwise in others. For structural/abstract Case assignment, it adopts the minimalist notion of the structural Case being the result of  $\phi$ -feature agreement between a functional category and a nominal.

**Keywords:** Relative clauses; structural Case assignment; nominative Case; accusative Case; agree; functional head

## Introduction

Structural/abstract Case<sup>1</sup> assignment has been one of the products of the generative enterprise in linguistic theory. Structural Case revolves around the idea that a nominal is assigned Case by virtue of its place in a construction. During the government and binding (GB) era, structural Case assignment was considered a process whereby a nominal was assigned Case by a Case assigning head such as a verb or a preposition. In early minimalism, it was believed that both the Case assigner and the Case assignee have Case features. The matching of these features between the Case assigner and the Case assignee resulted in checking the Case feature of the DP/nominal. In recent minimalism, it is believed that the DP/nominal has uninterpretable Case feature [uCase]. The Case on a DP/nominal is not assigned as a result of match with a Case feature of the functional head, as the functional head itself does not have Case feature; rather, structural Case is assigned to a nominal as a result of the operation whereby the DP/nominal values the  $\phi$ -features of the relevant functional head.

Structural Case assignment in relative clauses has always been of interest to grammarians. This is partly because the whole relative clause along with the nominal can be considered a determiner phrase (DP), and partly due to the fact that the relativized nominal, in most cases, is at the left-most side of the clause; so, from which functional category it gets its Case? When it comes to relative clauses, Pashto language resembles other languages of the world, except that the resumptive pronouns/nouns are present in some Pashto relative clauses but not in others. This paper analyses Pashto relative clauses in terms of structural/abstract Case assignment and sees whether the minimalist idea that  $\phi$ -features agreement between a functional head and a nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal holds good for Pashto relative clauses as well or not.

## Literature Review

Among Pashto grammarians, no one has discussed Pashto relative clauses from a generative perspective, nor has anyone described the assignment of structural Case in them. All that we have are very brief sketches of Pashto relative clauses in general. Raverty (1855), the first well-known grammarian of Pashto language in English, tells that Pashto has only one relative pronoun; however, he avoids discussing the nature of relative clauses in Pashto. Lorimer (1902) says that Waziri Pashto has no relative pronouns but makes use of the two interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns. Tegey and Robson (1996) say about Pashto relative clauses: “The relative clause follows the noun it modifies and is introduced by the clause marker [*che*] or [*tse*], which translates as ‘that’, ‘who’, ‘whom’ or ‘which’” (p. 219). The same situation,

more or less, prevails with other grammarians with reference to relative pronouns; however, no one tries to dive deep into the nature of Pashto relative clauses.

In the minimalist literature itself, the idea that there is a close relation between Case and agreement dates back to Schütze (1997). He says, “Structural Case marking goes hand-in-hand with agreement. More specifically, I want to show that a single syntactic relationship, Accord (defined ...as combined phi-feature and case-checking) underlies both structural case features on DP and agreement features on V/INFL” (p. 100). Later on, Chomsky (2000, 2001) came with the idea that structural/ abstract Case is the result of  $\phi$ -features agreement between a functional category and a nominal. Carstens (2001), Bejar (2003), Tanaka (2005), Chomsky (2005, 2006), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2006), Bobaljik and Branigan (2006), Richardson (2007), Legate (2008), Baker (2008, forthcoming), Baker and Vinokurova (2010), to name a few, have substantiated, expounded, elaborated, or criticised this idea in one way or another.

### The Structure of Relative Clauses

Relative clauses have received a lot of treatment during the last few decades. Overall, three important analyses have been attributed to relative clauses, namely, the head-external analysis (Quine, 1960; Partee, 1975; Chomsky, 1977), the matching analysis (Lees, 1960; Chomsky, 1965; Sauerland, 1998, 2003; Hulse & Sauerland, 2006) and the head raising analysis (Vergnaud, 1974; Kayne, 1994; Bhatt, 2002; de Vries, 2002). No doubt, these are all worthy efforts, and it is very difficult to decide which one is the best. Salzmann (2006) sums up the whole situation, thus: “Even though the HRA has become almost the standard analysis of relative clauses in recent years, it still faces a number of difficulties that other analyses of relative clauses avoid” (p.9). For our purposes, we are adopting the MA, as it is relatively simple and adequately describes the structure of Pashto relative clauses. At the same time, it is pertinent to state here that due to space limitations we are not in a position to compare all the three analysis for their relative merits/demerits<sup>2</sup>.

The matching analysis is a sort of middle ground between the other two analyses. Like the head external analysis, the relative clauses are joined to the head NP, while at the same time there is a representation of the external head inside the relative clause, as the internal head:

The internal head is generated as the complement of the relative operator (which may be zero) in an argument position; the entire relative DP undergoes movement to Spec, CP. Subsequently, the internal head NP is deleted under identity with the external head. Importantly, the external head

and the internal head are not part of a movement chain as in the raising analysis. Rather, they are related via ellipsis....the [book]<sub>i</sub> [CP [Op which book]<sub>j</sub>]<sub>1</sub> John likes \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>] (Salzmann, 2006:10).

More importantly, for our purposes, Salzmann (2006) writes about the MA: “Crucially, in certain instances, there does not have to be perfect identity between the external head and the internal head. Since the external head and the internal head are not related by movement, both must in principle be interpreted” (p. 10).

### Structural Case Assignment in Pashto Non-restrictive Relative Clauses

These paragraphs had to do with the structural dynamics of relative clauses. Now, let us get back to the main issue that is concerned with structural Case assignment in Pashto relative clauses. For Pashto relative clauses, we have the same hypotheses that we had for the mono-clausal constructions, namely, that  $\phi$ -features agreement between T and the relevant nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, while  $\phi$ -features agreement between *v* or Voice and the relevant nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal. Moreover,  $\phi$ -features agreement between the Appl and the relevant nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal, while  $\phi$ -features agreement between the possessor and the functional category D in terms of [N] feature results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor.

Now, we will analyse two examples, the first representing a non-restrictive relative clause and the second a restrictive relative clause, to see whether our hypotheses for structural Case assignment hold good or they behave differently for Pashto relative clauses:

1.	<i>Saleem</i>	<i>hagha</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>tha</i>
	Saleem.NOM <sup>3</sup>	that	pen.ACC	which	you.ACC
			<i>aghistey</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>mathawi.</i>
			buy	be.PST	break.PRS

‘Saleem is breaking the/that pen which you bought.’

This sentence contains a relative clause, which is non-restrictive and gives additional information about the concerned noun. First of all, *che pen* [D, uCase, uRle]<sup>4</sup>, consisting of the relative operator *che* and the nominal *pen* that is to be relativized, merges with the verb *aghistel* [V, uD, uD] to form VP. Thus, one of the [uD] is satisfied/ valued. Next, *v*[uInfl] *wo*, a Pashto light verb, merges with the VP, through the Hierarchy of Projection Principle<sup>5</sup>, to form *v*'. The external argument 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun [D, uCase] merges with the *v*' to form *vP*, and satisfy/delete the

other [uD] of the verb. As *v* in the case of past tense is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uφ] features, hence unable to assign accusative Case to the relevant nominal, therefore, Voice<sup>6</sup> [uφ] merges with the *v*P. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the external argument in terms of phi-features of person, number and gender. Due to this agree relation, the [uφ] of Voice are valued as 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular male pronoun. Because of the accusative Case, the pronoun gets the morphological form *tha*. As the [uInfl] of *v* is still unvalued, therefore, a functional category T having [uφ, \*uD, uclause type, past] merges with the VoiceP to form T'.

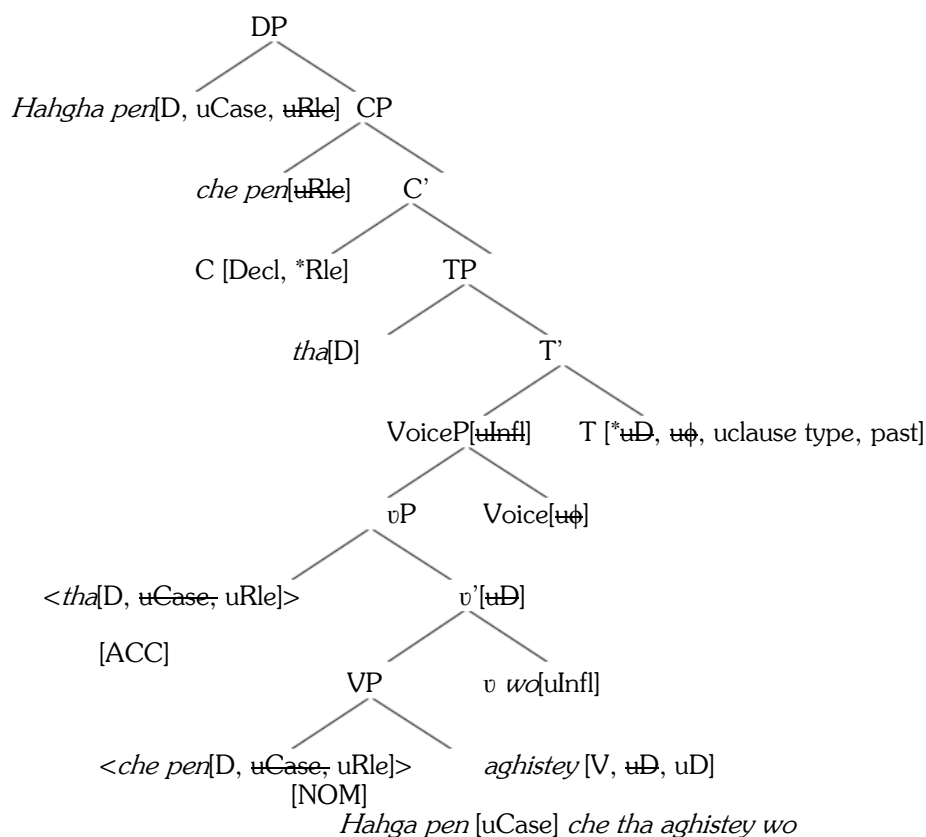


Figure 1

Due to this merge, the [uInfl] of *v*, which had projection on VoiceP, is valued as past. An agree relation establishes between T and the nominal inside VP in terms of φ-features of person, number and gender. The [uφ] of T are valued as 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular male, while nominative Case is assigned to the nominal *pen*. The external argument *tha* moves to spec TP to satisfy the [\*uD] of T. An empty C [Decl] merges



with the TP to value the [uclause type] as declarative. According to the matching analysis (MA) that we are following, the whole relative DP consisting of *che pen* moves to spec CP, thus, giving the word order *che pen tha aghistey wo*. Next, this CP merges with the DP *hagha pen*[D, uCase, uRle] to form the bigger DP *hagha pen che pen tha aghistey wo*. The MA theory supposes that the internal nominal head inside the CP is deleted under identity with the external head. However, in our case, we modify this a bit and say that it is there but sometimes not phonetically pronounced, hence invisible morphologically. While in others, it is phonetically pronounced and morphologically visible. Thus, we get the DP *hagha pen che tha aghistey wo*. This larger DP has all its uninterpretable features satisfied, except the [uCase] feature for the nominal *pen* in *hagha pen*. So technically this DP cannot stand on its own (it will crash in the minimalist terms) unless it is part of some clause, etc. where the nominal *pen* could get its Case. Practically also, the DP as we have formed so far, is unacceptable on its own unless it is a part of some other construction. Figure 1 above graphically represents this whole process.

