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A Fusion of Educational Research and Fuzzy Information: A Pragmatic Approach

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Abstract

Results and recommendations, based on data interpretation, in the research of social sciences are generated on precise measurements. However, advancement of numerical sciences showcases the unattainability of precise measurement of continuous phenomena due to the recent conception of fuzziness. Measurement results establish through educational research are obtained mostly by employing classroom experiments, survey-questionnaires and/or standardized-questionnaire; whereas, available literature also suggests the occurrence of fuzziness in classical measurement and questionnaire responses instead of preciseness. Therefore, in educational research it is recommended to employ latest measurement technique, i.e. fuzzy numbers instead of precise numbers, which will authenticate the reliability and appropriateness of obtained results.

Keywords: Education; Fuzzy Number; Non-Precise Data; Real Measurement Results

Introduction

Research in social sciences circumambient all the areas pertaining to qualitative and quantitative features. Data collection, analysis, and interpretation are central characteristics of research in social sciences. To deal with data in more systematic, effective, and efficient ways, various qualitative and quantitative tools have been developed, among which questionnaire is a prime tool; yet the issue of vagueness is unattended in it. Research in social sciences predominantly relies on questionnaires and interviews for data collection. These research instruments often encounter linguistic vagueness; hence, the issue is regarded as a challenging task for the social scientists to deal with. Certainly, most of the social sciences' variables are difficult to categorize precisely. For instance, if a question item solicits the honesty of a person; it is always difficult to obtain exact degree of the answer. It would either be in Yes/No or Agree/disagree and would not tell the precise level of agreement or disagreement of the respondent. The rationale here is to lesson, if not eliminate, the factor of fuzziness in questionnaire or any other research instrument. The more precise answer we obtain; the more accurate

analysis will be generated, which would help in reducing the element of subjectivity in data collection and interpretation. It is a buzz and newly established phenomenon in research of social sciences to pursue enhanced and integrated research tools in addressing the problem of vagueness or fuzziness. This phenomenon also promotes the element of preciseness especially in the content of the questionnaires (Arfi, 2010).

Furthermore, in the real world of measurements one cannot get a precise measurement of irregular phenomenon like depth of a river because of its water level fluctuation. In the same way one cannot find a precise criterion between high or low temperature, good or poor student, effective or ineffective teacher etc. keeping in view the same Viertl (2006) concluded that there are two types of uncertainties in measurements: variation among the observations and imprecision of individual observations called *fuzziness*.

All classical models cover variation among the observations, and ignore imprecision of individual observations. According to Zadeh (1965) another method of modeling was necessary to consider the imprecision of a single measurement. To overcome this problem, the idea of fuzzy sets was first introduced by Zadeh in 1965. According to Viertl (2011) some preliminary concepts of fuzzy set theory are explained below

Fuzzy Number

Let f^* represents a *fuzzy number*, determined by the *characterizing function* denoted by

$\psi(\cdot)$, which is a real function of real variable satisfying the following conditions:

1. $0 \leq \psi(\cdot) \leq 1 \quad \forall f \in \mathbb{R}$
2. $\psi(\cdot)$ has bounded support, i.e.
 $\text{supp}[\xi(\cdot)] := \{ f \in \mathbb{R} : \xi(f) > 0 \} \subseteq [a, b]$.
3. For all $\delta \in (0, 1]$ the so-called δ -cuts, i.e. $C_\delta(f^*) := [f \in \mathbb{R} : \xi(f) \geq \delta]$ is a finite union of non-empty and compact intervals

$$C_\delta(f^*) = \bigcup_{j=1}^{k_\delta} [a_{\delta,j}; b_{\delta,j}] \neq \emptyset \quad \forall \delta \in [0, 1].$$

Construction Lemma

Let $\mathcal{A}_\delta \cup_{j=1}^{k_\delta} [a_{\delta,j}; b_{\delta,j}]$ shortly denoted as $(\mathcal{A}_\delta; \delta \in (0, 1])$ be a nested family of non-empty subsets of \mathbb{R} . Then the characterizing function of the generated fuzzy number is given by

$$\psi(f) = \sup\{\delta \cdot I_{\mathcal{A}_\delta}(f) : \delta \in (0, 1]\} \quad \forall \delta \in [0, 1].$$

For details compare (Viertl and Hareter, 2006).

Fuzzy Vector

Let $\Psi(\cdot, \dots, \cdot)$ represents *vector-characterizing function* of the k -dimensional fuzzy vector \underline{f}^* . Which is a real function of k real variables f_1, f_2, \dots, f_k obeying the following conditions:

1. $\Psi(\cdot, \dots, \cdot): \mathbb{R}^k \rightarrow [0, 1]$
2. The support of $\Psi(\cdot, \dots, \cdot)$ is a bounded set
3. Its δ -cuts $C_\delta(\underline{f}^*) := \{\underline{f} \in \mathbb{R}^k : \Psi(\underline{f}) \geq \delta\} \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$ is non-empty, bounded, and a finite union of simply connected sets.

Extension Principle

It's the generalized form of an arbitrary function $\mathcal{F}: \mathcal{N} \rightarrow \mathcal{M}$ for fuzzy argument value x^* in \mathcal{N} with membership function $\eta: \mathcal{N} \rightarrow [0, 1]$.

Then the fuzzy value $y^* = \mathcal{F}(x^*)$ is the fuzzy element in \mathcal{M} , and its membership function $\vartheta(\cdot)$ is defined by

$$\vartheta(y) = \begin{cases} \sup\{\eta(x): x \in \mathcal{N}, \mathcal{F}(x) = y\} & \text{if } \exists x: \mathcal{F}(x) = y \\ 0 & \text{if } \nexists x: \mathcal{F}(x) = y \end{cases}$$

$$\forall y \in \mathcal{M}.$$

For details see (Klir and Yuan, 1995).

Regarding fuzziness in educational research only few references can be found like using fuzzy logic in educational measurement: The case of portfolio assessment by Fourali (1997) explained the idea of fuzzy logic in decision making through various examples. Furthermore, he illustrated his procedure through numerical examples. In a study by Cole and Persi-chitte (2000) generalized the idea of "Pressley and McCormick" and "Kosko" for the cognitive mapping through graphical representation. As learning is not a precise criterion, therefore; for the cognitive mapping instead of classical techniques fuzzy mapping gives more suitable results. According to Bassey (2001), some of the procedures of prediction in educational fields under fuzzy environment. He explained his ideas through the scientific and social experiments in such a way that scientific experiments give same result under same environment, but this cannot be hold in social behaviors. This study focuses on developing a framework or a strategy, which covers the element of fuzziness of the responses in a questionnaire/inventory or tool and makes the data more authentic and precise.

Descriptive Statistics and Fuzzy Data

The first step in educational research is to draw a histogram of the frequency distribution. For precise measurements it is very common and almost every

package has the option to draw it, but in case of fuzzy responses instead of classical histogram fuzzy histogram are more suitable.

Let $x_1^*, x_2^*, \dots, x_n^*$ be n fuzzy observations, for these observations there are n classes, i.e.

$K_j, j = 1(1)n$. Then the characterizing function of j^{th} class for the relative frequency distribution is obtained by the δ -cuts through mentioned construction lemma.

$$C_\delta(h_n^*(K_j)) = [\underline{h}_{n,\delta}(K_j), \bar{h}_{n,\delta}(K_j)] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1] \quad (1)$$

where $\underline{h}_{n,\delta}(K_j)$ represents lower end, while $\bar{h}_{n,\delta}(K_j)$ is the upper end of the corresponding

δ -cuts, which are obtained as:

$$\underline{h}_{n,\delta}(K_j) = \frac{\#\{x_i^*: C_\delta(x_i^*) \subseteq K_j\}}{n} \quad (2)$$

and

$$\bar{h}_{n,\delta}(K_j) = \frac{\#\{x_i^*: C_\delta(x_i^*) \neq \emptyset\}}{n} \quad (3)$$

See (Viertl, 2011).

After collection of data for the statistical inference descriptive statistics has prime importance.

For fuzzy observation $x_1^*, x_2^*, \dots, x_n^*$ arithmetic mean can be defined as:

Let $C_\delta(x_i^*(K_j)) = [\underline{x}_{i,\delta}, \bar{x}_{i,\delta}] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1], i = 1(1)n$, representing the δ -cuts then the corresponding arithmetic mean can be obtained in the following way

$$\begin{aligned} \bar{x}^* &= \frac{1}{n} [x_1^* + x_2^* + \dots + x_n^*] \\ \bar{x}^* &= \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n x_i^* \end{aligned} \quad (4)$$

Simply, lower and upper level δ -cuts can be obtained as,

$$C_\delta(\bar{x}^*) = \left[\frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \underline{x}_{i,\delta}, \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \bar{x}_{i,\delta} \right] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

and characterizing function is obtained through construction lemma.

For skewed or ordinal data median is the appropriate measure of central tendency, according to (De S'aa et al., 2015) for fuzzy data median ($Med(\bar{x}^*)$) based on the δ -cuts can be obtained in the following way

$$C_\delta(Med(\bar{x}^*)) = [Med(\underline{\tilde{x}}), Med(\bar{\tilde{x}})] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1] \quad (5)$$

and characterizing function of the fuzzy estimate of median can be obtained through the mentioned construction lemma. It is obvious that only central

tendency cannot represent the data very well so in addition to this variation of the data is also necessary for data representation. Viertl (2014) states that based on fuzzy observations; fuzzy estimates of the sample standard deviation are denoted by s^* and is given as

$$C_\delta(s^*) = \left[\min_{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n \in C_\delta[x_1^*] \times C_\delta[x_2^*] \times \dots \times C_\delta[x_n^*]} s, \max_{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n \in C_\delta[x_1^*] \times C_\delta[x_2^*] \times \dots \times C_\delta[x_n^*]} s \right] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1] \quad (6)$$

Where

$$\underline{s}_\delta = \min_{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n \in C_\delta[x_1^*] \times C_\delta[x_2^*] \times \dots \times C_\delta[x_n^*]} s$$

and

$$\bar{s}_\delta = \max_{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n \in C_\delta[x_1^*] \times C_\delta[x_2^*] \times \dots \times C_\delta[x_n^*]} s$$

Inferential Statistics and Fuzzy Data

Estimation and testing of hypothesis is core of the statistical procedures. The most common techniques which are generalized for fuzzy data are presented as: Wu (2009) states that based on fuzzy measurements, confidence interval estimation for the fuzzy data is presented.

The lower and upper ends can be defined as:

$$\left[\underline{\bar{x}}_{i,\delta} - z_{\alpha/2} \frac{\underline{s}_\delta}{\sqrt{n}}, \quad \underline{\bar{x}}_{i,\delta} + z_{\alpha/2} \frac{\underline{s}_\delta}{\sqrt{n}} \right] = 100(1 - \alpha) \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

and

$$\left[\bar{\bar{x}}_{i,\delta} - z_{\alpha/2} \frac{\bar{s}_\delta}{\sqrt{n}}, \quad \bar{\bar{x}}_{i,\delta} + z_{\alpha/2} \frac{\bar{s}_\delta}{\sqrt{n}} \right] = 100(1 - \alpha) \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

According to Filzmoser and Viertl (2004) for fuzzy observations the fuzzy test statistics and fuzzy p-value are generalized in the following way:

Let $t^* = G(x_1^*, x_2^*, \dots, x_n^*)$ is denoting fuzzy test statistics having characterizing function $\psi(t)$, then their corresponding δ -cuts are defined as:

$$C_\delta(t^*) = [t_{1,\delta}, t_{2,\delta}] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

For a precise p-value the decision based on fuzzy test statistic is given as

$$(a) \quad p = P[T \leq t = \max(\text{supp}\psi(\cdot))] \quad (b) \quad p = P[T \geq t = \min(\text{supp}\psi(\cdot))]$$

Using δ -cuts of the fuzzy test statistics t^* the corresponding δ -cuts of the fuzzy p-value (p^*) is obtained in the following way

$$C_\delta(p^*) = [P(T \leq t_{1,\delta}), P(T \leq t_{2,\delta})] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

Or

$$C_\delta(p^*) = [P(T \geq t_{2,\delta}), P(T \geq t_{1,\delta})] \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1].$$

Comparison of two or more than two population parameters are one of the prominent aspects of educational research. For this purpose, one cannot use

pairwise comparison of the populations means. According to Wu (2007). The best suited technique is analysis of variance (ANOVA), for fuzzy data analysis of variance (ANOVA).

Let we have T_{ij}^* the observation on i^{th} treatment and j^{th} replicate, where $i = 1(1)r, j = 1(1)n_i$, and $n = \sum_{j=1}^{n_i}$, then the corresponding ANOVA model for fuzzy observations can be written as

$$T_{ij}^* = \mu_i^* + \epsilon_i^*$$

This model can be simply written as

$$\text{Total Sum of Squares} = \text{Sum of Squares of Treatment} + \text{Sum of Squares of Error} \\ SSTot = SSTr + SSE$$

Consider the hypothesis that

$$H_0^*: \mu_1^* = \mu_2^* = \dots = \mu_r^* \\ H_1^*: \text{Not all means are equal}$$

The corresponding lower and upper δ -cuts of the fuzzy observations T_{ij}^* are denoted by $T_{ij\delta}^L$ and $T_{ij\delta}^U$ respectively.

Total of the i^{th} treatment and grand total is obtained in the following way

$$T_{i.}^* = \bigoplus_{j=1}^{n_i} T_{ij}^* \text{ and } T_{..}^* = \bigoplus_{i=1}^r \bigoplus_{j=1}^{n_i} T_{ij}^*$$

Similarly, lower and upper δ -cuts of the i^{th} treatment and grand total is obtained as:

$$T_{i.\delta}^L = \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} T_{ij\delta}^L \text{ and } T_{i.\delta}^U = \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} T_{ij\delta}^U \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1] \\ T_{..\delta}^L = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} T_{ij\delta}^L \quad \text{and} \quad T_{..\delta}^U = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} T_{ij\delta}^U \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

The lower and upper ends of δ -cuts of corresponding sum of squares are obtained in the following way

$$SSTot_{\delta}^L = \sum_{i=1}^r \cdot \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} [T_{ij\delta}^L]^2 - \frac{[T_{..\delta}^L]^2}{n} \\ SSTot_{\delta}^U = \sum_{i=1}^r \cdot \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} [T_{ij\delta}^U]^2 - \frac{[T_{..\delta}^U]^2}{n} \\ SSTr_{\delta}^L = \sum_{i=1}^r \frac{[T_{i.\delta}^L]^2}{n_i} - \frac{[T_{..\delta}^L]^2}{n} \\ SSTr_{\delta}^U = \sum_{i=1}^r \frac{[T_{i.\delta}^U]^2}{n_i} - \frac{[T_{..\delta}^U]^2}{n}$$

And

$$SSE_{\delta}^L = \sum_{i=1}^r \cdot \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} [T_{ij\delta}^L]^2 - \sum_{i=1}^r \frac{[T_{i.\delta}^L]^2}{n_i}$$

$$SSE_{\delta}^U = \sum_{i=1}^r \cdot \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} [T_{ij\delta}^U]^2 - \sum_{i=1}^r \frac{[T_{i.\delta}^U]^2}{n_i}$$

Now the relation can be written as

$$SSTot^L = SSTr^L + SSE^L$$

$$SSTot^U = SSTr^U + SSE^U$$

Now the mean square is obtained as

$$MSTr_{\delta}^L = \frac{SSTr_{\delta}^L}{r-1} \text{ and } MSTr_{\delta}^U = \frac{SSTr_{\delta}^U}{r-1} \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

And

$$MSEr_{\delta}^L = \frac{SSEr_{\delta}^L}{n-r} \text{ and } MSEr_{\delta}^U = \frac{SSEr_{\delta}^U}{n-r} \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

Now the required lower and upper ends of the δ -cuts of F -test are obtained as

$$F_{\delta}^L = \frac{MSTr_{\delta}^L}{MSEr_{\delta}^L} \text{ and } F_{\delta}^U = \frac{MSTr_{\delta}^U}{MSEr_{\delta}^U} \quad \forall \delta \in (0, 1]$$

From the above equations corresponding lower and upper ends of the generating family of intervals, and the characterizing function is obtained through construction lemma. Furthermore, to quantify the associated factors of the dependent variable multiple regression model is a suitable choice. For this purpose, Bargiela et al., (2007) is a significant contribution for fuzzy data.

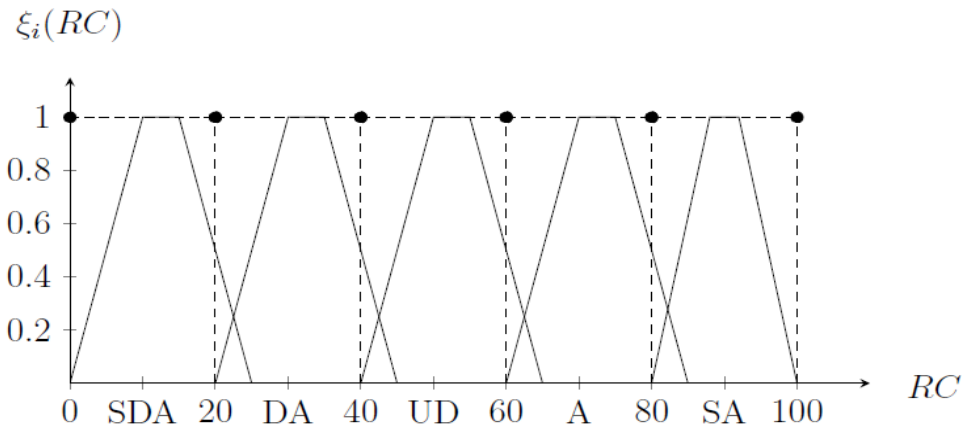
For Ordinal Responses

Research in social sciences is as indispensable as in pure sciences. It is normally conducted in social setting and undertake the areas of human constructs and traits like behavior, attitude, feelings, emotions, IQ, EQ etc. Standardized questionnaires/inventory/scale by Baron, Hamilton, Beck and way more are frequently used in the research of social sciences.

Methodology, in research, plays a pivotal role in data collection, which is usually based on interviews and/or questionnaires. Mostly closed-ended items are used, which could either be standardized or self-developed questionnaires. Sometimes a questionnaire is slightly modified in the light of standardized questionnaire/scale/inventory. Standardization is a procedure of designing and employing procedural and technical criteria or benchmark and aids to enhance reliability, validity, and excellence. The standardized research instrument for data collection normally solicits the respondents on 3, 5, 7, 9, or 11-point rating scale responses. For instant, in 5-point rating scale (SDA, DA, UD, A, SA) a respondent has the provision to opt for one of the response options, which reflects

his/her level of confidence in that specific question item, e.g. if a respondent selects strongly disagree (SDA) for a certain item that carries 1-20 % of the total weightage then determining the level of confidence of the respondent for that specific item will be difficult as if its 1% or 20 % or in between the two limits. This reflects the fuzziness of the response, which affects the results of the collected data.

Given below in Figure-1 in which solid lines show the characterizing functions of fuzzy responses whereas, the dashed lines show the precise responses.



In the available literature researchers (De S'aa et al., 2015), (Lubiano et al., 2016a), (Lubiano et al., 2016b) suggest analyzing the data obtained on fuzzy rating scales, which are more appropriate to the realistic nature of data.

Conclusions

Recent advancement in numerical and measurement sciences has witnessed the unattainability of precise numbers on continuous scale due to the notion of fuzziness. Similarly, the responses on questionnaires (Agree or Disagree etc.) are always of linguistic nature and cannot be precisely measured. Therefore, use of fuzzy numbers in the research of social sciences would subside estimation error and establish more reliable and appropriate results. Rating scale techniques for data collection need to be modified on fuzzy scales and the analysis techniques developed for fuzzy data is highly recommended to be used to cover both types of variations: fuzziness and stochastic.

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How Can Pakistan Improve its Rising External Debt Situations?

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Abstract

This study is an attempt to investigate the role of poverty reduction, income inequality and trade openness in the improvement of external debt situations in Pakistan over the period 1973-2013. ARDL approach has been used to examine relationship among the variables. The results confirm that poverty, inequality, trade openness and unemployment have relationship with external debt in the long-run. However, found no causal relationship between external debt and income inequality, between external debt and unemployment in the short run. The study observes that openness is not favorable in Pakistan context. Reduction in poverty and inequality will increase the possibility of Pakistan entering a virtuous cycle of high growth and sustainable socio-economic development which ultimately will improve external debt situations.

Keywords: External Debt; Saving-investment Gap; Openness; Poverty; Inequality

Introduction

The growing external debts of developing nations persist to deter their socio-economic developments. Although there have been numerous plans aims to resolve the crisis, however, no one plan has established to be wholly successful. The external debt burdens of middle-income and developing countries have sustained to augment. In the presence of unsustainable external debt, many developing, and least developing countries would not be able to have access to primary education, clean water, or be free from severe poverty as the governments have to spend more on debt retirement than on social services. The futures of these nations can be altered with the proper utilization of the borrowed funds and domestic resource mobilization towards poverty reduction and social expenditures.

Generally, external borrowings were believed that it would be beneficial in filling the current account deficit in a capital-starved country. But the prevalent evidences showed that external borrowing persuaded government to earmark higher percentage of borrowed funds to less preferable projects. Similarly, it affected self-reliance and affects domestic saving adversely. Additionally, it protracted reliance on external borrowing [Griffen (1970); Qureshi et al. (1997); Boone (1996)]. From the policy perspective, the profit and outcome from the external assistance are believed to be foremost. It also affects International

Financial Institutions (IFIs) plans in sharing of assistance among various debtor's countries. The efficiency of aid is significantly associated with decision of the donors regarding supply of aid to the debtors. Efficiency of foreign assistance is affected by poor economic performance of the recipient country [Burnside and Dollar (2000); Collier and Dollar (2002); Carl-Johan (2004)].

Addison (2006) observes that due to the high social returns from spending on basic health care, primary education and safe water and sanitation, rates of returns that surpass concessional and certainly commercial, rates of interest—it makes sense to have access to both externally and domestically for economic growth and poverty reduction as well as better execution of output and employment throughout the business cycle.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) initiated the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) plan in 1996 in an effort to lessen the debt burden of low-income countries to the sustainable levels in a due course of time. How much advantages did this plan creates for the low-income countries? The available literature probing the connection between decline in foreign debt and GDP growth provides diverse signs to the researchers in both developing and developed countries. Claessens (1990) observes that the measures taken by the creditors to shrink external debt of a debtor's will help both. However, Clements et al. (2003) advocate that debt relief may have negative impacts on debtors and that reform plan may be more efficient than debt relief. In the same way, Berensmann (2004) of the view that debt relief is a helpful but not a sufficient condition for economic development.

This study examines how a rising poverty level, growing external debt and debt services could deter socio-economic development. The issue addressed here is whether saving-investment gap, trade openness, poverty and inequality influence the external debt. The main innovation of the study is the introduction of factors i.e. poverty, unemployment and inequality into the analysis. Further role of trade openness which may lead to increase in trade deficit is to be discussed in the present research. At the same time the study addresses how well the indicators used to measure external debt sustainability are satisfactory in the Pakistan's context?

The organization of the study is as follow; Section-I is outlining introduction to the study. Section-II discusses literature involved. Section-III highlights theoretical approach of the study. Section-IV discusses methodology, results and analysis of the study. Conclusion is given in Section-V.

Literature Review

Low-income countries generally have inadequate capitals and low tax capacity. Therefore, they must depend on the external borrowings to bridge the resource gap between the revenues and expenditures. Although, countless researches have been undertaken to assess the association between foreign debt and economic growth; foreign capital and economic development; influence of foreign capital on governance and institutional effectiveness; the responsibility of institution in the economy performance; but little devotion has been given to discover the relationship among external debt, poverty, income inequality and economic development in a cohesive framework.

Traditionally, the matter of debt sustainability in Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) is usually assessed through the conventional debt indicators method. The most common measures of public debt sustainability were the ratio of public debt stock to gross domestic product and ratio of public debt stock to government revenue. Further, in case of accumulated foreign debt, it is significant to express foreign exchange and export earnings in terms of foreign debt, likewise the foreign debt to gross domestic product ratio [Sun (2004); Cline (2003); Martin (2002); Gray (1998)].

European Network on Debt and Development (EURDAD) in 2001 observed that these indicators are incapable to detect the true factors that are helpful in determining the accurate level of sustainable debt. Further, these initiatives will not be adequate in poverty reduction efforts of HIPC as it does not consider for the funds these nations need for expenditures on poverty eradication and for sustaining GDP growth [Birdsall and Deese (2004); Sachs (2002)]. Boone (1996) indicates that external aid it does not contribute to the economic growth and its impact on investment is insignificant. Foreign aid even does not assist the poor in the recipient countries but just swell the size of government.

Fonchamnyo (2009) observes the results of social and economic performance in sixty low-income countries to evaluate the relative usefulness of the HIPC plan. He assumes that the countries that incorporated the HIPC plan will demonstrate better improvement in social and economic development than those countries not incorporated. He argues that speculation and development have enhanced in HIPC since the initiation of the HIPC plan, and it have been also observed that basic health care and primary education enrolment found some progress in countries that had accomplished HIPC plan.

Loko B. et al. (2003) examine the correlation between poverty and external debt. They argue that high external indebtedness is a major cause of extreme poverty. The study outlines the effects of external debt on poverty, measured by infant

mortality, life expectancy and gross primary enrollment rates, while suitably taking into account the effect of external debt on income.

Greiner (2011) advocated that the impact of public debt on economic growth relies on the existence of inflexibility in the system. Particularly, in a model with no rigidities and flexible supply of labour, debt has a harmful impact on growth, labor supply and investment. In the presence of unemployment and wage rigidities, debt has no impact on the allocation of resources and can have an optimistic impact on economic growth if utilized in the productive investment.

Daud et al. (2013) explain the role of foreign debt in GDP growth of developing countries has been questioned due to low economic growth, deteriorating poverty level and high incidence of default, all of which are linked with growing stockpile of external debt. Moreover, the uncertainties about external debt sustainability situation as well as whether countries are already trapped in the debt-overhang position have emphasizes the significance of investigating this issue.

Persson and Tabellini (1994) analyzed relationship between economic growth and income inequality and found that inequality will be harmful for growth in the long run. The growing inequality in the short run have a positive impact i.e. increase in the income inequality leads to rise in the economic growth. However, in the long run more inequality will affect social values of the society and will cause decrease in the economic growth in the long run. Deininger and Squire (1998) argue that the effect of initial inequality on subsequent economic growth is adverse in most instances but not always significant. Conversely, inequality in the distribution of resources, in the form of land allotment, has harmful effect on subsequent growth of the economy.

Agnello and Sausa (2009) are of the view that extent of openness has a direct relationship with fiscal deficit unsteadiness and expenditure volatility i.e. in the presence of high trade deficit, openness does not have a positive relationship with economic growth. Low quality and less competitiveness are the major reasons for low demand of Pakistan's exports in international market. To overcome this trade deficit, Pakistan has borrowed a huge amount from International Financial Institutions (IFIs). Further, advancing trade liberalization requires the gradual removal of exports and imports tariffs, which are important sources of revenues for developing countries. The resulting fiscal deficits in these countries may then have to be filled with increased foreign borrowing (Caliari, 2005).

