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THE JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Issues and Perspectives in Decentralisation: Challenges in Democratic Transitions and Local Governance in Global South

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Abstract

This paper is about decentralisation as a process and the prospects for developing effective local governments in post-colonial societies of Global South. It reviews the issues that hinder the efficacy of decentralised governments and challenges faced in democratic transitions. Discourse in this paper analyses commonalities of issues such as local government representatives' lack of managerial skills; insufficient delegation of official authority to the local governments; sporadic and ad hoc implementation of reforms; demographic heterogeneity; elite capture of local resources; matters of fiscal autonomy; shortage of public funds; dearth of support from the national and regional governments; and lack of technical support from civil bureaucracy. It is argued that societies in post-colonial states tend to remain apolitical and 'Not So Civil' as a consequence of military regimes. Problems pertaining to inter-institutional relationships and corruption in localised governance setup are also discussed as major hurdles.

Keywords: Decentralisation; Civil Society; Corruption; Demographic Heterogeneity; Elite Capture; Inter-institutional Relationships; Fiscal Decentralisation

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Introduction and Background

This paper is about decentralisation as a process and the prospects for developing effective local government in post-colonial societies. In the developing countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, highly centralised planning and execution of public policies were dominant practices for running the affairs of government until 1950s. In his investigation of the decentralisation reforms in Asia, Mathur (1983) noticed that after the Second World War, the Soviet Union styled centralised planning was generally accepted and prevalent in the countries that had recently emerged from the colonial rule. With the culmination of cold war, the concepts of decentralised forms of government evolved gradually which upholds, among many

other principles, the grass-root level participation of citizens in local political affairs thereby directing the stream of political power from bottom to the top rather than the other way around.

Decentralisation involves the delegation of powers to lower levels in a territorial hierarchy, whether the hierarchy is one of governments within a state or offices within a large-scale organisation' (Smith, 1985:1). Decentralisation of government thus involves the creation of smaller territorial establishments of political and administrative institutions of the state. The rationale for pursuing decentralisation reforms includes laudable objectives like self-government, improved articulation of local political interests, citizen-state proximity, and therefore better accessibility of citizens to their respective local governments. 'The closer a government is to its citizens, polls show, the more they trust it. The closer it is, the more accountable its officials tend to be and the more likely they are to handcraft solutions rather than create one-size fits-all programs' (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992:277). There is a wide agreement on the idea that public policy can be best devised and implemented where the effective political participation by all stakeholder groups of the society is ensured. Decentralisation reforms are reckoned as the foremost solution to the problems of highly centralised and bureaucratic civil administration systems.

Rondinelli and Cheema (1983) believe that decentralisation reforms are essential for flexible, innovative and creative administration, political stability and national unity as local governments can overcome the limitations of central control. According to them, decentralisation helps in several ways for instance, decentralised governments tailor development plans in accordance with the local needs of heterogeneous social groups; reduce red tape; are more sensitive and responsive to the local problems; facilitate close contact between public officials and citizens; enhance citizens' information; improve political, religious, ethnic, and tribal representation; institutionalise political participation; and finally, neutralise the capture of public goods and services by the locally established elites. In addition, decentralisation reforms are positively associated with economic efficiency, reduced public spending and improved public services, better human resource management, enhanced public accountability, political liberty, equality in service provision, and improved social welfare (Smith, 1985).

Decentralisation is also reckoned to have a pro-poor impact as it is argued that decentralisation reforms help develop the economic and political status of the marginalised groups in a society by improving citizens' access to the public provisions. Given that large public sectors are hard to administer by the central government, exquisite structuring and effective execution of decentralisation reforms help reduce the burden of administrative responsibilities of the central government. Local governments not only involve citizens in self-governance but

also help in enhancing the political and administrative decision-making skills of the locally elected representatives. Other potential payoffs of democratic decentralisation process include the consolidation of civil and political society by proffering political and civic education and political stability. In the contemporary era, effective decentralisation reforms have thus become an extremely essential element of public management systems around the world. According to Manor (1999), decentralisation reforms strengthen the local governments as a bridge between the state and civil society. The proponents of decentralisation strategies advocate the usefulness of localisation policies in the development of an effective and efficient system of local governance.

However, as is the case with any other governance model, there are associated pitfalls in decentralisation policies especially when delved deep in the cases of developing countries particularly in global south i.e. Africa, South Asia and Latin America. Due to the higher degrees of predominant social and ethnic heterogeneities, the independence of most of the South Asian countries brought with it the problems of national and territorial integration in the post-independence era. One response to this problem was seen as states' increasing tendencies towards further centralisation of the affairs of government and hesitation to allow political and administrative autonomy to the peripheral regions (Mathur, 1983). The highly centralised and distant state structures were left as legacies by the colonial administrations and such state hierarchies are still entrenched ubiquitously in almost all post-colonial states.

However, after the culmination of cold war - in response to the pressures from international community, global monetary regulatory organisations, and domestic uprisings - many regimes in the developing world are now being compelled directly or indirectly for allowing political autonomy to regions in one form or the other. It is nonetheless important to note that the associations between democratisation and decentralisation have often been misconstrued as straightforward. Political decentralisation does not necessarily lead to democracy (Smith, 1985) which means that although political decentralisation is a necessary element in the process of democratisation, it is certainly not a sufficient condition. It is primarily the element of unconstrained political participation that serves as a stepping stone towards the development of a democratic polity. At the local level, democratic practices lead to the development of individuals, facilitation of accountability, civil liberty and defence against arbitrary power (Ylvisaker, 1959) but in many cases, democracy at national level precedes democracy a local level (Sharpe, 1981) suggesting that a democratic polity at centre may be well be reckoned as a foremost pre-requisite for the local governments to function and deliver effectively. Smith (1988) argues that public participation is seen as beneficial in terms of political mobilisation and activism, awareness of local

priorities, government's sensitivity to local interests, raised political consciousness of dependant groups, better communication between bureaucracy and citizens, and improved accessibility of citizens to public officials. On the other hand, however, political participation often appears to be not more than a tokenistic approach when it incorporates illegitimate practices into safe channels and legitimise the existing illegitimate structures of arbitrary political power.

The mere transfer of power from central to the local government cannot guarantee benevolent political participation. For instance, in Bangladesh, Nigeria and Kenya, the local government elites were actually facilitated by the central government in order to create and sustain a power base in countryside and to prevent opposition forces from forming political alliances (Crook and Sverrisson, 2001). Such underlying political motivations behind allowing some political and administrative autonomy in order to establish a local collaborative political base may prove to be useful for the retention of national integration in the short-term however it certainly does not serve the core objectives of decentralisation. Indeed, the central governments use their coercive powers and state institutions to contain other social and political groups, which in turn reinforces the central command that undermines the grass-root political participation.

Litvack et al. (1998) note that the functional capacity of local governments is determined by the extent to which political institutions accommodate the multiplicity of citizen interests in policy decisions. To have an impact on policy, the political and social interests of the groups in society must be mobilised, organised and articulated through institutions that carry their interests to the state (Berger, 1983). Unless the state is fully committed to devolve political powers to the local level, it is not reasonable to expect that those local establishments will deliver effectively. It is quite evident that decentralisation reforms are always politically motivated, positively or otherwise. Arguing about whether to decentralise the government or not is largely irrelevant; the way decentralisation reforms are implemented determines how successful they are (The World Bank, 1999). Since various levels of government are stakeholders in quest for political powers and administrative authority, the power structures of various institutions of the state are critically important in understanding the political motivations behind any public policy and strategy. In an ideal scenario, Heymans et al. (2004) propose that at the outset, government should have a firm conception of its ultimate decentralisation aims. It should then focus initially on those functions and services for which success is more likely. This includes tasks, which do not threaten the central power base, and at the same time do not overwhelm the local capacity. Decentralisation does not entail central government stepping back from a role in service delivery, rather it entails defining a new supportive, enabling and monitoring role for which new skills are required (Tendler, 1997).

As per the theory of decentralisation, a decentralised government is endowed with two major functions: to serve the democratic objectives of participation, (civic) education, discussion and consent; and to provide services under such political direction in an efficient manner (Wilson, 1948). Nevertheless, combinations of a wide range of complexities hinder the process of institutionalising a balance of power among levels of government and other state institutions. For instance, issues in local public finance, staffing, revenue collection, information availability, shortages of trained and qualified personnel, difficulties in inter-governmental relationships and lack of managerial and professional capability amalgamate to minimise the effectiveness of local governance institutions (Rondinelli and Mandell, 1981; Reilly, 1981). Besides that, haphazard decentralisation reforms – or what Manuguid (2004:3, cited in Brillantes, 2004) refers to as 'half- baked decentralisation' results in wastage of resources, further fragmentation of the civil society, regional inequities, economies of scale losses and domination by the local elites (Heymans et al., 2004). All major types of reforms in the administrative and political organisation of a state thus need to thoroughly take into account the ground realities of issues that are to be addressed with reforms; in this way the reforms are likely to be effective in the long-run otherwise, the misjudgement of problems and/or imprudent practice of the theory are quite likely to jeopardise the outcomes of reforms.

This paper aims to explore and explain the factors that have been actively obstructing the possibilities of democratisation process at the local levels of government in the post-colonial states of global South. An attempt is made to delve deep into the identification and explanations of underlying factors that have had an enormous impact in undermining the process of effective democratisation in the affairs of local governance. This paper is based on literature review of theories and perspectives categorically from developing countries on decentralisation reforms. Although the peculiar nature of issues faced by countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa vary a great deal depending on dynamics of a variety of exogenous and endogenous factors, contemporary literature on local governance reforms reveals some commonalities in form of obstructions in decentralisation reforms. The factors discussed in this paper are the lack of official capacity and managerial skills of local government representatives; weaknesses in political and civil society organisations; the lack of political activism; asymmetries and coordination issues in inter-governmental and inter-institutional relationships; limitations in fiscal decentralisation; and finally, corruption in localised governance.