The next step in the derivation would involve the derivation for the main clause where the DP, we have formed so far, would serve only as a DP in a clause. First of all, the internal argument which is in the form of the large DP *hagha pen* [uCase] *che tha aghistey wo*[D] merges with the verb *math/ mathawə* [V, uD, uD] to form VP. Due to this merge, one of the two [uD] is satisfied/ deleted. The small *v* having [u $\phi$ , uInfl] features merges with the VP to form *v'*. An agree relation establishes between the relativized nominal *pen*, acting as a goal, and *v*, acting as a probe, in terms of  $\phi$ -features of person, number and gender. Because of the agree relation, the [u $\phi$ ] of *v* are valued as 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular male while accusative Case is assigned to the noun *pen*. The morphological form of the *pen* remains the same as in Pashto most nouns do not change in morphological form with the change in Case from nominative to accusative or vice versa.

The external argument *Saleem*[D, uCase] merges with the *v'* to form *vP*. Due to this merge, the other [uD] of the verb is also satisfied/ deleted. The [uInfl] of *v* is still unvalued, therefore, T having [u $\phi$ , \*uD, uclause type, present] features merges with the *vP* to form *T'*. As a result of this merge the [uInfl] of *v* is valued as present. An agree relation establishes between T, acting as a probe, and the external argument *Saleem*, acting as a goal, in terms of  $\phi$ -features of person, number and gender. As a result of this agree relation, the [u $\phi$ ] of T are valued as 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular male, while nominative Case is assigned to *Saleem*. The external argument *Saleem* moves from spec *vP* to spec TP, due to the strong [\*uD] or EPP feature. To satisfy the [uclause type] of T, an empty C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP to form CP. Thus, the [uclause type] is valued as declarative. The overall structure is below:

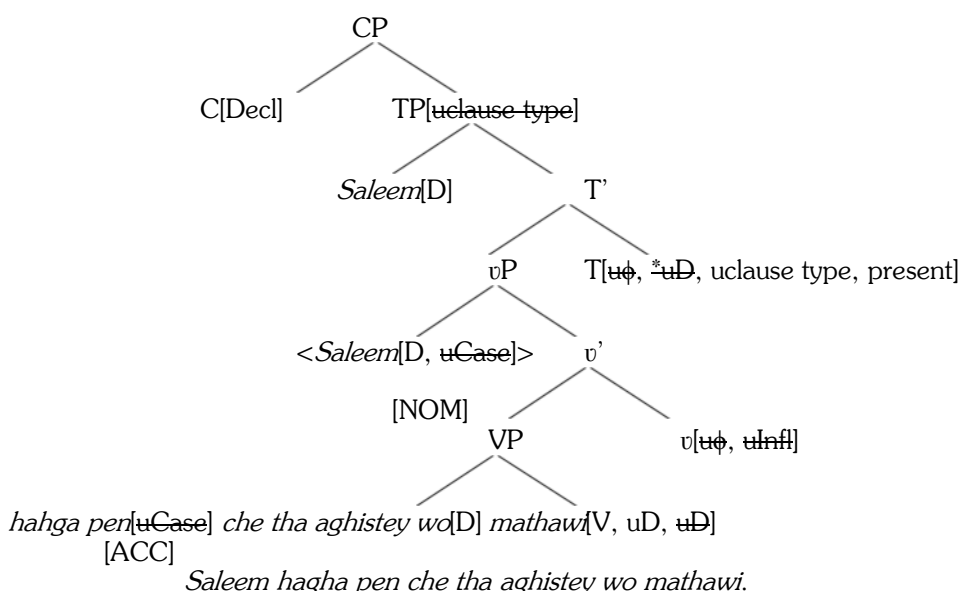


Figure 2

### Structural Case Assignment in Restrictive Relative Clause

Restrictive relative clauses are also frequent in Pashto language. Let us take a restrictive relative clause and analyse Case assignment in it.

<b>2.</b>	<b><i>Hagha saɣay</i></b>	<b><i>[che</i></b>	<b><i>thə</i></b>	<b><i>ye</i></b>	<b><i>milma</i></b>
	that man.ACC	who.COMP	you.NOM	he.ACC	guest
				<b><i>kaɣey way]</i></b>	<b><i>laɣo</i></b>
				do.PST	go

‘The/That man who had feasted you is gone.’

It is a restrictive relative clause from Roberts (2000). It was related to the use of clitics and considered a difficult example. We hope that the present mechanism along with the structural mechanism that we have proposed for Pashto clitics (see Masood, 2014 for details) will be able to adequately account for the assignment of structural Case in this construction, and solve the structural complication of this sentence. According to our proposed mechanism, first of all, the noun *milma* [uD, uD, V] or the nominal part of the light verb complex N+V+V<sup>7</sup> merges with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular male pronoun [D, uCase, \*ufocus] to form VP. As a result, one of the two [uD] is deleted. The light verb *kɣə*/v<sub>1</sub>[uInfl] merges with the VP to form v'. Again this is adjoined by another light verb v<sub>2</sub> *way* to form an extended v'. Next, the external

argument, in this case a DP consisting of the relative operator *che* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular male pronoun [D, uCase] merges with the *v'* to form *vP*. As it is a past tense and according to our hypothesis for Pashto, there is a very close and intimate relation between past tense and Voice, hence in the past tense not only *v*<sub>1</sub>, but *v*<sub>2</sub> also, cannot assign Case as [uφ] are withhold by Voice to itself, therefore, Voice [uφ] merges with the *vP* to form VoiceP.

An agree relation establishes between Voice, acting as a probe, and the nominal of the external argument, acting as a goal for the probe, in terms of φ-features of person, number and gender. Because of the agree relation, the [uφ] of Voice are valued as 3SGM while accusative Case is assigned to the external argument. Because of the accusative Case, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun would get the morphological form *haghā*. The [uInfl] of *v*<sub>1</sub> is still unvalued, and T having [uφ, \*uD, uclause type, past] features merges with the VoiceP to form T'. Due to this merge, the [uInfl] of *v*<sub>1</sub> is valued as past. An agree relation establishes between T and the nominal in the complement to V position, 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular male pronoun. As a result of this agree, the [uφ] of T are valued as 2SGM while nominative Case is assigned to the goal. Due to nominative Case, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun gets the morphological form *thā*. Here agreement between T and the internal argument for nominative Case assignment gets visible on *v*<sub>1</sub> and *v*<sub>2</sub>.

The external argument *che+haghā* moves to spec TP to satisfy the [\*uD] of T. Next, a functional category Foc, having [focus] feature, merges with the TP, resulting in Foc'. The object DP *thā*, having its [\*ufocus] still unvalued/ undeleted, in the VP, moves to spec FocP due to its strong [\*ufocus] feature. Because of this movement the uninterpretable [\*ufocus] is satisfied/ checked. Also, as a result of the focus movement of the one pronoun, the other pronoun *haghā*, in spec TP, degrades in its status and adopts the weak pronoun or clitic form *ye*. It is important to note that it is not one-to-one relation between the two pronouns, as focused movement of a verb, part of a verb; an adjective, an adverb, a noun, etc. may also result in this degradation.

According to the mechanism we are following, the whole relative DP should move to the spec CP position, but here because of the introduction of the focus category we have to split CP into focus and force. Thus, technically the relative DP consisting of *che* and *ye* would move to force; however, as already a pronoun *thā* has been focused and moved as well; therefore, it blocks the other pronominal clitic *ye* from moving ahead of it, and only the relative operator *che* is allowed to move to spec ForceP. In addition, the functional category Force values the [uclause type] of T as [Decl]. Next, this CP merges with the DP *hagha saīay*[D, uCase, uRle] to form the

bigger DP. This larger DP has all its uninterpretable features satisfied, except the [uCase] feature of the nominal *saɪay*. So, technically, this DP cannot stand on its own (is exposed to the danger of collapse in the minimalist terms) unless it is part of some clause, etc. where it could get Case. Practically also, the DP as we have formed so far, is unacceptable on its own unless it is a part of some other construction. This whole process is graphically represented in the Figure 3 below.

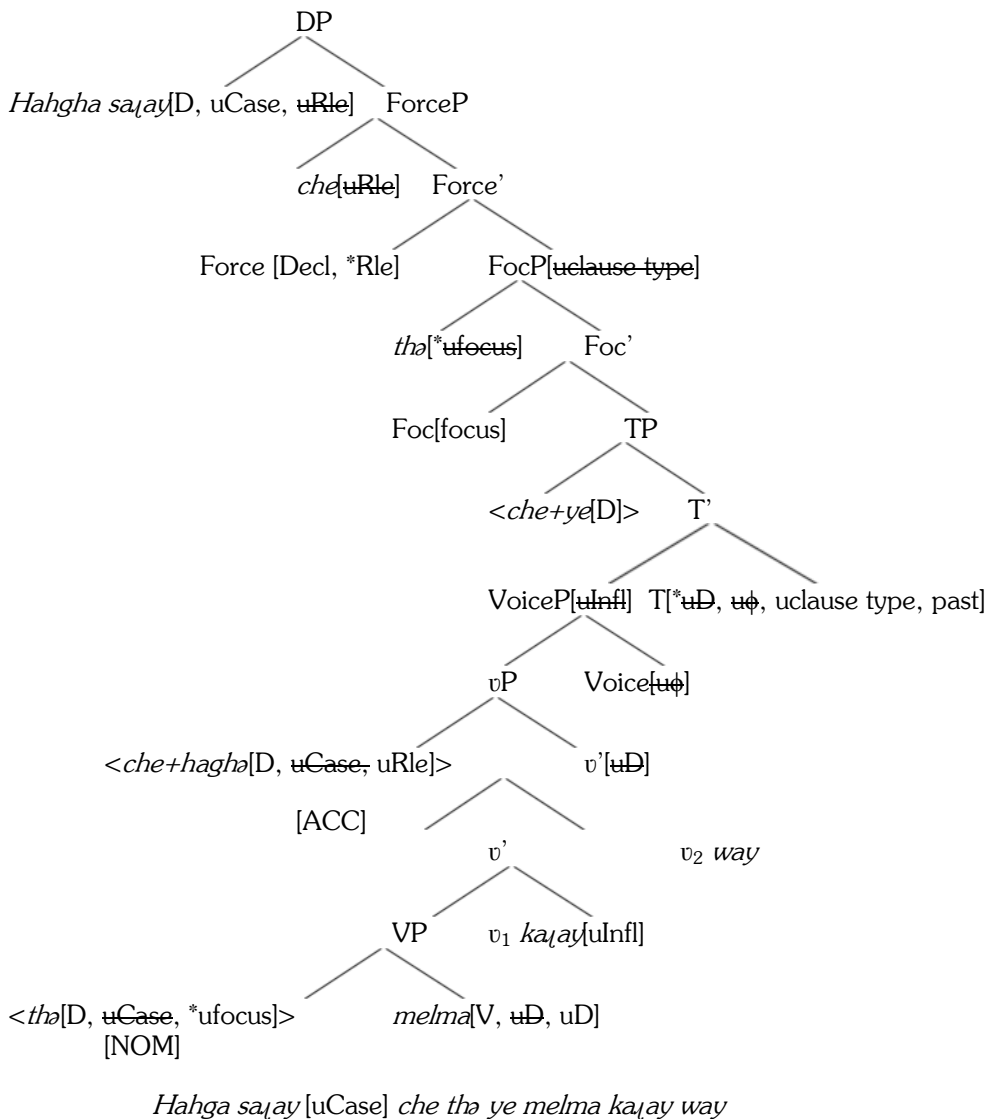


Figure 3

Thus, the figure and the large DP prove the value of our statement/derivation towards the beginning of this section when we had postulated that in Pashto, the internal nominal head inside the CP is not deleted under identity with the external nominal head. Rather, it stays there, sometimes pronounced while at others invisible. Thus, if in Example 1, it was morphologically invisible, in the example just discussed, it is phonetically/morphologically present in the form of pronominal clitic *ye*.