Poverty and income inequality have been introduced in the growth equation to overcome these shortcomings of the debt ratio analysis to determine the debt

sustainability situations for Pakistan. Furthermore, trade openness is also taken in to consideration in this study instead of conventional indicators for foreign debt i.e., present value based debt ratios of foreign debt to export earnings.

Theoretical Framework

According to the Trickle-down theory, development is solely an economic phenomenon in which benefits from the overall growth of gross domestic product and income per capita would automatically trickle-down to the masses in the form of employment and economic opportunities. The major concern is therefore to acquire the growth job done while reduction in unemployment and poverty are perceived to be realized as a result of sustainable economic growth. However, the growth benefits have not trickled down to the grass-root level due to market imperfection in the developing countries. Therefore, the main objective of the developing country like Pakistan is to get economic growth along-with reduction in poverty, equal income distribution, employment and other economic prospects. Pakistan opted for external and internal borrowing to achieve economic growth and development. In this backdrop, it is found that Pakistan borrowed resources for economic revival were not utilized efficiently. Therefore, neither economic development nor social developments i.e. economic growths leading to poverty reduction, desirable employment level and other opportunities of interest have been achieved.

Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation (FRDL) Act was promulgated in Pakistan in 2005. The purpose of the Act is to bring public debt under the prescribed safe limits and this legislation focuses on accountability and transparency in the fiscal policy. The law was designed to remove the "revenue deficit" to limit the government's access to borrowing and reduce public debt to a prudent level. The main features of the law are:

- a) Elimination of revenue deficits by June 2008 and thereafter maintain a revenue surplus
- b) Lowering total public debt to 60 percent of GDP by 2013 and thereafter maintain the total public debt below the 60 percent of GDP
- c) Social and poverty alleviation expenditures should not be less than 4.5% of GDP for any given year

Pakistan is facing severe financial crisis at national and international fronts since promulgation of (FRDL) Act 2005. These are credit crisis, low tax revenue collection and declining exports caused major deviation from the prescribed limit of public debt, specified in the Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation (FRDL) Act 2005. Revenue deficit has not been reduced to zero by end of fiscal year 2008 and did not reach a surplus during the subsequent years.

Table A: Indicators of Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation Act 2005

Year	Revenue Deficit (% of GDP)	Public Debt (% of GDP)	Poverty Exp. (% of GDP)	Edu+Health Exp. (% of GDP)
2004-05	3.3	65.8	4.81	2.37
2005-06	4.3	59.9	4.93	2.31
2006-07	4.3	58.3	4.89	2.37
2007-08	7.6	60.1	9.70	2.37
2008-09	5.2	62.3	7.46	2.36
2009-13	4.9	61.7	6.01	2.34

[Author's estimations: Data has been taken from Economic Survey (various issues); SBP reports (various issues)]

The only improved part of the implementation status of this Act is that social sector and poverty alleviation expenditures which were stood at 4.81 % of GDP in 2004-05 rose to 9.7 % of GDP in 2007-08. But once again like other declines the same expenditure has been reduced to 6.01 % of GDP in period of 2009-13. Moreover, it is still above the prescribed limit of 4.5 % of GDP. However, expenditure on health and education remains a cause of concern for long period. According to this Act, the health and education expenditure should reach 1.18 % and 3.72 % of GDP respectively by end of 2013. However, the results are harshly contradictory to the outcomes as these outlays both for health and education collectively stood at 2.34 % of GDP in 2009-13.

METHODOLOGY, SOURCES OF DATA, AND ARDL APPROACH RESULTS

Sources of Data

The present analysis uses statistics for Pakistan, which cover the period 1973-2013. Main data sources are Economic Survey of Pakistan (various issues), Hand Book of Statistics (SBP), and World Development Indicators published by the World Bank. All monetary units of variables are local currency unit of Rupee in million, while poverty and unemployment are expressed in number of people in millions. Gini-coefficient is used to determine inequality [(here index formulated by Jamal, 2006), Pakistan Integrated Household Survey, (various issues) has been used]. External debt is used as dependent variables, whereas, saving-investment gap, income distribution, openness, poverty level and unemployment rate are determinant factors of the external debt.

External Debt (ED)

In the literature, the mostly used indicator is external debt to GDP ratio to judge effectiveness of the growing external debt. This study uses total amount of publically guaranteed external debt and liabilities in million rupees. For

converting the value of dollars to rupees, this study has used the exchange rates for the relevant year.

Income Inequality (G)

Gini-coefficient is applied to determine income inequality, which is used in most of the studies on income inequality. It is based on Lorenz Curve, which maps the portion of population against the share of part of income expected and has a least value of zero (case of ideal equality) and highest value of one (ideal inequality). Gini index computes the level to which the allocation of resources/income or consumption outlay among people within an economy diverges from a perfectly equal distribution. Due to discrepancies in measuring the extent of income inequality, the data may not be same across the specified time. It is to be mentioned here that data are taken from different sources and data for some period i.e. 2007-09 & 2010-12 are not available. The data is available in gaps; therefore, averages of the last five years have been taken for the missing years. The data for the period 2009-10 & 2012-13 have been taken from GINI index (World Bank Estimates).

Poverty (Pov)

This study has applied the poverty assessment centered on the official approach on poverty line. It is pertinent to mention here that the Planning, Development and Reform Division pronounced in 2003 the official poverty line constructed on the threshold level of 2,350 calories per adult per day plus a minimum expenditure required for non-food needs. The official assessments of the poverty are available only for limited period. Further, these estimates of poverty are not rigorously similar with the earlier estimates. The data is taken from Hand Book of Statistics (SBP) and various issues of Pakistan Economic Survey.

Trade Openness (TO)

The measures used in this study include the ratio of exports and imports as percentage of GDP.

Saving-Investment Gap (SIG)

National saving is a combination of private savings and domestic savings. Gross national savings is a total quantity of a nation income minus its cumulative consumption and also demonstrate the available finances for investment. The preliminary fact of the analysis is the accounting character of the saving investment gap being equal to the difference between domestic investment and saving. This study principally concerned in examining the defining dynamics of private saving, since obvious proof proposes that private saving plays a fundamental role in explaining current account developments in Pakistan.

Estimation Methodology

The current analysis has been undertaken by using time series techniques. Time series data are normally perceived as having stochastic trend that can be detached by differencing. This study applied Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) methods to attest the unit root characteristics of the series and stationarity of the model as shown in Table-1.

Table 1: ADF Test Results

Variables	Level			1 st Difference		
	Intercept	Intercept & trends	None	Intercept	Intercept & trends	None
Pov	0.2901	-1.4511	1.8790	-5.4042	-3.8260*	0.2502
ED	2.8218	0.0506	4.4379	-4.6868**	-2.0223	3.4380
UR	-0.8078	-2.6167	0.6127	-7.4919**	-7.4257**	-7.2662**
G	-2.0578	2.2407	2.3524	-5.4693**	-5.5405**	-1.0221
SIG	1.1895	-1.0559	2.4119	-7.0914**	-5.9153**	-6.2569**
TO	-2.5785	-3.4707*	-0.4008	-10.5013	-10.3586**	-10.6413**

Note: * and ** denotes 5% and 1% level respectively

Trade openness is stationary at level while external debt, saving-investment gap, poverty, income inequality and unemployment are non-stationary at level and become stationary at first difference. We have combination of I (0) and I (1). As shown in the above Table-1 all of the variables are not going to the same order of integration. Therefore, suitable technique for estimation in such condition is Autoregressive Distributed Lag Model (ARDL) co-integration proposed by Pesran et al. (2001).

Model Specification

This study would examine how external debt is determined in Pakistan in the presence of growing poverty level, unemployment and income inequality in the following equation:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \Delta ed = & \gamma_0 + \sum_{i=1}^m \gamma_{1i} \Delta(ed)_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^m \gamma_{2i} \Delta(g)_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^m \gamma_{3i} \Delta(pov)_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^m \gamma_{4i} \Delta(to)_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^m \gamma_{5i} \Delta(sig)_{t-i} + \\
 & \sum_{i=0}^m \gamma_{6i} \Delta(ur)_{t-i} + \beta_1(ed)_{t-1} + \beta_2(g)_{t-1} + \beta_3(pov)_{t-1} + \beta_4(to)_{t-1} + \beta_5(sig)_{t-1} \\
 & + \beta_6(ur)_{t-1} + \varepsilon \text{-----} (1)
 \end{aligned}$$

Where ed is external debt, g is income inequality, pov is poverty level, to is trade openness, sig saving-investment gap, ur is unemployment rate and ε is the error term.

External Debt Equation Results

For co-integration analysis equation-1 has been estimated. ARDL approach has been used to examine relationship among the variables. The ARDL co-integration method starts with applying the Bound Test for the H_0 (null hypothesis) of no co-integration- i.e.

$H_0: r_1 = r_2 = r_3 = r_4 = r_5 = r_6 = 0$ against the H_1 (alternative hypothesis) of

$H_1: r_1 \neq r_2 \neq r_3 \neq r_4 \neq r_5 \neq r_6 \neq 0$

Maximum lag length plays important role in conducting F-test. The study is based on annual data and this study has only 38 observations. The total number of parameters is six. Pesran (2001) suggested that maximum lag length of 2 will be appropriate for such small number of observations. F-test is summarized below in Table-2.

Table 2: Bound F-test Results

Value (F-Statistic)	Maximum Lag Length	Significance Level	Bound Critical Values	
			I (0)	I (1)
4.90	2	5%	3.79	4.85

The above results disclose that the F-statistic value of 4.90 is higher than the critical values 4.85 (upper bound). It reveals existence of co-integrating association amongst the variables. The next stage in the ARDL technique is to find out the long-run coefficients for equation-1. To estimate the long-run optimal length for the coefficients Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Schwarz Information Criterion (SIC) for selection of the lag are used as shown in Table-3.

Table 3: Dependent Variable - External Debt

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Probability
C	-1697000.	471448.2	-3.599547	0.0019
G(-1)	34248.50	10429.64	3.283766	0.0039
POV(-1)	24166.96	7979.048	3.028803	0.0069
SIG(-1)	3.477250	0.530868	6.550118	0.0000
TO(-1)	135114.2	251551.0	0.537124	0.5974
UR(-1)	-11198.52	71387.60	-0.156869	0.8770
R^2	0.966529			
Adj R^2	0.934819			
F-stat	30.48073			
Probability(F-stat)	0.000000			
AIC	25.50794			
SIC	26.32673			
DW statistic	2.042642			

Long-run Relationships

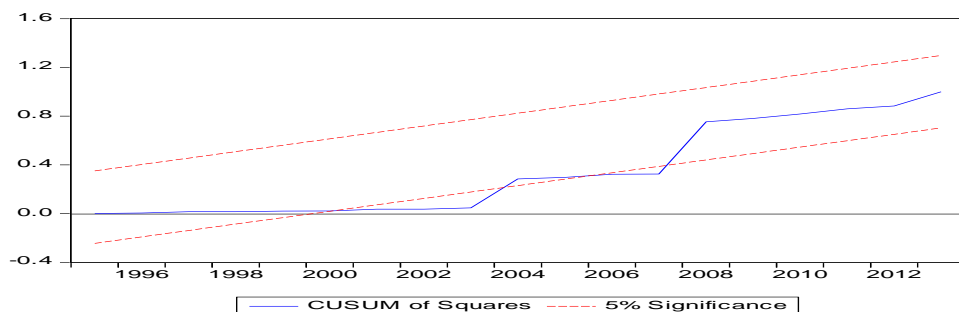
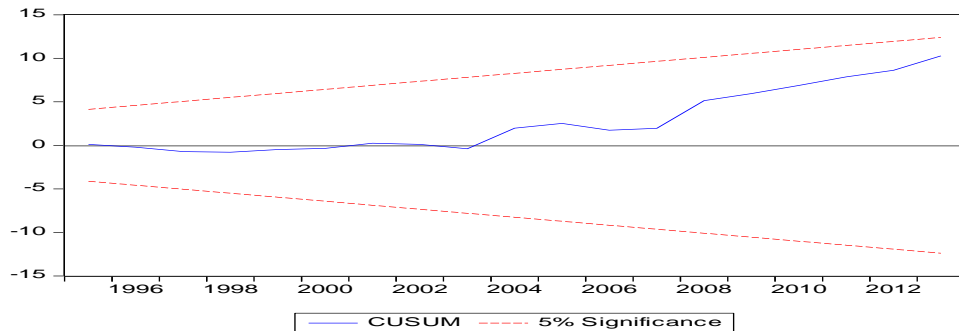
The above results establish the positive relationship between income inequality and external debt. Income inequality has significant and positive relationship with external debt in Pakistan. There is positive relationship between poverty level and external debt. Poverty has significant and positive relationship. Positive relationship has been found between saving-investment gap and external debt. We have robust results for Saving-investment gap which is significant and have a positive relationship with external debt in Pakistan. However, trade openness and unemployment have insignificant relationship with external debt.

Table 4: Breusch-Godfrey Serial Correlation LM Test

F-stat	0.078786	Prob. F (2,17)	0.9246
Obs*R ²	0.348984	Probability Chi-Square (2)	0.8399

The result from LM test proves that there is no serial correlation among the variables as shown in Table-4. The (CUSUM) cumulative sum graph indicates stability and confirms that coefficient of the long-run which runs within the critical area/limits and point out steadiness in the coefficients in the given time as shown below.

CUSUM Test



Short run Relationships

The next and final stage in ARDL technique is estimation of short run coefficients and test of Error Correction Term (ECT). If there is any co-integration between the variables in the short-run then error correction in the system will also occur. The outcomes of the ECT are given in Table-5.

Table 5: Dependent Variable - External Debt

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Probability
C	61259.85	36386.74	1.683576	0.1052
D(G(-2))	-63206.61	21475.73	-2.943165	0.0071
D(POV(-1))	37090.92	9048.848	4.098966	0.0004
D(SIG(-2))	1.094570	0.381826	2.866669	0.0085
D(TO(-1))	512847.3	527567.5	0.972098	0.3407
D(UR(-2))	-63276.25	78886.79	-0.802115	0.4304
ECT(-1)	-0.646431	0.696470	-2.794710	0.0101
R ²	0.745629			
Adj R ²	0.618444			
F-stat	5.862546			
Probability(F-stat)	0.000120			
DW Statistic	1.862731			

The ECT (error correction term) also shows the rate of adjustment in the system. The ECT value of 64 % implies that after a shock, approximately 64%, adjustment occurs towards the equilibrium after one year.

Table 6: Breusch- Godfrey Serial Correlation LM Test

F-statistic	0.832973	Prob. F (2,22)	0.4480
Obs*R-squared	2.604586	Prob. Chi-Square (2)	0.2719

The result from LM test proves that there is no serial correlation among the variables as shown in Table-6. The (CUSUM) cumulative sum graphs indicate stability and confirm that coefficient of the short-run which runs within the critical area and point out steadiness in the coefficients in the given time period as shown below:

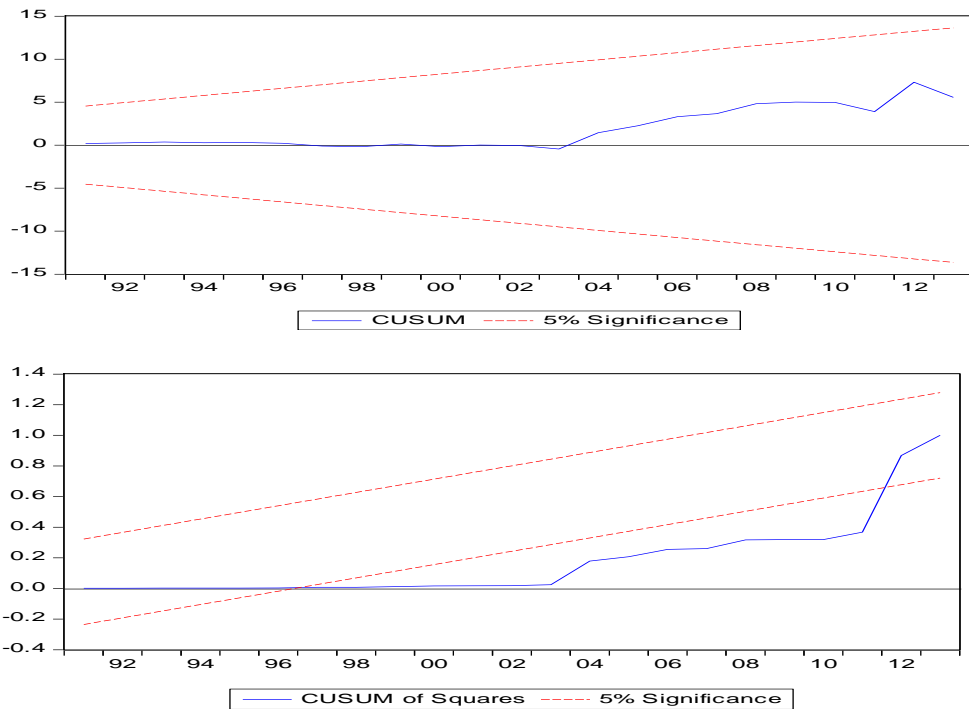


Table 7: Wald Test Results (Short-run Causality)

Short-run Causality	Test Statistic	Value	df	Probability
G and ED	F-statistic	1.117369	(2, 24)	0.3436
	Chi-square	2.234738	2	0.3271
Pov and ED	F-statistic	2.601829	(2, 24)	0.0949
	Chi-square	5.203659	2	0.0741
SIG and ED	F-statistic	9.194452	(2, 24)	0.0011
	Chi-square	18.38890	2	0.0001
TO and ED	F-statistic	4.299364	(2, 24)	0.0254
	Chi-square	8.598728	2	0.0136
UR and ED	F-statistic	0.373924	(2, 24)	0.6920
	Chi-square	0.747847	2	0.6880

The results in Table-7 indicate also that there is significant short-run causality between external debt and saving-investment gap, between external debt and trade openness, between external debt and poverty. But there is no short-run causal relationship between external debt and income inequality, between external debt and unemployment.

Conclusion

The main objective of the developing country like Pakistan is to get economic growth along-with reduction in poverty, equal income distribution, employment and other economic prospects. The growth benefits have not been trickled down to the grass-root level in Pakistan. Pakistan opted for external and internal borrowing to achieve economic growth and development. In this backdrop, it is found that Pakistan borrowed resources for economic revival were not utilized efficiently. Therefore, neither economic development nor social developments i.e. economic growths leading to poverty reduction, desirable employment level and other opportunities of interest have been achieved.

A main obstruction in the poverty reduction and disparity is the absence of actual sharing of the masses in public development agendas. Therefore, the participation of the poor is necessary in all the development schemes by social mobilization and public developments. This would not only stabilize the power structure particularly in the rural regions but also would guarantee the empowerment of the masses at the grassroots level. Pakistan may implement priority projects in the agriculture sectors and expand targeted programs of social protection for the poor. Sound debt management will be instrumental in ensuring socio-economic development. Further, unstable macroeconomic environment may induce uncertainty, political instability and social unrest. Growing social unrest and political instability due to debt overhang may further deteriorate investment regime and have adverse impacts on growth.

The study observes that openness is not favorable in Pakistan context. Further, since 1975, the Pakistan's imports are higher than its exports; more openness means a considerable increase in the trade deficit. The major exports of Pakistan consist of the commodities for which demand in the international market is inelastic. In this connection exports diversification can play its role in achieving favorable balance of trade.

The growing external debts lead to severe poverty and therefore establish a barrier to the recognition of socio-economic development. Though debt indicators of Pakistan shown some progress in the period of 2000-2008, however, a number of significant challenges remain to be resolved. Accordingly, it is essential to:

- a) Ensure implementation of Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation (FRDL) Act, 2005 in its true spirits.
- b) Ensure consistency among public sector development program, trade and debt policies and assurance of socio-economic development and poverty reduction

- c) Ensure that external borrowings and economic growth thereof contribute towards poverty reduction. External borrowings may be adapted to specific state of affairs and is planned to support ultimately the poor
- d) Encourage transparency and promote participation of the masses and the poor - in development programs to make sure that common people are adequately informed about the use of scarce resources and that the deprived, in particular, benefit

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Teaching Poetry: Impact of Teacher's Non-Verbal Communication on Students' Learning Outcomes

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Abstract

This experimental study considers the impact of non-verbal communication on the learning achievement of students of class 10th. This study highlights the importance of non-verbal communication in teaching of poetry in the subject of English. The study discusses the research questions of how teacher's notion of medium of instruction might enhance the teaching of English poetry and what type of learning is possible with the incorporation of prosodic features? Population of the study comprises the selected school in urban area of Peshawar (North-West of Pakistan). Experiment in the actual classroom setting was conducted in the sampled school. The significant difference between pre-and post-tests of the control and experimental groups was tested through paired t-test. Results revealed that teachers created active learning environment through their non-verbal gestures; whereby students were attentive in the classrooms and actively participated in the learning process, which consequently enhanced the level of their retention and understanding. Use of non-verbal communication helped the teacher to provide better understanding to the students in their learning achievement. On the contrary teacher who did not use non-verbal communication in the classroom could not motivate the students for effective learning.

Keywords: Body language; Eye Contact; Facial Expressions; Non-verbal Communication; Students' Achievement

Introduction

In a social set-up people exchange and share their ideas, feelings, emotions and thoughts through communication. Two facets are involved in this process: verbal and non-verbal and the later plays a pivotal and essential role in the process of communication. Many concepts of verbal communication are effectively transferred to the listener with the help of non-verbal gestures. The same is very true about the teaching-learning process. A teacher in classroom can enhance the learning of students with the help of non-verbal communication. Various non-verbal gestures, if used properly in the classroom, can supplement the routine teaching and result in the form of students' achievement.

Non-verbal communication involves body language, dress of teacher, facial expressions, pitch of voice, eye contact, distance between teachers and students, teachers' general habits, hand moments, postures etc. and according to Cutica and Bucciarelli, (2015) meaning of non-verbal gestures whether in consistent or in contrast with the verbal communication always got processed. During teaching learning process, non-verbal communication plays a very significant role towards the achievement of students' learning outcomes. The teaching learning process depends on the attainment of learning outcomes; therefore, the process of developing students' learning is very essential and needs subtle expertise.

Understanding of eye contact, facial expressions, body language, pitch of voice and spatial distance by teachers can change the learning environment of the classroom completely. Utilization of this skill can help teachers in the attainment of students' learning achievements. In addition, students' attention can be increased when teachers make regular use of this skill during the teaching-learning process. This study focuses on the use of non-verbal communication in the sampled school of Peshawar, North-West of Pakistan, and attempts to bring into limelight the use of non-verbal communication by the teachers and tries to address the questions: How might teacher' notion of medium of instruction enhance their teaching of English poetry? What type of learning is possible with the incorporation of prosodic features?

The study also assesses how teachers adopt and utilize this mechanism for better learning outcomes and evaluate the impact of non-verbal communication on the students' achievement with the help of an experiment in Govt. Secondary School of North-West of Pakistan. Details of the experiment are mentioned in the methodology section.

Literature Review

Locker (2004) states that communication does not solely comprise sounds but the way we communicate with other; the distance we keep with others, the size of the room or office, expression of happiness, anger or pleasure on the faces; how long we keep people waiting, and provide a base for further communication. Most of the time, interestingly, we remain unaware of the non-verbal gestures and signals as we are aware of while taking a breath or making sounds. It is pertinent to understand and learn about the non-verbal language as it helps us to present what we intend to communicate and augment our understanding about the non-verbal gestures and cues we are receiving from our counterparts. Nevertheless, within a single culture, a non-verbal cue might have various meanings and a presenter or receiver should understand the various meanings of a non-verbal cue to avoid any kind of misunderstanding.

Hopkins (2004) states that by just saying I hate you with the same tone may not convey your meaning to the listener; however, raising your voice on the word hate will immediately convey the intended meaning to the listener. The same argument is presented by Stanton (2004) and states that non-verbal gestures like frowning, cues, body movements, eye contact, space, head movements are occasionally referring to meta communication as it adds meaning to the verbal communication. The same argument is true in the cultural context of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a province in Pakistan, as many people express their feelings by raising the tone and pitch of their voices in addition to their physical cues. According to Chang (2015) non-verbal communication is staged in a specific context and cultural setting, and influenced by cultural norms and standards and these norms or standards suggest what one should do or not.

Hess, Blaison, and Kafetsios, (2015) state that self-understanding refers to one's culturally contingent thoughts, ideas, feelings, emotions, and actions, which are linked to one's understanding of self as associated with or distinct from others. Baylor, et al. (2009) present the argument that content is affected by non-verbal cues, especially facial expressions. This statement is relevant in the teaching context of urban and rural population of this study. Teachers, representing both genders, if complement facial expression with knowledge would end up in a successful attainment of students' learning.

According to Zwozdiak-Myers and Capel (2005) teachers-student communication largely depends upon non-verbal gestures that include physical appearance, postures, distance between the teacher and the taught, body movements and traits. These gestures simultaneously augment or deviate from verbal communication depending upon whether or not both facets of communication overlap; e.g. if you are praising someone and your body language is welcoming, and you wear a smile on your face; it correlates with what you are saying. On the other hand, if you are smiling to someone but the way you are talking is harsh and dreary, it will create confusion and misunderstanding. It is of prime importance for the teachers to possess the knowledge and understanding of non-verbal gestures in order to effectively impart the material they are teaching in order to achieve the desired students' learning.

Kroehnert (2006) emphasises on five common faults in the body cues of teachers: individual bad behaviours: mostly behaving rigidly, itching and rubbing body and indecent hands' jerks. These general errors are noticed among teachers of every society and are spot-on in the context of the present study. Therefore, it is recommended that teachers may avoid these habits in the classroom to shun negative impression of the learning process and non-verbal communication be used to have a greater impact on teaching-learning process. According to Nayak

(2004) learning is not always the outcome of teaching. Many students in the class understand less than we think they have understood due to good teaching. Many times, the understanding of the students gets limited and incomprehensive if not completely wrong; therefore, it is very essential to have precision in the development of educational goals and objectives so that quality of understanding could be achieved as a learning outcome.

According to Damnet (2008) English native speakers show more positive attitude towards non-verbal communication than non-natives. Furthermore, English native speakers understand a higher level of non-verbal communication. It is also elicited that students of both the groups feel affirmative and point out that English language films and role plays enhance their ability in the acquisition of intercultural non-verbal competence for communicating with native speakers.

Devito (2009) mentions the importance of physical space during communication process and especially in the classroom. He briefly mentions four different types of space namely intimate distance, personal distance, social distance and public distance under the umbrella of proxemics. The explanation of distance by Devito plays a vital role in the teaching-learning process in the context of the present study. The people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa value proximity to the maximum while talking to others and reach to a higher level of sensitivity when communicating with opposite gender. Although teachers and taught of the present study share the same gender even then the spatial distance plays a crucial role. Having the argument of Devito it is substantial for the teachers to be aware of the required space between the teachers and taught for ensuring the smooth teaching-learning process and attainment of students' learning goals.