Official Capacity and Managerial Skills
One of the main reasons for inefficient performance of local government as pointed out by many theorists is the lack of capacity and managerial skills of local government officials. Programmes for decentralising social service delivery and

development functions to the local organisations need to be at par with capacities of the implementing and executing agencies. Central governments are often unable to support decentralisation experiments with competent personnel, efficient administration and other badly needed resources (Rondinelli, 1983). The lack of managerial and technical expertise at the local level thus eventually hinders efficient provision of the public services. The World Bank (2004) suggests that the central government can provide training to the local government in top-down ways or it can create an enabling environment for training by using its finance and regulatory powers in order to help the sub-national governments define their needs thereby making the process demand-driven. The Bank suggests that training programmes can also be imparted by the local or national private sector. In addition, the central government can also allow and enable the local governments to learn by doing. However, since the establishment of local governments is always politically motivated - positively or otherwise - the nature of relationship between the central government and local governments may lead to different outcomes.

Local governments are likely to develop their managerial skills and learn by doing when the institution of local government is kept functional as an integral tier of government and local elections are held on regular basis. Managerial capabilities of local government incumbents are not likely to develop in circumstances wherein the local governments are functional only in sporadic phases. Getting recognition for local governments in the public eye through regular local elections means that local governments are seen as an integral part of the government to which citizens can resort to while tackling their civic problems. With the long-term institutionalisation, the elected local government officials will not only identify their formal role and responsibilities in terms of social service delivery but will also have opportunities to enhance their management skills on a continuous basis. In contrast, if the elected local bodies are created on a makeshift basis and/or controlled by the higher levels of governments, they are not likely to allow the local incumbents to develop their political and professional skills to the required levels.

A new setup of local governments needs time to acclimatise in the existing structure of public sector management. Particularly in countries, where there has been a sudden transition from highly centralised and bureaucratic decision-making procedures to a localised and devolved government, issues related to managerial skills and technical capacity loom large. While working under the entrenched structures of bureaucratic civil administrations, the local government officials are not likely to feel confident in execution of policy or in meeting the demands from their electorates. To establish local governments as an institution, comprehensive training and skill development programmes on a regular basis are critically important. Local government representatives' lack of managerial skills results in

undermining their decision-making capacities as well as their total dependence on civil bureaucrats.

Other than the limitations of the managerial skills and professional training of local government incumbent, the ambiguities in terms of official capacity and equivocal policy - such as blurred job description - also incapacitates the local government representatives. In other words, they get assigned a responsibility without the due authority. Therefore, the lack of clear delineation of official role and formal official authority adversely affects the local tier of governments. In addition, for an efficient management of local fiscal affairs, the local government representatives are expected to be well-versed with budgeting and revenue collection skills. However, their non-technical background and lack of experience in this regard gives an undue advantage to the civil bureaucrats who eventually dominate the local councils that are responsible for fiscal management in a locality. Together, the lack of managerial skills and complications in official authorities not only destabilise the decentralised government but also jeopardise the working relationships between the officials of civil administration and local government incumbents.

Although the two phases of decentralisation reforms were experienced by the citizens of Pakistan in General Ayub and General Zia's epoch, the 'Devolution of Power Plan (Government of Pakistan, 2001) was quite different and was implemented very unexpectedly in Pakistan. This was yet another radical change in local governance dispensation of the country in which the federal and provincial bureaucracy felt threatened by the establishment of a new local government system. Many political and administrative changes were introduced in the reforms that were to curtail the influence of civil bureaucracy to a greater extent however, since the transition to devolved governments was so abrupt, the official capacity and management skills credentials of the newly elected local government representatives remained questionable right from the first day. The local governments were assigned responsibilities to deliver municipal and administrative services for which they were not technically and professionally trained. It is essential to note that the issue of local incumbents' lack of administrative and managerial skills was not an unprecedented phenomenon. Considering the administrative and political setup of Pakistani public sector, the problem of management skills and official capacity of local incumbents has always been limiting their effectiveness in local governance.

Demographic Heterogeneity and Elite Capture
The reasons for strong secessionist tendencies in developing countries are multifaceted such as the extent of social heterogeneity, multi-ethnicity - and the most important of all - regional socio-economic disparities and inequalities.

Separatist movements are usually encountered with repression in authoritarian regimes but the time-tested rational and political strategy to pacify such uprisings is to allow self-rule in peripheries because localisation helps reduce the resentment of the marginalised and deprived social groups. Smith (1985) argues that cultural variations, uneven economic development, ethnic diversity and persistent primordial loyalties often produce irresistible pressures for decentralisation, though the political pressure may emanate from movements demanding complete separation from the state: secession. Different ethnic groups are exclusive, competing with one another, and primarily interested in furthering the welfare of their own group members, as postulated by Olson (1982). Considering the implications of socio-political heterogeneity in social services management, La Porta et al. (1999) found that ethno-linguistic fractionalisation is negatively associated with the provision of public goods. Their results indicate that in countries that are linguistically diverse, infant mortality rates and illiteracy are likely to be higher, and school attainment and infrastructure quality are likely to be poorer.

It is also critical to note that the social heterogeneity makes it more difficult for the citizens to organise the expression of their interest with the help of ballot box and therefore the political process to arrive at cooperative social and political solutions becomes elusive. Social and economic heterogeneity is an important factor that influences the nature of relationship between voters and government. Similarly, when resources are scarce, policy makers are invariably constrained in their approach towards meeting an extremely diversified nature of demands from a socially heterogeneous and economically polarised society. If the political power and development management is devolved to the fragmented localities, the probability of emergence of a collectivised momentous opposition to the central government gradually diminishes. In addition, regional economic disparities can also be reduced with political and fiscal decentralisation. It is argued that an effective political and administrative decentralisation policy can significantly extend the central government's outreach to the socially fragmented groups residing in geographically scattered regions of the country.

A good deal of public choice literature (Platteau, 2003; Bardhan, 2002; Platteau & Abraham, 2004; Fung and Wright, 2003) associates decentralisation programmes with elite capture. The literature propounds that elite capture increases the propensity for the local government to over-provide the public services to the local elites at the expense of the non-elites. Public choice theorists argue that local governments are prone to elite capture because the citizens and politicians have lopsided positions in terms of social power, economic resources, knowledge of political and administrative procedures and educational attainment. Others like Mansuri and Rao (2004) argue that some degree of elite domination is inevitable

for local development particularly in rural areas, where the elites are often characterised as leaders representing economic, moral and political authority in their respective constituencies. However, the explanation of proneness of local government to elite capture is overly pessimistic because it ignores the potential of local political institutions to redress the issues of elite capture.

It is argued that a long-term comprehensive process of government's decentralisation is one of the primary solutions to contain the elite capture. Elite capture is an ailment of political institution that needs to be treated and a vigilant treatment does not require the elimination of patient (institution), in fact, the institution needs consolidation for resisting and eliminating the ailment. The factors that are reckoned as responsible for elite capture of local resources are indeed the factors that undermine the progress of local governments. It is emphasised that an effective programme of decentralisation should, in principle, mitigate the issues that perpetrate the elite capture of local government's resources. The core purpose of delegating the political decision-making authorities to the citizens is to involve them in self-government and therefore the probability of elite capture should, in principle, be reduced by improvements in civic engagement with the help of exquisitely designed electoral processes. Although elite capture remains a threat to the effectiveness of local governments, their proneness to this threat can be reduced by containing the factors that lead to elite capture, not by limiting the role of the local government. In a nutshell, decentralisation of government enhances the value of citizens' vote and improves civic engagement which in turn reduces the probability of elite capture.

The Apolitical and Not So Civil Societies
This part of the paper explains why the role of political and civil society is critical for effective democratisation process not only at the central level but also the local level of government. 'Political society', as defined by Hyden et al. (2004) is the place where public demands get tackled by specific political institutions. The very nature and organisation of political society is central to the effectiveness and efficiency of democratic governance because the design of electoral systems and organisation of the political groups affect the way in which the aggregate political interests influence and augment the benevolent policy outcomes. Although the existence of political groups and the practice of elections are necessary conditions, they are certainly not sufficient; a fair degree of polity's sovereignty and an informed political society, *inter alia*, have an enabling impact on the process of democratisation. The right to vote, unconstrained political choices, freedom of information, a substantial degree of political activism and state's positive role in consolidating local political institutions and encouraging the political participation are foundational requirements in this regard.

Civic engagement and political activism are positively associated with the development of the political society and therefore the decentralisation reforms are likely to be undermined in the absence of an effective political society. In regimes based on Islamic ideologies, fatalism also contributes to undermining an extremely essential prerequisite of a democratic polity i.e. political activism; fatalism thus allows the autocratic rulers a free hand in self-enriching policy pursuits (Gurgur and Shah, 2005). This type of impediment to political activism is significant even in democratically elected governments. Citizens' fatalistic perceptions (Chhotray and Stoker, 2009) about the will of God, destiny, and divine accountability prevent them from meaningful engagement in politics. Public scrutiny thus diminishes. 'What is destined to happen will happen anyways' or 'my single vote won't matter anyways' is the type of fatalistic perception and civic attitude which serves as a formidable barrier to effective political activism. The reasons for indifference towards the political and civic engagement may be varied but their impact on political society in general is enormous. The outcomes of participatory democracy depends on multiple factors such as the transformation of the political culture and the existence of a civic culture (Almond and Verba, 1963), the proliferation of autonomous civil society organisations and the capacity of those organisations to represent the plurality and diversity of civil society's interests (Dahl, 1982; Putnam, 1992), and the existence of the institutionalised mechanisms that make participatory democracy viable for example referendums and freedom of assembly (Macpherson, 1977).

All modes of democracy, i.e. representative democracy, direct democracy and advocacy or deliberative democracy (Dalton et al., 2004) endow citizens with a right to vote. In order to be able to make effective use of their vote, citizens need a choice and the more choice they have, the better the progress of democratic government becomes. However, it is not only the practice of elections that suffices; the right to vote needs to be accompanied with a thorough freedom of choice. If the voter is constrained with limited information, political, social and financial pressures, the very process of democratic practices becomes meaningless or even more predatory.