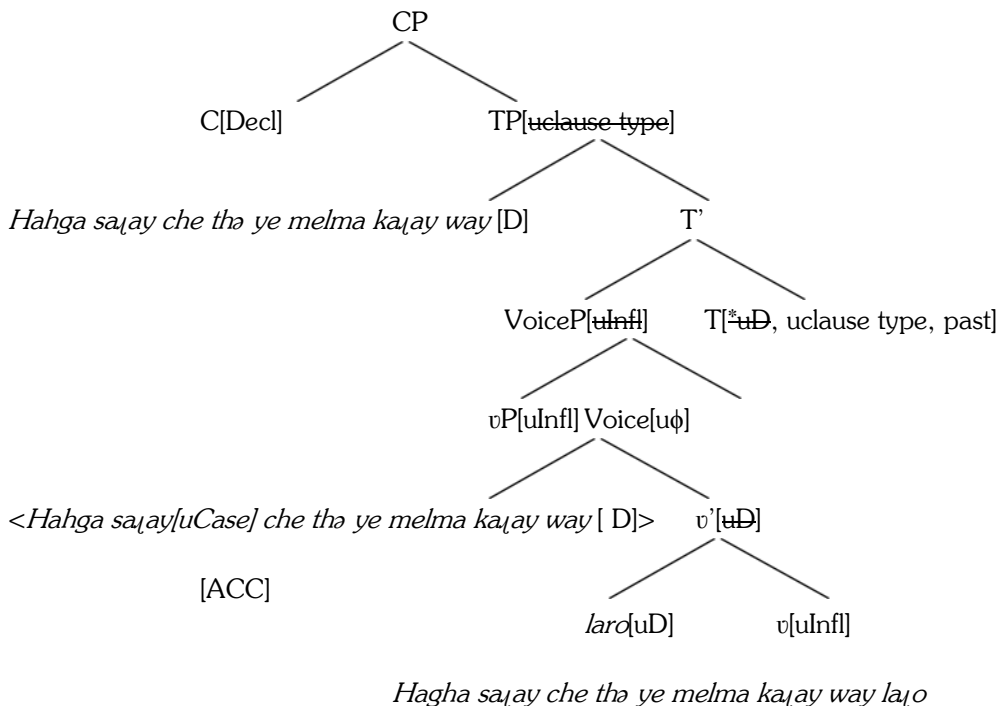


Figure 4

The next step in the derivation would involve the derivation for the main clause where the DP we have formed so far, would serve only as a DP in a clause. First of all, the unergative verb *thəl* [V, uD] merges with *v*[uInfl] to form *v'*. Generally, *v* in Pashto, in case of the unergative verbs, in the present and future tenses, is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uφ] feature, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. Only in the past tense, they can have these features, but even here, the Voice functional layer withholds them, hence *v* remains unable to assign accusative Case. Details about the relation between past tense and Voice in Pashto, based on Kratzer (1996), Collins (2005), Roberts (2010, n.d), and Holmberg (2007), can be found in Masood (2014). To satisfy the [uD] of the verb, the large DP *hahga saḷay* [uCase] *che thə ye melma kaḷay way* [D] merges with *v'*

to form *v*P. Resultantly, the [*u*D] of the verb is satisfied. In addition, the *v* in the past tense Pashto constructions lacks the ability to assign Case, due to absence of the [*u*φ], therefore, Voice [*u*φ] merges with the *v*P. An agree relation establishes between the main nominal *sa/ay* of the relative clause and Voice, in terms of phi-features of person, number and gender. As a result the [*u*φ] of Voice is valued as 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the initial nominal. Thus, the [*u*Case] of the nominal that we had mentioned is valued and now the DP is safe from collapsing. As the [*u*Infl] of *v* is still unvalued, therefore, the functional category T having [*\*u*D, *u*clause type, past] features merges with the VoiceP. The [*u*Infl] of T is valued as past, while the relative clause as DP moves from its place to spec TP to satisfy the strong [*\*u*D]. To satisfy the [*u*clause type], C having [Decl] merges with TP to form the CP.

## Conclusion

In this paper, we studied the assignment of structural/abstract Case in Pashto relative clauses. The chief characteristics that could prove hindrances in devising a mechanism for structural Case assignment and later on arriving at a uniform derivation/structure for Pashto relative clauses were: the presence in some instances and absence in others of the resumptive pronouns/nouns in Pashto relative clauses; considering the whole relative clause as a large DP; and, the occupancy of the left-most periphery by the relativized nominal. For this, we adopted the MA theory with some modifications. Our proposed mechanism was not only able to deal effectively with structural Case assignment in Pashto relative clauses, but was able to explain the structural dynamics of these clauses. Thus, the absence/presence of resumptive noun/pronoun was dealt with by introducing the idea of phonetic visibility/invisibility. We observed that our hypotheses for structural Case assignment, namely, φ-features agreement between a nominal and the functional category T results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, and φ-features agreement between a nominal and the functional category *v* or Voice, depending on the tense, the sentence results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal, were equally good for Pashto relative clauses; whether they were restrictive or non-restrictive. It also showed that the mechanism for structural Case assignment remains the same whether the construction is mono-clausal or multi-clausal. In addition, there were some areas in Pashto grammar and syntax, which had not been explored, and needed extensive research, but the same was avoided due to the scope of this paper. Therefore, we suggest that research on different aspects of Pashto relative clauses, Pashto DPs, focus, topic, structural derivations, etc., can go a long way in laying a solid foundation for the future of generative research in Pashto language.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Normally, a capital C is used in spelling for syntactic (abstract/structural) Case, while a small c is used in spelling for semantic cases, morphological cases, and cases in general.
- <sup>2</sup> For all those who are interested in the detailed analyses of all the three approaches, their relative merits, criticisms, Salzmann (2006) is suggested, which is a sort of critical review of the three approaches. Also, that thesis has useful reference section where information about individual works of authors representing these three approaches can be found.
- <sup>3</sup> The symbols used in this paper are according to Leipzig glossing rules. In addition, the phonetic symbols ə and ɽ stand for schwa and retroflex r sounds in Pashto respectively.
- <sup>4</sup> We are indebted to Adger (2004) for suggesting the [Rle] feature.
- <sup>5</sup> Hierarchy of Projection Principle is an innovation on the part of Adger (2004). This is what he says about Hierarchy of Projection:

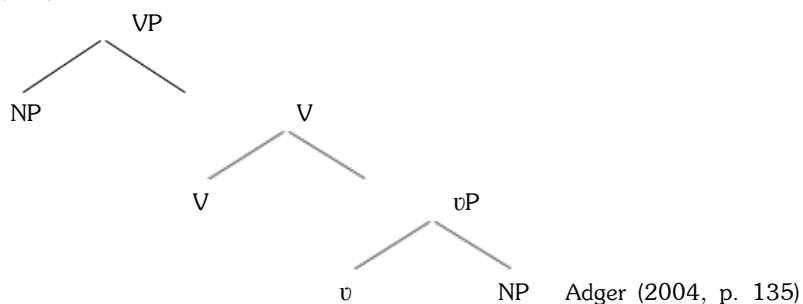
In order to keep the relation between little *v* and VP conceptually distinct from selection, we will just assume that there is a special Hierarchy of Projections, such that whenever we have a little *v*, it always has a VP complement.

In an intuitive sense, little *v*P is an extension of the projection of VP, in that it is still verbal, but it adds further semantic information. We will state the Hierarchy of Projections as follows:

$$(112) v > V$$

If the Hierarchy of Projection is not met, then the structure will be ruled out. This means, for example, that the following structure is not generated by the system:

(113)



Later on, he completes his hierarchy of projection and gives it the following order:

Hierarchy of Projection:

Clausal: C > T > (Neg) > (Perf) > (Prog) > (Pass) > *v* > V

Nominal: D > (Poss) > *n* > N (p. 333).

The items enclosed in round brackets show that they are optional.

- <sup>6</sup> Please refer to Masood and Rahman (2013) for the introduction of Voice functional category in Pashto past tense constructions.
- <sup>7</sup> Please refer to Masood (2014) for details of light verb in Pashto.

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## Outmigration Remittance Inflow and Sustainable Land Management in Dry Areas of Pakistan: Observations from Karak District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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### Abstract

Adoption of off-farm activities is one of the main choices for the inhabitants in dry areas to reduce pressure on land with declining productivity. In these areas cash income sources are quite limited at local level that generates national and international migration. Large-scale outmigration and inflow of remittances have significant impact on natural resource utilization and land management practices. This paper therefore, examines the status and role of out migration and remittances in the context of sustainable land management in semiarid areas. For the present study data have been collected through questionnaire cum interview method in the purposively selected villages in the study area. The finding of this research reveal that acute shortage of farm labour is felt that has a negative impact on land management. Moreover, the remittances are mostly consumed to sustain the household need and a minor portion of it is also invested in off-farm activities at local level.

**Keywords:** Outmigration; Remittances; Food security; Land management; Drylands; Karak district

### Introduction

In dry areas with subsistence agriculture and declining land productivity, adoption to off-farm activities is the only choice for the inhabitants to maintain subsistence livelihood (Abdulai and Delgado, 1999). Higher rate of involvement in off-farm activities contributes significantly to household income and hence improve socio economic status of the family (Fafchamps and Quisumbing 1997; Corpal and

Reardon 2001; Gebre Egziaber 2000). In addition, it also opens avenues for investment in land and brings changes in farming practices (Beyene 2008; De Janvry and Sadoulet 2001; Benjamin and Guyomard 1994). However, participation of young male family members in these activities often result in the farm labor shortage (Rahman et al., 2014) and increases the risk of land abandonment.

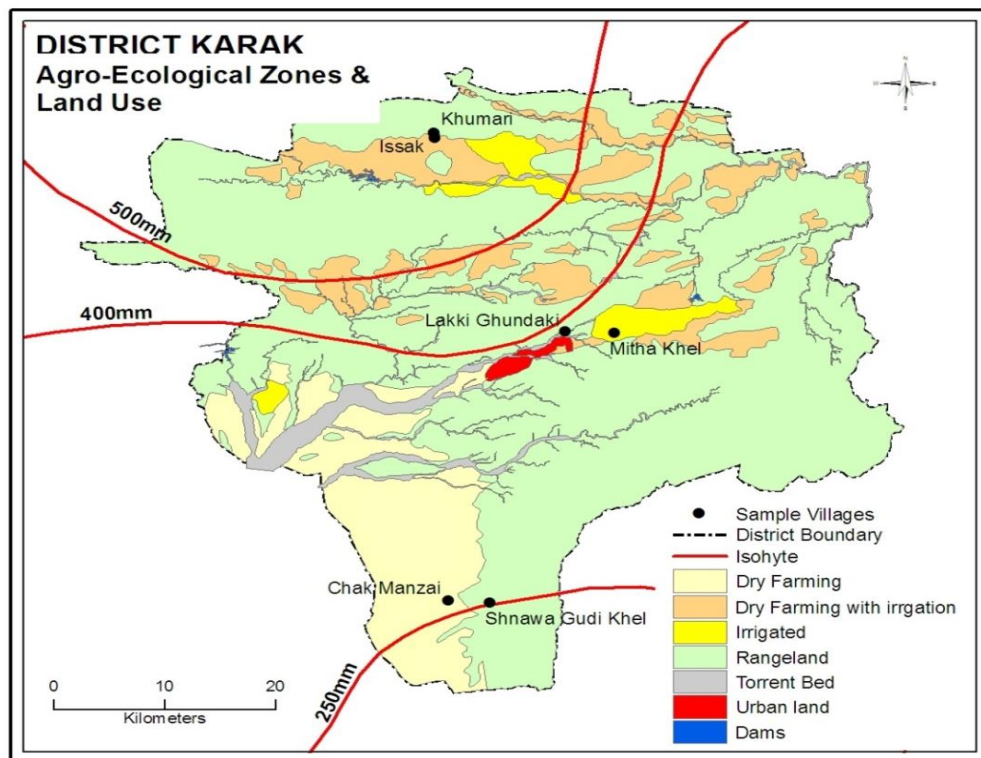
Declining land productivity, scarcity of farmland and increased population are closely related with off-farm activities (Andersson et al., 2005). Increasing demands and reduces availability of firewood and brings about a shift to alternative commercial fuels available in the market such as purchase of wood, kerosene oil, liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), which increases the household expenditure (Khan et al., 2005; Ehiagbanare, 2007; Chettri et al., 2002; Sharma et al., 2009). Likewise, reduced supply of fodder either requires households to shift away from animal husbandry or purchase feed from the market, resulting in need of additional cash income either to purchase dairy products or animal feed, hence motivating people to seek off-farm jobs.