METHODOLOGY

This experimental study observes students and teachers engaged in teaching-learning process through non-verbal communication in addition to routine teaching in actual classroom setting. Students of high school (class 10th) are divided into two groups: experimental and control. The group whose performance is evaluated on the basis of the new approach is called experimental as compared to the control group that does not employ non-verbal communication skill.

Population and Sample

Population of the study comprise teachers and students of class 10th in the sampled Govt. Boys Secondary School No. 10 Peshawar (Pseudo name) in urban area of district Peshawar, North-West of Pakistan where the experiment was conducted. Selection of the school was made by employing cluster sequential sampling technique. According to Kish (1965) cluster sequential sampling

technique initially makes the clusters and then element from the cluster is taken one by one unless the desired result is achieved. Based on nature of the study, cluster sequential sampling technique was applied for the selection of the sampled school for experiment.

Selection of Sampled Groups

Random assignment is considered as a balance and ideal way for creating control and experimental groups. The same procedure was followed in the selection of groups for the current study. Students of class 10th were randomly assigned the groups and their marks, class positions, teachers' views about students, their participation level; their seating positions did not affect the assignment of the groups. Total strength of the actual class was 100; hence each group comprised 50 students.

Delimitation of the Study

The scope of the study was delimited to body movements, facial expressions, eye contact, pitch of voice, and spatial distance between teacher and students. The scope was further narrowed down to class 10th in Govt. Boys Secondary Schools, mentioned above, in district Peshawar, North-West, Pakistan. The experiment could not be conducted in the Girl's school due to cultural restriction. The subject selected was English.

Research Design of the Study

The design of this study was pre-test, post-test Equivalent Groups Design. In this design same lessons were assigned to both the groups: experimental and control.

Sekaran (2000) mentioned the following pre-test and post-test experimental and control group design:

Group	Pre-test	Treatment	Post-test
Experimental	O1	X	O2
Control	O3	---	O4

Treatment effect= [(O2 – O1) – (O4 – O3)]

Where: O = Observation, X = Non-verbal Communication

One-week training was given to teacher of experimental group before the experiment. During the training different sessions were arranged with the teacher to create rapport and comfort level with him. He was explained the concept and importance of non-verbal communication in teaching-learning process and how to make use of various non-verbal gestures could help teachers to achieve the desired outcomes. Since the idea was to introduce non-verbal gestures in the teaching of poetry, therefore, use of different non-verbal

gestures was shared with him counting intonation, use of hands and facial expressions along with some videos presenting use of non-verbal communication in the teaching of poetry. After 6 working days, the teacher started teaching to the experimental group in the light of the training. The time period for the experiment was 02 weeks. Meanwhile the control group was taught by a teacher who was not given any training and was left to teach as he used to do during normal days.

Technique of the Study

In order to secure data, pre-test was administered to the control group as well as to experimental group. A teacher-made pre-test was administered to both groups just before the experiment. The function of the pre-test was to assess learning achievement of the students and to secure the equivalence of the groups by equating the students of both the groups on the variable of pre-test scores. To assess the learning outcomes of the students, two different teachers of almost same qualification and experience taught poems during the experiment to both the groups. After two (02) weeks of experiment, the post-test was administered to both the groups. During the experiment duration both the teachers used their natural way of teaching as they used to teach in their regular classes, only the non-verbal communication was used by the teacher of experimental group as a supplementary strategy. In order to see the effectiveness of treatment (teaching), teacher-made test was administered to both the groups as post-test after 2-week experiment. The objective of the test was to evaluate the learning outcomes of the groups on the basis of the teaching during the period of experiment. The difference between pre-test and post-test scores was compared through paired t- test.

$$t = \frac{\bar{d}}{\sqrt{s^2/n}}$$

Where \bar{d} is the mean difference between the two samples, s^2 is the sample variance, n is the sample size and t is a paired sample t-test with $n-1$ degrees of freedom.

Construction of Pre-Post Tests

The researchers in consultation with both English teachers constructed a pre-test comprising a poem (They Have Cut Down the Pines) of class 10th English textbook, which had already been taught to both the groups before the experimentation in their routine time table. Pre-test was based on both the objective and subjective type questions containing fill in the blanks, short questions and answers, theme of the poems, appreciation of different stanzas, vocabulary development and oral activities. The post-test was based on two

poems: “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening” written by Robert Frost and “It’s Plain Hard Work That Does It” written by Charles Edison, which were also taught to both the groups during experimentation. The only difference was the treatment given to the teacher of experimental group. Post-test was also based on both the objective and subjective type questions containing fill in the blanks, short questions and answers, theme of the poem, appreciation of different stanzas, vocabulary development and oral activities.

Data Interpretation

Analysis of the experimental data is given in the tables below. First two tables highlight the analysis of control group whereas last two tables elicit the investigation of experimental group.

Table-I: Descriptive Statistics

Group	Mean	Sample Size	Std. Deviation	95% C. I
Control Pre-test	15.12	50	2.520	14.40 to 15.84
Control Post-test	15.40	50	2.365	14.73 to 16.07

The data presented in Table-1 explain the mean score of class 10th in control group i.e.15.12 with standard deviation of 2.520. The 95% confidence interval reveals the level of confidence on the average of the population of class 10th in the control group that ranged from 14.40 to 15.84 in the pre-test. In post-test mean score is 15.40 along with standard deviation of 2.365 in the control group. The 95% confidence interval shows the level of confidence in the average of the population of 10th class in the control group that ranged from 14.73 to 16.07 in the post-test.

Table-II Paired Samples Test

Group difference	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. error of Means	T	df	Sig
C.Post-C.Pre	0.280	2.295	0.325	0.863	49	.393

The results in Table-II elicit that there is a slight increase in post-test score, however two tailed significance value reveals that the increase is statistically insignificant. This clearly indicates that due to the absence of treatment, students could not improve well in the post-test score. The minor increase might be possible due to the fact that students knew in advance about a test after the completion of experiment.

Table-III: Descriptive Statistics

Group	Mean	Sample Size	Std. Deviation	95% C. I
Exp. Pre-test	13.76	50	2.471	13.06 to 14.46
Exp. Post-test	17.86	50	2.148	17.25 to 18.47

The results of the data in Table-III describe mean score of pre-test for experimental group class 10th i.e.13.76 with standard deviation of 2.471. The

95% confidence interval illustrates level of confidence on the average of the population of 10th class in the experimental group that ranged from 13.06 to 14.46 in the pre-test. In post-test of the experimental group the average marks are 17.86 along with standard deviation of 2.148. The 95% confidence interval suggests the level of confidence in the average of the population of class 10th in the experimental group, which ranged from 17.25 to 18.47 in the post-test.

Table-IV Paired Samples Test

Group difference	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Means	T	df	Sig
E.Post-EPre	4.100	2.750	0.389	10.543	49	.000

The data in Table-IV demonstrates the overall result of the experimental group of class 10th. The difference between pre-test and post-test score is tested through *paired t-test*. The *t value* and *two tailed* significance values indicate that there is significant increase in the post-test scores. It clearly suggests that the average marks of post-test are higher than the pre-test marks. The increase is tested for statistical significance and the test value suggests that the average marks of post-test are significantly higher than the average marks of pre-test. The increase in the marks of post-test lucidly communicates the significance of treatment on the achievement of learning outcomes of students.

Conclusions

It is concluded from the results that the medium of instruction plays a pivotal role in teaching-learning process, especially in the teaching of poetry and prosodic features like body movements, facial expressions, eye contact, pitch of voice, and spatial distance. When incorporated in the teaching process, all these will bring effective and efficient students' learning outcomes. These prosodic features enhanced students understanding about poetry and its appreciation.

Findings

1. Facial expressions of the teacher helped the students in understanding the difficult concepts contained in the poems and their facial expressions made the environment more conducive to learning process.
2. Teacher motivated the students through eye contact whereby students felt alert in the classrooms and took active participation in the learning process, which consequently enhanced the level of their retention and understanding.
3. Body movements also provided a strong foundation to the teacher to teach effectively and his proper use supplied additional information to the students especially while explaining the stanzas. Proper use of head, shoulders, and hands facilitated the students in better understanding of lesson and the use of this technique by teachers also reflected their expertise in the field of teaching.

4. The study found that pitch or rise and fall in the tone of teachers' voice also helped the students in the proper understanding of poetry. Teacher's intonation, articulation, and pronunciation also caught the attention of the students and increased their interest level.
5. Spatial distance was also used as an effective non-verbal technique in the classroom, which was used properly and efficiently by the teacher in order to grab the desired learning outcomes.
6. It is also inferred that proper use of non-verbal communication depicts the professional attitude and interest of the teachers towards teaching as a profession. Due to intentional use of non-verbal communication not only teachers but also students developed a level of motivation and interest in teaching-learning process that eventually turned into the attainment of desired learning outcomes of the students.
7. Contrary to this, the teacher who did not use non-verbal communication in the classroom teaching could not motivate the students towards classroom teaching and could not achieve desired learning outcomes.

Recommendations

1. Teachers may want to achieve the expertise in the effective use of facial expressions for conveying the messages of appreciation, tenderness or anger to the students to improve their learning process.
2. Teachers may ensure proper use of eye contact to make the students attentive and alert during learning process in the classroom.
3. Proper use of body movements by the teachers during teaching of poems and stories create interest and attentiveness among the students; therefore, it is highly recommended. However, teachers should know excessive use body movements may spoil its academic purpose.
4. Teachers may exercise proper use of intonation while explaining the theme, setting, and beauty of the poems.
5. Appropriate distance between teachers and students in the classroom is very important and it places a psychological effect on the students and their learning; hence teachers may adopt the spatial distance to ensure students' learning outcomes.
6. Curriculum planners and policy makers may also include proper training mechanism of non-verbal communication in the training manual for in-service and pre-service teachers.

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Liberalization of Media in Pakistan: A Challenge to Democracy

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Abstract

Pakistan's electronic media has been under state control for five decades. The state had monopoly over television and radiobroadcasting, thus a gatekeeper controlling the information flow. However, in 2002, media was liberalized under the dictatorial regime of General Pervez Musharraf. This was against the popular belief that democratic regimes have media liberalization policy while it is in the interest of dictators to put stringent control over media. This study is an attempt to consider the reasons for this liberalization of media and to evaluate its impact on the socio economic and political environment of the country. The study follows the political economy methodology and analyzes the findings collected through secondary data, under the overarching theory of political economy of communication. Pakistan adopted liberal and deregulated policies because of the popular economic model based on neo liberal agenda of developed nations on whom it was dependent for aid and assistance. However, the liberalization of media does not only bring the overall economic growth but also the problems associated with liberalization. The media in Pakistan saw a boom in the market, where in one-decade television channels increased drastically from three to ninety, simultaneously giving birth to the five big media moguls who own major media outlets. This concentration of ownership brought in the problems of unequal distribution of wealth, class disparities, uninformed citizenry, commodification and marginalization of minorities. The current media liberalization has thus become a challenge for the democratic norms of the society. This paper provides basis for further research in proposing democratic systems for Pakistan.

Keywords: Neo liberalism; Media Cross-ownership; Democracy; Media liberalization; Political Economy

The relationship between politics and the media is a power one, and there are two dimensions to this: there is the power over the media – what gets shown or reported – and there is power of the media – what gets changed by the media. (Street, 2001, p. 4)

Introduction and Background

Since the independence of Pakistan in 1947, media has been under the control of the government. It is primarily since the country mostly remained under dictatorial regimes. Even the intermittent civilian rule kept media under strict regulatory regimes; consequently, there was limited number of publishing houses operating at the national level. The primary sources of independent information for the populace were either local newspapers or international radio channels. The only television channel available to the masses until the early 1990's was the state-owned Pakistan Television Network (PTV). In the early 1990's, after the culmination of another decade long dictatorial rule, the newly established democratic regime relaxed censoring policies towards media. Thus, the growth in both electronic and print media was observed in that era in terms of the content of news and entertainment. However, the decade long democratic rule kept most of the regulatory controls and the media policy did not deviate much from the path taken up by dictators. Ironically, the media in Pakistan was granted unprecedented freedom during the dictatorial regime of General Pervez Musharraf who overthrew a political government and ruled the country for almost a decade. This paradoxical and unique scenario raises a question that why, contrary to popular belief, media gained more independence under a dictatorial regime as compared to democracies? This paper is an attempt to explore the reasons for media liberalization in authoritarian regime.

The Pakistani media is a unique case in a sense that in one decade of dictatorial regime it has born, grown and become one of the largest industries in Pakistan. In one decade the country observed media grew so powerful that it emerged as a fourth pillar of the state and played a great role in the downfall of dictatorial regime (International Media Support, 2009). Currently, the media in Pakistan is seeing a rise of few media moguls; a scenario that political economists consider to be a result of liberalization under capitalist societies and thus a threat to democracy values. Moreover, the political economists argue that structural phenomena give rise to the related media problems of lack of content, diversification and localism and most of the companies end up fulfilling their economic interests rather than serving the public interest (McChesney, 2008; Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; Bagdikian, 2004; Jhally, 1989).

This paper is an attempt to evaluate the media liberalization in Pakistan by utilizing the lens of political economy of communication. Liberalization of economy and trade are key components of free markets; that its proponents argue to be an essential part of liberal democracy. Thus, another issue being studied in this paper is the evaluation of current media products on offer for the last decade or so because of media liberalization; the role of this current media production; the revival of democracy in the country; and to what extent it transformed into a forum

for generating policy debates to help government in developing informed public policies. To answer these questions, this research study is divided into three sections. In the first section of the study, the literature on neo liberalism and political economy of communication is reviewed. The western world after 70's and especially in 80's and 90's had played great role in bringing the neo liberal and capitalistic policies in the third world countries. The developing countries were receiving grants and donations from the developed world for the infrastructure development of market and economy to increase the trade globally as under the neo liberal agenda. Thus, in the second section, Pakistan's political economic scenario has been discussed. The history of getting grants and funds during political and dictatorial regimes and along with that the acceptance of neo liberal agenda and policies is described. In the third section of the study, media liberalization in Pakistan is described and discussed that has happened because of neo liberal agenda, and how this liberalization has turned into media cross-ownership and has become a challenge to democratic values in Pakistan, as pinpointed by the literature of political economy of communication.

Neo liberalism and Political Economy of Communication

The Neo-liberalism doctrine advocates deregulation and associates the individual freedom to the pragmatism of market freedom (Holt, 2011). According to Holt (2011) the adoption of this policy by the US administration had huge impact that stimulated top-down imposition of increased transnational trade. He argues that the spread of global capitalism at the end of the cold war, expansion of communication and satellite technologies and the neoliberal policies accelerated the global commerce that is mostly originated from US and progressively deregulated.

In 1990s, the world, especially developing nations, pondered with a seismic shift of Globalization from Internationalization specifically in the communication sector. The technological revolution facilitated the wave of cultural and political transformation along with the neoliberal free trade policies (O'Neil, 1993). These policies facilitated the growth of media industries nationally and globally. Thus, as a result the media producers, distributors, and consumers increased in number dramatically, first in Europe and then in Asia, with China and India (Holt & Perren, 2009). The invasion of powerful conglomerates in the developing nations brought same trends of media industry mushrooming within the developing nations. Globalization diminishes media imperialism, and in Asia, media institutions attempted to be globalized in their practices adapted most of the creative and marketing strategies of foreign competitors that challenged the powerful conglomerates to flourish imperialism and they had to come up with media mergers and franchises with local and peripheral companies (Holt & Perren, 2009). Neo-liberalism, as a theory, proposes that living standards and human wellbeing can be improved by liberating the freedom and skills of individual entrepreneurs and

facilitating them with strong private rights, free markets and free trade within an institutional framework (Harvey, 2005). The theory further argues that the individual rights of freedom of action, expression and choice should also be extended to businesses and corporations. Privatization, deregulation and competition are important components of the theory as it posits that these characteristics flourish the entrepreneurship and business in the market. Furthermore, the elimination of bureaucratic red tape will not only improve efficiency, productivity, and quality but will reduce cost by providing cheap commodities and services and will also decrease the tax burden (Harvey, 2005).

Harvey (2005) points out that to flourish neo liberalism globally, the advanced capitalist nations of G-8 incorporated it with the World Trade Organization agreement so the barriers of exchange between states can be reduced and more synchronized structures can be developed.

However, neo-liberalism, according to political economists, is a big challenge for democracy. David Harvey (2005) criticizes neo liberalism as governance by elites and experts rather than government by democratic and parliamentary decision-making. Furthermore, it has resulted in monopolies and oligopolies that have brought wealth and power inequalities. In the absence of government intervention, the horizontal and vertical mergers have resulted in ownership concentration especially in communication sector that brings the issue of uninformed citizenry as the information flow is one sided coming from the owners of power and wealth (Harvey, 2005).

The political economists of communication and media criticized neo-liberal policies. McChesney (2004) has regarded neo-liberalism as anti-democratic drive for the communication sector and especially for the media. He argues that though the rhetoric about neo-liberalism commends small government, free markets, competition and entrepreneurial risk-taking, while large governments are distributing crucial contracts, monopoly licenses and subsidies to huge firms in highly concentrated industries. He further points out that the acceptance and enactment of this doctrine has damaged the very foundations of the US and democratic values (McChesney, 2004).

The emerging media problems of ownership concentration, localism and diversity, commodification of audience and vertical and horizontal mergers because of neo-liberal policies has been discussed and explicated by political economists. Mosco (1996) refers to the institutional extension of corporate power in the communication industry or the concentration of ownership as specialization. She indicated growth as the size of media firms that is measured by assets, revenues, profit, employees and share value. Furthermore, she posits that deregulation is a

regulation by the government that has been masked by the term deregulation and that every industry activity is a form of regulation. Mosco (1996) called commercialization, liberalization, privatization, and internationalization as the four state constitutive activities that originate from specialization and commodification (Mosco, 1996). Globalization addresses social change, but it is a wider movement of specialization. Political economists consider globalization as a “spatial agglomeration of capital” (Mosco, 1996: 205).

Jhally (1989) argues that wealth and power are unequally distributed in capitalist societies, where it is concentrated in the hands of a few that belong to the dominant social class and owns the means of production of the country. They use their power and wealth to control and influence the large groups of society. They do it in two ways: either by absolute force of military and police or by the consensus. He argues that they use media to legitimize their domination; to convince the majority to accept the present system of rewards and power. He further argues that media act as consciousness industry in which they make aware the audience through specific content that benefits the controlling class that rules the media and industry (Jhally, 1989). Media is a medium that is supposed to serve the public and public interest but rather only work for the interests of their owners. These owners are the private institutions and big corporations and not the public. Thus, these media industries ownership and control is not limited to the structural phenomena, but they are having big impact in the economic, political and social arenas of life. The companies have interlocking of directors that serve on boards of various companies and act as coordinators among various companies’ interests (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; Bagdikian, 2004; Jhally, 1989).

The structural changes in the media business have adverse impact on society (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006). Vincent Norris (1990) discusses that political economy of communication deals with the polity, the economy, and the communication system, and prevailing relationships among wealth, power and knowledge. She further argues that it is not only about how power, and wealth affect the production and distribution of knowledge and how knowledge affects the production and distribution of wealth rather it also raises the normative questions that how in Good Society those issues should be dealt with.

The next section brings forth the case of Pakistan where the military government introduced neo liberal policies to bring democratic values in order to legitimize its regime, but resulted in a challenge to democracy as feared by the critics of neo liberal and scholars of political economy. This paper has taken the case of political economy of communication in Pakistan as a challenge to democracy.

INCLUSION OF NEO-LIBERAL POLICIES AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNICATION: A CASE OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan, from its very inception in 1947, has been in political turmoil. In the 63 years of its existence, it remained under the rule of elected civil government for only thirty years and the rest of thirty-three years military ruled the country; it has been in power from: 1958–1971, 1977-1988 and most recently from 1999-2008. Ironically, Pakistan's economy spurts during all the three military regimes while the democratic regimes are marred by allegations of wide scale corruption, nepotism and economic instability. After the demise of Great Britain, the US has been one of the key players in the world politics (Mahmud, n.d.). Pakistan's political economy has always been influenced by the US as from the very beginning it signed Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) that guarantees that US would rescue Pakistan if its integrity is threatened by archrival India. As an ally, Pakistan supported United States during the cold war and allowed US policymakers to intervene in domestic policy decisions and economic development through bilateral military development and food assistance (Hussain, 2009). The induction of the US Harvard Development Advisory Service and the Ford Foundation in the policy and economic development played crucial role in changing Pakistan's economic thinking. Under these programs, many civil servants, economists and planners were sent to US universities for advance studies and they returned with training in economic and political policy making. This laid the basis for market-friendly, private sector led liberal, neoclassical model in Pakistan's economy (Hussain, 2009).

Sanctions

Pakistan off and on, in various regimes, faced aid assistance sanctions from the US governments and western world for not following their economic and political policies. However, the sanctions imposed in 1998 played a crucial role in changing the political and economic policies of Pakistan. In May 1998, Pakistan conducted a series of nuclear tests that resulted in aid suspensions by the US Clinton administration (Jordan, et al. 2009) and the rest of western world (Mahmud, n.d.). The military coup of 1999 by Musharraf resulted in additional U.S. sanctions against Pakistan (Jordan, et al. 2009).

Economic Crises, 9/11, Authoritarian Government, and Democratic Policies

During 1999–2002, Pakistan faced severe economic crises, aid sanctions and international pressure in the backdrop of 9/11. To deal with the economic crises, Pakistan needed a monetary jump-start that could be achieved by foreign aid and financial assistance that were stopped after 1999. One of the ways to regain that assistance was adopting the democratic policies and economic model adapted and prophesied by the West. Thus, during Musharraf regime, Pakistan pursued a

strategy of economic revival that consisted of four elements: macro-economic stability; structural policy reforms such as privatization, deregulation and liberalization; targeted poverty interventions and improved governance (Hussain, 2006). The support of Pakistan to the US after 9/11 resulted in the removal of economic sanctions; increased bilateral and multilateral assistance flowed in; bilateral external debt was restructured and re-profiled; workers' remittances multiplied several folds; foreign direct investment poured in large volumes and access to international capital markets was established (Hussain, 2009). The US government gave \$20.7 billion in military and economic development aid to Pakistan from fiscal year 2002 through fiscal year 2011 (McDonald, 2011).

Liberalization of Media: A Case of Pakistan

Media liberalization was one of the major features of Musharraf's liberalization and market deregulation regime. According to Mosco (1996), in media liberalization, state increases market competition by intervening and expansion in the market and facilitate in increasing the number of participants in the communication services. Musharraf, to legitimize his position in the international community and to secure continuous supply of aid from the developed countries, adopted the policies of liberalization of trade and market, freedom of speech and liberalized media. International Media Support Report (2009) states that under Musharraf era, since 2002, Pakistani media has boomed; new liberal media laws ended the state's long monopoly over electronic media; TV broadcasting and FM radio licenses were issued to various private media outlets. Consequently, these policies, media grew in large proportion and resulted in the increase in number of television channels from three state owned channels to almost ninety, including six terrestrials and almost eighty private owned satellite and cable television channels. The radio channels have increased from one state owned radio broadcast to more than hundred. This mushroom growth of media certainly brought problems of media concentration of ownership, diversification of content, fulfillment of private interests over public interests (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006). Mosco (1996) argues that liberalization though is popularly known for lower prices, services expansion, and innovation but its critics accuse it of encouraging private oligopoly where the prices, services and innovation mandates advance the agenda of oligopoly cartel and its privileged customers. This section discusses the case of electronic media, especially TV, as the liberalization policy towards television channels has significantly changed the media market structure in Pakistan. As TV viewership is almost 80% of Pakistan population, which is highest among all media outlets (BBC Survey 2008, 2010).

PEMRA

To liberalize media, the government established Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority - an autonomous body. Its objective is to deregulate and

liberalize electronic media in Pakistan to provide more choices to the people and in good interests of public and nation. (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance, 2002).

Media Policing Regulations

Liberalization of media certainly gave an edge to the Musharraf regime in international community as he provided a picture of democratic norms in the society; however, media was controlled by some policing regulations from time to time. As evident in literature, authoritarian rulers, while holding an office, prefer demobilizing and when necessary repress populations with a view by imposing social and political order (Gunther & Mughan, 2000). Though through policies he tames the media from time to time in his favor, but on the other hand introduces some lax regulations that favor the profit motives of media business industry. The relax regulation of media cross ownership resulted in a significant change in media structure and media power in Pakistan (Rasul & McDowell, 2012). The mushrooming of media and emergence of media giants has no stopping after that. Today, they are a big challenge to even the current democratic government. The next section of the paper discusses the media cross ownership regulation, its resultant product and challenge to democratic values of the country under the lens of political economy of media.

PEMRA Ordinance of Cross-Media Ownership

Pakistan Electronic Media regulatory authority, established in March 2002, defined cross media ownership as “ownership by one person or associated persons or associated undertakings of more than one of any of the following, namely print media, advertising agency, television broadcast station, or radio broadcast station” (PEMRA Ordinance, 2002). This regulation prohibits cross-ownership of media if it results in undue concentration of media ownership. The regulation defines “undue concentration” as, (1) both a newspaper and radio broadcast station; (2) both a newspaper and a television broadcast station; (3) both a radio broadcast station and a television broadcast station; (4) an advertising agency and a television broadcast station; or (5) an advertising agency and a radio broadcast station (Riaz, 2003). To ensure media liberalization to flourish and to have open and fair competition, PEMRA ordinance prohibited cross media ownership. According to Croteau & Hoynes (2006), cross media ownership allows media ownership concentration, while Riaz (2003) argues that the liberalization process which is in its infancy stage in Pakistan, will not flourish and will result in few media firms controlling and influencing media and information content if media cross ownership is allowed.

Cross Ownership of Media in Pakistan¹

Pakistani media, while in the infancy stage of liberalization, faced a trauma. PEMRA from the very beginning was under pressure from the existing print media firms in Pakistan for relaxing the cross-ownership regulations of media outlet. Due to this pressure of media companies, an amendment was submitted by the then Minister of Information, Sheikh Rashid Ahmed on July 12, 2003 in the cabinet. The cabinet agreed on the ordinance amendment. However, according to Riaz (2003), the cabinet had already agreed in principle to award the first ten broadcast television licenses to the first ten applicants, and that included all major newspaper groups, such as *Jang*, *Nawa-I-Waqt*, *Khabsrain*, Business Recorder, and the *Daily Times* (Riaz, 2003). Raza (2004) points out that on July 13, 2003 the minister announced the approval though it was not approved just a provision was announced of the amendment and the decision was greatly appreciated by the national newspapers. Riaz (2003) states that the newspapers' owners viewed the relaxation of rules as a great victory for which they had lobbied aggressively since PEMRA was established. Bagdikian (2004) states about this scenario as politics and media fulfilling each other's needs; big media firms can exert their influence and are able to change policies. Norris (1990) views it as, people in politics though are not in the business community but have control over wealth because of their political positions, and those in businesses exert power and influence government because of their control over wealth.