The role of civil society organisations is equally important in the governance structures. Especially at the local level, the civil society organisations can be very useful in building collaborative relationships between the local communities and local government bodies. The interaction of civil society organisations with local government in social development can have a synergic impact in the local governance as both formal and informal institutions collaborate closely with citizens and can potentially tailor the local policy and resource allocation to meet the demands of a local community in the most efficient manner. Starting from the grass root levels, civil society organisations like public safety committees, parent-

teacher associations and local social welfare societies have the potential to become partners in boosting the performance of their local governments; after all civic engagement is the key to success. Similarly, on a higher level, philanthropic organisations, charities, development organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community groups, women's organisations, faith based organisations, professional associations, trade unions, social movements, business associations, and advocacy groups constitute regional and national civil society that augments the collective political organisation of the state. The absence or precarious composition of civil society organisations undermines the effectiveness of local governments because it signifies negligible levels of civic engagement. Civil society shapes the ways in which citizens become aware of public issues that concerns them (Hyden et al., 2004).

Inter-institutional Relationships
In a modern democratic polity, decision-making powers need to be equitably rationed in all institutional arenas of governance i.e. political society, economic society, civil society, executive, judiciary and bureaucracy. Naturally, the coordination between these institutions is foundational for the socio-economic and political development. In theory both, civil bureaucracy and local government are expected to work in tandem with each other or to be more precise, complement the functioning of each other. Coordination, functional mechanisms, organisational hierarchy, jurisdictional demarcation, and apt delegation of financial and administrative authority are thus enormously important elements to be examined in the investigation of inter-institutional relationships. Unlike de-concentration, in devolution form of decentralisation where political and financial authority is substantially devolved, inter-institutional compatibility becomes all the more essential. Smith (1988) argues that when decentralisation is proposed as an alternative to the centralised and bureaucratised structures of a contemporary government, it is vital to ask what political values are seen as threatened unless decentralisation is established to restore them. This is a strikingly valid argument. Bringing about a radical paradigm change, just for the sake of change, is hazardous and such blunders usually play havoc with existing institutional mechanisms. Smith (1988) explains that defining bureaucracy as the administrative arm of the state carries with it the assumptions about how the power of officials should be neutralised to ensure that administrative apparatuses remain servants and not the masters of elected representatives.

Smith's argument does not imply that the bureaucratic model of administration is somehow superior to a decentralised one rather it emphasises a meaningful and synergic co-existence of two institutions where the ultimate decision-making authority is vested within the institution of local government. In the assessment of inter-institutional relationships, the conflict of political interest is evidently found

as a bone of contention. The *de facto* rationing of political power and administrative authority is affected by the underlying political motivations of the central government and its federating units that in turn determine the fate of state's prime governing institutions. There are several ways to reduce the naturally arising friction between these state's institutions. The effectiveness of inter-organisational relationship as enumerated by Rondinelli and Cheema (1983), depends on clarity and consistency of policy objectives; appropriate allocation of functions among agencies based on their capacities and resources; degree to which planning, budgeting and implementation procedures are standardised; accuracy, consistency and quality of inter-organisational communications; degree of implementing agency's control over funds; adequacy of budgetary allocations; timely availability of resources; revenue raising and expenditure authority at local level; support of national political leaders, local officials and elites; and administrative and technical support from the central bureaucracy.

The nature of relationship between various levels of government also affects the autonomous functioning of a decentralised government. When functional, legal and jurisdictional domains are blurred in practice, the rivalry between levels of government is foreseeable. Inter-governmental relationships are usually affected by colonial histories and hegemonic interventions, regime types, commitments to political, administrative and financial decentralisation, degree of economic development, international aid, informal social and political institutions, and ethnic diversities. Pursuit for the achievement and improvement of inter-governmental harmony is critically essential yet a very delicate task. The hardest task for the government is to devise policy objectives in such a way that institutions, besides playing their primary role within their own jurisdiction should also complement and monitor other institutions as watchdogs. Tendler (1997) argue that healthy antagonism between different levels of government and strong activism by central and regional governments improves performance of the public and other support agencies.

Common Issues in Fiscal Decentralisation
Subject of local finance cannot be isolated from politics (Smith, 1985). Any realm concerning public will certainly have a political dimension and therefore in the analysis of local government reforms, fiscal matters are too important to be overlooked. The accountability of local governments to local citizens is enhanced if the local governments have access to their own taxes with the rights to adjust existing tax rates and tax base. Huther and Shah (1998) using international cross section and time series data find that fiscal decentralisation is associated with enhanced quality of governance as indicated by citizens' participation, political and bureaucratic accountability, social justice, improved economic management and reduced corruption. Similarly, De Mello and Barenstein (2001), from their

cross-country data conclude that tax decentralisation is positively associated with improved quality of governance. When tax powers are devolved properly, local governments can perform a range of functions with autonomy with the help of their own revenues. However, reliance on local tax resources needs careful consideration as they seldom meet the funding requirements of local governments. Revenue raising capacity building of local governments does not imply that local government needs to be entirely self-sufficient. The financial dependence link between centre and periphery is essential nonetheless Rodden (2002) and Khemani (2004) argue that over-dependence on central transfers can also undermine the accountability of sub- national governments to the local electorate, and facilitate the shifting of blame for inefficiencies in service delivery to upper tiers of government. This in turn deteriorates public accountability and citizens' trust in government.

Local governments will be less accountable if they can shift fiscal liabilities to the centre - what is often referred to as a 'soft budget constraint' (Litvack et al., 1998). So rather than facing the electorate for demands of taxes, local government will concentrate on pressurising the central government with demand for more grant income (Jones, 1978). The extent to which the design of intergovernmental transfers affects local accountability depends upon the nature of political relations between national and sub-national governments (Khemani, 2007). Indeed, the control over finances by the central government can be used as political strategy to have a control over the local electorate. A formula based allocation of development funds is thus extremely important. Formula for such allocations can consider among other things, weightage assigned to factors like developmental status, developmental needs, availability of basic health, education and sanitation facilities, employment opportunities and geographical position of regions and degree of geographical concentration or dispersal of population in various regions.

Generating revenues by levying new taxes, raising the existing tax rates or even broadening the tax base however, is not a very desirable option for local politicians. Public demands services but is reluctant to pay for it. Since politicians' future incumbency depends on votes from constituency, their willingness to generate revenue from local tax sources is always restrained. Appointed public officials on the other hand, do not have to face such dilemma since their tenure in office in secured. User fees have the added advantage of enhancing fiscal autonomy of local governments (Bardhan & Mookherjee, 2006a) but user charges cannot be used to finance anti-poverty programs such as targeted public distribution of food, education or health services (Bardhan, 2002). Apart from that, in places where local administrations have a corrupt history, people are reluctant to pay user fees, be it even a meagre tokenistic amount. The delegation of authority for tax generation and public spending to the elected local government can enhance the

public accountability thereby revitalising public's confidence in an accessible and efficient local government. On the contrary, if local governments are mostly dependant on the fiscal transfers from the central or regional government, efficiency in both revenue generation and public spending is more likely to be negatively affected. In principle, fiscal decentralisation upholds the involvement of the local taxpayers via their respective local councils in local public expenditure process that reduces the incidence of corruption and resource wastage. Hence, in theory, fiscal decentralisation not only improves the efficiency of spending the development and recurring public funds but also improves the revenue collection in the long run.

Localisation and Corruption
The answer to the question: 'whether localisation increases or decreases the incidence of and opportunities for corruption' is rather complicated. Depending on various contexts, associations between localisation and reduction of corruption shows contradictory and diverse outcomes. The assessment of the underlying factors fuelling the incidence of corruption in public sector is complex and so is the association between localisation and corruption. Decentralisation creates hundreds of new public authorities, each having powers to tax, spend and regulate, which makes them vulnerable to corruption (Shah, 2006). On the contrary though, Seabright (1996 cited in Shah, 2006) argues that accountability is always better at the local level, since the local citizens who are better informed about the governments' performance can vote these governments out of office. Crook and Manor (2000) examined the process of political decentralisation in India (Karnatka state), Bangladesh, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana and observed that in Karnatka, India, political decentralisation substantially reduced the amount of public funds diverted by powerful individuals. However, since citizens were not aware of these diversions, they concluded that corruption had increased.

Based upon the evidence from Karnatka, they conclude that political decentralisation reduces grand theft and increases petty corruption in the short-run nevertheless in the long run, both are likely to lessen. This example indicates that the local governments' attainment of political maturity is positively associated with the reduction of incidence of grand corruption therefore the local governments' ability to reduce the levels of corruption in the long-run may well be relied upon. Similarly, based upon a review of political decentralisation process in Colombia, Fiszbein (1997) concludes that competition for the political office opened the door for responsible and innovative leadership that in turn became the driving force behind capacity building, improved service delivery and reduced corruption at the local level. Following the main line of argument in this paper, it is argued that the long-term involvement political institutions and improvements in civic engagement may bring down the levels of corruption in public sector. In the rule-

bound civil administration, it is extremely difficult for citizens to participate in the reduction of corruption. The local government representatives can be held accountable to the citizens and voted out of office for corruption whereas the appointed public officials cannot be voted out of office for the charges of corruption. Bardhan and Mookherjee (2006b) suggest that elite capture (a form of corruption) may be contained by improving literacy, civic education, monitoring by civil society organisations, media and support from the higher level of governments.

Concluding Note

This paper has attempted to review the issues that hinder the efficacy of decentralised governments in developing societies. To begin with, one of the core deficiencies was identified in the form of local representatives' lack of managerial skills and insufficient delegation of official authority. This challenge can be overcome with regular training programmes facilitated by the central government. In addition, the local incumbents' official capacity and managerial skills can be improved if the decentralised governments are formally institutionalised as a regular tier of government; local governments are kept functional over a period of time; and local elections are held on a regular basis. Sporadic and ad hoc implementation of reforms not only affects the skills and official capacity of incumbents but also lead to greater rifts between civil administration and decentralised government.