In areas of rapid population growth, pressure on agrarian resources continues to enhance production (cf. Allen 1985; Angelsen 1999; Barbier and Burgess 2001; Carr 2006; Walter 2012) which can be achieved either by expanding agricultural land or increasing the cultivation intensity on the existing farmland. This will require increased use of inputs like fertilizers, irrigation, improved seeds and mechanization resulting in increased agricultural investment and cash income. In areas where opportunities for non-farm activities do not exist people migrate. Usually such large scale out-migration causes shortage of labor force in the peak agricultural season having a considerable effect on land management and resource utilization practices. These aspects of outmigration, remittances inflow and its impact on natural resource management need a thorough analysis and in-depth understanding. Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to highlight the characteristics of outmigration and off-farm activities and to find out its role in sustainable land management. For this purpose, District Karak, has been selected for detail study.

## **Material and Method**

This research is carried out in one of the arid and semi-arid mountainous district of north western Pakistan. For the purpose of data collection, six villages were selected from three different agro-ecological zones (see map 1). The selected villages were visited and surveyed by self-administered questionnaire. Two different types of questionnaires, one for the community and the other for individual

households, were used to collect the required data. In the sampled villages 11-17 per cent households were selected for interview through random sampling technique. To get accurate information from the respondents both focused group discussions and interviews were conducted in local language (Pashto), that were later on translated into English for analysis. To further improve the authenticity and validity of the research, the collected data was cross-checked with information available in the secondary sources such as population census report and agricultural statistics wherever possible.



**Map 1:** Location of sample Villages (Developed by Iffat Tabassum 2012)

### Characteristics of the Study Area

Karak is a relatively small district situated in the southern part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) with a total geographical area of 3,372 square kilometer. The total population as enumerated in 1998 census was 430,796 persons (GoP, 2000). The terrain of this area is undulating plain with mountains, valleys and interlocking spurs. The altitude of the study area ranges from 300 meters in the south to 1400 meters in the northwest. Aridity prevails in this region with very

high variability in precipitation that increases from south (250) to north (500 mm).

Physiography and availability of irrigation water are the main hindrances for farming activity. The arable land is less than 20 percent and only 2 per cent of the total cultivated area is irrigated. Rain-fed (*barani*) agriculture is common throughout the district. The impact of aridity on vegetation cover is visible and less than 3 per cent of the geographical area is covered by xerophytes plant species.

Due to physical constraints this area is economically lagging behind, compared to other districts of KP (GoNWFP & IUCN, 1996). Consequently off-farm employment opportunities are quite limited and most of the highly qualified people as well as wage labor are migrating to other localities inland and abroad (Iffat, 2009). The rest of the population consisting of mainly women and aged are unable to diversify their livelihood and thus dependent on the available resources for subsistence survival.

With labor migration and enhanced off-farm income, economy in Karak is passing through a transitional stage of shift from pure agrarian economy to agrarian cum non-agrarian one. Till the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, very few people were engaged in off-farm activities and most of the population was deriving their livelihood from subsistence farming. Seasonal movement between different altitudes (Issak Khumari) and between different plain areas (to Punjab from Chountra and Thal) was a common practice in order to use the resources in a sustainable way. Apart from agriculture, a small portion of population of the district was also serving in British army. Their involvement in Armed forces continued till the second half of the century. Later on people started to seek other off-farm jobs in Gulf States particularly in the decade of seventies and its aftermath. Today large number of people from Karak is working in different parts of the country and also abroad.

## Results and Discussion

The age and sex structure of the sampled population reveals that more than 40% of the total population is children under the age of 14 years and 9% are aged above the age of 60 years. Economically active population (15-60years) constitutes the remaining i.e. 50% of the total (Table 1). Share of male population in this age group is around 52% including those working outside the district. Out of total working people (1614) in the sample households, 1075 are engaged in off-farm activities (Table 2). Only about one third of the working people are involved in recognized agricultural activities.

Table 1:

Karak District: Age and Sex-wise Population Distribution of Sample Households

Age /sex	Male		Female		Both		
	f	%	f	%	f	%	%
up to 5years	631	17.83	603	17.96	1234	17.8	40.9
6-14 years	756	21.27	842	25.09	1598	23.1	
15-45 years	<b>1116</b>	31.50	<b>1009</b>	30.05	2125	30.8	<b>49.8</b>
46-60 years	<b>719</b>	20.20	<b>592</b>	17.64	1311	19.0	
60years & above	331	09.30	311	09.26	642	09.3	09.3
Total	3553	100.0	3357	100.0	6910	100.0	100.0

### Major Off-Farm Occupations

Out of total working population one third (33%) are farmers, while the rest is involved in off-farm activities (Fig 1). Among the off-farm activities, share of government employs is high where more than half of the workers are engaged. Majority of people in this group are either employed in armed forces or in education department. Most of the retired workers were also from the army. International migrants constitute around 17% of the off-farm workers. Remaining are low wage earners engaged either in small scale business, daily wagers or working in private institutions.

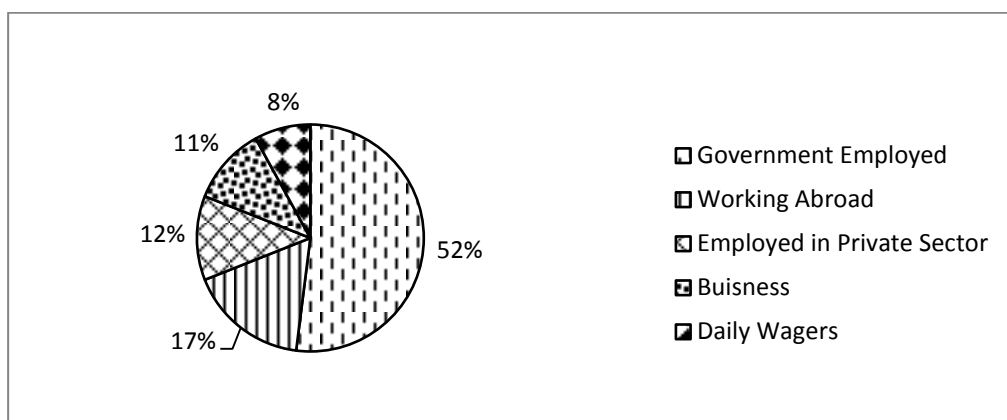
Table 2:

Karak District: Region-wise Working Population in Sample Households

Activity	IssakKhumari	MithaKhel	ShnawaGudiKhel	Karak
Agricultural	57	56	426	539
Non agricultural	169	226	680	1075
Total	226	282	1106	1614

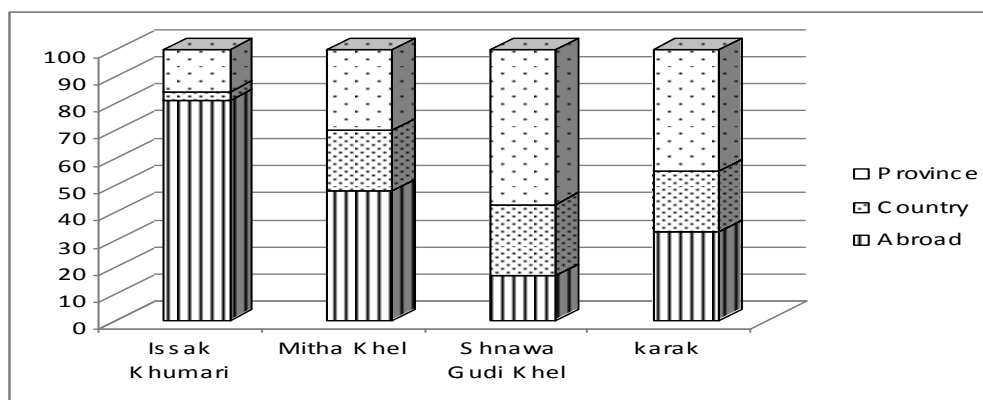
Source: Field survey 2010



**Figure 1:** Karak District: Off-farm Working Population in Sample Households

### Out-migration

Involvement in off-farm economic activities also indicates high migration rate from the district due to lack of off-farm income opportunities. Out of the total migrants in the sample households, 33% are international migrants. Internal migrants include 22% working in different parts of the country while 45% work in the same province mostly in large urban centers (Fig 2).

**Figure 2:** Karak District: International Migration versus National Migration by Source Region

Two third (67%) of the migrants from Karak district have moved within Pakistan while another one third (33%) have moved abroad (Fig 2).

This was also reported by study conducted by Hoermann, Banerjee and Kollmair (2010) that majority of young people from remote mountain of Himalayas including Pakistan migrate towards regional market towns and metropolitan cities located in the plains within the country. International migration to Gulf countries is growing as earnings from these countries are higher. In terms of ecological regions the number of international migrants from Shnawa Gudi Khel, located in rain-fed region is small. This is mainly attributed towards high cost involved in the process of international migration which most of the households cannot afford. In contrast, share of this region in national migrants is far greater. These migrants are primarily employed in arm forces. Issak Khumari has the highest share of international migrants and economic status of the people in this region is better compared to other regions. Large numbers of men from this region are working abroad; and similar to other remote localities (cf. Fazlur-Rahman 2007) at least one person from each household. However, in some cases this number also increases to two and more than two as well.

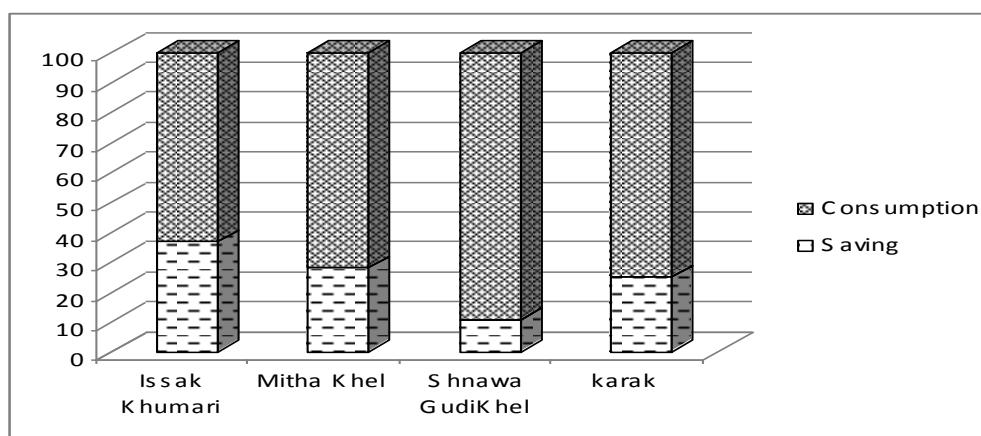
### **Remittances**

It is generally perceived that migration reduces poverty as it enhances financial and human capital. Migration, however, also results in loss of human capital which leads to mismanagement of land resources. For understanding its role and the way it affects a society, it is important to recognize the process, the flows of remittances and the way it is used by the respective households. Financial remittances play direct and most important role in the sustenance of the poor households and work as an immediate safety valve. In addition to monetary benefits, migration is also enhancing Human Capital such as the attainment and transfer of new skills/ technology, enhanced knowledge, new ideas/perceptions – which are collectively known as social remittances (Hoermann, Banerjee and Kollmair, 2010)–that usually play an important role in long term and sustainable development recipient households. These households are not the only beneficiaries of social remittances, rather its wider impact can be seen on the overall society, as these remittances generates demand and jobs for local workers.