The concentration of the largest media owners results in many media problems: the commercializing of content; protecting their own political interest over public interests; stressing profit and material gains over societal norms; and can interfere with the goodwill of the government (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; McChesney, 2004; Riaz, 2003). Media cross ownership also results in decreasing information sources, as Riaz (2003) warns that the whole broadcast spectrum can be captured by few media giants and this can benefit the government also as because of few information disseminating sources, government can easily influence and manipulate public opinion with misinformation, or can easily silence the few media outlets from broadcasting issues. Pakistan is observing big structural changes and has moved towards media cross ownership and against liberalization indicators. According to International Media Support Report (2009), there were three dominating media moguls that have established their influence in politics and society through their dominance in both print and broadcast industries. However, the current media market is bringing 4 media moguls and some other media giants who own many TV channels thus, creating a huge impact on the provision of information to public. Ellick (2010) points out that Pakistan had only one TV news channel, currently it offers 26 news channels, half of which broadcast 24 hours a day; however, most of them hardly qualifies for rigorous, fact-based news. The talk shows follow a typical style of a roundtable discussion by middle-aged men

that are hashing out political conspiracies. US newspaper, provided the current landscape of media in Pakistan, pointed generally towards the mushrooming of media and specifically about Geo, the growing giant of the media that resulted in cross media ownership regulation. The newspaper points out that Pakistan owned one state broadcaster until media laws relaxed in 2002, and now one-third of Pakistan's population have access to 100 private channels through cable and satellite, among which Geo pioneered the television revolution. Geo claims to broadcast 70 of the top 100 programs and, with its newspaper Jang's various publications, they have one reporter stationed nearly every four miles (Brulliard, 2011).

International Support to Media Development/ Problems in Pakistan

After the Afghan invasion in 2001, the western world, specifically US and UK, have invested big amounts of money in the development of media independence in Pakistan for their political and economic interests. They wanted to have their voice reached to general Pakistani public, thus, they invested in community based radio channels, training of journalists and media lawyers training projects through US Aid programs. They are also investing in radio stations in the tribal areas of Pakistan to curb the extremists' community (Media Law Bulletin, 2004). In Pakistan, liberalization of media has not been only supported financially, but the adoption of free market economy model to liberalize economy of Pakistan has also given the problems of media of western world and specially US. In US, six big conglomerates control media, thus presenting issues of concentration of ownership and wealth in few hands that further in equalize society's socio-economic balance (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; McChesney, 2004; Bagdikian, 2004; Herman, 1992). The next section brings forth the data about the media giants collected through secondary sources. The findings indicate media concentration in the hands of the few media giants that resulted through lax regulations of PEMRA.

Media Giants in Pakistan

Pakistan media market has currently four major moguls and few will become in the coming years. These media giants are among the first ten companies who were issued licenses for cross ownership on a provisional approval by the senate, even though the amendment in regulation was not passed.

Jang/Geo group

The group is owned by Independent Media Corporation that is owned by Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman. His father Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman initiated the media business with Urdu daily named "Jang" before independence of Pakistan. The newspaper is one of the leading and nationwide read newspapers. This company is owned by Mir family that is currently in the top ten of the richest people of Pakistan list. Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman is known for investing his money in stock exchange market.

Their media empire has significantly grown from print media to electronic media tycoons due to the relaxed media cross ownership regulation of Pakistan. The current list of their media outlets is:

Jang/ Geo group:

Dailies	Weeklies	4 TV Channels	Geo International	Radio	Net
Daily Jang (Urdu)	Akhbar-e-Jehan (Urdu)	Geo News (Urdu)	Geo UK	AAG Radio	Jang News
Daily Awam (Urdu)	Mag Weekly (English)	Geo Entertainment (Urdu)	Geo USA		The News
Daily Awaz (Urdu)	Fashion magazine]	Aag TV (Bilingual)	Geo Canada		Geo TV
The News (English)	The News on Sunday (English)	English & Urdu/ Music Channel	Geo Japan		
Daily Waqt (Urdu)	Jang Sunday Magazine (Urdu)	Geo Super (Urdu/Sports Channel)	Geo Middle East		
Pakistan Times (English)					
Daily News (English)					

(Sources: Geo network .com, IMS, 2009/ PEMRA report 2011; Rasul & McDowell, 2012)

Geo network has also released some Urdu language films under Geo Films Banner. Future of Geo Network are to bring Geo kids and Geo English news. According to Gallup Pakistan (2011), the IMG has been on top in acquiring the most advertising revenues in all its media outlets including print and electronic. Also, this group earned highest revenues even more than the accumulative revenues of rest of the media companies in Pakistan (Sabir, 2009). Geo group is famous for its right wing extremist propaganda, and for using its all media outlets for its political ideology. Brulliard (2011) states that Geo-Jang Group, which is Pakistan's largest media company, is regularly criticized for promoting ideas of Islamist extremism, anti-Americanism and government loathing through its four domestic television stations and two top newspapers. He further criticized Geo for rumor-filled talk shows, sensational breaking news and dashes of progressive programming.

Nawa-i-Waqt Group

The company is in print media from 1942; they started with Urdu daily. The company currently is the second largest media company in Pakistan. Currently owned by Majid Nizami, the group is famous for its right-wing ideology.

According to Gallup 2011, the group has acquired 11% of the advertising revenue. Currently the group owns:

Dailies	Weeklies	Monthlies	TV Channels
Daily Nawa-i-Waqt (Urdu) The Nation (English)	Nida-i-Millat (Urdu) [Sunday magazine] Weekly Family (Urdu) Sunday Plus (English) Weekly Money Plus (English)	Monthly Phool (Urdu) [For children]	Waqt TV (Urdu)

(Source: Nawaiwaqt.com, Gallup 2010; Rasul & McDowell, 2012)

DAWN Group

Saigol families and Hameed Haroon own the third largest media company; both are among the 50-rich people of Pakistan. Dawn English Newspaper is one the oldest newspaper of Pakistan, founded by the country's founder in 1941. The chief executive of the Dawn group Haroon Hameed's younger brother is Pakistan's ambassador to the United Nations since September 2008, and was earlier speaker of the Sindh provincial assembly. The company chairperson Ms. Amber Saigol, daughter of famous politician and earlier chief executive of Dawn Media Group, is married to the rich industrial tycoon of Saigol family. Saigol family has a long list of textile and textile related factories. This group is famous for its liberal ideology and has maintained its monopoly in magazine journalism for many decades—both in circulation and advertising revenues (Rasul & McDowell, 2012; Sabir, 2009).

The Dawn media group owns

Dailies	Monthlies	TV channels	FM radio channels	Internet media
Daily Dawn (English)	Herald23 (English)	Dawn News (Urdu)	City FM 89 (music radio channel)	Dawn.com (a news web site)
Star (Eng evening)	Aurora (marketing & advertising based bi-monthly magazine)			
	Spider (monthly internet magazine)			

(Source: DAWN media group; Rasul & McDowell, 2012; International Media Support Report, 2009)

Lakson /Express group

This group of media is a subsidiary of Lakson group (Century Publications), a UK based company, and has many foreign affiliations. The group has diagonal relations with other multinational businesses e.g. Colgate-Palmolive, McDonald's Corporation, Philips Morris International Finance Corporation (Rasul & McDowell, 2012), that presents a problem of joint ventures and interlocking of directorship that are controlling the politico economy of the country (Bagdikian, 2004; Jhally, 1989; Mosco, 1996). The group also claims to have the second largest read newspaper of the nation; it also acquired 11% of the advertising revenue in 2011 (Gallup, 2011).

Daily Newspapers	Weeklies	TV Channels
<i>Daily Express</i> (Urdu) <i>Express Tribune</i> (English)	Express Sunday Magazine (Urdu)	Express News (Urdu) Express 24/7 (English)

Daily Times Group

Another emerging company in media cross ownership is Media Times Ltd. The company was launched in 2002 and is owned by the late Governor Punjab Salman Taseer who was murdered by his own bodyguard in a controversial blasphemy case. His son Sheheryar Taseer now runs the company. The family has strong political and military ties. The newspaper advocates liberal and secular ideas. The company currently owns

Daily Newspapers	Weeklies	TV Channels
<i>Daily Aaj Kal</i> (Urdu) <i>Daily Times</i> (English)	Friday Times (English) Weekly WikKid (English) [For kids] Daily Times Sunday (English) AajKal Sunday Magazine (Urdu)	Business Plus (English) [Current affairs and business news] WikKid (Bilingual English and Urdu) [For kids]

ARY Group

This media giant not only owns various TV channels but is owned by one of the business tycoons of Pakistan, Haji Abdul Razzak Yaqoob. It is a family owned group. The family is in the top ten richest families of Pakistan. They also own various gold, real estate and trade businesses. The company currently has the network consisting of channels including: ARY Digital (Asia-Middle East-UK/Europe-USA) (Entertainment), ARY News, ARY Musik (Music), ARY QTV(Religion), ARY Zauq (Food), HBO, Nick, and many new ventures in the pipeline. Most of the networks in-house channels have their own specialized

programing catering to Urdu speakers living in Pakistan and abroad (ARY Digital TV).

Discussion and Conclusion

There is a common understanding that a strong connection exists between mass communication and democracy” (O’Neil, 1998, p. 1).

McChesney (2004) argues that during dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, people in power create a media system that facilitate their domination and minimize the possibility of opposition. These regimes not only manipulate the policy agenda but also use media as their “puppet” (Gunther & Mughan, 2000, p. 4). On the contrary, Musharraf being dictator did not keep the media as his puppet rather liberalized the media. However, his policies were very much dictated by the country’s political allies and were forced to coordinate with the major capitalist world political economic regulations. In the process Pakistan’s economic interest were also fulfilled with huge amounts of grants and aids.

The adoption of the hegemonic economic model though brought the economic growth, but the country also faced the associated socio-economic and political problems of the neo-liberal economic model. The growing concentration of ownership of capital in media sector is quite evident in becoming a challenge for society and politics of the country. The lax regulation of PEMRA towards cross ownership has resulted in the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the elitists of the country. Their control over information and knowledge is manipulating the thinking of common public. As Norris (1990), criticizing the enforcers of neo-liberal policies, argues that the founding fathers of libertarian principles intended that the polity should not influence the production and distribution of knowledge. That is not quite the case, however; government grants and other activities play a large role in determining what knowledge will be produced and who will obtain it. The licensing of broadcasting stations is an obvious exercise of governmental power in deciding who shall have the opportunity to say what to whom (Mosco, 1996).

Musharraf brought liberalized regulations to legitimize his regime in international community and projected democratic values to the common man. However, McChesney (2004) argues that when the government allocates lucrative monopoly licenses it is not regulation; rather it is portrayed as serious control and media policy in the name of public interest to society. Mosco (1996) argues that liberalization is state-constitutive regulation and is masked by deregulation. It seems that Musharraf regime, under the banner of deregulation, liberalization and privatization, enforced various policing regulations to stop media from criticizing his regime. Norris (1990) posits that in authoritarian societies, though knowledge

is produced and distributed by the wealthy and powerful who owns the private media, but this process is legitimized by the exercise of power – variously by regulations, licensing, censorship, confiscation, imprisonment, even assassination. The problem of news content is also evident in the cross-media ownership of Pakistan. According to International Media Support Report (2009), the news coverage ranges from sensationalism to company's propaganda of its own political ideology. The report further points out that the news coverage on the most popular private television channels mostly focuses on conflict and political stories, and reports covering social issue, minorities, marginalized groups, human rights and women rights do not get due exposure in the media. Altschull (1984) posits that newspapers, magazines and broadcasting outlets though have the potential to exercise independence but are not independent; rather the news media are the agents of those who exercise political and economic power. Moreover, the content of the news media reflects the interests of its financiers (Altschull, 1984).

PEMRA ordinance of 2009 revised the cross-media ownership or the horizontal integration of media companies' rule of owning 4 television channels still provides great leverage to the media companies to grow horizontally. In addition, the associated rule of mergers is quite relaxed and is dependent on the approval of PEMRA, which could be granted easily to any company based on personal and business interests. Thus, the big giants could soon shift the horizontal integration towards vertical ownership. As many small media firms are entering into the market, thus the big companies will start merging the small companies under their company banner to keep the profit concentrated in few hands, and to remain the market giants so they can influence the politico economic environment of the country (Bowls & Edwards, 1993).

Herman (1992) proposes that to have democracy in the country and media be part of it should be owned by grass root organizations, fulfill public interest, recognize and encourage diversity of content. Thus, a developing country like Pakistan should make new policies; adapt the Western politico-economic model according to its own needs and conditions based on its own requirements that can fulfill the needs of its public based on their socio-economic conditions. However, the strong international financial regimes and powerful states having their own interests may not allow this liberty to the developing world.

¹This study was conducted in 2012, thus all the data and numbers about media ownership in Pakistan are from or before 2012.

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The Role of Civil Bureaucracy—Facilitative or Regressive? Perspectives from Pakistan

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Abstract

This paper explores some of the theoretical limitations of classical theory of bureaucracy. It also analyses Pakistani bureaucracy's organisational composition and behaviour which reveals that the Pakistan's civil administrative structure is incongruent with the principles indoctrinated in the classical theory of bureaucracy postulated by Max Webber. When the civil bureaucracy of a state trespasses into the domain of other institutions including the political ones, the very character of the civil administration becomes politicised and this phenomenon is evident in the case of Pakistan. Likewise, the civil administrative institutions are routinely pressurised for manipulating and twisting their rule-bound operating procedures in accordance with the vested interests of politicians. This makes the politicisation of administration inevitable and the concept of 'legal rational authority', a highly idealised principle. The organisational and institutional analysis of Pakistan's civil bureaucracy illustrates that it is a poor materialisation of the classical model of bureaucracy mainly because this system of administration was inherited from the epoch of colonial rule and as such it was never a manifestation of the theory of bureaucracy in the first place.

Keywords: Bureaucracy; Governance; Social Services Delivery; Corruption; Institutional Development

Introduction

Civil bureaucracy has been one of the dominant institutions in the governance arenas of Pakistan whereas the periodically implemented local government reforms have regularly been overshadowed under the patronising guardianship of civil administration for years. Based on secondary sources, this paper attempts to assess the organisational parameters of Pakistan's civil administration system in comparison with the doctrine of classical Weberian theory of bureaucracy. Weberian theory propounds that under certain conditions, the institution of bureaucracy works effectively and efficiently in administering the public sector and delivering social services. It is however argued that despite the continued domination of Pakistan's civil bureaucracy, the performance of this institution has been far from satisfactory, mainly because Pakistan's civil administration system was inherited as a legacy from the colonial British rule and as such, it never was a complete manifestation of classical theory of bureaucracy. After the independence, a vast range of functions remained the responsibilities of

Pakistan's civilian bureaucracy nonetheless the apathy of state towards the much-needed corresponding reforms—professionalization and organisational development—severely affected bureaucracy's performance.

What is Bureaucracy and How Bureaucracies Work Effectively?

Contemporary public management theorists use the term bureaucracy synonymously with 'public administration' in contrast to the emerging concepts of 'public management'. After the Second World War, the Western world's (spearheaded by the US) relentless advocacy for upholding the free market economies and privatisation of public entities orientated policy makers around the world to indoctrinate the corporate sector's managerial principles into public sector management. A shift was emphasised on moving away from 'public administration' (the traditional way of administering the public sector wherein the state owns and operates most of the public-sector institutions that deliver the social services) towards the emerging paradigm of 'Public Management'. The 'New Public Management' model of this paradigm prescribes privatisation of public entities and recommends the application of corporate, entrepreneurial and managerial principles and strategies to run the affairs of public sector institutions. Generally, the terms civil administration, public sector, and bureaucracy would denote significantly different phenomena in the study of any modern state's politics. However, in case of Pakistan, the civil administration setup has been developed along the lines of colonial administrative system and despite many phases of privatisation of public entities in the post-independence era, there still exists a large yet highly inefficient public sector, which is apparently responsible for the delivery of a range of social services. Hence, the terms civil administration, public sector and civil bureaucracy are used interchangeably throughout this paper - essentially referring to the state owned, and state run public sector organisations.

As defined by Heywood (2007), bureaucracy (literally rule by officials) is, in everyday language, a derogatory term which means pointless administrative routine. In social sciences however, the concept of bureaucracy is understood in a more specific and a relatively neutral sense. Bureaucracy refers to a rational mode of organisation that constitutes non-elected (appointed) officials and an administrative machinery of the government. Weber (1946 cited in Gerth and Mills, 1970) outlined the features of bureaucracy as professional administration structured by clearly defined division of labour, an impersonal authority structure, a hierarchy of offices, dependence on formal rules, employment based on merit, pursuit of career, and a distinct separation of members' organisational and personal lives. According to Weber, rationalisation of collective activities is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency. For various reasons though,

the Weberian idealisation of bureaucracy has been at odds with the principles and doctrines of present-day public-sector management concepts and theories.

The following section briefly highlights the gist of general principles of Weberian bureaucracy and its critique which is mainly built around the premise that 1) the theory of bureaucracy is highly idealised and obsolete in a modern-day state and 2) the benchmark of conditions required in the theory of bureaucracy for the attainment of effectiveness and efficiency in public management is way too higher than what can be expected in a post-colonial state.

Weberian Theory of Bureaucracy and its Critique

Max Weber, a German Sociologist and political economist, propounded bureaucracy in its ideal form - a legal rational authority. Hughes (2003) enumerated six principles of modern bureaucracy deriving from the idea of legal rational authority modelled by Max Weber.

1. Authority derives from law and from rules made according to the law.
2. Strict hierarchy means that legal rational authority and power are maintained organisationally, not by any individual but by the position s/he holds in hierarchy.
3. Organisation is something with an existence separate from the private lives of its employees; it is quite impersonal. Written documents are preserved, something that is essential as previous cases become precedents when similar events occur. Only with the maintenance of files can the organisation be consistent in its application of rules.
4. Administration is a specialist occupation that deserves thorough training; it is not something that can be done by anyone.
5. Working for bureaucracy is full time occupation instead of a secondary activity.
6. Office management is an activity that can be learnt as it follows general rules

Many contemporary scholars have severely criticised Weber's theory of bureaucracy by denying the possibilities of efficient outcomes from bureaucracies. There are some major practical limitations involved in the classical theory of bureaucracy e.g. its premise that organisation can be treated as something that is separate from the personal life of the bureaucrat and the immunity of legal rational authority of an organisation against politicisation. However, most of the contemporary critiques overlook the nuances between the practical limitations of the principles of classical theory of bureaucracy and the bureaucratic misconduct of the post-colonial third world counties. The assessment of organisational parameters of Pakistan's civil administration will

highlight this fine distinction. Theory and practice of bureaucracy is criticised by scholars from highly diversified ideological positions. Irrespective of context in which the theory is practiced, some of the critics have quite compelling arguments against the theory itself. For instance, it has been widely conceded that technical superiority of bureaucrats is a romantic assumption and therefore a more pragmatic theory of bureaucracy is required, that would emphasise on professionalization of administration and on bureaucracy's rule-bound character that needs 'to be supplemented by recognition that human attitudes and behaviours are involved' in administration (Kamenka, 1989:161). Therefore, the assumption that, organisations can be considered as entities that are separable from the private lives of organisations' employees, needs to be rethought in a more pragmatic manner. On a similar note, Hyden (1983) believes that official commitment to non-bureaucratic ties (e.g. kinship, tribe, ethnicity, and religion) can override the rational features of bureaucratic models of public administration.

With the involvement of human values and social behaviours in the administration of an organisation, the legal rational authority vested in public office is also very susceptible to be contaminated with politicisation. Public choice theorists also construe bureaucracy as highly inefficient. Dunleavy (1986) argues that people have sets of well-informed preferences, which they can perceive, rank, and compare and ensure that their preferences are logically consistent. They are maximizers i.e. they seek maximum benefits from least costs and they behave rationally. By nature, they are egoistic, self-regarding and instrumental in their behaviours - choosing how to act on basis of consequences for their personal or families' welfare. Hughes (2003) explains that Weber's theory primarily relies on bureaucracy being essentially disintegrated and motivated by higher ideas e.g. service to the state. However, from public choice theory's perspective, this assumption of Weber's theory is unreasonable; bureaucratic forms of governments try to maximise budgets in which their own personal utilities can be maximized. This represents a classical principal-agent problem where the principal and agent have competing individual and aggregate objectives and the principal cannot easily determine whether the agent's actions comply with the principal's objectives or whether they are self-interested misbehaviour (Milgrom and Roberts, 1992).

Apart from the normative critique, the theory of bureaucracy is also confronted in terms of its practical outcomes. For instance, the Weberian model reckons that bureaucracy is ideal for efficiency however, Turner and Hulme (1997) criticise this notion specifically in the context of developing countries and believe that bureaucracy's performance is hindered by red tape, poor communications, centralisation of decision-making, delays in operations and the distance of public servants from citizens which leads to poor functional capacity that eventually

undermines efficiency. Generally, the criticism on bureaucracy revolves mainly around the argument that bureaucracies' operating goal is system maintenance not developmental outcomes. Hughes (2003) referring to the practice of bureaucratic conduct in developing countries, is of the opinion that highly bureaucratic administrations breed time servers rather than innovators and therefore bureaucrats tend to avoid taking risks. Others like Behn (1998) and Gerth and Mills (1970) reckon that bureaucracy is susceptible to inertia, lack of entrepreneurial orientations, mediocrity and inefficiency and that secrecy, rigidity, hierarchy in bureaucracy leads to conflicts between bureaucracy and democratic institutions.

It is worth noting that the institution of bureaucracy, in principle, is responsible for the execution of the public policy that is devised by the political institutions. Besides, the institution of bureaucracy can also provide technical advice to the political institutions on policy-making nonetheless, adherence to the formal rules and procedures usually thwart bureaucracy's capacity in terms of innovative policy-making and taking associated risks. In post-colonial authoritarian regimes, where civil-military bureaucracies have assumed the domain of political institutions, the practice of bureaucratic conduct does not follow the classical doctrines of bureaucracy. Instead contrary to the principles of classical Weberian theory, bureaucracies in the third world countries are legacies of colonial administrative structures which were not designed as one of the state's institutions for good governance, in fact those structures served as the only institutions of governance. In the post-colonial era, these civil military bureaucracies have retained wider responsibilities, including those of political and judicial institutions, which is one of the reasons why these administrative setups remained incapable of efficiently delivering the social services. Resistance to change and path-dependency continued to be the innate features of bureaucracies; being the central stakeholder in the institutional power spoils, the civil bureaucracy is naturally disincentivized to reform itself. The collective rationality of the bureaucratic organisations disincentivize them to share the authoritative power and the ability to deliver targeted patronage.

In a nutshell, it is argued that post-colonial bureaucracies epitomise the poorest manifestation of classical theory of bureaucracy. In order to elaborate this point, the following part of the paper explains the organisational limitations of Pakistan's civil bureaucracy with reference to the core principles from the theory of bureaucracy. The following review which is based on the secondary sources, will demonstrate how Pakistani bureaucracy's organisation and behaviour deviates a great deal from the doctrine of Weber's theory of bureaucracy.

CIVIL BUREAUCRACY IN PAKISTAN: PARAMETERS OF TRAINING, RECRUITMENT AND PROFESSIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Although the malpractices in the administrative structures of post-colonial regimes have been generally epitomised to criticise the theory of bureaucracy, there are some strikingly valid applicability limitations in the theory. The following part focuses on the major organisational deficiencies like the lack of training; deteriorating levels of civil servants' professional skills; criteria for officials' APT (Appointments, Promotions and Transfers); unmanageably large functional jurisdiction and domain of responsibilities; politicisation of bureaucracy; citizens' accessibility; corruption and finally the lack of economic development. The post-independence transformation of the historically purpose-built structure of Pakistan's civil bureaucracy has resulted in a multitude of systematic weaknesses. Therefore, the institutional frailties within Pakistan's centralised form of governance structure are more ingrained and contextually complex as compared to the frequently contested normative issues associated with the Weberian theory of bureaucracy.

Training and Professional Ability

The institution of Pakistan's civil bureaucracy lacks the most important requirement - professionalization of administration. Induction to the senior administrative posts is based on generic competitive examination and other similar non-professional recruitment and appointment criteria. Public officials normally assume the responsibilities of a public-sector department for which they are not properly trained and/or qualified and the lack of the required levels of professional qualifications, expertise, and trainings of civil servants mark the most striking level of the public sector's problems. The Pakistani Civil Service System, composed of the Federal and the Provincial Civil Service Cadres, is a rank-based system, where generalists are preferred to specialists (Huque and Khawaja, 2007), and a lifetime employment is provided to its incumbents. A somewhat relevant issue is seniority, which is the foremost criterion for promotion. Seniority as a primary formal criterion for promotion may minimise the probable discord among the civil servants, but seniority is not necessarily the best indicator of a person's productivity and competence (Rosenbloom, 1986). By contrast, a system where promotions are based on merit is likely to enhance competence of the civil service by providing incentives for civil servants to improve their skills and do their jobs diligently and honestly (Azfar, 1999).

Husain (2007) describes Pakistani civil servants as poorly trained, sub-optimally utilised, badly motivated and ingrained with attitudes of indifference and inertia. The absence of reliable and continuous mechanisms for professional training of public officials has always been a major issue. In Pakistan, this shortcoming is not too pervasive in the higher echelons of public sector departments but at the

subordinate levels, optimum levels of essential training is ironically considered as a perk. For instance, Huque and Khawaja (2007) found in their study of Pakistani bureaucracy that ‘seniority’ and ‘connections’ were two major criteria in civil servant’s selection for professional trainings. They found that training is considered as a benefit rather than a necessity for doing a job. Training sessions are conducted either internationally or in local capital cities, both of which are preferred holiday destinations for civil servants and their family members. Seniority as a criterion for professional training is also absurd in a sense that an official who is about to retire is more likely get training than any other official who is in their early or mid-career level. By and large, the formal and informal practice of administration in the public-sector organisations in Pakistan does not comply with the principle of theory of bureaucracy which reckons administration as a specialist occupation that needs thorough training and that administration cannot be done by non-professionals.

Recruitment Matters: Appointments, Promotions and Transfers

Pakistani civil service is highly politicised, and the regime change is invariably followed by massive upheavals of civil servants’ politically motivated appointments, transfers (inter-departmental and spatial rotation) and promotions. Contrary to the classical theory of bureaucracy which upholds merit based employment, Pakistan’s bureaucracy works as one of the major cogwheels of political machine. The appointments, promotions and transfers of civil servants which are typically contingent upon incumbents’ political allegiances, seriously affect operational effectiveness of civil servants thereby undermining their motivations to pursue professional careers. Cheema and Sayeed (2006) believe that excessive political interference reduces the time horizons of the bureaucrats, which eventually compels the bureaucrats to defect from collective arrangements and result in fragmentation of the state structure. In addition to that, short and uncertain tenure of civil servants fundamentally undermines their incentives to develop their expertise in specialised and professional career pathway.

This is so because the public officials are not only rotated geographically across different administrative units but also across various public-sector departments that require varying qualification, skills and training. In the absence of coherent recruitment criteria and effective training programmes, the civil servants are more likely to form a large pool of redundant generalists instead of divisions/departments with professional employees that are qualified, recruited and constantly trained in accordance with the job requirements. This is how the officials’ pursuit of career as a professional career civil servant is put at stake and eventually they become time- servers instead. In such situations, civil servants are more likely to be hesitant in taking initiatives for the execution of major administrative tasks or leading their staff in instigating any development projects.