Decentralisation is not only a solution to the problems emanating from social heterogeneity and economic polarisation, but it also gives political voice to the regional political forces and therefore helps in pacification of secessionist uprising. Political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation policy serves as a safety net and helps in reintegrating the marginalised groups of the ethnically diverse and fragmented societies wherein the equitable provision of social services is quite complex. Although the elite capture of local resources is both possible and generally undesirable, with improvements in civic engagement and political activism, the excessive and corrupt elite domination can be resisted. It is therefore argued that civic engagement and political activism are positively associated with the development of a political society which is an integral part of state's institutions. The indifference of citizens and lower levels of political activism impedes the long-term institutionalisation of all political institutions including the local governments.

Civil society organisations have an enormous potential to augment the performance of the governments. At the local levels, politics revolves around the local civic affairs and therefore civic engagement is highly dependent on the extent to which civil society organisations compliment the local governments.

Principally, decentralisation is about consolidating the political institutions and political institutions can only be consolidated with civic engagement. Harmonious inter-organisational and inter-governmental working relationships are foundational for the institutions of governance on all levels of the state. Protected by the constitution, balanced rationing of political, administrative and fiscal powers in all institutions of governance for example appropriate allocation of functions and official authority, fiscal autonomy, timely availability of resources, support from the national and regional government, and technical support from bureaucracy helps in mitigating the inter-organisational coordination issues. The political maturity of local governments in the long run also decreases the probability of corruption. An apt policy of fiscal decentralisation is crucially important for enhancing the public accountability of the local governments. Contrarily, total reliance on grants from the higher levels of government, hinders the development of fiscal management skills and undermines the fiscal autonomy of the locally elected councils thereby threatening the equitable redistribution and attainment of economic efficiency.

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Fighting Polio: Why Radio Dramas Failed in Pakistan?

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Abstract

Entertainment Education strategies have been successfully used in health campaigns for the prevention of different diseases across the globe, especially in the under-developed countries. Radio drama is an important instrument of the Entertainment Education strategies. Radio dramas have been used in successful health campaigns in Africa and Asia. Radio dramas have been particularly successful in targeting the underprivileged population. Deutsche Welle (DW), the German international broadcaster, keeping in mind the effectiveness of radio dramas in bringing social change, introduced this genre of drama in Pakistan in 2012. The radio station produced and aired radio dramas targeting Pakhtoon population that resides in Northwestern province of Pakistan. The Pakhtoon population traditionally lives in the tribal setup; they lag in terms of socio- economic and political development. These dramas were aimed at creating awareness about health and bringing positive changes in social behavior and general well-being of the targeted population. This paper presents a discourse analysis of radio dramas. The study attempts to determine whether the dramas' scripts adhere to any theoretical framework of the EE or health campaigns strategies? Other questions addressed by the authors include: What messages were included in the radio broadcasts analyzed? Was the production process based on any theoretical foundation? What themes were developed in the radio broadcasts analyzed? What types of characters were featured in the broadcasts? It is argued that the production process was not based on any theoretical framework. The dramas did not adhere to the basic principles of the Education Entertainment strategies and health communication campaigns.

Keywords: Entertainment Education; Radio Dramas; Pakistan; DW; Health Campaigns; Polio

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Introduction

Poliovirus remains endemic in two countries—Pakistan and Afghanistan. During the first four months of 2016, eight polio cases were recorded in Pakistan and two in Afghanistan. Majority of the cases in Pakistan emerged in the ethnically

Pakhtun-dominated areas of Pakistan: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), bordering Afghanistan. From January 2014 to April 2016, 368 cases of poliovirus emerged in Pakistan; 77.17 per cent (284) of these were recorded in the FATA and Pakhtunkhwa province. The Pakistani government and the international community are facing a stern resistance in the vaccination plans against polio, especially after the assassination of al-Qaeda chief Osama bin Laden.

Resistance to the polio vaccination has been attributed to different reasons including insecurity in the area and the "war on terror," vaccination fatigue, religious beliefs of the people, local culture and traditions, and the CIA's alleged use of vaccination workers to track down Bin Ladin in 2011 (Owais, Khowaja, Ali, & Zaidi, 2013; Closser, 2010; Ahmad, Bux, Yousuf, 2015; Closser, 2012). The government and the international community have devised many strategies to eradicate polio in Pakistan. These included administrative, political, and communication strategies. High-level officials from the government of Pakistan are participating in the anti-polio campaigns; while police officials have been deployed for the security of polio vaccine workers. The political and administrative strategies are being supported by communication strategies devised by the government and the international non-governmental organizations with media campaigns as a major part of it. The media strategies included delivering messages through billboards, advertisements, and radio and television productions.

Resident of FATA and Pakhtunkhwa province rely on different radio stations for news and information on current affairs. Radio is popular among the people due to lack of accessibility to newspapers or cable television, low-literacy rates, and economic problems, among other reasons. According to FATA Development Household Indicator Survey (2015), Radio Free Europe (Pashto service), Voice of America (Pashto service), BBC (Pashto service), Deutsche Welle (Pashto service), and Radio Pakistan are the most popular radio channels in FATA.

Deutsche Welle (DW) started its 'Learning by Ear' project in Pakistan in 2012. The German news organization teamed up with more than 63 FM radio stations from Pakistan to broadcast its radio dramas throughout the country to bring a social change and to create awareness about critical issues such as child labor polio vaccination and mother-child care (DW, 2012). In 2012, DW radio's Urdu and Pashto services aired a series of radio dramas that were targeted at bringing about a social change to Pakhtunkhwa and FATA. Producers and writers of the series claimed that the dramas were specifically aimed at changing behaviors of the target audience about polio vaccination and mother-child health. DW was the first radio organization in Pakistan that tried to bring awareness about vaccination

campaigns to its audience. The organization claimed that its radio dramas reached 90 per cent of the listeners in Pakistan through its partners. However, no research has so far been conducted to evaluate the content of these dramas or their effectiveness. This paper aims to analyze the radio dramas produced by DW and broadcasted by its partner FM radios in Pakistan to find out:

RQ1. What messages were included in the radio broadcasts analyzed?
RQ2. Was the production process based on any theoretical foundation?
RQ3. What themes were developed in the radio broadcasts analyzed?
RQ4. What types of characters were featured in the broadcasts?

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON EDUCATION ENTERTAINMENT

A. Entertainment Education and Social Change
Entertainment Education (EE) strategy has been shown to be a successful tool for bringing social change and reducing health disparities among the less privileged communities of the less developed countries (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). The EE strategy involves production of radio dramas, television dramas, music, songs, telenovelas and other genres to educate the people about different social issues. Radio dramas have been used in the developing and underdeveloped countries like Pakistan, Turkey, Mexico, Tanzania, and others to create awareness about mother-child health issues, HIV/AIDS, and sexual responsibility (Singhal & Rogers, 1989, 1999; Kincaid, Yun, Piotrow, & Yaser, 1993). The EE strategy has its roots in Bandura's (1977) Social Cognitive Theory. The theory states that perceived self-efficacy plays an important driving force in human behavior.

EE characters are created to serve as positive role models, negative role models, or transitional models that start off with poor behavior and then move to positive, desired behaviors. "The role modeling by the characters is thought to affect perceptions of the self-efficacy among listeners" (Farr, Witte, & Menard, 2006). Radio dramas have been especially successful as entertainment education strategies because of their ability to involve listeners in the storyline and helping the listeners in making reflexive moves about their health.

Radio dramas are one of the important entertainment education tools that have been used to bring social change in Asia and Africa (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Karmacharya (1999) analyzed a theory-based multimedia reproductive health campaign in Nepal that consisted of radio dramas. The researcher found that radio dramas helped improve clients' self-efficacy to deal with providers and improved their attitudes towards health services. However, Pant, Singhal, and Bhasin (2002) argue that dramas could only achieve desired goals if attention is paid to "production and reception factors." They cited examples of the radio

drama "Dehleez" (Threshold), a 52-episode radio drama broadcast by All India Radio; the drama addressed issues like teenage sexuality and HIV/AIDS. The drama was well received by the audience and is considered as a successful EE intervention. Farr, Witte, Jarato, and Menard (2006) explored the level of exposure of people in Ethiopia to the radio drama "Journey of Life." They found that the drama appeared to have strong effects and high listenership.

B. Theoretical Foundation of EE: Social Cognitive Theory
Bandura (2005) posited that an individual learns through two different ways - through direct experience or by the way of social modeling. He argues that "modeling influence serves diverse functions in promoting personal and social change" that includes instructive, motivational, social prompting, and social construction functions. "Observers learn to fear that which frightened or injured models, to dislike what repulsed them ... Seeing others gain desired outcomes can create outcome expectations that serve as positive motivators" (Bandura, 2005).

Humans learn from social environment and role models however other factors also play an important role in deciding whether an individual will perform the actions s/he learnt or not. One of the most important factors, according to Bandura (1997), is perceived self-efficacy that provides individuals the determination to overcome the barriers hindering performance of certain actions. Therefore, one of the main goals of EE interventions is to provide individuals with the efficacy to perform certain actions (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Individuals' beliefs can be influenced in four ways: "1) through mastery experiences, 2) social modeling, 3) social persuasion, or 4) construal of physical and emotional states," (Bandura, 2005).

Social Cognitive Theory also posits that along with an individual's self-efficacy, collective self-efficacy also helps individuals perform certain actions. If members of a group or tribe think that together they have the agency to overcome certain difficulties and bring a change to their lifestyle, they are going to perform the actions. Bandura (2005) argued that "people's shared belief in their collective power to realize the futures they seek is a key ingredient of collective agency."