Remittances sent back home in most of the households range between 50,000 to 150,000 with bi-modes of Rs.60 and 90 thousand rupees per month. Major portion of the remittances received in the district goes to meet the daily needs and to cover domestic consumption. Saving rate is low and only 25% of the surveyed recipient households were able to save some amounts (Fig 3). It is very close to international situation where only 20 per cent of remittances are used for investment and about 80 per cent are required for household consumption (cf. IFAD 2009). The consumption rate tends to be higher for poor households where

remittances ensure immediate relief during hard times. Furthermore, household consumption has many positive long-term benefits as it contributes to family welfare in terms of better nutrition, living conditions, education, and health care.

**Figure 3:** Karak District: Distribution of Remittances in Sample Areas



During field work, majority of the respondents revealed that a significant decrease in agricultural productivity has occurred over the last two decades. Most of them attributed this to changes in climatic condition as a significant cause of declining agricultural productivity and hence migration. Several respondents reported about erratic rainfall pattern during the past few years. Farmers also complained about untimely and excessive rainfall during harvesting season, which damaged both grains and hay, leading to food/feed insecurity both for human beings and livestock. The water flow in local springs and ponds in most villages has reduced considerably. Rising temperatures was also reported, resulting in hotter summers and warmer winters, with negative impacts on agriculture productivity. The elders of villages of Issak Khumari and Mitha Khel said that earlier they used to wear warm clothes even during the summer months, but they did not need them anymore.

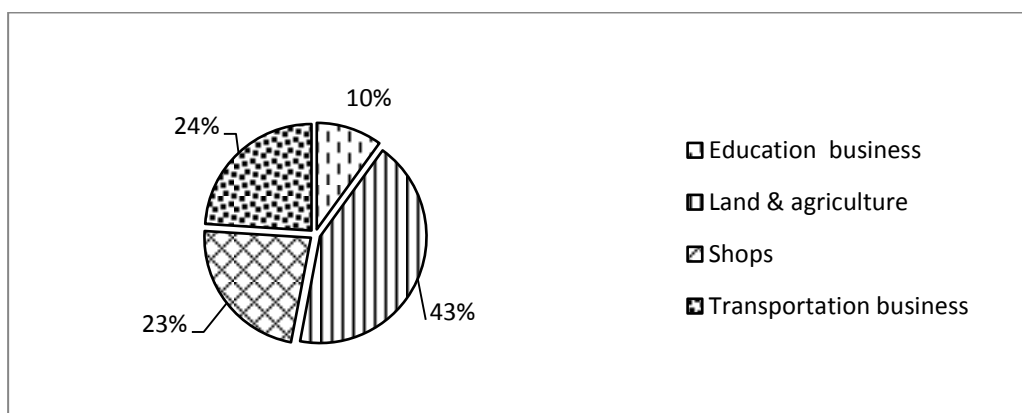
### Role of Remittances in Reducing Land Degradation

The amount of remittances sent by individual international migrants is initially quite low. It has many reasons but a more common one is that most migrants are employed in low paid jobs. Due to lack of technical skills and appropriate education they work as drivers, construction workers, security guards, waiters and cooks. Some of them also work as sales men in shops. After bearing their expanse of living, they are left with only a small amount to remit to the home country. On the average, Pakistani migrants remit only US\$ 46 per month, but this is still significant in terms

of local household income (Arif, 2010). Due to prevailing poverty migrants do not have enough cash to bear the cost of migration and normally obtain loans from various sources for the purpose. Their first priority is the repayment of loans and this reduces share of investment in land. Finding employment opportunities and making essential arrangements independently is not an easy task for majority of people in the study area. If migrants rely on relatives and friends to arrange job, they still have to bear expenses of travel etc. However, the burden increases if they do not have friends and relatives to find jobs abroad. In such cases, they seek assistance from employment agencies. These agencies offer a wide range of services like arrangement of employment, processing visas, travel, and paper work. They also arrange accommodation and support at the destination initially, which considerably increases the already high cost of international migration.

Remittances both financial and social have a variety of effects on different families. Usually households are the direct recipients and consumers of financial remittances for their day to day expenses or immediate needs. The focused group discussion revealed that after fulfilling the domestic needs very little amount (25%) is left for saving and investment. Majority of the respondent in the study area have invested in agricultural and residential land and business. However, few respondents have also invested in the improvement of agriculture such as land leveling and purchase of modern inputs for as well. Additionally many households have also made investment in transportation sector and bought taxis and other vehicles while few have invested in education sector and opened schools and tuition centers. Hence besides meager investment in land leveling or conservation the only other way in which remittances have contributed is by reducing some dependency on land through the creation of off-farm employment locally.

**Figure 4:** Karak District: Investment of Remittance in Different Sectors



Unlike international migrants, internal migrants working within the country are highly educated and working on better positions. Many of them hold graduate, postgraduate and professional degrees and hence have been able to secure professional and managerial positions, while others with a higher secondary education have joined the armed forces or entry level clerical jobs. The earnings of internal migrants from Karak vary greatly, from Rs 6,000 (US\$ 60) per month to about Rs 45,000 (US\$ 450) compared to those of International migrants that is ranging from 30,000 to 120,000 Pakistani rupees i.e. 300 to 1200 US\$.

## **Conclusion**

The present study confirms a close relationship between large scale outmigration and resource management and utilization in fragile and uncertain environment. Though higher participation in off-farm activities both locally and abroad substantially increases household income and consequently improves socio economic conditions. However, it usually leads to reduced labor participation in farming and related activities. This study also reveals that at present the economy of the whole district is heavily dependents on remittance sent back by international migrants. The number of person working abroad shows considerable variation amongst the sampled villages highlighting the affects of natural constraints and cash income earning opportunities. Moreover, employment structure shows a higher tendency towards government services particularly in armed forces and education sector. This can be attributed to colonial impacts and historical trends towards education in the limited availability of other resources specifically water shortage.

The households are consuming major portion of the remittance for subsistence sustenance and few families are able to investment this money in the purchase and improvement of agricultural land. Considerable number of families have also invested in transportation sector and business activities. Construction of modern houses and installation of tube well for irrigation are other avenues of investment. Consequently, substantial numbers of off-farm income earning opportunities have been generated locally. These investments, though at small scale, have contributed to resource conservation by reducing dependence on land. It can be concluded that despite some negative effects the inflow of remittances is functioning as a safety valve for food security and subsistence sustenance.

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## The Effects of Urbanization on Flood Intensity in District Charsadda, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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### Abstract

This research is an attempt to explore and analyse the impacts of population growth and trend of urbanization on the flooding pattern along River Jindi, District Charsadda in years 2012-13. PRA tools, questionnaire survey, personal observation and statistical analysis tools were used to collect and analyse data. According to study findings rural areas located along river banks are gradually developing into urban areas resulting in narrowing of freshwater crossings. The peak flow data in this study indicates that there is an increasing trend in flooding pattern along River Jindi plains due to increase in urbanization and encroachment of human civilization in the flood prone areas.

**Keywords:** Urbanization, River Jindi, Charsadda, flood, population growth

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### Introduction

Urbanization usually has a harmful effect on water quality, quantity and the aquatic environment which necessitates a policy of adequate treatment, conservation and water management (Moore, 1969). Construction activities increase impervious surfaces, which leads to a reduction of infiltration into groundwater. Storm runoff increases and accelerates, and peak flows grow. Surface runoff from impervious areas may be hundreds of times greater than runoff from some natural areas. Coupled with the effects of soil erosion and sedimentation in rivers resulting from urban construction, flooding in the low-lying areas has become more frequent



(Kasarda and Parnell, 1993). One of the recent thrusts in hydrologic modelling is the assessment of the effects of land use and land cover changes on water resources and floods (Yang, *et al.*, 2012). It is widely recognized that urbanization changes hydrological processes within watersheds by altering surface infiltration characteristics. The expected results of urbanization include reduced infiltration, base flow, lag times, increased storm flow volumes, peak discharge, frequency of floods, and surface runoff (Hollis, 1975; Arnold & Gibbons, 1996., Smith et al., 2005). All over the world, flood intensity is on the increase due to the rapid pace of urbanization. In District Charsadda, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which is land to several rivers, River Jindi is affected in a number of ways in the recent decades due to the fast pace of urbanization, changing the runoff pattern and water quality. This paper explores and points out the localities, which are most vulnerable to flood hazards along the banks of River Jindi and offers some recommendations to forestall future floods in the study area.

### The Study Area

The Charsadda lies between  $34^{\circ}03'$  to  $34^{\circ}28'$  north latitudes and  $71^{\circ}28'$  to  $71^{\circ}53'$  east longitudes. The study area is bounded by Malakand district in the north, Mardan district in the east, Nowshera and Peshawar districts in the south and Mohmand Agency in the west (GOP, 1998).

Charsadda is marked for a unique feature, home to three main rivers flowing through its heart. Waters of these rivers kept the lands of the area fertile even before the introduction of modern irrigation system by the British. River Kabul branches off into many tributaries after entering Peshawar valley near Warsak. These include Budhanai, Shah Alam and the main river Kabul. Except for the main tributary which flows in Peshawar district, all the other tributaries find their way through district Charsadda.

The second major river of the area is river Khiali which is one of the branches of river Swat. River Jindi is the third river which is originated from Malakand Mountains. Both of the rivers fall into river Kabul near Jungle and Chak Nisata respectively. It seems as if the nature has divided these rivers only to make the lands of Charsadda and Peshawar fertile.

The population growth rate of district Charsadda was 3.0% according to 1961 census report. The total population of the district was 283 thousand in 1951, which has almost doubled in just 21 years. In 1972, the population of the district reached 513 thousand with an average annual growth rate of 2.79%. Annual growth rate from 1951 to 1972 showed an increase in population growth and was

largely attributed to sharp decline in mortality. The decline in mortality was due to improved health facilities, and relative stability of economic life. During 1972-1981, the population increased from 513,000 to 631,000 with an annual growth rate of 2.5% which was higher than the world average growth rate which was less than 2% per annum. During the period 1972-1981, a large number of Afghan had come to this area due to Afghan-Russia war which resulted in an increase in the population of the study area. During 1981-1998, the population of the district increased from 631,000 to 1022,000 with an average growth rate of 2.9%. The above results indicate that the population of district Charsadda has increased more than three times from 1951-1998.



Figure 1: Physiography of District Charsadda

After 1998 there is no census report published therefore the expected population in the year 2012 were calculated from the help of formula (Ramesh et al., 2012) from which the expected population of district Charsadda in 2012 is 1524987.

$$\text{Formula } P_n = P_0(1+r/100)^n$$

Whereas  $n$ ,  $P_0$  and  $r$  represent the number of year, census year and the growth rate, respectively.