Instead, the civil servants would rather be induced to serve their tenure at any administrative unit by involving in the routine official matters. Prospects of public accountability also diminish with the frequent and unnecessary rotation of employees across various public-sector departments.

Keeping in view the historical institutional formation of Pakistan's civil administration setup, Khan (2007) narrates that the British colonial administration used to deliver lavish patronage, usually in the form of land grants and targeted recruitment quotas in government service along with other perks to the loyal native's groups. The post-independence continuation of this practice in the public sector of Pakistan made it clear that the retention of authoritative powers, with almost non-existent accountability mechanisms and ever-increasing official patronage were the sole motivations of Pakistani bureaucracy. Other than patronage delivery, politicians and bureaucrats in Pakistan also compete for manipulating powers in the affairs of APT of appointed public officials. Cheema and Sayeed (2006) mention that appointments and promotions are no longer based on well specified 'rules' but on the ability of officials to sustain political protection. The problems associated with APT are overwhelmingly critical in case of Pakistan because the large size of public sector (which is already too bloated in proportion to the resources) provides enormous opportunities for patronage delivery in the form patronage employment. Kardar (2006) argues that all levels of governments are operated as employment bureaus rather than as efficient providers of public goods and services.

Wider Jurisdiction and Responsibilities

Kardar (2006) indicates that the public sector of Pakistan is over-extended and over-committed and is performing too many functions that are far beyond its competence level. Purview of Pakistani senior civil servants' job responsibilities especially that of the elite district management group's employees, is ironically large. This feature too finds its roots in the colonial administration era. A massive sphere of responsibilities of a Deputy Commissioner during the British Rule of the subcontinent was penned down by Hunter (1892: 513-514) as follows:

Upon his energy and personal character depends ultimately the efficiency of our Indian government. His own special duties are too numerous and so various as to bewilder the outsider. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of revenue from the land and other sources; he also is a revenue and criminal judge, both of first instance and appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his smaller local sphere all that the Home Secretary Superintendent in England, and a great deal more; for he is the representative of paternal and not of a constitutional government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads,

sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation, and the imperial revenues of his District are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives, and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountant, a surveyor, and a ready writer of state papers. He ought also to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy, and engineering.

Although it was for the colonial administration under the paternal British government, it is still hard to imagine that such a god-like viceregal officer/bureaucrat can oversee the immensely vast administrative realms in accordance with the demands from the imperial government as mentioned by Hunter. Even in the Greek mythology, ancients Greeks used to worship various gods that they thought were ordained by the king of gods – Zeus - for utilising their special capacities and capabilities. For instance, they believed in various gods and goddesses who used to control their respective domains like the skies, seas, the dead in the underworld, wars, intelligence, arts and literature etc. It is obvious that the type of official mentioned in Hunter's description was a colonial administrator and certainly not a bureaucrat that is conceptualised in Weberian theory of bureaucracy however, the discussion is relevant over here because it was more or less this type of administrative machinery that was inherited by the newly born state of Pakistan. Pakistan's bureaucracy along with the executive arm of the state retained the composition that included elites belonging to higher social and economic strata from a highly fragmented society. Although several sporadic phases of reforms have attempted to ameliorate the bureaucratic conduct and streamline the functional domain of the post-independence Pakistani civil administration structure, unfortunately the very character of the system kept on deteriorating with the time. Over a period of around seven decades, due to expansion and departmentalisation of public sector, the functional jurisdiction of public servants has been reduced considerably nonetheless, the core weaknesses within the system remain uncured.

‘A certain degree of cohesion, staying power, organisational capacity to sustain continuity of policies, preserve the status quo and maintain a semblance of stability continue to be hallmarks of Pakistani bureaucracy’ (Shafqat, 1999: 997). Nonetheless, Shafqat's institutional analysis also reveals that adherence to procedures, reluctance to take initiatives and general apathy towards citizens' welfare are still the major problems of Pakistani bureaucracy. He points towards the iron curtains around the civil bureaucracy and mentions that currently the bureaucracy withholds information on areas of public concerns under the garb of secrecy which must be made available to citizens. As mentioned earlier, the principles of good governance in a democratic polity requires the institution of

bureaucracy to enact the regulatory apparatus and implement the policy that is devised by the elected political institutions. Civil administration has to adhere to the procedures because that is how the institution of bureaucracy essentially works. Principally, the bureaucracy needs to adhere to the procedures in order to implement the policy and should not intrude into the jurisdiction of other institutions like government or judiciary. In states where professional bureaucracies confine themselves to their constitutional jurisdiction, their adherence to the procedures and execution of policy can rarely be challenged. Contrarily, in case of Pakistan, since the civil administration has engulfed the domain of almost all other institutions of governance, citizens expect them to deliver social services of all kinds.

Politicisation of Bureaucracy

Bureaucracies inevitably exist and operate in almost all forms of legitimate or illegitimate governments, ranging from far right to far left. Civil bureaucracy is an indispensable institution of the state even in the countries that claim to have minimal involvement of the government in governance. A sound civil bureaucracy is always used as a help for peaceful transfer of power, notably during and after elections (Smith, 1985). Governments have to rely on state machinery for such transitions and for the execution and implementation of public policies. In theory, bureaucracy works only when it retains its legal rational authority and enjoys absolute separation from politics e.g. Woodrow Wilson (1941) argued that there should be a strict separation between politics and administration (or bureaucracy). According to him, administration lies outside the sphere of politics. Although politics set the tasks for administration, politics should not manipulate administration because public administration is actually the detailed and systematic execution of public law. In similar vein, Stillman (1991:107) argued that the dichotomy between politics and administration ‘justified the development of a distinct sphere for administrative development and discretion - often rather wide - free from the meddling and interference of politics. The dichotomy which became an important instrument for progressive reforms allowed room for a new criterion for public action, based on insertion of professionalization, expertise and merits values into the active direction of governmental affairs.’

However, such dichotomy of politics and administration is an illogical proposition. In fact, this dichotomy can very reasonably be termed as ‘divorce of convenience’ between politics and administration because politics can by no means be separated from the spheres of public administration. They are profoundly mingled together. Caiden (1982:82) very aptly argued that the two are effectively ‘fused with politicians performing administrative duties and administrators assuming political responsibilities’. The same stance was taken by

Peters (1989). Interdependencies, in terms of administration, between politicians and civil servants make it almost impossible to avoid the mutual use and abuse of these two complementary institutions. Deconcentration of administrative hierarchy does not separate administration from politics. Smith (1985) emphasises this point by arguing that although there is organisational politics within any structure of administration, the bureaucrat is also a political figure within the community in which s/he serves.

In countries where the political institutions are functional and influential, it is quite common that the civil administration finds itself under an enormous pressure exerted by local political elites for twisting official procedures and protocols in favour of the local elites' interests. The field officer or civil bureaucrat has to wield bureaucratic procedures as a protection against these stipulations. A formal stance of neutrality and instrumentality is necessary in the administrator's dealings with politicians and leaders of powerful social classes, especially if the policies to be implemented go against the interests of dominant rural classes (Wood, 1977 cited in Smith, 1985). The maintenance of required levels of instrumentality and neutrality in civil servants' working relationships with politicians becomes difficult especially in countries where institutions of the state compete for acquiring political powers. Baxter et al. (2002) mentions that in some settings where a professionalised civil service is in place, ambitious politicians mount an effective assault on it, reversing its autonomy and turning it into a source of patronage. In case of Pakistan, the aggregate and individual interests of political institutions and civilian administration often leave them in an uneasy and antagonistic relationships. Particularly in cases where the purview and jurisdictional domains of public institutions is not demarcated precisely or when those demarcations are ignored in practice, public institutions are likely to develop hostile working relationships among themselves.

Access of Citizens to Bureaucrats

'Pakistan is an 'hourglass' society – where state and public are mutually related through minimum of institutional links and people are generally disengaged from politics except for the occasional exercise of their right to vote. In Pakistan the bureaucracy typically operated as gatekeeper of distant state' (Waseem, 2006:13). Access relationship between citizens and civil servants are of great concern in the study of local governance. Considering the peculiar nature of centrally appointed civil administration system in Pakistan, bureaucrats are quite reasonably accused of being quite distant from their 'subjects' and hence the bureaucrat-citizen relationship does not provide any substantial incentives for improved and tailored service provision. The rationale for devolved local government emphasises that centrally appointed public officials are not easily accessible to the public and are more likely to be indifferent towards their civic

demands whereas locally elected officials (mostly native) would remain very close to their constituency and would be willing to go an extra mile to make sure that their constituency is not neglected in the affairs of social service delivery. Smith (1988) believes that access relationship between the citizens and bureaucrats is worse because of the lack of independence of bureaucrats from political forces, their lack of understanding of citizens' problems, lack of dissemination of information about entitlement and knowledge of bureaucratic process, and because bureaucrats steer their activities away from citizens.

Another important issue that Smith (1988) raises is that citizens' relationship with bureaucracy depends upon the extent to which the claimant depends on bureaucratic allocations i.e. whether the citizen has an exit option in his/her affordable range for instance, access to open market (non-bureaucratic) allocation. Exit option refers to the financial capability of citizens to resort to the private market allocations for basic social services. Exit to the open market allocations may well be a desirable and quite possibly an available option for the poor masses but certainly not an affordable one. When market provisions, in such circumstances, cannot be relied upon in terms of meeting demands from vast majority of citizens, public provision of goods and services needs to be rationed via public sector institutions equitably. In Pakistan, where the income inequality is alarmingly high, and masses of population are unavoidably dependent upon the provision of public goods and services for their basic necessities like health, education and municipal services, rolling back of public provision and expecting the private sector to abruptly fill in a large vacuum is obviously not a rational proposition.

Corruption in Bureaucracy and the Lack of Economic Development

The tumour of corruption is an evil that remains pervasive in all institutions of governance, and not only in the civil bureaucracy. In fact, most forms of institutional corruption are omnipresent in almost all formal and informal institutions of governments and states of the world. Undoubtedly, owing to the weak institutional setups, the levels of corruption are alarmingly high in the third world states where the civil administration has proven to be one of the most vulnerable institutions in terms of proneness to incidence of corruption for many reasons. In this paper, corruption is referred to as typical financial embezzlements, bribery, kickbacks and the abuse of public office and authority by the civil servants with specific reference to the execution of public works and delivery mechanisms of non-excludable public goods and services. The centralised system ends up differentiating services to different categories of customers based on their willingness to pay bribes, resulting in non-uniform delivery patterns (Bardhan & Mookherjee, 2006).

While there is a broad agreement in literature of public administration about corruption being malfeasance that perpetuates economic, social and political inequalities, there also exists a substantial discourse asking, ‘what’s wrong with corruption’. Put differently, one may argue that bribes stipulated in return for basic social services by the underpaid civil servants of a poor state may well serve as an informal alternative solution to the negative impact of free market externalities. Huntington (1968) advocates such an idea; he believes that for economic growth, the only thing worse than a society with a rigid, over-centralised, dishonest bureaucracy is the society with a rigid, over-centralised, and honest bureaucracy. Similarly, Hutchcroft (1997) argues that from the perspective of an individual businessperson or citizen, corruption does indeed grease the wheels of a bureaucracy. Honest bureaucracies can be infuriatingly inflexible to those with a justifiable need to bend the rules, and dishonest bureaucracies highly responsive to those who have the means and/or connections to do so. The rigidity and inflexibility of bureaucracy as a system for the public service provision, that assumes the procedures as ends in themselves, hinders the efficiency of such institutions.

Nonetheless, such arguments cannot be made as a basis for the justification of corruption in the public sector. In fact, these arguments undermine the possibilities of institutional rectifications of procedures that are prone to corruption. Bureaucracies’ corrupt behaviours have underlying reasons. Rather than allowing the bureaucracy enough leeway to act corruptly, it is essential to rethink and reform the organisational mechanisms that perpetrate and incentivise the corrupt behaviour. NPM model prescribes privatisation of public sector departments as a solution for the corruption and inefficiency. But in case of Pakistan, this may not be a viable strategy to be implemented abruptly without securing an institutional arrangement for it because 1) economic status of many citizens constrain their access to the privatised market provision of social services delivery, 2) the state doesn’t have the capacity to regulate the privatised public sector and/or to prevent a public monopoly from becoming a private monopoly and 3) corruption is very much likely to remain pervasive in public sector departments particularly those which are extremely difficult to be privatised for instance the law enforcement, municipal services, civil and national defence and other state regulatory authorities. While a gradual and vigilant process of privatisation may help, it certainly is not the only next available option for curbing the nuisance of corruption.

A very brief synopsis of some alarming statistics cited in Khan (2007) would be helpful in reflecting upon the prevalence of corruption in the large and inefficient public sector of Pakistan. According to Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), Pakistan’s 2006 CPI score of 2.2 placed her in the most

corrupt quintile of 163 countries surveyed. This score was almost the same as the CPI score of 2.25 in 1995. Khan (2007) quoting from a report published in a Pakistani Newspaper, Dawn, describes that the extensive levels of corruption in the education department were indicated by the first Pakistani National Education Census conducted in 2006 which found that '12,737 educational institutions out of a total of 164,579 public sector schools in the country were 'non-functional', a euphemism for 'ghost schools'¹. It goes without saying that such statistics only depict the tip of the iceberg and reveal that the spread of corruption is more rooted than it apparently seems. The complexities involved with containment of corruption needs thorough diagnosis of factors that create an environment which is ripe for perpetrating the public officials' tendencies for corruption. The menace of corruption is highly associated with another issue - the lack of economic development.

Susceptibility of administrative machinery to corruption and indifferent behaviour is ascribed to the fact that the large and superfluous public sector is usually underpaid. The World Bank (1997) states that in many countries, civil servants' wages have eroded as a result of expanding public employment at lower skill levels and fiscal constraints on the total wage bill. The result has been a significant compression of the salary structure and highly uncompetitive pay for senior officials, making it difficult to recruit and retain capable staff. According to Jabbra and Dwivedi (2004), the low salary structure for public employees in Lebanon has always had two serious results: first, competent employees receive more attractive salary offers from the private sector. Second, those who join and continue with civil service have little motivations and are more incentivised to look for other sources of income (including bribery) to compensate for their low salaries. Brain drain, especially from the higher echelons of civil administration, is natural in such circumstances and the able civil servants prefer to switch over to either private sector or international organisations. In states where the private sector opportunities spurred by foreign investments offer attractive remuneration packages, the public-sector job market face enormous levels of competitive pressures in attracting pool of capable incumbents. Generally, the budget constraints and external pressures to privatise and downsize public sector constrain governments to underpay the civil servants, leaving them susceptible to corruption and professional decay.

¹The term 'Ghost Schools' refers to those public schools that exist only in the official records of the Education Department. Ironically, the building contractors are paid for the building and teachers regularly draw salaries for teaching. Some of the school buildings are usually used by the local village influential for a variety of personal utilities.

Conclusion

This paper focused on exploring some of the theoretical limitations of classical theory of bureaucracy. The study also included the literature review of Pakistani bureaucracy's organisational composition and behaviour which reveals that the civil administrative structure as well as the practice is not in line with the principles indoctrinated in the classical theory of bureaucracy. These limitations are not only the hurdles in institutional development of civil bureaucracy itself, but they also exacerbate the institutional relationships between civil bureaucracy and other institutions of governance such as the elected local governments.

The classical theory of bureaucracy assumes that the public organization is an entity that is separable from the personal lives of its employees and secondly, the principle of legal rational authority considers the civil bureaucracy as immune to the political interventions. It is argued that when civil bureaucracies take over the domain of other institutions including the political ones, the very character of the civil administration becomes politicized as is evident in the case of Pakistan. Also, where the political institutions are capacitated in terms of making policy decisions, the civil administrative institutions are routinely pressurized for manipulating and twisting their rule-bound operating procedures in accordance with the vested interests of politicians, making the politicization of administration inevitable and the legal rational authority, a highly idealized principle. Civil bureaucracies have a constitutional role i.e. of implementing the public policy and of enacting the regulatory procedures. It can only work effectively when it doesn't trespass its constitutional domain. Having assumed an overwhelming authority and functional domain, Pakistan's civil administration has been working as more or less the only institution of governance and that is why citizens condemn the administration's failure because they perceive it as the only institution that is responsible for delivery of social services.

The organisational and institutional analysis of Pakistan's civil bureaucracy illustrate that it is a poor materialization of the classical model of bureaucracy mainly because this system of administration was inherited from the epoch of colonial rule and as such the system was never a classical expression of the theory of bureaucracy in the first place. After the independence, Pakistan's civil administration assumed a vast domain of responsibilities but her professional credentials kept on deteriorating; the state consolidated this institution in terms of power spoils but the organisational development was ignored altogether. The quality of training and specialization of public officials in most of the public-sector departments is poor. Consequently, the employees make a large redundant pool of generalists instead of specialists. Their prospects for professionalization are further hampered by the politically motivated appointments, promotions and transfers which also adversely affect the pursuit of career opportunities. In

Pakistan, such political manipulations have transformed the public-sector departments into employment agencies that provide patronage employment.

Access relationships between bureaucrats and citizens are also far from satisfactory and since a majority of the population relies on public provision of social services, improvements in the access relationships are very crucial. Abrupt privatisation of public entities is not a viable remedy for containing the massive levels of corruption - at least not in the short term - because masses of poor citizens do not have the financial means to access privatized market allocations. Besides, the government and state institutions are already too corrupt and incapable to regulate the private sector and prevent a public monopoly from turning into a private monopoly. Corruption in public sector is also stimulated to greater extent by the lack of economic development. Evidence from the literature review suggests that the public officials' propensity to corruption is triggered by the fact that they are underpaid. The lower wages offered to the civil servants eventually affect the professional quality of officials and organizations alike.

Civil bureaucracy being an instrumental and indispensable institution has to effectively coexist and function alongside other institutions of the state such as the local governments. The challenge is to make bureaucracy functionally compatible with those institutions therefore, the reforms in the civil administration are as important as the reforms in the political organisation of the government. The legacy of colonial mode of bureaucracy continues to be an anathema for the developments in local governance in the post-independence Pakistan.

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We Are What We Eat In A House for Mr Biswas and the Inheritance of Loss¹

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Abstract

In *The Inheritance of Loss* and *A House for Mr. Biswas*, food might be recognized as an all-important metaphor for self-identification. Food is loaded with meaning about relations, communion, home and identity. In the said texts, food becomes a powerful voice for an emptiness which lives on as a physical craving and a continual sense of discomfort. Identity seems to become physical and instinctive when it comes to food. Interestingly in the postcolonial moment, food appears to lose its capacity for gratification and either acts as a catalyst for evoking disappointment, or a metaphor for self-estrangement that is usually experienced by the displaced subject. This paper aims to show the effects of colonization on the characters' eating habits and their struggle at dining table and around kitchen. The native is lured into preferring western food over local cuisine so as to cover his colonial inadequacy but most often get deprived of the food that has been satisfying both to his palate and his stomach.

Keywords: Food; Identity; Taste; Eating; Gratification; Discomfort; Home; Selfhood

Introduction

Food does not only satisfy the stomach but also provides a sense of fulfillment and is nourishing to selfhood. This relationship between food and identity is difficult to ignore for Ray (2004), Belasco (2008) and Counihan (1997). Food has some occult power in it and "is more than an amalgam of biochemical nutrients. What we eat has enormous significance as a medium for personal recollection and collective identity."² Anthropologist Sidney W. Mintz maintains that "eating is never a 'purely biological' activity ---- nor is the food ever simply eaten: its consumption is always conditioned by meaning" (*Tasting Food* 7).³ There is little to doubt that "what we eat, when we eat, where we eat, and with whom we eat all reveal something about ourselves."⁴ Perhaps, "food and eating are central to our subjectivity, or sense of self."⁵ In postcolonial narratives, food takes on a new resonance highlighting loss, absence and displacement. The two novels in their

engagement with colonial practices, underpin an interesting interplay of food and identities around the characters' appetites and choices of meals.

The protagonists in *The Inheritance of Loss* and *A House for Mr. Biswas* as well as other characters find their sensibilities strained in a world in which little room is left for tradition due to the ever-increasing pressure from western trends. They appear to wage their most severe emotional battles in the realm of food. The judge, Lola, Noni and Sai in *The Inheritance of Loss* seem to emerge as a group who are Asian in blood but English in taste. Specific colonial dynamics may be traced around kitchen and dining table, as the characters doggedly trail western food and cookery at the expense of their own comfort, relationships and social bonds. On the other hand, in *A House for Mr. Biswas*, Biswas shows a stern colonial attitude towards food. He is one of those who "don't always want to eat 'what [they] are'".⁶ My contention is that in *The Inheritance of Loss* and *A House for Mr. Biswas*, food offers interesting ways of manipulating, adopting and disclaiming identities and stands as the most potent metaphor for the crisis of self-representation. The characters remain ambivalent and confused about who they are while struggling to take to foreign food and eating mannerisms. They appear to be in a negative relationship not just with food but with themselves.

The poor colonial figure after turning his back on home-made food appears to lose his sense of security, usually associated with a mother. The judge goes astray at the point when he throws out his mother's food and thus, kicks out his Indian identity once and for all. He does not want to be called an Indian and the first thing he does is to disown his mother's food.⁷ At this point, the judge severs love bonds and familial relations. The allusion is significant as it was a choice of food that made Adam and Eve lose paradise. The judge kicks out the "extravagance" of Indian food but soon starts missing his mother's *choorva*. He could not then realize just how reckless this act could be, as no food in the world can compete with the comfort of a mother's food. The food he has had at home was pure, delicious and healthy. It made him feel special and fulfilled.⁸

In contrast, the scanty "breakfast" offered for dinner to the judge by his landlady comes as the first setback in losing home⁹ (IL, p. 59). He gathers up courage to request a proper dinner and the scene is reminiscent of *Oliver Twist*.¹⁰ Never before would the judge have experienced such feelings of timidity and helplessness. The judge is chastised and held up to ridicule for eating curry. These days, "curry" has become a symbol of a multicultural society and is widely served not only in Indian but in western restaurants all over the world; yet the judge had to disown and disclaim it straight away when in England. The girls, "held their noses and giggled at him, 'Phew he stinks of curry!'" (IL 39). The very reasons which once made Europeans hungry to explore South Asian lands

were later on, to be used against natives as the relationship between the two turned contingent and colonial.

Losing control over the quality and quantity of what he wished to eat proves to be the first crack in a wholesome self for the judge. His stomach, which used to be “full of cream,” remains half-empty and craves for full, rich Indian meals. However, under the new pressures, he gets used to neglecting the needs of his body and soul. Pushed into a quagmire of confusion, he starts to misinterpret his own gut feelings. Once back home, he finds “he [is] a foreigner--- a *foreigner*--- every bit of him [screams]. Only his digestion [dissents] and [tells] him he [is] home”. But still he mistakes himself for a foreigner and his good digestion as “*Western transportation*” (IL 166,167). Probably, the metamorphosis that he keeps imagining for himself could never occur. He continues to see himself as “*Western transportation*” and does not let his inner person, for which his stomach speaks, take control of this estranged self.

On the way to assimilation, he forces his cravings in a way similar to the abrupt adjustment usually made by foreigners in their manners of dress. Very soon, despite an Indian Hindu, he starts to eat Shepherd’s pie in England (IL, p. 119). Perhaps, he tries to improve his relations with the master and fight his sense of inferiority through food. Whenever he senses racism in the air or that he may be targeted by street children, he holds out a pork pie in his hand as a symbol of his changed loyalties or as an olive branch. But the pork pie simply symbolizes his cowardice as he cannot react or call for help when bullying children openly humiliate him, knock down and start pissing on another Indian boy in front of his eyes. He just “[turns] and [flees]” back to his “rented” room with the pie still in his hand (IL 209).

The first scene in *The Inheritance of Loss* opens with the judge’s unreasonable demands for afternoon tea, to be served in an English manner with freshly baked confectionery. As a colonial practice, he wants to celebrate his teatime and demands a cake or at least some “macaroons” or “scones” or “cheese straws” (IL 3).¹¹ On eating “chocolate pudding” which has been warmed “in a frying pan” on wood fire, his face takes on “an expression of grudging pudding contentment” (IL 3, 4). He pesters his cook for English snacks but then has to cook *pakor*as (local deep-fried snacks) for the intruders as there is no stock of English groceries in his home. It may suggest the miseries faced by westernized natives in keeping up an artificial lifestyle in indigenous surroundings. Ridiculously, the judge expects his cook to bake cookies, cakes, and make puddings on a wood fire when there is no gas or electricity in the house. This may also be the reason that the judge remains grumpy while waiting for the impossible to happen. He is never satisfied with how his native cook serves him, no matter how much he tries to

please him with soups, mashed potatoes, baked snacks and deserts instead of local rice and daal.

The judge is probably resentful as he knows at heart it is all pretense, no matter how much his cook struggles to serve him continental food by keeping and reusing scraps of aluminum foil (IL 33), warding off ants and vermin by putting water into four bowls for the legs of the food cupboard to stand in (IL 113) and burning damp wood (IL 1). He never utters a word of praise either for the prepared food or for the poor, hardworking cook. The hoax of juggling English civilization with a frugal, retired life is spelled out at the fussy tea-times when “Marie and Delite biscuits” have to be served with the teapot and cups, “upon the tray” (IL 3). The tea that is served to him with dirty saucers, a sticky sugar pot and hard, local biscuits is “a travesty and it [undoes] the very concept of [English] teatime.” This “travesty” nonetheless, is what defines him.

Around the kitchen and at the dining table, the judge’s life appears to be a comic-tragic episode. Inviting someone to dinner or to lunch is as a gesture of friendship and goodwill. The judge remains ill at ease at the only dinner to which he has reluctantly invited his friend, Bose. Strangely, the judge loses his appetite on seeing the portrait of Gandhi in the restaurant replacing that of the Queen of England (IL 203). Even the dinner with Gyan is used as an opportunity by the judge to show him to be an inferior native and make him feel unworthy. His awkward table manners are scrutinised according to English standards, with a total disregard for his presence as a guest. The judge distastefully notices that he is unfamiliar and hesitant with the cutlery and the English food, “and an old emotion [comes] back to the judge, a recognition of weakness that [is] not merely a feeling, but also a taste, like fever. He [can] tell Gyan [has] never eaten such food in such a manner and “bitterness [floods] the judge’s mouth” (IL, p. 109).

Gyan is unbearable for him as he seems to remind the judge of his own embarrassment and acute inferiority while eating with English people. He appears to have lost his ability to socialize even over meals and criticizes Gyan for what he himself is but covers with Western garb. Nonetheless, the judge himself feels vulnerable while eating with others. In an Indian setting, it is the judge who is an outsider as he eats “meat chops” in an unusual and non-native manner. He picks up a bit of meat with his fork, “dunks it in the gravy” and piles it on a bit of potato. Then he mashes on a few peas over it and pushes the whole thing into his mouth, “with the fork held in his left hand” (IL 109). When the judge looks “irritably across the chops at Gyan”, the “chops” appear to be a barrier between him and Indian vegetarians (IL 109). He sits removed at the dining table with his prejudice, without any acknowledgement of the food or the people eating with him. Moreover, the stored empty wine bottles (IL 7) seem to

be a personal reminder that he is the one who eats and drinks like Westerners. The meals are laid out on a dining table and eaten with a fork and a knife, yet fail to evoke domestic bliss.