C. Audience Involvement in EE strategies
Moyer-Guse' (2008) radio dramas involve audiences on the strength of their narrative structure. She argued that EE messages are designed in ways that involve the audience in the storyline. Green and Brock (2000) labeled audience involvement in the plot of a radio drama as "transportation." They argued that as the drama unfolds, the audience show cognitive and emotional responses and immerse themselves in the unfolding events of the dramas rather than their immediate environments. Moyer-Guse (2008) used audience involvement as an

overarching category of concepts that "consists of identification, wishful identification, similarity, para-social interaction, and liking."

Identification: Identification is a mechanism through which the audience starts seeing themselves as a part of the plot and events that unfold in a drama and receives the message and interprets it from the inside (Cohen, 1999). In the process of identification, the audience becomes part of the narrative and imagine themselves as the character they admire. Marley (1992) argues that media text couldn't have an effect without the process of identification.

Wishful Identification: Giles (2002) posited that wishful identification takes place when a listener tries to be like a character or wishes to emulate a character. Bandura (1986) explored that audience members try to emulate attractive models in EE programs.

Similarity: Cohen (2001) argued that similarity is a pre-requisite for identification. Similarity refers to the audience's perception of their proximity to the characters. Eyal and Rubin (2003) identified perceived similarity as attributed to physical and demographic variables, beliefs, or values.

*Liking***:** Giles (2002) described liking as social attraction toward someone or having a positive opinion of a character.

Parasocial Interaction: Explaining Parasocial Interaction, Papa et al. (2000) listed the prime objective of EE programs as creating socially desirable attitudes and beliefs among the audience. They argued that in a parasocial relationship, a media consumer looks at a character as a role model due to his/her positive appreciation of the values of that character.

D. Education, Health Campaigns, and Health Interventions

Health campaigns have more chance of success when planners develop plans that consider critical information about the cultural and behavioral orientations of the target audience through formative research (Maibach & Kreps, 2002; Noar, 2006). The planners should base their interventions on a theory that explains the behaviors of their targeted audience and provides directions on what kind of message should be produced to change their behaviors (Maibach & Kreps, 2002; Noar, 2006). Literature suggests that health campaigns planners should design messages that are novel and would create interpersonal discussions (Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Noar, 2006). One of the most important aspects of the creation of health campaign messages is that they should be relevant to the cultures of the target audience (Maibach & Parrott, 1995). The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981) asserts that individuals are more likely to

process information if they think that it is personally relevant to them. Therefore, formative research, audience segmentation, message development, and theoretical foundations become vital points of health communication strategies including EE.

3. Methodology

In 2012-13, Deutsche Welle (DW) radio's (Urdu and Pashto services) aired a series of radio dramas aimed at changing behaviors of the residents of FATA and Pakhtunkhwa about polio vaccination and mother-child health. The dramas targeted three main issues: 1) Polio vaccination; 2) Importance of female education; and 3) Importance of technical education for people living in the rural areas. For this study, we chose the radio drama series "Loye Jazbe" (High Desires), since it aimed at changing behaviors about polio vaccination among its listeners. The drama consisted of 10 episodes. Each episode consisted of five scenes. Each episode was five minutes long. The drama was aired in Pashto language and later on translated and produced in Urdu language for the Urdu-speaking listeners in Pakistan.

For this study, all the episodes were transcribed into Pashto by the researcher and then translated back into English. To make sure the translation was error-free and was the actual representation of the Pashto version, the researcher hired services of a professional translator in Pakistan who was expert in translations from Pashto into English. The translator translated the script from Pashto to English and then back-translated into Pashto.

The researcher also obtained access to the documents detailing the production process of the radio dramas. The documents included the process of writing the dramas, recording them, and producing them. The documents also included a list of the actors who played different roles in the drama and their demographics. The script was then analyzed using discourse analysis (Lupton, 1992). Van Dijk (1988) argued that discourse analysis not only helps the researchers look at the structure of discourse, but it also relates structural dimensions of a discourse to the broader, social, cultural, and political discourse. Lupton (1992) explained that textual discourse is concerned with micro elements of a discourse such as grammar, syntax, sound forms, and rhetorical devices; whereas contextual dimensions pay attention to the reproduction of ideologies and "the link between discourse structure and social interactions and relations." The researcher argues that the way in which a character performs, or an issue is rhetorically represented or said is more important than the number of times the issue is discussed in a discourse (Van Dijk, 1990).

Discourse analysis helped analyze the process of the production of these dramas in-depth, which other methods could not allow. Also, discourse analysis allowed us to analyze the scripts and the production process of the EE interventions in a way that has not been studied previously.

Results

The drama addresses three issues at a time: 1) mother and child health; 2) primary vaccinations; 3) and polio vaccination. The story revolves around three families living in a village where no basic health facilities are available.

Family 1: Jalal Khan, a feudal lord, is the head of the village. He has a wife, Zar Begum, and a son, Wadan Khan. Khan's son was born fifteen years after his marriage. He loves his son. Khan is against polio vaccination in the village. He also resists other health campaigns initiated by the government and non-governmental organizations in the area. No health campaign could achieve its targets in the village due the opposition of the Khan and his family.

Family 2: Ajmal Khan is the first cousin of Jalal Khan, the feudal lord. He has two daughters and one son. He has enrolled his children in a school. Ajmal's elder daughter, Raheela, is married to a doctor, Saeed, the protagonist. The doctor lives with his family in the metropolis. He often visits his wife's village. He is worried about the deteriorating health conditions of the children living in the village. He is also concerned with the failure of health campaigns in the area. He informs his father-in-law that rejection of the polio drops, and other campaigns initiated by the government can result in epidemic diseases in the village.

Family 3: Wajid also lives in the same village with his family. He belongs to a poor and "uneducated" family. He has only one son, Kamran. Wajid arranges Kamran's marriage with his niece, Shagufta, at a very young age. Wajid spends all his savings on Kamran's wedding. Kamran and his wife both are adolescents; it is very hard for them to understand each other at this young age. As a result of these quarrels, many times Kamran's wife went back to her mother's house but Wajid always convinced her to come back.

Life goes on, and Kamran's wife becomes pregnant. Unfortunately, both Kamran and his wife do not know how to handle this situation. His wife does her routine household work, without the awareness of her condition. She does not receive prenatal care. She experiences complications at the time of delivery. The doctors manage to save the lives of both the mother and the child. On the advice of Jalal Khan, the feudal lord, both Kamran and his wife refuse to vaccinate their only child. They believe the vaccinations are hazardous to health. Their child gets hepatitis. They take the kid to a hospital in the city, where they meet Dr. Saeed.

Dr. Saeed treats the child and advises them to vaccinate their children regularly in the future in order to avoid further complications.

After this incident, Dr. Saeed, with the support of his wife and father-in-law, starts a vaccination campaign in the village. Initially, he faces opposition from Jalal Khan, the feudal lord. However, he continues the campaign with dedication. Meanwhile Jalal Khan's own son falls prey to polio. Khan realizes his mistakes and starts supporting health campaigns in the village. With the help of Dr. Saeed, Jalal Khan and local people, the government manages to eradicate the menace of polio from the village.

RQ1: Was the production based on any formative research?

The documents show that the producers did not do any formative research before production of the drama. The producers and scriptwriters assumed that since they themselves were ethnically Pakhtuns, they knew everything about Pakhtun values and culture. All the crew of the drama, from producers, script writers, to actors were from Peshawar city, the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province but the target audience of the drama were mainly people living in the rural areas of the province and FATA. The documents describe the target audience as "uneducated". Formative research would have helped the producers hire writers who understood the cultural nuances of the people living in the rural areas of the province. The values and cultures of the Pakhtuns living in rural areas of Pakistan and FATA are different from those living in urban areas. The drama is based on a stereotypical image of the residents of Peshawar that feudal lords rule villages in the rural areas of Pakistan and FATA. Formative research would have helped them realize that feudalism does not exist in the Pakhtun villages. Instead, the clergy is influential in stopping people from vaccinating their children.

RQ2. What messages were included in the radio broadcast?

The drama tried to create awareness about polio vaccination campaigns. However, due to lack of any theoretical guidance, the script failed to deliver the message properly. Bandura's (1986) Social Cognitive Theory posits that an individual is more likely to act on a message if s/he feels the self-efficacy to perform that action. However, the messages delivered by the drama rather than creating self-efficacy, presents common residents of rural areas as dependent on feudal lords, and having no agency. For example, in episode one, scene three, Jalal Khan, the feudal lord, claims, "nothing can be done in the village without his orders." In episode eight, scene one, the feudal lord again warns his brother that nothing can be done in the village without his permission. He says, "Listen carefully, I don't have time for useless things, and you cannot convince me. You

cannot establish a hospital in the village without my permission." In the fourth episode, scene five, a person informs the protagonist, Dr. Saeed: "Khan won't let us establish a hospital in the village."

In the last episode, eventually, the protagonist manages to successfully run a vaccination campaign in the village, but after obtaining the permission of the feudal lord. The feudal lord gives permission when his son is attacked by poliovirus. Bandura (2005) argues that individuals are more likely to perform an action when they feel they have the individual and collective agency to perform the desired action. The message delivered by the drama is that individuals cannot change their social conditions unless supported by the feudal ("Khans" in this case).

RQ3. What themes were developed in the radio broadcast analyzed?

The researchers analyzed script of the drama for themes. The themes emerging from the script are given below.

Vaccination can save lives of children but…: The drama revolves around the theme that children could be saved from diseases, especially polio, if vaccinated. It discusses the importance of vaccination in all five episodes. For example, in the last episode (episode 10), the feudal's son is diagnosed with polio. He is taken to the hospital in a critical condition. There the protagonist Dr. Saeed tells his wife that "the feudal's son will be paralyzed for whole life due to polio attack." In the last scene of episode 10, the feudal feels remorse that he did not vaccinate his kid against polio. He says: "I feel guilty that I did not vaccinate my son. He is paralyzed due to polio attack. However, I promise that I will try my level best to eradicate polio from our village, our country, and our world."