## Material and Methods

This research was carried out in district Charsadda to analyze the impact of urbanization on flooding in Jindi River. Various data collection tools were used in order to collect the required information for achieving the study objectives; both the primary and secondary sources of information were used for this research. Secondary data was collected from census department, irrigation department, statistic department and agriculture department Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as well as data was collected from the existing literature in the form of published books, articles, reports and thesis. In order to achieve the objective of the research, different methodologies were used.

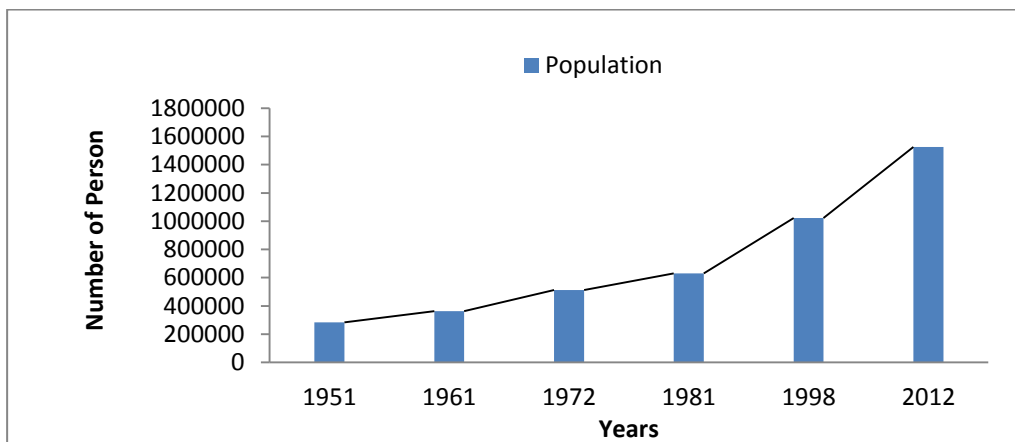


Figure 2: Population data of District Charsadda

## Questionnaire Survey

A questionnaire survey was conducted for the collection of some basic information. A brief questionnaire was designed asking the view of people about their dependency on River Jindi and the changes in the river which are done in last three decades. This questionnaire was addressing the population problems associated with freshwater regime. It was a sort of public involvement in the research work. Questionnaire survey was conducted with 80 households of the areas adjacent to River Jindi. Seven union councils were selected in two Tehsils of

district Charsadda: MC-1, MC-2, MC-3 (Rajjar, Utmanzai, and Umerzai/Sherpao). The selection of the union councils was based on their accessibility as well as on their proximity to the river.

### **Sampling Techniques**

This study was conducted in an areas of 500 meters arrowed the River Jindi. Questionnaire survey was conducted on the basis of stratified proportional random sampling. These areas were divided in to two strata on the basis of Tehsil Tangi and Tehsil Charsadda. Sample will be randomly selected from each stratum.

### **Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Social survey**

A social survey of the people living along the banks of River Jindi was conducted to find out the perception of local people regarding flood risk, changes in the water quality and runoff of the river. Different Participatory Rulers Appraisal (PRA) techniques such as Transect walk, hazard map, capacity assessment and vulnerability assessment was used to explore and point out the localities, which are most vulnerable to flood hazards along the banks of River Jindi. Communities were asked to locate the vulnerable community on hazard map.

### **Statistical Analysis**

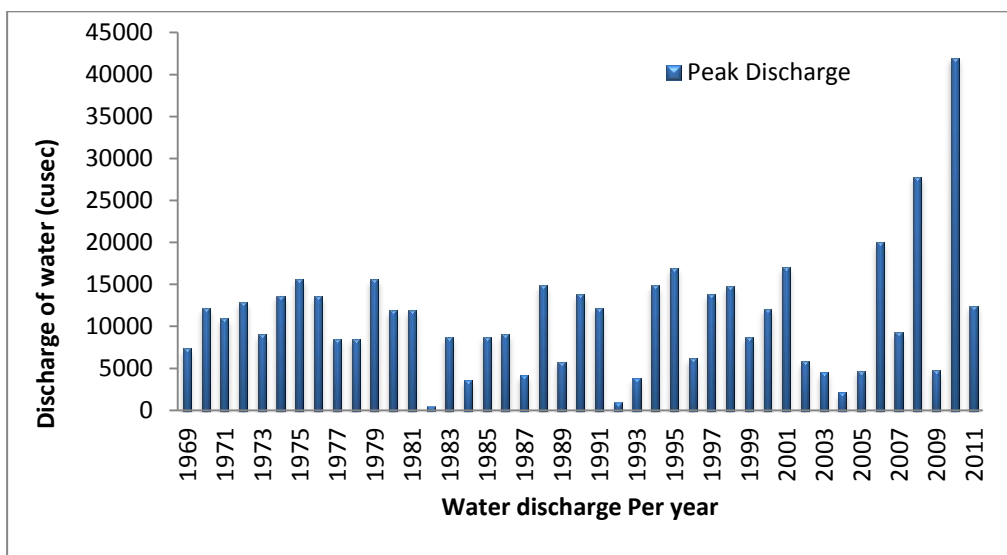
The raw data collected during field work was processed through various software packages, like ARC GIS. Student t-Test software was used to carry out the statistical analysis such as mean and standard deviation, etc. The charts, tables and diagrams were constructed through MS Excel.

### **Results**

Charsadda district has become an increasingly urban city during the last few decades. Agricultural land and vegetation covered areas are slowly and gradually engulfed by urban area. Land use changes are connected with urbanization which increases the intensity and frequency of floods. Grading the land surface, removing soil and vegetation, and constructing drainage networks increase runoff to river from rainfall. As a result, the frequency, volume and intensity of floods have increased in River Jindi. Developments along the River Jindi channel and floodplain have changed the capacity of the channel to transmit water. In particular, structures that influence the floodplain, such as bridges and buildings, have increased downstream flood by reducing the width of the channel and increasing the channel's resistance to flow. As a result, the water is at a higher stage as it flows past the obstruction, creating a backwater that will inundate a larger area downstream.

Common consequences of urban development have increased peak discharge and frequency of floods. Typically, the annual maximum discharge of River Jindi increased with urbanization. Although the increase is sometimes masked by substantial year-to-year variation in storms, as is apparent in the annual maximum discharge of River Jindi from 1969 to 2011.

The discharge data was obtained from the hydrology section of irrigation department. The data revealing fluctuations in river discharge is helpful to analyze the trend and intensity of floods. The data shows that the water discharge has recorded a gradual increase from 1969 to 2011. Consequently, high intensity floods with an increased frequency can be observed having an overview of the flood history. In the start of august 1975 the first highest water discharge of 15550 cusec and a sever flood was observed. After that in the end of July 1995, 16897 cusec discharge was observed in River Jindi. In the med of August 2001 and 2006 a discharge of 17000 cusecs and 20000 cusecs was observed respectively. In 2008, 28000 cusecs discharge was observed. After this in 2010, 42000 cusecs super flood was noted in River Jindi which was the most devastating disaster in the living memories of region affecting the whole district. Which caused the worst damages in the area; the flood had catastrophic impacts on human population, property, infrastructure, livestock and agriculture along river bank. Floods have become increasingly more severe.



**Figure 3:** Peak flow of River Jindi (source: Irrigation Department)

### Villages Vulnerable to Flood

Figure 4 shows villages vulnerable to floods along River Jindi which were identified through community based hazard mapping, risk assessment and previous flood data. Hazard maps were made by communities because local people know better about their surrounding environment and enable to indicate areas prone to disaster. Hazard maps involve the identification of hazard or threats which may damage the villages. Time line of flood history and seasonal calendar for seasonality of flood was the participatory tools used for community hazard maps. The people point out the areas in the communities which are prone or threatened by flood. These maps are made by communities itself. After this community risk assessment form were filled in communities which indicated the social vulnerability of the villages.

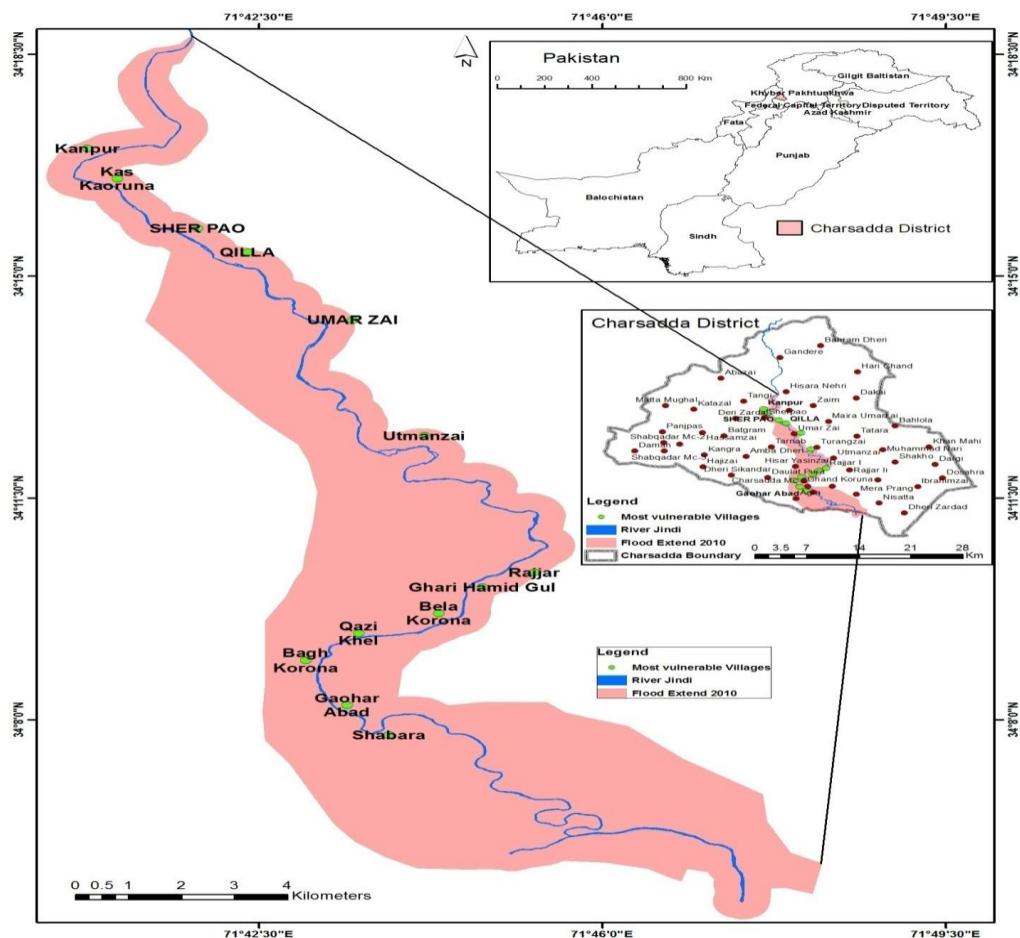


Figure 4: Villages most vulnerable to River Jindi

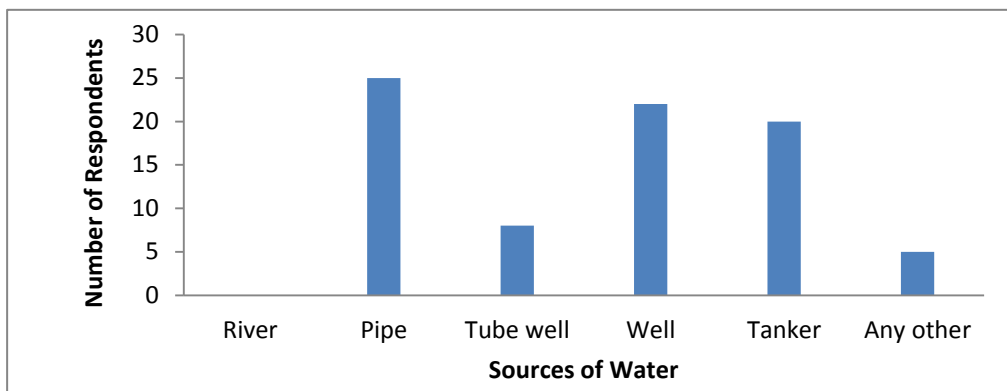


Figure 5: Sources of drinking water in the study area

Community based hazard mapping and risk assessment study was done in 26 villages which was situated at a 100 meters distance on the banks of River Jindi. The data obtained from hazard mapping and risk assessment was compared to previous flood data from which finally 14 most vulnerable villages are identified (Fig 4). These villages include the downstream, Khanpur, Kas koroona, Sherpao, Ali shah qila, Umerzai, Utmanzai, Rajjar, Ghari hameed gul mian, Bela koroona, Qazi Khel, Bagh koroona, Gohar abad, Harbila and Shabara. The most vulnerable villages are shown in the map given above.