Caught in a colonial past, the judge seems to be out of place and time. He takes bed tea in a country where the native servants call it “baad tea.” Even in a tent on his professional tours, he would keep up pretensions and eat burned toast, “toasted upon the flame,” and spread “marmalade over the burn” (IL 61). His meals are to be served at an accurate clock time and he makes sure to have his dinner in a black dinner jacket with a bow tie even when his posting is in a jungle (IL60). To serve him an English roast, the servant has to follow a strict regime.

Eating “roast bastard” appears to be a test of the judge’s authenticity as is illustrated in the paragraph below.¹² In absolute “mimicry”, he seems to have fallen prey to self-contempt, illustrating that there is no fool like an old fool. He feels as “if he [is] eating himself” no matter how much he tries to shove the unpleasant reality along with the “roast bastard” down his throat. Though he wants to become an absolute master, he surprisingly finds himself again to be a victim. He easily loses control on finding a hair of his Indian wife in the bowl of “cream of mushroom soup”; even more so because it is a strand of Indian dark hair and turns the high seriousness of keeping up appearances into a burlesque (IL172). However, on his return journey from England, he is seen to be sipping “beef tea” and yet, sitting at a distance from the white man (IL 119).

Later, in retired life, the judge could easily have reverted to healthy eating after risking his health and peace of mind in his earlier life. The vegetables that are grown in his garden and which he starts using only in the time of trouble (IL281) should have been his first preference. Instead of fattening chocolate puddings, cheese straws, macaroons and “roast bustard[s]”, the local vegetables would have been a much more healthy and nutritious option for him and something he might have enjoyed in their first freshness. As an Indian, he may have found western food insipid but seems to sacrifice his taste buds in order to continue with his bland taste for everything other than Englishness itself.

On the other hand, in *A House for Mr. Biswas*, the Hanuman House food is used as a means of power and politicized housekeeping. Ellen McWilliams is of the opinion that complex politics underlie food and eating and its representation in literature. She maintains that “feeding is established psychologically as the locus of love, aggression, pleasure, anxiety, frustration and desire for control; precisely, in other words, the ingredients for power relations.”¹³ In the East, food is supposed to bind one’s loyalties to the host and “food refusal (---) is denial of relation”.¹⁴ Biswas does not tend to show any respect for his in-laws’ food as he

may not want to subscribe any loyalty to them, as the principle is that “a man does not eat with his enemy” (Mauss, 1967: 55).¹⁵ After a good fight with his in-laws, he orders Shama, “go and get me a tin of salmon. Canadian. And get some bread and pepper sauce”.¹⁶ He then throws home-cooked rice and lentils out of the window. At “eating sessions” Biswas is ready to “take his revenge on the Tulsis” (MB105). Perhaps he wants to reclaim his autonomy and manhood by spitting into the food that they provide. Power politics seem to underpin his denial of food, as “refusal of food produced and given by others is (---) a refusal to be beholden.”¹⁷ But he does not understand that ultimately he remains “beholden” as a colonial consumer to “Ovaltine” and English supplements.

It is food that seems to cause disputes, and also influences Biswas’s relationship with his wife and in-laws; “‘rice, potatoes all that damn starch’. He [taps] his belly. ‘You want to blow me up?’” (MB135). Biswas considers potatoes and rice as an inferior diet, which is regularly served to him, different from the special “brain-feeding meals, of fish in particular” that is set aside for his brothers-in-law (MB106). The typical everyday food consumed each single day appears to add to his hatred for Hanuman House. He prefers salmon but that is offered “only on Good Friday” (MB142). It is respect rather than some special food which he wants as he knows this is seriously lacking, as he is fed by his in-laws. He may feel starved of self-integrity while gulping down his meals and conveniently starts criticizing the food to make himself appear superior and one with western tastes.

In conservative world, food speaks for class and gender. It has been used to privilege men at the expense of woman’s basic nutrition. In Hanuman House “the best of the food [is] automatically set aside for [the boys] and they [are] given special brain-feeding meals, of fish in particular” (MB106). The daughters are complicit in this house rule, but for Biswas, if not for the other sons-in-law, it is an outright humiliation and something that he cannot bear. This discrimination with food seems to trigger Biswas’s hatred towards his brothers-in-law. The poor man is not able to see that beggars cannot be choosers. He stands colonized by insufficiency of resources and is no different from the “subaltern” spoken of by Spivak.¹⁸ It seems it is the scarcity of food that makes one “subaltern”.

What—and how—we eat, signify different things from table to table and have strong social and symbolic significance. Unsurprisingly, as a colonial subject, Biswas is a lonely eater and does not take joy from eating together with his wife or family. This kind of “self-denial of food and refusal to eat with others represents a severe rupture of connection.”¹⁹ Though he finds the meals from Tara satisfying, notwithstanding, even there, he eats alone. Moreover, eating

seems to serve as a metaphor for the breathing space which has been denied to a colonial subject:

The barrack yard, with its mud, animal droppings and the quick slime on stale puddles, gave him nausea, especially when he was eating fish or Shama's pancakes. He took to eating at the green table in the room, hidden from the front door, his back to the side of window (---) as he ate he read the newspapers on the wall (MB 218).

At the time of eating, Biswas's hatred for colonial surroundings turns to nausea and seems to contaminate his instincts for tradition. His state is so pitiful that he has to read English newspapers to wash down his food and still finds the eating stressful.

Dissatisfaction with food is a trope of Biswas's displacement. Surprisingly, he finds his mother's tea that is "lukewarm, with too little tea, too much milk and a taste of wood-smoke" unwelcoming, especially when she adds, "he needn't drink it" (MB199). The disappointment with his mother's tea is a good reflection of his insecurity and discomfort around identity. However, he enjoys meals at Tara's and Ajodha's house and perhaps, the good meals help him fight his demons of low self-esteem (MB 254). The "unadulterated" dream of his youth was that "when he [becomes] a man it would be possible for him to enjoy everything the way Ajodha did, and he [promises] himself to buy a rocking chair and to drink a glass of hot milk in the evenings" (MB 196). But in adult life, he seems to misunderstand his gut feelings. He misinterprets his needs and starts overfeeding himself imported supplements. His search for western brands reveals his discontented soul more than his poor health. He keeps on mixing and drinking "Sanatogen", "tablespoonfuls of Ferrol and in the evenings, glasses of Ovaltine" (MB 315) instead of grabbing "a hot glass of (fresh) milk" which would have satisfied his dreams, nourished his body more economically as well as soothed his nerves.

Biswas's under-nourished body corresponds to his colonial self-image. Malnutrition has given Biswas "the shallowest of chests, the thinnest of limbs; it [has] stunted his growth and [has given] him a soft rising belly" (MB 18). He may also find it difficult to deal with the collective memory of an under-fed slave, especially with the Caribbean history of indentured labour. His weak body, "soft calves" (142) and his overall health remain his main concern. He used to read out an American column *That Body of Yours* to Ajodha which "[deals] every day with a different danger to the human body." Though he wants to break with the Trinidadian food stereotypes and poor standards of living, he overlooks the

secret of Ajodha's health and contentment. Though "Ajodha [listens] with gravity, concern, alarm" (MB 48) to the informative column, he keeps himself fit through a regular intake of fresh milk and good home-made meals. Contrarily, Biswas relies on popular brands of food supplements and drinks. Nonetheless, reading from *That Body of Yours* is a privilege for him, as his community in general cannot afford health concerns. It is possible that this is where he has picked up his anxiety about his physical condition.

As the most potent voice of identity, a colonial subject may find his actual cravings difficult to suppress or deal with. Biswas hates fish as it is a Trinidadian product, but then he is not able to substitute it with something that he likes. His occasional experimentation with food is neither acceptable to his stomach nor to his soul (MB 144) as "one's stomach is one's ancestor--- it rumbles like a lion, refusing to be ignored."²⁰ His failures and estrangements might be demonstrated in his chaotic way of eating and in the way his stomach reacts. Once he rebelled from rice and curry but was still not sure what else could be palatable. First, he ate oysters from a shop but "the raw, fresh smell of oysters was now upsetting him. His stomach was full and heavy, but unsatisfied. The pepper sauce had blistered his lips. Then the pains began" (MB 143). Next, he stuffed "salmon" and "shop bread" into a full "distressed" stomach.²¹ In his fight against everything that is local, he keeps harming himself.

The frustration which is usually felt by Biswas after experimental "secret eating" is perhaps, caused due to the lack of self-knowledge. It is quite probable that an over-fed western identity turns Biswas's stomach more than anything else. His colonial aspirations conflict with the needs of his body and cause him mental and physical "distress". In his case, "food as an access point creates an awareness of the estranged position [he finds himself] in and the incompleteness of [his] cultural memory. Instead of feeding a hunger [for identity], it exposes a void."²² The eating disorders seem to project Biswas's colonial ambivalence and insecurity as "psychological disorders are expressed through eating."²³ It is possible that he suffers from food anxiety symptomized by severe stomach pains, nausea and "diminished appetite" of which he suffers (MB 154). His food anxiety seems related to his emotional detachment, un-relatedness, dependency and feelings of worthlessness situating identity-loss as a multi-determined disorder.²⁴

To stomach the foreign, stuffed-in identity may have been daunting and regardless of what he forces into his body, he continues to feel empty and dissatisfied. For adopting newer food habits, Biswas needs ascetic measures and not the duplicity of diasporic practices. Regardless of his anger and frustration, his body is comfortable with the simple, home-cooked food of Hanuman House while the restaurant food simply upsets his stomach. It seems pointless for him to

stuff the secret hole in his identity with stale “shop bread”. He may also find some liberation in food, as it offers him quite a few choices in contrast to the limited prospects of living on a far-off island. He tends to use food as an escape from his oppressive diasporic life, but is left feeling sick and guilty.

In his preference for English supplements and medicines, Biswas chases colonial myths without deriving any benefit from them. Through “Ovaltine”, Biswas wants to secure a better future for his children than that of other Trinidadians. It is thoughtless of him to buy Ovaltine to improve his children’s minds when he cannot otherwise nourish his family. He has told his children “to keep the milk and the prunes secret, lest Owad [their cousin] should hear of it and laugh at them for their presumptuousness” (MB 378). Perhaps, he wants to cure the troubling sense of ancestral inferiority by injecting English supplements into a new generation. When Shama tells him that her family believes that fish brains are good for the human brain, he bursts out that “[her] family just eat too much damn fish brains” (MB 193). He hates fish and condensed milk, which is served to children in Hanuman House. For him it is only English brands which promise health and good mental performance. He appears to be under the impression that it is food that has made the colonizer intellectually superior to him. It may have been a thorough internalization of how the ex-colonized has always been seen by the Other.²⁵ However, the depraved subject must start trusting his own circumstances and not to confuse indigenous value with Western brands and labels. Respecting the local food may be the first step towards gaining self-esteem.

II

In relation to Sai in *The Inheritance of Loss*, food may be acknowledged as a metaphor for class differences and prejudices that replicate colonial order. Her western food habits seem to have ruined her chance to find love. She is also a foreigner in her own country as she can’t follow traditional cooking nor indigenous customs of serving guests. As the robbers demand a drink, Sai with shaking hands, “stews tea in a pan and strains it” and has no idea how to make the local tea, as she can only brew English tea (IL 6). In the convent, she is introduced to a new religion through food and is led to see that “cake [is] better than *laddoos*, fork spoon knife better than hands, sipping the blood of Christ and consuming a wafer of his body was more civilized than garlanding a phallic symbol with marigolds” (IL 30). The cook intuitively knows what Sai might prefer to eat and he welcomes her with a mashed potato car on her arrival, a skill that has come down to him from his ancestors who served the British, and which he still finds useful to satisfy his westernized masters.

Eating habits are important for Sai's family to mark out their difference from locals. Sai is proudly raised by her grandfather on his principles. The judge who "[eats] even his chapattis, his puris and *parathas*, with knife and fork [insists] that Sai in his presence, does the same" (IL 176). Perhaps, the upper middle class deem themselves superior to the poor while they eat with "knife and fork" and not with their hands. Gyan finds Sai's identity— "she who [cannot] not eat with her hands"—daunting once he pulls himself away from her. Their relationship was possibly destined to fail as they could not eat together, no matter how close they had been. While "eating together they [have] always felt embarrassed ---- he, unsettled by her finickiness and her curbed enjoyment, and, she, revolted by his energy and his fingers working the dal, his slurps and smacks" (IL 176). Even for a so-called nationalist, her food habits are equivalent to betrayal. It may be seen as treacherous for Gyan that she "never chewed a *paan* and [has] not tried most sweets in the *mithaishop*, for they [make] her retch. . . [feels] happier with so-called English vegetables, snap peas, French beans, spring onions and feared—*feared*—*loki*, *tinda*, *kathal*, *kaddu*, *patrel*, and the local *saag* in the market" (IL 176).

It is difficult for Gyan to understand that Sai is not westernized by choice but is born into an educated family, under the command of a Cambridge qualified grandfather. When Gyan calls her "*Kishmish*", she calls him "*Kaju*" in their exchange of nick names and does not use any western salutations such as "sweetheart" or "darling" or "love" for him (IL 140). However, the contrasting food preferences remain an issue. He is ashamed of the English snacks that he has eaten in her company once he has joined a nationalist group. For him the memory is quite embarrassing, as now "it [is] a masculine atmosphere and Gyan [feels] a moment of shame remembering his tea parties with Sai on the veranda, the cheese toast, queen cakes from the baker" (IL 161). Nonetheless, Sai is ostracized for the food she has generously and courteously offered to him as her tutor and as her guest.

Neither Lola nor Noni are aware of the costs and consequences of what they eat. They try to act as bohemians but in essence their English supplies are a display of colonial hunger. Lola exaggeratedly describes English "strawberries and cream" after her recent visit to England (IL 46). Even Noni finds her exultations and exhortations ridiculous and tells her plainly that she can get strawberries and cream in her hometown too. It seems that for them it is food that keeps them under the illusion that they are superior to the deprived masses. They make sure not to run out of the imported food stuffs they need for their dining table. Perhaps, a hoax is sustained by showcasing an empty "jam jar on the sideboard" in the dining room that says "by appointment to Her Majesty the queen" inscribed "in gold under a coat of arms" along with "a crowned lion and a

unicorn” (IL 44). To look after the English “broccoli patch” and make pear stew and wine in their house seems to be their main preoccupation while they keep bringing over “Marmite”, “Oxo bouillon cubes”, “Knorr soup packets” and “After Eights” in their suitcases probably, more to feast their colonial hunger rather than for the taste (IL 46). They watch English TV programmes that show “gentlemen” whose faces look like “moist, contented hams” (IL 45) in order to make themselves imagine sharing their contentment and plenitude against an air of social and political unrest, in which in reality, they had to breathe. Importing “seeds” to grow “the country’s only broccoli” (IL 44) is symbolic of their efforts to preserve English heritage and to overlook their own roots. Their food indulgences have made a spectacle of their lifestyle and exposed them to many a threat in “a rice and dal country.”²⁶ It is the poignant smell of mutton being cooked that attracts the starving nationalists to climb through their kitchen window. The sight of “intestinal-looking Essex Farm sausages, frozen salami with a furze of permafrost melting away” is irresistible to the rebel fighters and they forcibly start eating to their heart’s content in the kitchen (IL 238, 239). The sisters are made to pay for their food extravagances. Even the judge has to pay a price for keeping a dining table at the centre of his house, and is ordered by the robbers to “prepare the table” for them with his own hands (IL 6). The disadvantaged ones appear to feel avenged to some degree by eating at the dining table in a westernized home. However, when there is the temptation of good food, identity or any other cause may be easily thrown away.

The sisters know that “chicken tikka masala” is gaining popularity over fish and chips in Britain (IL 46) but still fail to enjoy their own food. They do not seem to understand that spicy food is in greater demand in the markets of Europe and trans-Atlantic countries. Vegetarian and halal food needs are difficult to ignore by businesses competing in the international food market. A newly evolved spicy and vegetarian food culture is in return “handicapping” the western market. It seems that the “civilizing mission”²⁷ that Ashish Nandy once referred to, has started to take its toll on the colonizer. “Chicken masala”, “chicken tandoori”, “kebabs” and “doners” seem to be on restaurant menus as well as on the shelves of the supermarkets across the Western world. Krishnendu Ray observes that “the local and provincial penetrates the global and reconstitutes the latter. It brings the Orient home and in the process, disorients the Occident. It is not a very assertive reorientation yet, but a slow, seeping corruption of Anglo-Saxon conceptions of the world.”²⁸ However, a colonial subject still feels displaced in the realm of food.

With his acquired eating habits, he may neither enjoy his own food in its purity nor the Western burgers and pizzas. He remains unfulfilled after replacing homemade food with the fast food in search for westernization and modernity.

But to follow the English food culture is an anachronism in itself, as the West has taken to spicy food and curry. Therefore, it seems that the colonial food habits of Lola, Noni, Sai and the judge instead of modernizing them, have pushed them back into past. Their blunted tastes make them stand out as living archives. Even Biswas seems unaware of the new trends in food industry across the western world. He listens to what his colonized self-dictates him, not to his inner voice and therefore never comes home.

Notes

¹This paper is from my unpublished PhD work I completed under the supervision of Dr. Shazia Sadaf, and submitted to the University of Peshawar.

²Roland Barthes, "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption", *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Carole M. Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (eds.) (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 26

³Ya-Hi Irenna Chang, "Food Consumption and the Troubled Self in Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*, Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*, and Louise Erdrich's *Love Medicine*", *How What You Eat Defines Who You Are: The Food Theme in Four American Writers* (UK: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), p. 11.

⁴Ibid.p. 12.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Warren Belasco, "Identity: Are we what we eat", *Food: The Key Concepts* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008), p. 34.

⁷He "[picks] up the package, [flees] to the deck, and [throws] it overboard. [Doesn't] his mother think of the inappropriateness of her gesture? Undignified love, Indian love, stinking love, unaesthetic love----- the masters of the ocean could have what she [has] so bravely packed getting upon that predawn mush" (IL, p. 38).

⁸"Fed he was, to surfeit. Each day, he was given a tumbler of fresh milk sequined with golden fat. His mother held the tumbler to his lips, lowering it only when empty, so he reemerged like a whale from the sea, heaving for breath. Stomach full of cream, mind full of study" (IL, p. 58).

⁹Kiran Desai, *The Inheritance of Loss* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 59. All further references will be abbreviated to IL and will be cited in the text.

¹⁰"After a spate of nights lying awake listening to the borborygms of his half-empty stomach, thinking tearfully of his family in Piphit who thought him as worthy of a hot dinner as the queen of England, Jemubhai worked up the courage to ask for a proper evening meal" (IL, p. 39).

¹¹Malar Ghandi, "Tea & Biscuits---Colonial Hangover"; Ghandi suggests that tea and biscuits are a colonial legacy. Retrieved from <http://kitchentantras.com/tea-biscuits/> accessed on 17 November, 2014.

¹²"8:00: the cook saved his reputation, cooked a chicken, brought it forth and kept eating feeling as if he were eating himself, since he, too, was (was he?) part of the fun" (IL, p. 63).

¹³Ellen McWilliams, "Margaret Atwood's Canadian Hunger Artist: Postcolonial Appetites in *The Edible Woman*", *Kunapipi: Journal of Postcolonial Writing & Culture*, Vol. 28, No. 2. (2006), p. 68.

¹⁴Carole M. Counihan, "An Anthropological view of Western Women's Prodigious Fasting: A Review Essay", *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*, Carole M. Counihan and Steven L. Kaplan (eds.) (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 114.

¹⁵Carole M. Counihan, "Bread as World: Food Habits and Social Relations in Modernizing Sardinia", *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Carole M. Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (eds.) (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 291.

¹⁶V. S. Naipaul, *A House for Mr Biswas* (London: Picador, 2003), p. 141. All further references will be abbreviated to MB and will be parenthetically incorporated within the text.

¹⁷Counihan, "An Anthropological view of Western Women's Prodigious Fasting: A Review Essay", *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*, p. 113.

¹⁸Spivak says: "but one must nevertheless insist that the colonized subaltern *subject* is irretrievably heterogeneous" (26). The description of Spivak's subaltern seems to take all into its fold. The postcolonized subject does not have the resources to stand up for himself and this commonality is shared by all subalterns despite their heterogeneous backgrounds. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak", *The Postcolonial Studies Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁹Counihan, "An Anthropological View of Western Women's Prodigious

²⁰Dr Asha Choubey, "Food as metaphor in Jhumpa Lahiri's Interpreter of Maladies", *The Literature and Culture of the Indian Subcontinent (South Asia) in the Postcolonial Web*: Retrieved from <http://www.Postcolonialweb.org/india/literature/lahiri/choubey1.html> Accessed on 26-6-2014.

²¹"Mr. Biswas bought a tin of salmon and two loaves of bread. The bread looked and smelled stale. He knew that in his present state bread would only bring on nausea, but it gave him some satisfaction that he was breaking one of the Tulsi taboos by eating shop bread, a habit they considered reckless, negroid and unclean. The salmon repelled him; he thought it tasted of tin; he felt compelled to eat to the end. And as he ate, his distress increased. Secret eating never did him any good" (MB, p. 144).

²²Belasco, "Identity: Are We What We Eat?" p. 32, 33.

²³Counihan, "An Anthropological View of Western Women's Prodigious Fasting: A Review Essay", *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*, p. 117.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Said has committed himself to a close study of how the self-image of the colonial subject is reflected by western representations; "The European is a close reasoner; his statements of fact are devoid of any ambiguity; he is a natural logician, albeit he may not have studied logic; he is by nature skeptical and

requires proof before he can accept the truth of any proposition; his trained intelligence works like a piece of mechanism. The mind of the Oriental, on the other hand, like his picturesque streets, is eminently wanting in symmetry. His reasoning is the most slipshod description. Although the ancient Arabs acquired in a somewhat higher degree the science of dialectics, their descendants are singularly deficient in the logical faculty. They are often incapable of drawing the most obvious conclusions from any simple premises of which they may admit the truth. Endeavor to elicit a plain statement of facts from any ordinary Egyptian. His explanation will generally be lengthy, and wanting in lucidity. He will probably contradict himself half-a-dozen times before he has finished his story. He will often break down under the mildest process of cross-examination. Orientals or Arabs are thereafter shown to be gullible, “devoid of energy and initiative,” much given to “fulsome flattery,” intrigue, cunning, and unkindness to animals; Orientals cannot walk on either a road or a pavement (their disordered minds fail to understand what the clever European grasps immediately, that roads and pavements are made for walking); Orientals are inveterate liars, they are “lethargic and suspicious,” and in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the Anglo-Saxon race” (See Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.38). I think that this image of weakness has been internalized by the subject and lives on in the colonial collective memory.

²⁶“It *did* matter, buying tinned ham roll in a rice and dal country; it *did* matter to live in a big house and sit beside a heater in the evening, even one that sparked and shocked; it *did* matter to fly to London and return with chocolates filled with kirsch; it did matter that others could not” (IL, p. 242).

²⁷“Colonialism minus a civilizational mission is no colonialism at all. It handicaps the colonizer much more than it handicaps the colonized” (Nandy, “The Psychology of Colonialism”, p. 11). In the domain of food, it is possible that the civilizing mission has started to take its toll.

²⁸Krishnendu Ray, “Introduction”, *The Migrant’s Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), p. 6.

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An Alchemical Exposition of “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner”¹

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Abstract

In its essence, alchemy strives to arrive at a harmonious synthesis of the contending opposites. The maxim “Dissolve and coagulate” encompasses in its precision not only Jung’s extensive alchemical deliberations but also Coleridge’s theoretical formulations on “Imagination.” A conceptual belief in life’s struggle towards unification and coherence is seen in Jung and Coleridge both as the outcome of an intense struggle of conflicting and contending mental and psychological processes in the background. The chaos of contending tendencies, followed by an analysis in isolation of these opposing forces, and a final resolution into harmony is what alchemy proceeds with. This paper is an analysis of how these opposing and conflicting tendencies, psychologically and alchemically, are resulting in a wholeness through the symbolic cluster of “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner”.

Keywords: Alchemy; Jung; Coleridge; “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner”

The archetypal pattern of “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” [*Rime*] is also alchemical. Alchemy and psychology are inter-related in a mysterious manner which Haven describes in the following words while referring to Boehme’s concept of both:

Boehme could find in alchemy both a confirmation of his mystical vision and a language for it precisely because alchemy was in part a transformation of psychological facts into objective facts of nature, and therefore, made it appear that nature revealed the 'spiritual' truths which the mystic found in his own 'imaginative' experience (182).

The gold residue of alchemy is the equivalent of psychic individuation. Toor, while quoting from Jung, further glosses over the idea in these words: “The symbolic gold of great worth, or the transforming philosopher’s stone ‘lapis philosophorum’ hunted for centuries by the alchemists—is to be found in man.... It is the heart which is transmuted into the finest gold” (86). In his life-long concern with the synthesis of polarities Coleridge is, in his literary and philosophical backgrounds, indebted to numerous philosophers and mystics of antiquity. Lefebure mentions the names of Boehme and Bruno that moulded his mind towards “polar logic and dynamic philosophy”; and that the *Rime* is an endeavour in the direction of that dynamic to sort out and synthesize these

polarities of thought and feeling. The analysis of the poem has been conducted, according to Lefebure, on two levels i.e. on one level it is intellectual and spiritual (alchemy married to Christian piety), and on the other it is the psychological probing into “personality disturbances.” Jung’s theoretical and hypothetical findings about the polarity of psyche and the energy released during the process are confirmatory of Coleridge’s philosophical speculations (12-13). As an instance of the argument of polarities brought to harmony, the Mariner’s voyaging between the opposite Polar Regions and subsequent entering the malignancy of Pacific is symbolic reading of the Mariner’s psychic and moral dilemmas and their alchemical resolution. From the story of the *Rime* it appears that the Mariner, while reaching the equator, has attained a mature stage of life. His normal assessment of his circumstances is challenged by some curious unknown phenomena. Like the alchemist, he is in search of an elixir to remedy the conflicting maladies of his inner and outer worlds. This search is symbolic, a journeying through the inner world of the psyche:

The individuation process is sometimes described as a psychological journey; it can be a tortuous and slippery path, and can at times simply seem to lead around in circles.... In this journey the traveler must first meet with his shadow, and learn to live with this formidable and often terrifying aspect of himself: there is no wholeness without a recognition of the opposites (Fordham np).

In the process, while facing the archetypes, the subject may succumb to temptations and wrongfully satisfy himself with the whims of a demigod or deity—subjective denominations that have frequently manifested in the biggest tragedies of our times in the form of Napoleon, Hitler, or Mussolini:

Although everything is experienced in image form, i.e., symbolically, it is by no means a question of fictitious dangers but of very real risks upon which the fate of a whole life may depend. The chief danger is that of succumbing to the fascinating influence of the archetypes. If we do, we may come to a standstill either in a symbolic situation or in identification with an archetypal personality (Jung 1940: 90).