People living in rural areas have no agency: In almost every episode the drama gives a message that people living in the rural areas have no agency to change their conditions. It conveys a message that people are dependent on the approval of feudal lords even to get basic health facilities. The drama also conveys a message that even the government is helpless and cannot confront powerful feudal lords. The last scene of the third episode summarizes this message perfectly. In the scene, two characters (Rashid, a servant of Jalal Khan, and Seelay, a midwife) talk about health facilities in the village:

Seelay: Rasheed, don't you think it would have been great if we had a hospital in the village. I would render my services to the hospital.
Rasheed: Stop daydreaming. Our village cannot have a hospital so long as the Khan is alive.

Only educated and well-off women have agency: The characters are developed in a way that promotes stereotypical understanding of women's issues in the rural areas of Pakistan. The drama promotes the view that only daughters of privileged people can think of or get access to education, while women belonging to underprivileged community stay at home. The daughters of Ajmal Khan, cousin of the feudal lord, are portrayed as girls who are educated and are empowered to share their thoughts with their parents and follow their dreams. A conversation between Sadaf, daughter of Ajmal Khan, and her mother goes like this:

"Jameela (mother): Your father and brother will be home soon. Make arrangements for their dinner.

Sadaf (Daughter): Dear mother, just two more hours. I finish my schoolwork first and then will take care of them.

Jameela: You never get time to do anything else except reading books. Whenever I ask you to do household work, you start doing school assignments.

Sadaf: This Saturday my examination starts, and I have to get good numbers. I want to get admission to a medical school (Episode 3).

On the other hand, Saghufta, who is the same age as Sadaf and belongs to a poor family, is portrayed as an obedient wife who follows the instructions of her husband and has no agency to take any decisions. In scene two, episode three, Sadaf asks her husband "If I take rest who will take care of the house?" The drama associated agency with wealth and conveyed the message that women belonging to wealthy families are empowered to make their own decisions and are educated, whereas women belonging to underprivileged families cannot make their own decisions and are always dependent on their husbands, even to make decisions about their own health. Associating agency and self-efficacy with wealth, gives a negative message to the women belonging to the underprivileged community.

RQ4. Were characters in the drama associated with cultures of the target audience?

The documents of the production process were analyzed to see whether the writers and the actors shared demographics with the target audience. The documents revealed that all the writers and actors were residents of Peshawar, capital city of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. The only common feature between the writers, actors, and the target audience was their language— Pashto.

However, Pashto has many dialects. Pashto spoken in the urban areas is distinctively different from Pashto spoken in the rural areas of Pakistan and FATA. The dialects differ in the way words are spoken. Pashto spoken in the urban areas is influenced by Urdu language, whereas Pashto spoken in FATA is influenced by Persian and the Pashto dialect that is spoken in Afghanistan.

The characters of the dramas in no way portrayed the culture of the rural areas of Pakhtunkhwa or FATA. The characters were built on the stereotypical image of life in the rural areas and FATA. The analysis of one of the main characters, Jalal Khan, helps in exploring the characterizations in the drama. The character is in contrast with the realities on the ground. In rural areas of Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, by and large there is no tradition of feudalism. The character is borrowed from Urdu language dramas broadcast on national television that portray culture in the Punjab and Balochistan provinces of Pakistan. The culture of feudalism does not exist in FATA and the rural areas of Pakistan. Therefore, there are very few chances that the target audience will identify with this character.

Discussion
The analysis of the radio drama "*Loye Jazbe*" (High Desires), broadcast by DW, showed that basic entertainment-education techniques were not followed during its production. The main goals of entertainment education interventions are to create social role models for the audience and provide individuals with the self-efficacy to emulate actions of the social role models (Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Bandura, 2000). However, the drama does not contain the messages that could give individuals the feelings of empowerment or self-efficacy. Papa et al., (2000) posit, "An entertainment-education program provides audience members with examples of behaviors that are socially desirable or undesirable through positive and negative role models. These role models enact behaviors that are appealing or unappealing to audience members." The producers managed to create positive and negative characters successfully; however, the character of villain in the story was empowered to an extent that it disenfranchised the protagonist who wanted to improve health systems in the village. The drama also showed other characters without any agency. The setting of the plot makes a stereotypical presentation of life in FATA, a representation that has been defining this part of the world since long. For development and social change there is a need for a futuristic approach that could give the audience hope and reason for action. The drama remains loyal to the present prejudice within the media structure and the national narrative, but fails to give a picture of the future that signifies social change.

Collective self-efficacy is the notion that members of a community can unite and achieve their desired goals (Bandura, 2000), can also motivate individuals to strive to achieve their targets. The drama writers, however, did not include any

message that could promote and increase collective self-efficacy among the members of the target audience. The drama scripts, rather, helped support the status quo. The drama shows that all the villagers were hapless in the face of the feudal lord. The writers make the audience believe that neither the government nor any other individual could save them and help bring social change, unless God wanted this to happen; the message strengthens fatalistic beliefs. The feudal lord (villain) in the story is only convinced to let the doctor open a hospital in the village when his own son is diagnosed with polio and he thinks that God punished him for doing harm to the people of the village by not letting them have a health facility.

Documents of the production process of the drama also showed that the producers and the writers did not do any formative research. Literature shows that EE interventions are successful when the audience identifies with the characters and perceive themselves to be a part of the character (Cohen, 2001; Papa et al., 2000). The audience only identifies with the character when they feel similarity to the character. Eyal and Rubin (2003) argued that similarity could be cultural, physical or geographical. However, the producers of the drama did not make sure that the actors shared similarities with the target audience. The actors who performed different roles in the drama did not share any cultural, economic, or political similarities with the target audience.

The value of language, sound, and accent becomes very important in radio production. The utterance of words and sentences make a big difference in radio. The dialects and accent of the people of rural areas of Pakhtunkhwa and FATA are different from the people living in cities, like Peshawar. In the absence of any formative research, the producers hired writers and actors who were also residents of the city and did not speak Pashto the way the target audience speaks it. This circumstance reduced the chances of audiences identifying with different characters. The characters remained "others" to the audience. The producers did not involve members of the target community at any stage of the production process. Involvement of the community members in the production phase could have helped improve the message of the drama.

Conclusion
Basic principles of health campaigns and entertainment-education strategies were violated during the production of the radio drama "Loye Jazbe" (High Desires). The characters of the drama did not bear any similarity with the values of the target audience. Formative research (Noar, 2006) could have improved qualities of the drama. In addition to the entertainment-education strategies recommended by EE experts (Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Bandura, 2005), the production of radio

dramas could also benefit from the principles of Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) (Israel, Scholz, & Parker, 2005).

CBPR is a process by which the community members, in this case, the target audience, and organizational representatives, in this case producers, equitably contribute expertise, share decision making, and ownership of data (Israel, et al., 2008). The community involvement can help in developing messages appropriate to the cultures of the target audience. The community members can also be invited to perform different characters in these dramas. The more community members are involved in these dramas, the more the target communities will identify with characters. Involving community members in the dramas and letting them perform different characters can also improve the para-social interaction between the audience and the actors that is regarded as vital for the success of entertainment-education interventions.

In this research, only one radio drama was critically analyzed. In 2014, WHO reported highest number of polio cases, 306, in the history of Pakistan. It shows that not only the radio dramas failed to make any impact, but also other communication strategies used by the government of Pakistan and international organizations failed to convince people to vaccinate their children. The government of Pakistan in collaboration with international donor agencies has been using other strategies of intervention to eradicate polio by changing behavior of the people. For example, public service messages on radio, television, newspapers, billboards and banners were regularly employed. A near true picture of whether entertainment-education campaigns are successful in bringing a social change will require an analysis of the entire genre. Besides, the government has also engaged religious scholars in the campaign to counter propaganda against vaccination and convince the people that it is a religious obligation to vaccinate their children. The overall media discourse on the issue remains elitist and elusive. The drama fits into the faulty national media narrative. It is part of the overall discourse structure, which is not very successful. For being useful it should have been audience centered and research oriented.

However, this research can help the government of Pakistan and other organizations to make their health campaigns more effective by producing research-based programing. This research also shows that how important it is for producers, writers, and performers of social change interventions to have a cultural competence. Cultural competence enables strategists to understand cultural nuances and shape their interventions accordingly. Moreover, the strategists are also required to avoid being home blind by becoming part of the elitist discourse on social issues. Entertainment-education practitioners need to have a "marginal gaze where things look strange enough to present themselves as

puzzles" (Neumann 2008). Thus, social change campaigns require planners to have an insider-outsider perspective to accentuate taken-for-granted negative behaviors and, at the same time, to not lose attention of the audience by paying close attention of cultural nuances.

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The Tribal Areas under the Administration of the West Pakistan Province

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Abstract

Tribal Areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan (FATA, PATA and Frontier Region) are now-a-days under focus in national and international geo-political strategies. To avoid any future disturbance in the region after Pakistan army's operation *Zarb-e-Azb*, suggestions are circulating of amalgamating this region with the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or creating a new province comprising of the said areas. But very few of us know that in the past it remained part of a province which was the province of West Pakistan (1955-1970) comprised of all the territories of today's Pakistan. The Province of West Pakistan, for administrative purpose, was divided into Divisions. The former province of North-West Frontier was comprised of two Divisions: Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan under the charge of Commissioners. At the dissolution of West Pakistan Province (March 1970) three provinces of the region were reinstated and Balochistan was created as a full-fledged province as well and only the Tribal Area of North West was returned to the Federal authority.

Keywords: One Unit; Frontier Region; Agency; Political Agent; Division.

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Introduction and Background

A Tribal Area in Pakistan means a region inhabited by the tribesmen and excluded from the control of police, revenue, and justice departments of the general administration. Spread over an area of 27,220 sq. km with total population of approximately 3,176,331 persons according to the 1998 census, the Tribal Area is administered through the 1901 Frontier Crimes Regulations.