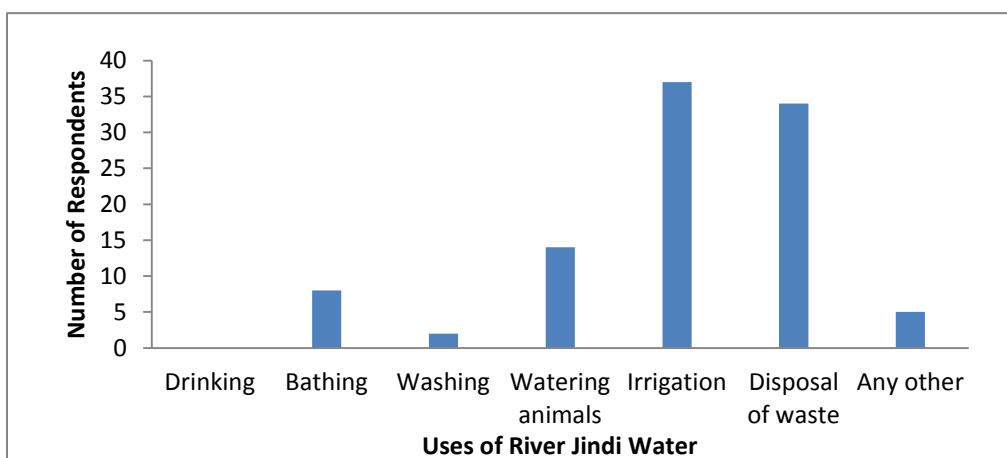


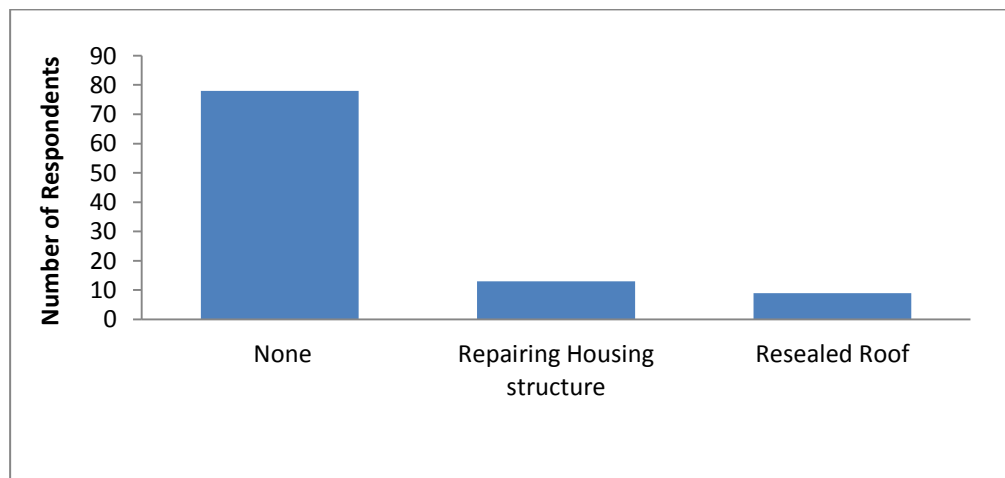
Figure 6: Different used of water obtained from River Jindi

The majority of the respondent use pipe water for drinking purpose. None of the respondents were using river water for drinking purpose, because the river is much polluted. Fifty-eight per cent of the respondents were of the view that clear water is

good drinking water. The majority of respondents were not willing to pay for water. Only 22% were willing to pay for water.

A majority of the respondent, i.e. 34%, use the channel of River Jindi for waste disposal, while 37% use its water for irrigation purpose. 14% used River Jindi for watering animal, 8% uses for bathing purposes, 2% used for washing clothes and 5% used for other purposes. No one used the river water for drinking purpose. The respondent observed changes in the water quality. The quality of water was good in the past and people even used for the drinking purpose but now the water quality of River Jindi is much polluted. Eighty-three per cent respondents observed that the quantity of water in River Jindi as decreased, while 13% responded observed that there was no change in water quantity.

All the respondents' households were experiencing flooding condition. The houses located on the lowest lying floodplain area, close to the river. 78% respondent were did not take any flood prevention measure for the future. However 13% had repaired the structure of the houses by raising their front door entrance, while 9% of the respondent resealed their roofs.



**Figure 7:** Flood prevention measure in the study area

## Discussion

Urbanization affect bio-geophysical systems and functioning of ecosystems in cities while the land, water, air, flora and fauna, energy, and nutrients in urban areas have been altered both intentionally and inadvertently (Cheng et al., 2013; Pickett et al., 2001) and significantly correlated to environmental performance (Alberti, 1999). In



addition, urbanization impacts associated with the housing density under urban development patterns has been linked to flooding damages (Brody et al., 2011). Population growth is a driver for urbanization and subsequent land use and land cover changes that impact society and the environment. As population increases, more housing and associated urban infrastructure such as water supply, storm water management, sewer system and waste management will be required for supporting the health, safety and welfare of new residents. New development is often associated with land clearing and an increase in impervious surfaces and alteration of the hydrological cycles (Lindh, 1972; Cheng et al., 2013). The present research was, therefore, initiated with the aim to evaluate the impacts of urbanization on River Jindi. Water is the most important resource to sustain life on earth. When the quality of water is poor and scarce, life has to struggle. There is an increasing awareness of the need to conserve the aquatic environment, and in recent times considerable emphasis has been placed on pollution of natural watercourses. Water resources are becoming increasingly contaminated with pollutants derived from ever expanding urbanization and industrialization. In the recent history, water has been severely used as a dumping site for the waste. Increased levels of pollution including human waste, synthetic chemicals and heavy metals in fresh water supplies has been reported in different literatures posing extreme risks not to human health but also the entire ecosystems. Even today, humans continue to ignore the vital importance of water while consuming more and more. Not only is the level of water in the global well getting low, the water is also polluted.

The rapid urban development and expansions have resulted in the choking of river channel and have limited the capacity of river to convey floodwaters. Roads, bridges and buildings constructed in and around the floodplains, have increased the flood risk. In the study area these structures usually lead to the blockage of storm water and result into flood disasters. Particularly, the construction of motorway has a number of adverse impacts in the context of flood hazards. During peak discharges, it blocks the river water and diverts it into the nearby agricultural lands and residential areas. As a result, a number of settlements and fertile lands are inundated. The peak discharge of a flood is affected by both the natural and manmade factors. The natural factors include the duration and intensity of rainfall, the topography and geology of river basin, hydrologic condition and vegetation. In natural areas such as grassland and forests, rainfalls collect and are stored in the soil column, on vegetation or in surface depressions. When this storage capacity is overtaken, runoff flows slowly through the soil as subsurface runoff.

The quality of water of River Jindi is greatly affected by urbanization. Five decades ago the water of river was used for drinking purpose, and the women had brought water in jars from the River Jindi. People also used River Jindi for bathing

purposes. But now the river is very contaminated due to waste dumping purposes, which has greatly affected the quality of water in River Jindi.

The magnitude of disaster is not determined by flood water alone but also by the pattern of vulnerability of the community. The lives and livelihoods of many poor people are hardest hit by floods. Henderson (2004) and Satterthwaite *et al.* (2007) asserted that the level of vulnerability and risk in urban areas of developing countries is endorsed to socio-economic setup, awareness of the community and insufficient physical infrastructure (Olorunfemi, 2008; Rasheed, 1982).

Vulnerability studies give us the information that how community's characteristics come together to persuade community vulnerability to hazards. Inequalities in access to economic, social, and political resources have impacts on communities and households ability to cope with hazards. Charsadda urban areas which are located along the River Jindi are typical examples of high level of risk and vulnerability. Much of the damages occur due to the insufficient provision and preservation of drainage systems, the location of people on insignificant and vulnerable sites, and the physical characteristics of an area.

Every component of environment has its unique property to restore itself to a certain deterioration point, but when this limit exceeds beyond the acceptance level, the environment pay back to human in terms of disastrous events and diseases. Increasing urbanization result into the change and choking of river courses resulting into an increased flood risk and many others. When the most valuable resource like land is utilized in a haphazard way then these problems forms the shape of complex ecosystems. Similarly in case of population increase in Charsadda District and space needed for human settlement is polluting the freshwater of River Jindi from several years. Initially this freshwater is used for agriculture and other activities, but currently this river is considered to be the supplier of disease and flash floods due to unavailability of land for water seepage. Majority of the respondent are living in the area adjacent to River Jindi for the last 21-30 years. It shows that river banks have been populated in the last 30 years. The reasons include the high prices of the land in the residential areas. The poor and middle class people are settled along the bank of river.

Manmade activities largely influence the discharge of floods. In urban areas where much of the land surface is covered by buildings and concrete roads etc, it has less capacity to store rain waters. Construction of building and roads frequently involves removing soil, vegetation, and depressions from the land surface. The porous soil is replaced by impervious surfaces such as roofs, roads, parking lots, bridges and sidewalks that reduce infiltration of water in to the ground, store minute water and

accelerate runoff to stream and ditches. Constant in suburban areas, where lawns and other porous landscaping may be ordinary rainfall saturated thin soils and produce overland flow which runs off rapidly. Dense networks of ditches and culverts in cities reduce the distance that runoff must travel overland or through subsurface flow paths to reach rivers. Once water enters a drainage network, it flows faster than either overland or subsurface flow. With less storage capacity for water in urban basins and more rapid runoff, urban streams rise more quickly during storms and have higher peak discharge rates than do rural streams. In addition, the total volume of water discharged during a flood tends to be larger for urban rivers than for rural rivers.

The present assessment also observed that 2010 floods have changed both the geography and topography of Pakistan. The present observation is in line with the study of UN-HABITAT (2010). They assessed damages caused by the 2010 flood both in plain and hilly areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan and it was reported that about 40% topography has been changed in both plain and hilly areas. Furthermore, Anderson (1968) also reported that urbanization generally increases the size and frequency of floods and expose local population to increasing flood hazards. He also reported that in response to frequent flooding along the Napa River in California, the local community integrated many of these approaches into a single plan for flood protection that is expected to reduce flood damage while helping to restore the river ecosystem. Our findings also suggest similar plan of work like bridge reconstruction, levee setbacks, and a floodwall, moving of vulnerable structures, detention basins, larger storm water conveyances, and a high-flow bypass channel. Similar results were reported by Bailey et al (1989) they concluded that for reducing flood hazards, buildings and bridges should be elevated, protected with floodwalls and levees, or designed to withstand temporary inundation. Moreover, drainage systems should be expanded to increase their capacity for detaining and conveying high stream flows; for example, by using rooftops and parking lots to store water. These are in line with our observations that all those techniques that promote infiltration and storage of water in the soil column, such as infiltration trenches, permeable pavements, soil amendments, and reducing impermeable surfaces should be incorporated into new and existing residential and commercial developments to reduce runoff from these areas. Our study assumed that this will reduced 80 % by reducing the width of the street and incorporating vegetated swales and native plants in the street right-of-way.