Archetypically, mythically, and symbolically, man is confronted by the Albatross (the Arabian phoenix, or Icelandic Vuoko)², putrefied ship, slimy sea, specter-bark with its skeletal occupants—such a psychic condition Jung calls as “the *massa confusa*, the chaos or *nigredo* [blackness]”³—all pushing him towards his centre of gravity that would provide him a partial, if not complete, vision of the Self. An Individuated Self, reaching to a certain point of perfection (the truth of wisdom), possesses the knowledge to unravel the mysteries of human life and

divine a means of their solution. Such a crusade remains timeless as he is to share with all a tale of new awareness and knowledge of unprecedented truths. The Mariner shares his tale of agony and woe at a wedding feast believing that the celebration of love and joy is eternally beset with pain, loneliness, and separation. It is within the ambit of these dualities that a self emerges encompassing everything that is human. The journey of the Mariner towards the center of his becoming into being is strenuous and strewn with painful realizations that successively un-riddle the surrounding mysteries. Paraphrasing from Jung, the transformative process proceeds in some such manner: after the shooting of the bird, the Mariner is in condition of the *massa confusa*, i.e. "the chaos or *nigredo* [blackness]." In this elemental mayhem, Mercurius (as "Nous": consciousness, man's transcendental wisdom, also called as the Old Wise Man) acts as "the *prima materia*, the transforming substance."

Then is followed the stage of illumination of the dark aspects (unconscious) through a unification of the "opposites." This means bringing together the inherent dichotomies of the psyche into wholeness. After settling down of the impurities, purity results into what alchemically is called "*albedo* (whitening)" manifested symbolically into the "sunrise" or the "full moon." This refinement of the defiled "body"⁴ through alchemical fire, results into the feminine aspect ("anima") called "sponsa (bride)", variously symbolized as silver or the moon (Jung 1977: 448). This alchemical as well as psychic action is mythologically represented in a fight with the dragon; opposites are consummated in the symbols of the moon with the sun, the silver with the gold, and the female with the male. Jung further explains the process in the following words:

The development of the *prima materia* up to the *rubedo* ...depicts the conscious realization (*illuminatio*) of an unconscious state of conflict. During this process, the scum (*terra damnata*) which cannot be improved must be thrown out. The white substance is compared to the corpus glorificationis, and another parallel is the ecclesia. The feminine character of the *lapis albus* corresponds to that of the unconscious, symbolized by the moon (Marie-Louise 256, 268).

The conscious/unconscious resolution increases the capacity of the conscious ego by breaking its barriers of narrow individuality. This process of psychic assimilation is essentially therapeutic as repressed incompatibilities are sorted out and made conscious. This is called transference⁵ as the repressed unconscious components are transferred or projected on the "other" who could be the listener of the story (considering the *Rime*) or the analyst in therapeutic processes in addition to so many other possibilities. This cathartic process, like that of the tragedy, relieves the experiencing subject of paranoiac and psychotic

complexities resulting from an overwhelming “shadow.” In alchemy this is accomplished by an adept woman who plays the role of the *soror mystica*⁶ (the mystical sister; see also anima). The *coniunctio* (the mixing together of different elements in the alchemist vas) produces the lapis philosophorum [philosopher's stone], the central symbol of alchemy. Jung winds up his argument by saying,

The symbolism of the lapis corresponds to the mandala (circle) symbols in dreams etc., which represent wholeness and order and therefore express the personality that has been altered by the integration of the unconscious. The alchemical opus portrays the process of individuation but in a projected form because the alchemists were unconscious of this psychic process (Jung 1968: 119).

Toor explains the alchemical process with the acronym V.I.T.R.I.O.L. whose English equivalent is “Go down into the bowels of the Earth, by Distillation you will find the Stone for the Work.” It is the purification of the base metal (the Mariner’s shadowy self) through the processes of disintegration and fusion (the Mariner’s psychic collapse shown through projections into the outer faces of nature). She relates the process to the Coleridgean concept of the secondary imagination and to Jung’s methods of the unconscious to alchemy. For Coleridge the secondary imagination “dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to re-create”. Jung also sees a connection between the alchemical process and dreams; the dreamer when gets down into the unconscious comes across the “Ego” and “Shadow”; both these are related to the “Primal and Shadow” in alchemical language. For Jung ego is the conscious and waking part of the psyche which constructs the world according to its own level of understanding.

The dreaming part of the psyche is the Shadow which is made up of all those contents that are rejected, disowned, or denied recognition by the Ego owing to their incompatibility in the conscious world. But Jung insists upon the fact that the Shadow is compelling for the dreamer due to its compensatory quality and compensates the dreamer in his/her identity formation. All this process is like the base elements of the alchemy which later on seeks a synthesis or alchemical fusion in the dreamer’s mind (Toor 86). Following in the alchemical tradition, Lefebure analyzes the opposing tendencies of the *Rime*’s symbols followed by their progressive coagulation into harmony. According to her analyses the ocean is *prima materia*, i.e., the psychological equivalent of unconscious from where every psychological possibility can take shape. It is equated with the original chaos, and alternatively as a regenerative process of all possibilities. The Sun (Sol) rules over the skies and is the source of light and energy; exercises its influence over creation everywhere in the universe. Its influences are both divine and evil (malignant and benign; the alternative influences of the sun can be seen

in the action of the *Rime* before and after the fatal act of shooting). The moon (Luna) is feminine by mythological representation; is the counterpart and marriage partner of the sun; is changeable and multi-faceted in comparison to the sun's wisdom, incorruptibility, dependability and manliness (14-15). The initial grandeur of the sun is shown in the smooth journey of the mariners; but then its obverse can be seen in descriptions like the one below:

And straight the Sun was flecked with bars,
(Heaven's Mother send us grace!)
As if through a dungeon-grate he peered,
With broad and burning face⁷.

Though the moon is symbolic of the imaginative vastness and feminine eros, its malignant influences are equally observable in the *Rime* in the following manner:

Till clombe above the eastern bar
The hornéd Moon, with one bright star
Within the nether tip (206-8).

Both these descriptions of the sun and moon are associated with the spectre-bark whose occupants are none else but the disintegrated anima and animus. However, their final peaceful resolution is seen in the benign and soothing imagery of the moon which is an aspect of the sun as moonshine is nothing else but a reflection of the sun light. The moon, when it stays in the evil dominated sublunary region, personifies mystery or sorcery; casts her full radiance on the earth and keeps her darkest face in the background. Symbolically, the moon's relation to the sun likewise increases and decreases man's transcendental intelligibility; that reposing our trust in the knowledge of the senses (when man is in the lunar influence) decreases our apprehension of the things that lie beyond the senses. The ebb and flow of these dynamics can be seen in the narrative proceedings of the *Rime* where the sun-moon interactions are consecutively explicit. In her different stages and appearances, the moon signifies different meanings, as alchemy puts it. In this regard, Lefebure's commentary on the point can be rephrased as follows: the full moon is "divine and benevolent" but adversely dangerous and ominous in its "new or horned appearance." Again, it is associated with magic and dark magic when in eclipse; emblematically, the church associates it with death and seduction in the guise of woman. She is ambivalently different; has countless names, different guises, and myriad manifestations; "she is Ka (the bird spirit); Isis (the black one; as the elixir of life; Coleridge's use of the word *elixir* with reference to the Black Drop of opium); she is mother of all things; Mater Alchima (source of wisdom), an old woman and whore, Mary Queen (mother of the Saviour), the earth and the serpent in it,

blackness, dew and the miraculous water” (15). The following lines from the *Rime*, explicitly point to the fine symbolic shades of meaning noted by Lefebure: “The moving Moon went up the sky, /And nowhere did abide:/Softly she was going up/And a star or two beside—” (263-66). The Albatross is more than ordinary. It is the “magic bird” sharing the characteristics of Icelandic Vuoko (of the Polar Regions and mysteriously coming out of the fog) and Arabian Phoenix (probably the mystery surrounding, like the Albatross, its survival in the uninhibited deserts and sudden appearances at moments too decisive and crucial). Supporting the points of resemblances Lefebure quotes Jung in referring to the overlapping of mythological figures with the archetypes; that these eternal figures of the collective racial history of man slip into human consciousness inadvertently and spontaneously.

It is only a difference of name or symbolic, cultural representation that may create a temporary confusion of Vuoko and Phoenix, otherwise the basic archetypal pattern remains the same; what the immortal bird signifies in alchemy or mythology or psychology remains the same. An inter-relationship is now drawn among these archetypes or mythological figures to arrive at their meaning in the body structure of the narrative. Like the immortal bird spirit, the moon (Luna) is also indestructible; at the same time, she is also the sea (its tide, and salt). A complicated connection is sorted out to combine salt (Sal, sea-spume) with Luna as bird, all converging upon the gist and spirit of alchemy i.e. “the philosopher’s stone.” Salt is a volatile substance and hence spirit in alchemy; but it is also lunar i.e. bright and shining like the Albatross as a mysterious sea spirit coming out of the “shimmering white sea fog.” Though seemingly farfetched, these analogies are ingeniously bringing together, on an intelligible level, the otherwise baffling cluster of images and symbols (Lefebure 16). The friendliness of the albatross is proved from alchemical tenets and Lefebure takes pains to quote sources that refer to beliefs that certain bird spirits (phoenix, for example) are sharing in the spirit of Sol (sun) and Luna (moon). The two celestial bodies are constantly influencing and participating in human lives first benignly and afterwards malignantly, when some violation of the limits occurs. This we see in the Mariner’s journey at different stages. The case may be like that of the spirit and the body. A body with a dead spirit could be in a state of rotting, pestering and stagnation.⁸ Unless and until the base matter is infused with the philosopher’s stone (golden mean) it will not transform into gold (spiritual exhilaration). Contrary to the sailors’ accusation of the act of killing the bird, something happens that changes the mind and perception of them all. This is typical of the difference in the perception of phenomena and noumena.⁹

A popular approval can never legalize a sinful act; it is like supplementing a soulless body with unnatural concomitants; but it won’t survive for long. It

meets its natural demise in its due course of time. And so symbolically approaching the Equator, which symbolically is the most dangerous place alchemystically, the signs of internal and external abasement and debasement become visible. The sun becomes evil (sulphurous); its glory and benignity are transformed into extraordinary heat and malignancy; but this failing of perception is on part of the perceiver whose active perception has been deadened by a withdrawal from the synthesizing and transforming processes of “becoming.” He gets stuck into the static persona of “being” that can hardly accrue him the magical touch of the philosopher’s stone. The precipitating moment for the Mariner, in which conflicting oddities settle down to resolution, is a unification of thinking and feeling, of heart and head.¹⁰ This new synthesis gathers into one symbiosis of all human potentialities to negotiate with the part-whole crises. What the Mariner faces in the wake of his intellectual progress (symbolized by sun) is the inability to awaken an emotional response to a set of values and moments of existence that will not settle into the crucible of reason. He will have to bring himself to that level of the Quest¹¹ where it is a tracing back to the sources of primitive innocence and emotional freedom. These unalloyed attributes act upon man’s dry soul like the Mariner’s regenerative showers that wash down the dust from his heart (Vlasopolos 366).

Notes

¹This is a revised and altered version of my unpublished PhD work I submitted to the University of Peshawar. I completed the work under the supervision of Nasir Jamal Khattak.

² For details, see Lefebure p. 16.

³ For details, see Jung (1983) p. 232.

⁴ Called by W. B. Yeats 'the fury and mire of human veins' in the “Byzantium,” *The Winding Stair and Other Poems*, W. B. Yeats, The Collected Poems, (London, 1950), p.280.

⁵ For further details, see Samuels et al, 18-20.

⁶ For the two italicized words, see Samuels et al, 14.

⁷ *Coleridge’s Poetry & Prose*, eds. Nicholas Halmi, Paul Magnuson, and Raimonda Modiano (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), lines, 177-80. All subsequent references are to this edition and are parenthetically indicated in the text of this work by line numbers.

⁸ The albatross hung around the neck of the Mariner.

⁹ See Richard D. Chessick, “The Problematical Self in Kant and Kohut,”

¹⁰ On the differentiation of the two see Wilmer 158-9.

¹¹ For a complete discussion on the subject of “Quest” see Linda Forge Mellon 934-944.

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Can Working Capital Cycle or Cash Conversion Cycle be Factored in Economic Performance of Pakistani Corporate Firms?

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Abstract

This study works to examine the working capital factors that may enhance economic performance of corporate firms in Pakistan. This performance is measured by sales and accounts payable in days, accounts receivable in days, inventory turnover in days and cash conversion cycle represents working capital. The study is conducted on 64 non-financial firms listed on Karachi stock Exchange for a period of 12 years, from 2003 to 2014. Account receivables and payables along with cash conversion cycle have significant positive relationship with performance of firms. Inventory turnover has a significant negative relationship with sales. The result of this study shows that the role of managing working capital is vital for firms. If account receivable in days and accounts payable in days are increased, it will lead to increased sales of the firms. The study shows that if management can master the art of efficiently managing the working capital and keep it at optimum level, they will enhance the economic performance of the firm.

Keywords: Working Capital Cycle; Cash Conversion Cycle; Economic performance

Introduction

The role of working capital management (WCM) is vital in the field of corporate finance. If WCM is not tackled with the needed consideration, it will push the firm towards insolvency and even bankruptcy. As discussed in the literature review that the findings of earlier researches vary, and the variation is brought by changes in time or the place where the study is conducted. Looking at this situation it may not be possible to say anything about the results of the study, but we can expect that WCM will affect performance of firms’.

The study will be beneficial for both academic as well as practical use. This study covers all the firms for a period of 12 years from 2003 to 2014. This study can be more widened by using more current data or using other companies as sample. Managers can use it for analyzing their current way to managing WCM and change it accordingly this may increase performance of their firm. The paper

comprises of five sections, Section-1 covers the Introduction, Section-2 is the Literature Review, Section-3 is Methodolgy and Section-4 outlines the stock of data analysis. Section-5 summarizes the conclusions.

Literature Review

There is ample literature on how firms manage the daily operations of a firm. Several authors have explored the multiple dimensions of firms in this regard. These dimensions include the internal and external factors that affect the economic performance of firms. In a very recent study by Cetenak, Vural and Sokmen (2017) an attempt is made to look beyond internal factors that determine working capital for business firms. This study took data from 14 emerging markets and reported that at industry-country level there is a positive relation between working capital and HHI index (used for competition), exchange rate, rule of law, and Lerner Index.

Pais and Gama (2015) find in their study for Portuguese firms that business firms earn better economic profits if they pay their commercial liabilities a little longer and receive their cash receivables earlier. Yazdanfar and Ohman (2014) studied that how cash conversion cycle affects economic performance of Swedish firms and found that cash conversion has a significant impact on business profits. Similar findings are reported by the study of Iqbal, Ahmad and Riaz (2014) which was conducted for listed Pakistani business firms. Napompech (2012) reports after analyzing data for Thai listed firms that in addition to the measures of working capital, industry characteristics also have an impact on the gross profits of firms. There are numerous studies that build relationships between economic performance and measures of working capital.

Alipour (2011) after analyzing data for Iranian firms asserts that cash conversion cycle is the most important efficiency measure for working capital. This study finds that if firms get their receivables longer, they are less profitable and if they convert their inventories faster their economic performance is going to be better than their competition. The study also finds that if firms improve their cash conversion cycle, they will be well-off in terms of profits. Similar findings are reported by other researchers like the finding of an inverse relation between cost of financing and cash conversion cycle of companies with higher leverage, more potential industry by Baños- Caballero et al. (2010) shows the affiliation of WCM and profitability and this study was moderately in consistence with earlier studies about the need of working capital across different industries. It was also found that longer CCC is maintained by older firms and firms having greater cash flow, where as highly leveraged with more opportunity for growth and return on assets preserve more aggressive policies of working capital, and this recommends that cost of supporting has an adverse effect on firm's cash conversion cycle.

Furthermore, investment in capital may increase if access to capital markets is easy.

Mathuva (2010) conducted a study for Kenyan firms and found that firms who pay their payables longer, receive their receivables earlier and have significant inventory for production are more profitable than firms who does not have the stated strategy. The study performed by Dong and Su (2010) uncovers the link between WCM with liquidity. The study was carried out on firms listed on Vietnam Stock Exchange. The study upholds the previous work that shows a significant negative relation between profitability of a firm and efficient WCM. It is also in line with the findings of Lazaridis and Tryfonidis (2006), which show the positive affiliation between the of disbursement of accounts due and profitability, an adverse relationship of profit in gross form with accounts receivables and inventory turnover days indicate that the management can enhance its company worth for their stock holders by adjusting the value of these variables to an optimum level. The research also shows that firms with high profitability wait longer for payment to their creditors. Baños- Caballero et al. (2012) studied SME's operating in Spain. They explained that SME's are more dependent on short-term debt as compared to long term debt and usually their assets are short-term, so the need for short term capital is higher. This study shows a negative relationship between the performances of firms in the sample and WCM, but accounts payable days' effect on ROTA was not conformed. Mehmet and Eda (2009) conducted their study on WCM in relation to size of the firm and the industry it is operating in.

Zariyawati et al. (2009) considered Malaysian firms for the study and ended up with a substantial opposite association between the business performance measured by profits of a firm and cash cycle. It was described that profitability can be achieved with a tradeoff between liquidity and profitability as better level of working capital can be only achieved with such a tradeoff. Falope and Ajilore (2009) explored the association between the WCM and profitability by studying a panel data of Nigerian firms. In the study profitability is indicated by the net operating profit and is taken as a profitability and ardays, invdays, apdays and ccc are used as proxy for WCM. The study found an increasing trend in the working capital of firms because of the reason that investment in short-term financing is large in this economy and this makes this result in conformation to the earlier studies of Deloof (2003) and Eljelly (2004) and other about the relationship.

The study of Raheman and Nasr (2007) has explicated the association between WCM and liquidity and company's profitability. The study of Afza and Nazir (2007) elucidated the affiliation among the measures used to represent working

capital, performance and risk of the firms. This study shows a negative association of working capital investment policy with economic performance of the firm. When the working capital investment policy is more aggressive, this will tend to decrease the profitability of the firm. The result of this study is in line with Carpenter and Johnson (1983) about the aggressive approach or the conservativeness policies of the firm regarding working capital and their financial and operating risk. The study carried out by Padachi (2006) on SME's of Mauritius shows the relationship of company's performance with WCM. This study reveals that a negative affiliation exists between profitability of a company and financing heavily in inventories and receivables. Different sectors of small and medium enterprises were considered in the study. The study shows different aspects of WCM along with their influence on profitability.

In a study on US corporations Kieschnick, Laplante and Moussawi (2006) explored the interdependence among the working capital factors and performance of corporations. The study elucidates that firms in US on average invest more in current assets as they anticipate expansion in sales in the future. Usually it is noticed that extra investment in current assets can result in reduction of value of the firm. To explore the link between profitability, WCM and company's performance Lazaridis and Tryfonidis (2006) have point out a substantial association between cash gap and profitability. The inverse correlation between profitability and receivable inflow show that a company should follow a different strategy to get its receivable quickly and to cut down the cash gap, particularly for companies with less profit. The findings of the study further support the results of previous studies such as Deloof (2003) and Shin and Soenen (1998).

Elijelly (2004) has examined connection between profitability of the firm and liquidity by using current ratio in order to find out relationship. According to this study, there is a significant inverse relation between the two variables. The study of Eljelly (2004) calculated current ratio to find out the association between business productivity and liquidity. It was found that that there is a major inverse association between the two variables. To improve the efficiency of the firm the management should employ different ingredients of working capital, which represents that working capital is well organized. Deloof (2003) has recommended in his research that many companies have spent huge amount money to accomplish its working capital requirement. Some research papers suggest an adverse association of business performance with working capital while other states that there is no relation between these two variables.

Theoretical Framework

Effective firms use their resources in such a way that they get the maximum advantage out of these. The role of WCM is very crucial in this regard. WCM is

the process of deploying the current liabilities and current assets of a firm in such a manner that it gets the benefit of maximum firm profitability without losing its credit worthiness (Brigham Eugene and Houston Joel, 2003). The model being used here will be multiple linear regression model. For all hypothesis regression will be used to find the relationship. The model used for the study is as follows:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \sum_{it}^n \beta_{it} X_{it} + \varepsilon_t$$

Where Y_{it} = Sales: Sales of i^{th} firm at t time period; $i=1, 2, 3 \dots 54$ firms and $t=1, 2 \dots 7$.

β_0 : Parameter known as intercept

β_i : Parameter known as slope of the variable

X_{it} : The specific explanatory variables used for WCM for i^{th} firm at time t .

ε_t : The error terms.

Methodology

The following subsections explain the main discussions of the methodology;

Data Set and Sample

The main source for collection of data is financial statement of the companies included in the sample. A random sample of 64 non-financial firms has been selected. Financial data have been gathered from two sources: the financial daily and websites of companies included in the sample. The major reason for selection of companies in the sample is availability and accessibility of data.

Variables

The study will take different variables that are being used for the measurement of working capital as independent variables or explanatory variables. These variables are: accounts collectables, average outstanding, and inventory turnover in days with cash cycle.

Explanatory variables

This study will make use of the following the explanatory variables. These variables have been used by Deloof (2003) and Padachi (2006) in their studies and shows that these variables are the best to elucidate the relation between WCM and evaluation of firm's performance

- Accounts Receivables in Days is being used as an explanatory variable. It represents that a firm's strategy for collection of receivables. Accounts receivables is obtained as following:

$$\text{Accountsreceivableinrdays} = \frac{\text{accountsreceivable}}{\text{Sales}} \times 365$$

- Inventory Turnover in Days (*ivndays*) is a measure used to find the number of days a firm uses to convert its raw materials into sales. It is obtained by:

$$\text{Inventoryturnoverindays} = \frac{\text{inventory}}{\text{costofgoodssold}} \times 365$$

- Average Payable in Days is the number of days a firm takes, to pay their supplier the due amount. The following formula will be used for calculations:

$$\text{Accountspayableindays} = \frac{\text{accountspayable}}{\text{costofgoodssold}} \times 365$$

- Cash Conversion Cycle (*ccc*) will be calculated by the addition of “ardays” and “ivndays” and subtracting the value of “apdays”. The use of Cash conversion cycle is representation of short-term capital.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{CashConversionCycle} \\ &= (\text{inventoryturnoverindays}) \\ &+ (\text{accountreceivableindays}) \\ &- (\text{accountpayableindays}) \end{aligned}$$

Dependent Variable

Sales: is used as our dependent variable. It is the value of all the sales of company in a financial period, and stated in the income statement. The study will be conducted by using the sale figure, extracted out of the income statements for the selected period.

Hypotheses

The objective of this study is to examine the relationship between effective WCM and performance of the firm.

H₀₁: High value of Accounts Receivables in Days decreases sales.

H₀₂: High Inventory Turnover in Days decreases sales of the firms.

H₀₃: High Average Payable in Days increases the firms' sales.

H₀₄: High Cash Conversion Cycle of the firm decrease sales.

Data Analysis

The Table 1 represents the descriptive analysis of all the non-financial firms included in the sample. The mean of accounts receivables in days is 34.04 days and its standard deviation is 40.11days. This means that firms, on average, take

34.04 days for the collection of accounts receivable with a variation of 40.11. When looking at the figure of skewness i.e. 2.855, it was found that the data is positively skewed. Data regarding accounts receivable in days is leptokurtic and has a value of 11.441. The mean value of inventory turnover in days is 85 days with a standard deviation of 58 days. When the value of skewness is noticed in the table, it is found to be positively skewed with a value of 0.75 days. The value of Kurtosis in case of this variable is 1.295 days, which is less than 3 and can be classified as platycurtic. The next variable in the table 1 is accounts payable in days. The mean of this variable is observed to be 45 days and its standard deviation is 42 days. The value in the column of skewness in this case is 1.023 and can be stated as positively skewed. The value of kurtosis in the case of this variable is 1.296 and this makes the data platycurtic.

When looking at the figures of CCC it shows that it has a mean value 51 day and its standard deviation is 26 days. Data regarding this variable is also positively skewed with a value of 2.872 and is leptokurtic as shown by the value of 11.219. In this study Pearson Correlation Model has been employed for the measurement of association among the different variables in order to know how efficient does a firm manage its working capital and performance of the firm in terms of sales.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic
Log of Sales	1.097923	1.9297682	3.480	14.754
Ardays	34.04336	40.1096604	2.855	11.441
Ivndays	85.1937	57.69747	1.023	1.296
Apdays	45.1825	41.96321	1.750	5.112
CCC	51.14347	26.0599045	2.827	11.219

Table 2 shows the degree of association among different variables that are being used in this study for the measurement of working capital and sales. The association of sales with each variable representing WCM is explained here. In the table 2, it can found that sales and accounts receivables in days are positively correlated with a value of 0.113 and the level of significance is 0.18 in this case. Though these two variables are positively correlated, the value of correlation shows that change in accounts receivable days brings very little change in sales of a company and hence H_{01} is rejected. Inventory turnover in days show that its relation with sales in negative. The value of correlation is -0.332 with significance of 0.000. This show the relationship is highly significant. If inventory turnover in days is increase this will decrease the sales of a firm. The value of correlation is small in this study which indicated that increase in

inventory turnover in days brings a small change in sales of firms and hence H_{02} is accepted.

The next variable in the table 2 is accounts payable in days. Values in the correlation table shows that there is a momentous affirmative association between accounts payable in days and sales of a firm. The value of significance is 0.335 and value of correlation between the two variables is 0.046. This result also shows that higher value of accounts payable in days will increase sales of company and H_{03} is accepted.

Table 2 Correlations

		Log of sales	ardays	ivndays	apdays	CCC
sales	Pearson Correlation	1	.113*	-.332**	.046	.108*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.018	.000	.335	.024
ardays	Pearson Correlation	.113*	1	.021	.140**	1.000**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018		.658	.003	.000
ivndays	Pearson Correlation	-.332**	.021	1	.271**	.033
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.658		.000	.499
apdays	Pearson Correlation	.046	.140**	.271**	1	.132**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.335	.003	.000		.006
ccc	Pearson Correlation	.108*	1.000**	.033	.132**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024	.000	.499	.006	

The last variable mentioned in the table is the cash conversion cycle. As the figure suggests, it has a positive significant relationship with sales of a firm. The value of correlation is 0.108 and the level of significance is 0.024. This suggests that increase in the cash conversion cycle also bring increase in the sales of a firm or it can be said that higher the cash conversion cycle higher will be sales. This is against the statement in H_{04} and it will be rejected. It is worth mentioning hereby, that the value Cash Conversion Cycle is perfectly correlated with Accounts receivable in days and the value of correlation is 1.000 that is why it has been excluded in the calculation as evident from table 6. Multiple linear regression is used as the intention was to check the effect of four different variables (accounts receivable in days, inventory turnover in days, accounts payable in days and Cash Conversion Cycle) on the firm performance, represented by sales in this case.