From time immemorial the Western Hindu Kush Mountain Range permitted invaders to pass through it to Indian Plains but never encouraged to settle, due to geographical hardships. The Mughals only maintained their hold to keep their routes open to Kabul and Qandhar. Sikhs had stopped their conquests at the foots of the Western hills. British Imperial designs compelled by Russo-phobia succeeded in drawing a Frontier with Afghanistan, Durand Line (1893) and developed an indirect system of administration through Agencies and Frontier Regions by Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners in charge respectively.

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Frontier States and Tribal Areas acceded to Pakistan by negotiation with Quaid-e-Azam and became part of the Federation of Pakistan and a Ministry of States and Frontier Region (SAFRON) was established to look after its affairs (Khan, 66).

Another important Political and Constitutional development in Pakistan was the formation of One Unit Scheme in the western half of Pakistan. The then Governor General, Malik Ghulam Mohammad, wanted to inaugurate it by an executive order in March 1955 but was compelled by the Federal Court to appoint a Constituent Assembly for that purpose; Frontier States and Tribal Areas were allocated eight seats (Gazette, 1955) in the Constituent Assembly. The Province of West Pakistan was established by integrating provinces and states through a Parliamentary Act called the Establishment of West Pakistan Act, 1955 (Aziz 30), and was inaugurated on October 14, 1955 (Dawn, 1955).

The Tribal Areas of Baluchistan, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier, and the states of Amb, Chitral, Dir, and Swat, which were referred to as 'Specified Territories,' were incorporated into the Province of West Pakistan in accordance with the section 2 (1) (b) 4 of the Establishment of West Pakistan Act 1955; no change in the internal administration of the 'Special Area' (Tribal Area) was authorized. Furthermore, the Act provided for the mechanism through which a Law or Act could be extended, or Regulation made for the 'Specified Territories,' and directives given by the Governor General to the Governor regarding Tribal Areas (Gazette, 1955). For the administrative purpose, the West Pakistan was divided into 10 Divisions, which were sub-divided into 50 districts under the executive authority of the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners respectively. The former NWFP and Tribal Areas comprised the following Divisions:
1. Peshawar Division: The districts of Peshawar, Mardan, Hazara and Cambellpur; the States of Dir, Swat and Chitral; the Tribal Areas attached to the districts of Peshawar, Mardan and Hazara; and the Agencies of Malakand, Mohmand and Khyber.
2. Dera Ismail Khan Division: The districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Mianwali; the Tribal Areas attached to the districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Kohat; and the Agencies of Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan (PLD., 1955).

In this divisional arrangement Kohat and Kurram Agency were part of the Dera Ismail Khan Division. However, they were incorporated into the Peshawar Division on November 25, 1960 through the President's proclamation mainly owing to the great hardships people faced in maintaining their links with the distant divisional headquarter of Dera Ismail Khan (PLD, 1960). In the establishment of West Pakistan Act, 1955 the arrangement of seats to the

Legislative Assembly of the Province and the number of member of each of the Council of elders (Jirga) of Tribal Area and Frontier states were mentioned as follows:

Tribal Areas of Former NWFP

a) Khyber Agency – Three
b) Kurram Agency – Two
c) Malakand Protected Areas – One
d) Other parts of Malakand Agency – Two
e) South Waziristan Agency and Dera Ismail Khan Tribal Areas – Two
f) North Waziristan Agency and Bannu Tribal Area – Two
g) Mohmand Agency – Two
h) Tribal Areas adjoining Hazara and Mardan districts – Six
i) Tribal Areas adjoining Kohat Districts –Two

Frontier States

i. Chitral –One
ii. Dir –Two
iii. Swat – Six (Islam, 1989).

In short, out of 310 seats of West Pakistan Assembly 30 seats were allotted to the members from the Tribal Areas of North-West Frontier Province. The same adjustments of seats, the term 'Special Areas' and the same status was maintained under section 104,126 (2)178 and 218 under the Constitution of 1956. Provision of seats was also made in the National Assembly for those areas. In West Pakistan Legislative Assembly, during budget session in March 1957, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan in his speech commented about the Tribal Areas that if any part of the Area expressed a desire to be merged in the province, that should be treated at par with the rest of the province and it should be accepted within the fold. No part of these areas should be coerced to come into the West Pakistan administration. He asked from the house, "How long are we going to keep those areas out of jurisdiction of high court? At least the towns in the Tribal Areas where you have a settled administration should come under the jurisdiction of the high court. At present the political agents felt that they were rulers, this setup must be changed". He was well appreciated by the House (Debates, 1957).

Administration of Tribal Areas
A permanent department of Tribal Affairs was constituted for the Tribal Areas of former NWFP and Baluchistan in the West Pakistan Government Secretariat at Lahore after the establishment of West Pakistan Province. The department had

the authority of Tribal Administration and its Development. The headquarters of department was established in Peshawar. It also assumed the authority of the Civil Armed Forces, namely the Frontier Constabulary, Frontier Corps, Levis and Khassadars. The department was headed by a Secretary and under him were a Deputy and an Under Secretary respectively.

The Tribal Affairs department was empowered to initiate policies which would be implemented on the executive side by the concerned Divisional Commissioners with the help of Political Agents and other officials. Previously the executive powers and responsibilities in respect of the Tribal Affairs and the Frontier Corps exercised by the Agent to the Governor General or the Governor were assumed by the Commissioners of the Divisions. The department was also to deal with Afghan refugees and payment of maintenance allowance to them (Year Book, 1956).

The Tribal Affairs department, under new arrangement, was headed by a minister of the West Pakistan Government at Peshawar. This minister, however, resigned in February 1956 and the responsibility of the Department was entrusted to Chief Minister of West Pakistan. Sir Olaf Caroe, former Governor of NWFP province during his visit to Pakistan especially the Tribal Areas, in 1956, submitted observation pertaining to the administrative arrangements of the region under the Constitution of 1956 in writing form under the title, *The Constitution and the N.W. Frontier.* He pointed out that the region is important in the context of Foreign Affairs and defense of not only Pakistan but of Sub-Continent. So, instead of making a Minister in charge of the Department it must be handed over to a senior Civil Servant of the State (Caroe, 1956).

On October 17, 1958, President Iskander Mirza, while proclaiming Martial Law, ordered abolishing four ministries in Center including the States and Frontier Region and entrusted its responsibility to Home Department (Khyber Mail, 1958). Later in 1959, a separate division of States and Frontier Regions, Government of Pakistan, under the Ministry of Interior was established for running and supervision of the Area. Some administrative changes were introduced in 1959 in the Tribal Affairs. The secretariat department of Tribal Affairs of West Pakistan was abolished, and its business was allocated to the Home Department as a measure of economy recommended by the West Pakistan Re-organisation Committee. A post of Commissioner and Resident-in-Frontier Region was created to look after the matter. A very senior official was appointed to stay at Peshawar. He was to be responsible for the administration of Malakand, Khyber, Mohmand, Kurram and North and South Waziristan Agencies and also exercised jurisdiction over the Tribal Areas attached to the districts of Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. He was also given extensive

powers and responsibility for close and personal supervision of all schemes aimed at the development of the Tribal people and their area. After some time, the post was abolished (Year Book, 1959).

The Tribal people wholeheartedly supported the state of Pakistan at its creation and in like manner they supported and welcomed the military regime and its policies. They appreciated the steps taken by the Martial Law authorities and its services to the Community. In return, it was promised by the military establishment that the administrative reforms initiated in West Pakistan would not least affect the internal arrangements of the Tribal Areas. The old customs and agreements governing the relationship between the Government and the Tribal Maliks would continue (*Khyber Mail*, 1960).

At the time of promulgation of Martial Law, the status quo was maintained in the Tribal Areas and it was instructed by the authorities that unless the Commissioner or Resident in the Frontier Regions requests the enforcement of the Martial Law in full or in part, the restrain would be maintained. But later Martial Law Regulation No. 27, which made smuggling an offence, was endorsed by Law Ministry in Special Areas in September 1960. The Frontier Corps and Frontier Constabulary were made responsible for checking smuggling in the same manner as the border police did in other parts of the country. The secretary of States and Frontier Regions was instructed to formulate policy for applying anti-smuggling laws to the region (NDC, 1960).

In the Constitution of 1962, under Article 223, the status of Tribal Region was maintained; only the term "The Special Areas" used for the Tribal Areas of North West Frontier, Punjab and Baluchistan along with Frontier states Amb, Dir, Chitral and Swat was changed into Tribal Areas (PLD, 1962).

The Malakand Agency had three Frontier States of Chitral, Dir and Swat. Of them the ruler of Dir was involved in machination with Afghanistan against Government of Pakistan. Afghan intrigues in Pakistani territory were resented by the Tribal people. In a Tribal Jirga of Afridi and Shinwari tribes of Khyber Pass they warned the rulers of Kabul of dire consequences if they didn't put an end to their activities. The ruler of Dir was deposed and for improvement of administration on October 28, 1961, the President of Pakistan enforced Dir (extension of law) Regulation 1961 (NDC, 1961). Later on, for further progress on 10 June 1967, Dir Administration Regulation 1967 was issued (*Khyber Mail*, 1967).

The Basic Democracies Order 1959 was applied to the Tribal Areas under the West Pakistan Special Areas, Basic Democracies Rules, 1961 and was enforced on 29 November 1961. In the Tribal Area of Frontier and Baluchistan there were

three tiers of administration: Agency Councils, Divisional Councils and Provincial Advisory Committee. The authorities assured Tribal people that the representation of various tribes in Agency Council under Basic Democracies would be on the basis of population of each Agency. They were also assured that Tribesmen would have sufficient and large representation in the Provincial Advisory Council. Elections to various tiers of Basic Democracies were held in 1961 and various local Councils were inducted into the offices (Talbot, 2005).