The floodplains of River Jindi are converted to urbanized area because the majority of people are low income, and land near the River Jindi is low cost and people buy those lands and constructed their houses along the river bank. The new constructed houses are more vulnerable to flood because the construction is

without any planning and continually reduce the width of River Jindi and the channel of river disturbed.

## Conclusion

The population of district Charsadda increased with a high speed from the last few decades which has created a huge pressure on the environment. River Jindi passes through the main urban areas of two Tehsil of district Charsadda. The floodplain of River Jindi is converted into commercial area, which not only results in dumping affluent waste into the river, but also shrinks the river into a stream which increases the intensity of floods. The quantity of water in the river is also decreased due to increase in population.

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## Organizational Trust: A Cultural Perspective

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### Abstract

Increased competitiveness and uncertainty in the wake of globalization require, among other considerations, the ability to develop trusting relationships. Uncertainty entails great risks because of differences in partners' culture, values, and goals. An important question is whether societal culture influences the tendency of individuals and organizations to trust. This study, which is meta-analysis in approach, attempts to explore cultural differences across countries and their likely impact on inter and intra-organization relationships. The results show that trust is deeply embedded in cultural context of a country and has profound implications for both strategic and transactional relationships involving spatial and/or temporal differences.

**Keywords:** Culture, trust, globalization, uncertainty, strategic relationship

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### Introduction

Organizations and their employees are increasingly enmeshed in complex interdependencies across national, organizational and professional borders which poses a challenge for people from different 'cultures' to manage unfamiliar relationships with unfamiliar parties. Lasting relationships require, inter alia, mutual trust that one's weaknesses and vulnerabilities will not be exploited in a given exchange. Organizations, like individuals, enter into relationships with individuals

and other organizations for mutual benefits which involves mutual trust. Trust indicates one's willingness to be vulnerable to another party as a consequence of a belief in that party's competence, capacity, reliability, openness, and good intent. Many rational calculations and emotional feelings underlie the phenomenon of trust. Individuals generally consider the background, personal disposition, and culture of another when seeking to determine whether or not to trust them. However, culture, which reflects the habits of society and the taken for granted assumptions, has a crucial role in determining the level of trust. It is little wonder that cross-cultural interaction often involves misunderstandings, embarrassment, feelings of low self-efficacy, even psychological distress (Molinsky, 2007).

The purpose of this paper is to reflect on the conceptual underpinnings and empirical research on the nature, meaning and development of trust across multiple cultural boundaries, in order to facilitate a cumulative body of knowledge on this richly complex process. The study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What role does culture play in the trust-development process?
2. Can common cultural identities be used to overcome barriers to trust resulting from divergent cultural identities?
3. Is the influence of culture on trust building and repair overplayed?
4. What is the role of leadership in building trust across culture?

### **The Concept of Culture**

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values. According to Hofstede (1994) "Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another".

It is an agreed upon fact that behaviour is predominantly influenced by her nationality, religion, industry, corporate culture or professional culture. Schein describes three levels of culture. First, artefacts are the observable manifestations of culture — an observer can see, smell, taste, hear and/or touch them. In an organizational context, these include the physical buildings and furnishings, organizational charts, company logos, forms of dress, styles of interaction, language and communication, etc. (Schneider & Barsoux, 2003). Second, values express a group's beliefs about how things should be (Doney et al., 1998). Rokeach (1973) defined values as 'enduring beliefs that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or

converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence'. The third and the deepest level of culture is basic assumptions. These are the unconscious beliefs that define certain actions as normal, correct or good (Schneider and Barsoux, 2003). For Schein (1997), these assumptions are the ultimate source of cultural values and behaviour. Together with values, they are learned from an early age, and reinforced throughout a person's socialization into a culture such that they are taken for granted and rarely questioned.

### **Organizational Trust**

Trust is defined as the willingness of a party (the trustor) to be vulnerable to the actions of another party (the trustee) based on the expectation that the trustee will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control the party (Mayer et al. 1995). Both an expectation of the partner's trustworthiness, and the behavioural intention to act on the expectation, must be present for trust to exist (Moorman et al. 1993). Mayer et al. (1995) identify three prominent dimensions of trustworthiness: ability (the group of skills, competencies and characteristics that enable a party to have influence within some specific domain); benevolence (perception of a positive orientation of the trustee toward the trustor, including expressions of genuine concern and care); and integrity (perception that the trustee adheres consistently to a set of principles acceptable to the trustor, such as honesty and fairness).

At the narrowest level, parties may only trust each other on the strength of a cost-benefit analysis (i.e. calculative trust), but at the broader end of a continuum of intensity, parties can identify fully with each other's interests and desires, and operate with such a high level of mutual understanding that they can act for each other (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996).

Trust may both be inter-organizational (external trust) or intra-organizational (internal trust). External trust is the extent to which organizational members have collectively held trust orientation toward a partner firm. This kind of trust enhances organizational relationships in a variety of contexts including marketing channels, joint ventures, and inter-organizational alliances (Johnson et al. 1996). Internal trust is the climate of trust within an organization, defined as positive expectations that individuals have about the intent and behaviours of multiple organizational members based on organizational roles, relationships, experiences, and interdependencies (Shockley-Zalabak, 2000). Organizations with high levels of internal trust will be more successful, adaptive, and innovative because of its contribution toward organizational commitment and employee satisfaction (Flaherty & Pappas, 2000).



### **Trust and organizational effectiveness**

An organization's ability to develop trusting relationships is an increasingly important source of competitive advantage and many advantages accrue to firms that enjoy an internal climate of trust (Lane, 1998). According to Shaw (1997) trust is an important factor in determining organizational success, organizational stability, and the wellbeing of employees. Organizational trust plays a vital role in such diverse areas as communication, leadership, management by objectives, negotiations, performance appraisal, labour-management relations, and implementation of self-managed work teams (Lawler, 1992). Moreover, Interpersonal trust is associated with cooperation, the quality of group communication and problem solving, knowledge transfer (Levin and Cross, 2004), employees' extra effort, team performance, and organizational revenue and profit (Simons, 2002). Indeed, trust is held to be a major contributor to organizational competitiveness because it cannot be easily imitated or replicated (Barney and Hansen, 1994).

### **Trust across cultures: Japan versus the USA**

Japan is often used as a cultural model for fostering trust and cooperation (Hagen & Choe, 1998). Dyer & Singh (1998) note that Japanese firms incur lower transaction costs than the U.S. firms, and generate higher relational rents in part because of country-specific institutional environment that fosters goodwill, trust, and cooperation. Some scholars argue that even Japan, the typical role model of a trusting collectivist society, is not as trusting as commonly believed. Yamagishi (1998) has found that Japanese respondents have lower levels of trust in other people in general than the U.S. respondents. It appears, then, that while collectivists place a premium on relationships, certain aspects of collectivist cultures could inhibit trust formation. One aspect may be collectivists' sharp distinction between members of in-groups and out-groups (Triandis, 1995). Collectivists are relatively ineffective with strangers, commonly use avoidance behaviours, and compete with, manipulate, and exploit out-groups more extensively than individualists (Watkins and Liu, 1996). If this low level of trust for outsiders is an inherent part of collectivist cultures, organizations from collectivist cultures would appear to be handicapped in their ability to develop trusting relationships in a world economy where that ability is becoming increasingly important.

Moreover, individual group members' average propensity to distrust will be higher in organizations from collectivist than from individualist cultures. Once developed, the group bias tends to be self-perpetuating. As Yamagishi (1998) notes that in a situation in which most people are practicing in-group favouritism, would face cold responses from the other members of his/her group at best, and could face

ostracism. People, however, acquire such a trait (in-group bias) since it is advantageous to do so when the configuration exists, and the configuration exists since people exhibit such traits.

### **Building trust across cultures**

Lewicki and Bunker (1996) have proposed a four-stage process of trust building across cultures. In the first stage, the parties encounter with their own cultural preconceptions (Doney et al) which vary in compatibility as well as complexity. However, the parties also come with some level of cross-cultural capabilities and awareness and motivation to adapt. In the second stage, parties try to overcome the cultural gap by suspending judgment (which may result from ethnic, historical, and national differences). During the third phase, parties initiate communication and gather trust-relevant information, seek to interpret cues, and modify preconceived notions (Johnson and Cullen, 2002). Sometimes, the parties fail to understand cultural differences and reconcile them which result in distrust (Zaheer et al). However, most often the parties develop mutual understanding. In the last stage, the cultural gap is eliminated and the relationship gets mature with the result that both parties work together harmoniously and productively for a relatively longer period of time.

### **Conclusion**

Culture ‘provides insight into how to be a person in the world, what makes for a good life, how to interact with others, and which aspects of situations require more attention and processing capacity’ (Gibson et al., 2009); culture is the source of ‘scripts for social interaction [that] implicitly guide everyday behaviour’. Individuals with shared cultural memberships are likely – courtesy of their shared norms, values and socialization experiences – to hold a common understanding and set of expectations about what is required to establish and maintain a trusting relationship.

Developing and maintaining trust between different ‘cultures’ is a formidable challenge. the ‘globalized’ nature of work is rendering national cultural boundaries somewhat ‘fuzzy’ (Doney et al., 1998), the influence of national cultural traits and norms on people’s perceptions, beliefs, values and behaviours endures and remains particularly problematic for trust building (Johnson and Cullen, 2002). Mergers, strategic alliances, joint ventures and outsourcing arrangements bring people together from different organizational cultures (Maguire and Phillips, 2008)

Many scholars agree that a society’s culture, especially individualist/collectivist orientations, has had effect on the level of organizational trust — high in collectivist and low in individualist societies. A common theme is that because the collectivists

have a more interdependent worldview, they place more importance on relationships and nurture them with more care than the individualists (Triandis, 1989). Individualism implies a loosely knit social framework in which people are supposed to take care of themselves and their immediate families only, while collectivism is characterized by a tight social framework in which people distinguish between in-groups and out-groups; they expect their in-groups to look after them, and in exchange for that they feel they owe absolute loyalty to it. Collectivists view their individual actions as an important contribution to their group's wellbeing, and they gain satisfaction and feelings of accomplishment from group outcomes. Collectivists tend to share common goals and have stronger group identity, more group accountability, more communication, and a more egalitarian reward system. Regardless of whether, directly or through the mediation of mechanisms, culture is posited to have a deterministic effect on fostering trust.

Hence, it can be concluded that culture has had effects on the level of organizational trusts with certain qualifications. Organizations in collectivist cultures have members who demonstrate high level of trust toward one another but the external trust tends to be low because of the in-group bias. On the contrary, in individualist societies, the chances of developing trusting relationships with outsiders are more promising because of their low in-group bias. Leaders have a role in articulating common purpose and fostering a shared identity; their power and influence may overcome cultural differences, or compel their resolution. In sum, trust may emerge from: 1) recognition and promotion of shared cultural identities (i.e. coming from the same culture); 2) an alignment of tiles and identities (i.e. having compatible yet different tiles); 3) one party's acceptance of, and possibly adaptation toward, the other's dominant culture (i.e. a relationship based on one party's superior power); or 4) from the 'self-organizing' creation of a new, shared cultural identity created by the parties for themselves.

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