Table 3 and 4 represent the model summary in the regression analysis. The model being used has an adjusted value of 13.5%, which shows the degree of variation shown by firms' performance with changes in WCM. ANOVA (see table 4)

shows a value 0.000 in the significance column which means that the model is highly significant.

Table 3 Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.375 ^a	.141	.135	1.7952746

a. Predictors: (Constant), ccc, ivndays, apdays

Table 4 ANOVA

ANOVA^b

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2.266	3	0.742	230.220	.000 ^a
	Residual	1.386	430	0.003223		
	Total	3.652	433			

a. Predictors: (Constant), ccc, ivndays, apdays

In table 5, B value shows a negative relation between inventory turnover in days and firms' sales. The value of B is -1.242 and this relation is significant as shown by the figure i.e. 0 and the hypothesis H_{02} is accepted.

Table 5 Coefficients

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	Constant	1.584	1.944		8.147	.000
	Ivndays	-1.242	1.553	-.371	-7.995	.000
	Apdays	5.361	1.884	.133	2.846	.005
	CCC	4.945	2.173	.103	2.276	.323

a. Dependent Variable: sales

The relationship between accounts payable in days and sales is positive with a value of 5.361, which shows that delay in firm accounts payable will increase in increased sales of the firms and H_{03} will be accepted.

Cash conversion cycle also has a positive significant relationship with sales. The value of B in this situation is 4.945 and significance column shows a value of 0.323 and H_{03} is rejected. Accounts receivable has been excluded from the calculation, as shown by the table 5.

Table 6 Excluded Variables

Excluded Variables ^b					
Model	Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics
					Tolerance
1 Ardays	. ^a000

a. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), ccc, ivndays, apdays

b. Dependent Variable: sales

The main reason for the exclusion of this variable is its perfect correlation with cash Conversion Cycle. We can infer that accounts receivable has relation with sales of a company, same as that of Cash Conversion cycle and proves that H_{01} will be rejected.

Conclusion

As firms invest a huge amount in working capital, it is expected that if working capital is efficiently managed, will enhance the performance of the firms. The study found that inventory turnover in days has a negative relation with sales of the firms, while accounts payable in days, accounts receivable in days and cash conversion cycle have a positive relation. Result of the study shows that in order to increase sales, firms must plan to increase the time for collection of accounts receivable to an optimum level. Secondly, manager should focus on the inventory turnover in days. Reduction in the time taken for converting its raw materials to sales will greatly increase the sales of the firm. Ultimately, increase in the time period for payment of dues to their suppliers, without deteriorating their credit worthiness, will also increase the sales of firms. The study also suggests that if companies take more time in their cash conversion cycle, their sales will be increase. If managers are successful in effective implementing working Capital in such a manner, they will increase sales of their firms. The data has been taken for the period of 12 years from 2003 to 2014. The study suggest that research may be further conducted on analyzing the companies listed on KSE and include all those firms which represent Karachi Stock market during the entire period of the study. The sample size of the study will increase as a result of this action and represent the KSE listed companies in its original condition. Similarly, further study may include other constituents of WCM like cash and marketable securities and the study.

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Political Clientelism—Beyond the Public Choice Explanation

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Abstract

This paper explores the theoretical perspectives and dynamics of voter-politician relationships, the determinants of voting behaviours and the parameters of electoral mechanisms in local governance with specific reference to the post-colonial societies in developing countries. The discussion begins with the distinguishing clientelism from other phenomena like corruption and pork barrel politics with specific reference to local governance. The impact of patronage employment and socio-economic fragmentation on the outcomes of pork barrel politics is evaluated in order to assess the dynamics of voting patterns. In addition, the paper also includes a discourse based on arguments that run counter to the public choice explanation of clientelistic exchanges. The identification of these antithetical stances to public choice theory will reveal why various forms of clientelism in certain societies make the overnight paradigm shift to a new form of political organisation, extremely complex.

Keywords: Clientelism; Social Heterogeneity; Elite Capture; Patronage Employment; Voting Behaviour

Corruption, Clientelism and Pork Barrel Politics

The nomenclature of political phenomena carries with it certain meanings and assumptions that signify specific ideological and theoretical orientations. In order to setup an analytical framework for the assessment of any political phenomenon, the distinction of differing meanings is critical because it helps to clarify the involved intricacies that emanate from competing political perceptions. The term political clientelism is quite broadly used which makes it open to varying interpretations and is therefore often misconstrued in relation to other distinct phenomena. Clientelism is the delivery of material goods in return for electoral support, where the criterion of distribution that the patron (politician) uses is simply: did you (or will you) support me (Stokes, 2007)? Stokes' definition of clientelism refers to a relationship between a voter and politician who enter into an informal contract of mutual exchange of vote in return for personalised provision of public goods and services.

Similarly, Klingemann et al. (1994) and Przeworsky et al. (1999) note that the clientelistic linkages between the voter and politician facilitate a direct exchange whereby the voters trade in their votes in return for personalised material resources provided by the politicians; voters enter into such exchanges because

they find it difficult to follow a cumbersome and time-consuming process of aggregating their interests for policies that would benefit the wider electorate. Both of the above-mentioned definitions imply that an individual voter can trade in their single vote in return for highly personalised favours however, it is argued (detailed in later part of the paper) that an individual vote's value is highly insignificant and hence cannot be used in a clientelistic exchange as a bargaining instrument in return for a highly personalised favour. Therefore, in the clientelistic exchanges, it is indeed the group of voters that can be instrumental and not a single vote *per se*.

The balance of bargaining power between voters' groups and politicians in clientelistic relationships varies from case to case however clientelistic exchanges may lead to linkages that are based on subservience or lopsided friendships (Cain et al., 1987). Despite the evident possibilities of imbalance in bargaining powers (of voters and politicians alike) in patron-client relationships, the impact of clientelistic practice is less unfavourable than the impact of corruption. The terms clientelism and corruption are different as the two phenomena have some distinct features. Máiz and Requejo (n.d) distinguish between clientelism and corruption. They refer to Caciagli (1996), della Porta (1992) and Johnston (1986) who point out significant differences between corruption and clientelism as follows. The two phenomena differ in terms of resources employed (money versus votes), actors involved (civil servants versus voters and patron/broker), and presence of power (asymmetry versus equality, illegality versus legality and secret versus public). To rephrase, corruption involves money, civil servants, asymmetrical relationships in terms of power, is illegal and covert. On the other hand, clientelism involves voters, patron/broker/politicians, equality (arguable in many cases) in patron-client relationships, is legal (if not fair), and overt.

The distinction between the clientelism and pork barrel politics provides further insights into the complex dynamics of voter-politician relationships. In analysing the economic costs of clientelist politics, Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002) argue that hiring family relatives for administrative jobs should not diminish the quality of the public works, provided the relatives are qualified to do the jobs. With this argument, they point out towards a relatively less detrimental by-product of clientelistic relationship i.e. 'pork barrel' approach. Pork barrel refers to the publicly funded projects promoted by legislators to bring money and jobs to their own districts, as a political favour to local politicians or citizens. 'Pork' is not allocated on the basis of merit or need rather it is allocated on the basis of priorities of legislators in order to secure local support, making it legal yet unfair at times. Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith's argument prefer pork barrel approach over the highly individualised patron-client payoffs for the reason that more people have the opportunity of gaining from it. However, at the same time, they believe

that more than poverty, it is the higher levels of income inequalities in societies that worsen the impact of pork barrel politics.

Patron-Client Model: Insights from Public Choice Theory

Public choice theory is based on the principles of rational choice assumption that forms the foundation of neo-classical economics. Hence, public choice theory is the political equivalent for the consumers' rationality theory of economics. With the assumption that voters are economically rational, the public choice theory assumes that clientelistic exchanges involve patrons and individual voters. In addition, the principles of the public choice theory also emphasise that political markets are imperfect for several reasons. For instance, the assumption that political markets are perfectly competitive would imply that the poor classes of society should get more public goods and efficient redistribution as they are in majority in most of the cases but information asymmetries between the patrons and clients explain that this does not happen normally (Rolls, 2008). Illustrating this point, Keefer and Khemani (2005) argue that the failure in the political market - clientelistic exchange between voters and politicians - is the outcome of two key factors i.e. voters' imperfect information and the lack of credibility of political agents. Keefer & Vlaicu (2008) believe that when citizens lack information about how politicians' decisions influence their welfare, they cannot punish politicians for performance failures nor reward them for success. Hence, the information asymmetries incentivise politicians to be more responsive to the informed citizens only. This argument denotes a situation in which the information asymmetries leave the voter in a vulnerable position in a lopsided relationship that is favourable to the politician. Downs (1957) suggests that voters remain ignorant and underprivileged in an information asymmetry situation because the individual cost of acquiring information is higher when compared with the benefits derived from it.

The above-mentioned public choice arguments draw parallels between the politician-voter's clientelistic relationships and parties involved in business transactions. Powell (1970) argues that the two agents in clientelistic relations are unequal in status, wealth or influence and their relationship depends on reciprocity in exchange for goods and services. The points made in terms of information asymmetries are reasonable in a sense that the politician-voter relationships are not always symmetrical, and voters are not always well-informed as compared to their respective politicians. For instance, Kitschelt (2000) opines that clientelism involves a reciprocal deal and voluntarism but also exploitation and domination because the low-income groups in a society discount future and rely on short-term and instant advantages. Therefore, clientelist exchanges tend to become more attractive for voters as compared to broader programmatic linkages that promise uncertain and distant rewards. Such

situations provide the politicians with extra leverage that enables them to capitalise on voters' limited information.

In general, these explanations fail to take into account the critical point that an individual vote cannot be traded in effectively in return for personalised favour and therefore the voter-politician relationship in clientelistic exchange needs to be perceived differently than a business transaction. This is due to the fact that unlike a business exchange, the clientelistic exchange involves group(s) of voters rather than an individual voter. Clientelism can instead be understood as a group phenomenon where groups of voters can come together in order to enhance their position in a clientelistic deal. The probability of information asymmetry also diminishes when group(s) of voters (not an uninformed individual) and are taken into consideration in clientelistic exchanges. It is believed that the magic of aggregation (discussed in the later part of the paper) can potentially level the information asymmetries and improve the position of voters' groups in comparison with politicians.

Explaining, the second factor that aggravates political market imperfections, Keefer and Vlaicu (2008) are of the opinion that the lack of credibility leads politicians to prefer narrowly targeted policies over the broader public goods provision. Given that the credibility of politicians depends on their personal characteristics and their relationships with voters, decentralisation of government leads to the proliferation of politicians and hence with a choice of candidates available, voters can pressurise them to perform better (Keefer et al., 2005). There is however no evidence that mere proliferation of political candidates would actually pressurise them to perform better. Even with the proliferation of candidates, the politicians' propensity towards pork barrel approach is likely to remain the same because the lack of politicians' credibility not only depends on their personal characteristics and relations with voters but also on the availability of resources that a politician can direct towards their electorate. One of the major reasons that coerces political agents to target narrow provision of goods and services is the scarcity of resources available to them for public spending.

Politicians are compelled to resort to pork barrel spending because they have limited resources that can be spent on a fraction of electorate and not because they want to put their credibility at stake by targeting the available resources to specific groups. Besides that, it is important to note that the problem of credibility is two-sided i.e. just like politicians have the propensity to renege on pre-electoral promises, the voter can also breach the promise and instead can vote for any other candidate (Robinson and Verdier, 2013). Keeping in view, the lack of voters' credibility and limited availability of resources, politicians would be more incentivised to target the public goods and services to a narrow group of

citizens. Pork barrel spending may not be a desirable strategy for politicians however considering the financial restraints, this approach is the most pragmatic option for them to establish or revamp their political credibility.

Socio-Political Groups in Clientelistic Exchanges

Political clientelism is not an individual's problem, indeed it is a group phenomenon (Lamarchand, 1972). Most of the political promises are made to the groups of voters and when socio-economic groups are involved in clientelistic exchange, it transforms clientelistic politics into the pork barrel politics. Garcia-Guadilla and Perez (2002) gives the example of neighbourhood associations representing collective interests that use the political power of groups of voters as a collective entity legitimated by the process of decentralisation. The same may be true about groups composed of families, clans, sects, businesses and professional associations. In case of clientelistic relationships with the groups of voters, political competitors need to spend resources to ameliorate collective problems. Whether the group receives the benefit or not depends very little on the voting behaviour of any single member of that group (Keefer and Vlaicu, 2008). Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002) argue that clientelism may have socially desirable by-products e.g. healthy competition among political groups. In many democratic systems, interest groupings based on occupation or social class form lobbies. In case of balance among these groups, pork barrel politics can benefit various sections of political and civil society and hence clientelism, according to them, is not just simply a zero-sum game over narrowly self-serving projects and programs.

They continue to argue that beneficial spillovers (positive externalities) of clientelism can help in absence of politicians' monopoly in patronage, or as long as their voters have freedom to switch alliances. Besides that, groups vying for government favours inadvertently prevent socially harmful policies and/or promote beneficial public policies. Such arguable positive dimensions of pork barrel politics apparently imply that pork barrel approach is one of the strategies that can incentivise the involvement of political actors in the political process however it can be argued that the contextual realities associated with the social and political organisation of diverse societies radically transform the impact of pork barrel politics. The following discussion addresses the question as to why despite the involvement of some of the socio-political groups, the system of pork barrel politics reinforces itself instead of involving more groups.

Pork Barrel Politics and Socio-Economic Fragmentation

Generally, the public accountability and equitable distribution of public goods under any form of clientelistic political setup is very hard to be institutionalised, both formally and informally. The clientelistic linkage distributes material

benefits exclusively to party stalwarts and other groups of voters who vote for the party that offers the benefits, eventually generating a particularistic type of accountability in which the voters demand individual favours or services from the politician, ignoring broader public policies' criteria (Máiz and Requejo, n.d). Similarly, Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002) argue that patron-client relationships are prone to misunderstanding and manipulation because no independent entity keeps an eye on them. This is rather a pessimistic opinion of Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith as it defies their own proposition that clientelism can also promote healthy competition among the social groups of the society. It is argued that although patron-client relationships are prone to manipulation, the competition among social and political groups can serve as a deterrent to manipulation and is likely to keep a constant check on clientelistic exchanges. Nonetheless, the critical question i.e. whether or not pork barrel politics can promote competition needs further explanation.

The impact of socio-political groups' involvement can be effective only when they are socially and politically engaged as competing actors in the political process. However, it is observed that although a multitude of socio-political groups exist in societies, the low levels of their civic engagement and political activism maintain the status quo of pork barrel politics rather than promoting healthy competition among them. Consequently, many segments of society continue to suffer as they are left out of the clientelistic deals altogether. Pork barrel approach reckoned as being socially desirable and generating positive externalities may well be justified owing to some specific success stories nonetheless, at large, the exclusion of numerous under-privileged groups from the social services delivery networks is part and parcel of the deal. Due to the social fragmentation and economic polarisation, narrow targeting of goods and services under clientelistic obligations exclude those groups that find it hard to collectivise and organise into aggregate entities that would help them articulate their interests and hence make their participation meaningful in the formulation of public policy. For several reasons, it is also not easy for the masses of citizenry in underdeveloped countries to be a part of the existing social and political pressure groups. The factors that undermine the civic and political engagement of the groups are the factors that affect the way in which the strategies for pork barrel politics are designed and implemented. Other than the socio-political intricacies, the pork barrel approach is also positively associated with socio-economic complexities.

Manor (1999) believes that when disparities between the rich and poor and/or conflicts between social groups are deep-rooted, it is extremely difficult to make decentralisation work. The higher income inequalities are, the more difficult it is to prioritise public development projects. Social demands and developmental

needs of various social groups in a society vary a great deal. Such dilemmas also make it difficult for politicians to prioritise the public policy options. ‘Rational’ politicians would thus go for the option that will secure for them a better payoff in the form of votes, even if it not economically viable or socially desirable. This argument is well epitomised by Foster and Rosenzweig (2001) who focus on three categories of public goods which account for 73 % of the activities of village governments in their sample from India - roads, irrigation, and schools. They find that the democratically elected village governments provide all three public goods, but the emphasis is on irrigation - the service that is most likely to benefit the rural elite. In villages with a high proportion of landless citizens, public investment had shifted from irrigation to road construction, suggesting that capture by elites can be tackled when the numerical strength of the poor increases. However, it happens in a manner that might not be the most efficient in terms of extending benefits to the poor. Roads built by village governments primarily benefit the poor, but largely by raising their short-term wages, as local road construction and improvement initiatives in India serve as employment enhancement programs for the landless poor. On the other hand, education that has the most profound and positive impact on poverty alleviation in the medium and long-term, seems least affected by the local democratisation programmes.

Mani and Mukand (2007) describe the ‘visibility effect’ wherein politicians will provide those public services which are visible and for which the politicians can take credit. Hasnain (2005) referring to this malfeasance in Pakistan’s regional and national politics, argues that the improvements in service delivery, such as ensuring better quality teaching, unlike the provision of government jobs or construction of school buildings, do not pay back immediately to politicians in terms of a secured vote bank. Politicians make self- interested decisions to improve certain roads and sanitation services because such projects are highly noticeable public goods and services that can be targeted easily in a specific area within their electorate. Contrarily, fewer efforts are made in order to improve healthcare and education services wherein the exclusion is harder; requires hard work and resources; and most importantly, such improvements are least noticeable and therefore political office bearer derives little or no political mileage out of it.

Positive externalities of pork barrel thus proffer little benefits and as such, from a broader perspective, pork barrel politics may be seen as generating negative long-term economic and political spill-overs. In heterogeneous societies that are spread across different social and economic divisions, pork barrel criteria for public sector and development funds allocations intensify disparities among the marginalised groups rather than promoting positive competition between them. Fragmented and unstable political coalitions will result in each politician trying

to maximise his short-term payoff even if this comes at the expense of long-term social gains (Hasnain, 2005; Cheema, 2003; Rose-Ackerman, 1997). This practice is unjust because the loopholes in political and institutional policy are sought and exploited. In other words, in the absence of wider civic and political engagement, pork barrel politics are legitimised by the process of elections and such legitimacy is accompanied with enormous costs incurred by the socially excluded groups as Keefer (2007) argues that clientelistic exchanges incentivise the under-provision of non-targeted goods (e.g. universal education) and over-provision of targeted goods (e.g. public-sector jobs and public work projects).

Patronage Employment

Referring to the case of Pakistan, Jalal (1995) is of the opinion that a large public sector offers better chances for patronage employment where votes make a good tradable commodity. An individual voter may not have a substantial bargaining power, but voters are in a better position to capitalise on the synergy of their collective vote blocs i.e. where the vote banks become formations e.g. aggregated in groups like families, clans, tribes, ethnic groups, occupational groups and neighbourhood or business associations. Even in a large sized public sector like that of Pakistan's, the offer of patronage employment mostly remains limited in comparison with its high demands and hence patronage employment is highly valued because it is not just granted as a one-off clientelistic payoff. Politicians' instrumentality in the provision of employment adds to their credibility because one persons' employment means a long-term personalised favour to a vote bloc or social group. It is obvious that patronage employments cannot be offered in return for individual votes. In fact, the very nature of patronage employment offer makes it indivisible and valuable for voters' groups therefore such speciality offers are usually offered by politicians in return for many secured votes from social groups. Other than considering vote blocs, politicians will also prefer to manipulate public sector employment in favour of their cronies or party workers so that the politicians can remain influential not only in the electoral circles but also in the public-sector departments.

For politicians, patronage employment has one more advantage. Besides securing a multitude of votes, patronage employment is safe and is revocable to a certain extent after the elections. Politicians also capitalise on the offer of patronage employment in more than just one election. Thus, an offer of a job is a dependable way of delivering patronage to specific groups of voters. When political behaviour is observable, a job has the additional advantage that it can be withdrawn as a punishment. Barbara Geddes formulated a patron-client game as a version of prisoner's dilemma, wherein politicians will lose electoral support unless they provide public employment along the partisan lines, and if the voters do not support the politician they lose their public employment that was provided

as a personal favour (Geddes, 1994). It is not only the issue of appointments into the public-sector departments that is critical for the impact assessment of patronage employment on politicians' credibility but also the affairs related to promotions and transfers (geographical and inter-departmental) that matters in local governance structure. In developing countries' bureaucratic public-sector establishments, matters related with appointment, postings and transfer are significantly critical in shaping up the inter-institutional working relationships because these matters are highly politicised.

Beyond Pork Barrel Politics: Identities and Preferences

This section of the paper highlights the rival explanatory approaches for the evaluation of voting behaviour that go beyond public choice explanation. As pointed out by Van Der Eijk and Franklin (2009), one of the factors that determines voting behaviour is the membership of and loyalty to different social groups defined by differences in class, religion, ethnicity and other similar features. If these social groups are critical in social conflict and social organisation, and/or if the membership of such groups is an important part of people's consciousness, then such groups are referred to as social cleavage groups and the dividing line between them is called as social cleavage (ibid). Such groups have, in common with political parties, some distinctive political interests (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967). A variety of groups, institutions, individuals (serving as opinion leaders) and their respective values and orientations are critical in moulding public opinion. For instance, Rehman (1997) explains that primordialist theory of ethnicity proposes that shared paternity, bio-kinship, commonality of descent, and blood relationships truly create deep extra-rational bonds or sentiments for language, religion or other aspects of identity. These extra-rational or sentimental motivations in turn determine certain aspects of multi-dimensional voting behaviour of voters as well as politicians' response to those behaviours.

As explained earlier, public choice theorists reckon that clientelism is a result of two market imperfections, one of which is information asymmetry. The magic of aggregation is a counter explanation to the public choice theory's assumption of individual voter's predicament of information asymmetry. Van Der Eijk and Franklin (2009) describe the puzzle of ignorant voters and the magic of aggregation. According to this concept, people are knowledgeable in patches. The electorate that generally lacks general knowledge is most competent in precisely those areas that matter most to them. Hence, no single individual voter needs to have knowledge on all subjects relevant to public policy because public opinion is a collective phenomenon not an individual phenomenon. When individual opinions are aggregated to constitute public opinion, different aspects of it can come from different individuals and therefore the aggregate public entity

would be quite knowledgeable about most of the public policy aspects. This is the magic of aggregation which should, in principle, offset the information asymmetries between the patron and clients.

Caplan (2007) however is quite critical about the magic of aggregation and disapproves the public choice theory's assumption of voters' rationality as well. According to him, voters do not have rational beliefs, which they act upon rather they have 'preferences over beliefs'. Voters' beliefs (or knowledge) about economics (or rational choice) are systematically mistaken which worsen the outcomes of democracy and that is why the public choice assumptions cannot be reconciled with the fruitfulness of democracy. In other words, the magic of aggregation works only if voters do not make systematic errors but according to Caplan, voters' knowledge of economics or rational choice are riddled with systematic errors that lead to preferential bias. For instance, most of the voters are oblivious to the mechanism in which the 'invisible hand' in a free market economy harmonises private greed and public interest. Similarly, voters equate prosperity not with production but with employment. Such systematic errors show that voters are irrational because they believe in what they want to believe in i.e. they have mistaken preferences because they are unable to evaluate the available information rationally.

While comparing the consumer behaviour (economics) with voters' behaviour (politics), Caplan argues that, emotions and ideologies – and not just the facts or the processing of information – fundamentally affects human judgment and political behaviour. Human emotions and extra-rational ideologies override people's rationality because they ignore unwanted information on subjects, which they do not care about. Caplan's critical stance is quite rigid in a sense it does not accommodate perspectives like the logic of aggregation and groups' rationality. His antithetical stance against the potential of aggregated public opinion proposes that democracies end up in choosing bad public policies. Contrarily, the main line of argument developed in this paper suggests quite the opposite; it is argued that public policies are best devised and implemented under the elected democracies. However, Caplan's proposition does provide us with another important perspective for the assessment of voting behaviour which illustrates that ideologies and emotions play a critical role in explaining a social and political behaviour. For instance, religion is one of the extra-rational ideological motivations that shapes up voters' preferences over rational beliefs. Since the social phenomena under investigation in this paper are quite complex, a range of relevant explanatory perspectives are taken into account in order to explain the complex political behaviour of voters.

According to Waseem (2006), Columbia school of thought focuses on sociological perspectives to understand the dynamics of electoral behaviour while Downsian theory is based on voters' assessment of benefits in return for their votes. Nonetheless, there's no reason why these explanatory perceptions should be treated as mutually exclusive. Owing to the dynamics of human nature and groups' aggregate constraints, several competing or apparently contradictory motivating factors may have a collective impact on voters' voting behaviour simultaneously that would mould and at times, alter voters' electoral priorities. A pluralist approach can potentially take into account the economic rationality of socio-political groups, the logic of aggregation, voters' emotions and ideologies, sociological perspectives and positive group identities, all of which are believed to be determinants of voting patterns in elections.

Conclusion

Public choice theorists consider clientelism as an individual problem but another way of looking at it is to focus on groups of voters that are involved in exchange for their votes - referred to as pork barrel politics. As theorised in the 'magic of aggregation', voters' groups are informed and knowledgeable as a collective entity and the probability of information asymmetries diminishes when groups of voters are taken into consideration in clientelistic exchanges. In pork barrel politics, the credibility of politicians not only depends on their personal characteristics and relations with voters but also on the availability of resources that politicians can direct towards their electorates. Politicians are compelled to resort to pork barrel spending because they have limited resources that can be spent on a fraction of electorate and not because they want to jeopardise their credibility by targeting the available resources to specific groups.

Some scholars opine that pork barrel approach can potentially promote positive competition among different social and political groups nonetheless there are practical limitations to this argument. Although a multitude of socio-political groups exist in society, the low levels of their civic engagement and political activism perpetuate pork barrel politics rather than promoting healthy competition among them. The limitations in resources also make it difficult for politicians to prioritise development projects. Due to the social fragmentation and economic polarisation, narrow targeting of public goods and services under the clientelist obligations exclude those groups that find it hard to organise themselves into aggregate entities that would help them enhance their numerical strength and eventually be able to participate effectively in the political process. It is therefore argued that pork barrel politics generate negative economic and political externalities in the long run.

More specifically in heterogeneous societies, that are spread across different social and economic divisions, pork barrel criteria for public sector and development funds allocations incentivise the under-provision of non-targeted goods for instance universal education and basic health and over-provision of targeted goods for instance patronage employment and targeted public work projects. The key to overcome the problems of social exclusion lies in the improvement of civil engagement and political activism in the political process. Lamerchand and Legg (1972) anticipate that as rural elements become conscious of their numerical strength, organise themselves politically, and articulate their demands through the institutional channels, gaps are likely to develop in the clientelist system.

A range of different factors influence citizens' voting behaviour. It has been argued that the rationality of a social group can be one of the factors that explains groups' collective behaviour. In addition, loyalty to different social groups defined by their differences in class, religion, ethnicity, kinships, caste language, and other similar features also plays a critical role in determining the voting behaviour. Such primordial factors consolidate group identities that partly explain an important dimension of the voting behaviour of voters and politicians' response to them. Similarly, Caplan's critical idea of 'preferences over beliefs' provides another nuanced perspective for the assessment of voting behaviour, proposing that ideologies and emotions rather than the assumed rationality of voters, determine their electoral behaviour.

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