The Divisional Councils meetings of both divisions of Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan, under the authority of Commissioners, were attended by the members of Agencies of Tribal region, Political Agents, Deputy Commissioners and heads of departments. All developmental projects and other major issues were discussed (*Shahbaz*, 1963). During the period of One Unit many Laws and Acts in the form of Regulations were extended to the Tribal Region. As gesture of support and to provide relief in time of need, the West Pakistan Government decided the extensions of West Pakistan Calamities (Prevention and Relief Act 1958) to the Tribal Areas of Quetta, Dera Ismail Khan and Peshawar Division. The Act, earlier applicable to the whole of West Pakistan, provided for maintenance and restoration of order, check and control of the calamities in the affected areas. As under the Article 223, 1962 Constitution, Provincial law could be extended to the Tribal Area by the Governor of West Pakistan only with the prior approval of the President. The Provincial Government had accordingly proposed a Regulation for extending the provision of the Act to the Tribal Area of Pakistan on March 8, 1963 (NDC 1963).

The disciplinary Regulation like West Pakistan Anti-Corruption Establishment Ordinance 1961, which provided for the establishment of a Special Agency for investigation of certain offences relating to corruption by public servants and for holding preliminary enquires against such government servants in West Pakistan was extended to the Tribal Areas on October 31, 1963. In March 1966, Anti-Corruption Laws of West Pakistan were extended to Tribal Areas by a Regulation (NDC, 1966). For the protection of projects in the Areas such as Warsak, Kurram Gari, and Gul Kach Dams, the official Secret Act of 1923 was extended to the respective Area under the title 'The Tribal Areas' (official secret) Regulation 1963 on December 30, 1963 (NDC, 1962).

Development
After integration of West Pakistan, it was decided to place more emphasis on development of the Tribal Areas. Under the instruction of Government of Pakistan, the Planning Board made provision of a big amount of budget for the future development of the most underdeveloped areas of West Pakistan in the draft of First Five Year Plan. The Planning Board made a provision of Rs.

500,000/- for social and economic research project to be taken by the University of Peshawar in the North-West Region of Tribal Area. The ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan requested the Board of Economic Enquiry, University of Peshawar to conduct economic survey of the Tribal Areas adjoining West Pakistan. The survey was later conducted by Mr. Nurul Islam in 1956 and was published in a book form. He made a thorough socio-economic study and recommended measures for the uplift of the region (Mian, 1956). As was claimed by the authorities that the main consideration for the integration of West Pakistan was to speed up the progress of the under developed areas. To justify the claim, the Government issued a press report on August 14, 1947 which stressed that there was a threefold increase in allocation in one year for these Areas. The details showed that in the Agencies and Frontier Regions many new and existing schemes were in progress (Year Book, 1957).

With a view to bring them at par with other areas of the province, the Central Cabinet decided on May 26, 1958 to setup an Administrative Council for Economic Development of Special Areas of former NWF Province and Baluchistan. The Council would meet at least once a month to consider plan for economic development and to review steps already taken. The Council was to deal mainly with development schemes connected with water, power, mineral resources, education, health, agriculture etc. The meeting of the Council was held on July 31, 1958 at Lahore and was chaired by the Chief Minister West Pakistan, Mir Muzaffar Ali Qazalbash. The meeting was attended by the Secretary, Tribal Affairs, West Pakistan and all the political Agents. The Chief Minister advised the Council to form Sub-Committees for the consideration of various schemes for approval to the Council which would hold its meeting every month at Peshawar and Quetta. A grant of Rs. 10,000,000 (10 Million) was placed at the disposal of the Council (NDC, 1958).

The Martial Law Government started with new zeal the development projects. The second and third Five Plan was extended to the region. Even on December 1, 1968, it was reported in the *Khyber Mail* that a 'Master Plan' envisaging an outlay of Rs. 2,600,000,000 (2.6 Billion) for development in the Tribal Regions during next 20 years was urged (*Khyber Mail*, 1968).

Dissolution of One Unit
Mohammad Ayub Khan resigned on 25 March 1969 and handed over power to General Mohammad Yaya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of army. Among major steps taken by Yaya Khan pertaining to the region was the 15 August 1969 Regulation called the Dir, Chitral and Swat (administration) Regulation 1969. Under this regulation the administration of the three states was transferred to West Pakistan. These States were constituted as districts under the Control of

Deputy Commissioners and other officers (PLD, 1970). Secondly, on March 30, 1970, the Province of West Pakistan (dissolution) order 1970 was issued. In the order in place of province of West Pakistan, four provinces were constituted along with the Centrally Administered Territories of Islamabad and the Tribal Areas.

The territories included in the North-West Frontier Province were:

a) Peshawar Division including former Amb state and Tribal Areas adjoining Hazara district but excluding other Tribal Areas
b) Dera Ismail Khan Division

Malakand Division including the former state of Dir, Swat, Chitral and the Malakand protected area, but excluding other Tribal Areas while the Tribal Areas of Baluchistan were made part of Baluchistan Province (Gazette, 1970). Later, in the Constitution of 1973 three types of Tribal Areas were constituted i.e. Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) and Frontier Region (FR) having different types of administration and representation in legislature (Rome, 2013).

Conclusion
This is short review of an important political epoch in the history of Pakistan. The Tribal population remained the loyal citizens of Pakistan; they welcomed every decision, every executive decree, and every political move of Pakistani ruling junta. They were loyal to Pakistan defense forces in heat of Bajaur crises of 1962, recruited themselves in the wars against India, supported the Kashmiri cause etc. Even during the One Unit period this area remained part of the province of West Pakistan and the administration of settled districts and Tribal Areas was under the same authorities. But in return they were treated as aliens by the authorities. They were not asked about their judgment and wishes; after the reinstallation of old Provincial set up that region was handed over back to the federal center. It was advisable when at the end of One Unit period the Tribal Areas of Punjab and Baluchistan were made part of their respective provinces; the Tribal Area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa would be merged as well with respective province. This unnatural division resulted in international machination and in manifestation of Afghan Jihad. Still halfhearted attempts are under process of making Tribal Area as part of Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. If following the West Pakistan administrative arrangement, of attaching northern Tribal Areas with Peshawar and south with Dera Ismail Khan and gradually making them districts of the province it could be achieved.

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Effect of Operation Neptune Spear on Anti-Americanism in Mainstream Pakistani Press

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Abstract

This study analyses anti-Americanism in the mainstream press of Pakistan before and after the Operation Neptune Spear (ONS) also called Abbottabad Operation conducted by US forces in Abbottabad (Pakistan) in which Osama bin Laden (OBL) was killed. The researcher analysed coverage of drone attacks and Abbottabad Operation in op-ed pages of four leading national newspapers i.e., *Dawn*, *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *Express*. Total time of the study was four months, two months before the Operation (01 March 2011 to 30 April 2011) and two months after the Operation (01 May 2011 to 30 June 2011). The ONS was taken as an independent variable for exploring anti-Americanism in the mainstream Pakistani media (print media) while "drone attacks" was taken as a control variable. Anti-Americanism in op-ed pages of the selected newspapers was compared to determine the effect of ONS on anti-Americanism in the mainstream Urdu and English press of Pakistan. The results revealed that US image in the Pakistani press remained negative throughout the study period and the ONS had no significant effect on the image of USA in Pakistani leading press.

Keywords: Anti-Americanism; Mainstream Pakistan Press; War-on-Terror; Operation Neptune Spear (Abbottabad Operation)

Introduction and Background of the Study

Pak-America bilateral relations have been experiencing constant ups and downs since the beginning of mutual ties between the two countries. Pakistani mass media, especially the press, is closely monitoring and examining this fluctuation. The post Afghan War phase of the mutual relationship between the two countries was not a very good one; nevertheless, the War-on-Terror (WoT) waged by America in the wake of the 9/11 incident, once again brought the two countries close together as coalition partners for combating terrorism and extremism in the region. But the element of trust deficit surfaced time and again during this period as well. This trust deficit has been exhibited in the form of "*do more*" demand from Pakistan. Even American forces kept on taking independent actions in Pakistani areas against the so-called terrorists. For quite some time such actions have mainly been limited to remote-controlled drone attacks. Pakistani people, government and the national media all are very critical of these drone attacks. But the Operation Neptune Spear, which was named by America as Operation Geronimo and later on renamed as Operation Neptune Spear against Osama bin

Laden (OBL), was planned and executed by American Marines independently without taking Pakistani government and armed forces into confidence (Kumar, 2011). This has been deemed not only as a sheer mistrust on the credentials of a coalition partner in the WoT but also viewed as an explicit violation of its integrity, independence, sovereignty and national prestige. Pakistani government and armed forces were informed about the operation when the operation was completed. Michael Mullen, the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, gave a telephonic call to Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani around 3 am (local time) and informed him about the Operation. This incident harassed the entire nation as it was not expected from a so-called coalition partner (Amir, 2011).

The Pakistani media took the issue very seriously and gave enormous coverage to it. Leaders of major political parties such as Pakistan Tahreek-i-Insaaf, Jamaat-i-Islami, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Pakistan Sunni Tahreek, Jammiet Ulema-i-Islam, Jammiet Ulema-i-Pakistan, etc. also viewed this act as violation of sovereignty of Pakistan. Moreover, the Pakistan Army slammed the Operation and bitterly criticised American forces and authorities for not sharing intelligence regarding the plan and its execution in advance. The killing of Osama bin Laden (OBL) by American forces inside the settled area of Pakistan (Abbottabad) which is not very far away from the federal capital, Islamabad was very difficult for Pakistanis to digest. Only 14% Pakistani supported the killing of Al Qaida leader and raid of the US marines on OBL compound (Pew Research Centre, 2011). The ONS seems to have had negative effects on portrayal of America. Moreover, some statements issued by American authorities in the wake of the Operation could be interpreted as lack of confidence in Pakistan. For example, the then CIA chief, Leon Pannetta said that CIA had ruled out involving Pakistan in the operation, because it feared that any effort to work with the Pakistanis could jeopardize the mission (Calabresi, 2011).

Keeping in view the agenda-setting role of media, the researcher therefore planned the present study to: (i) explore the extent of coverage given to USA by leading Pakistani press before and after the Operation Neptune Spear, (ii) investigate the nature of coverage in terms of constructing the image of USA during the two periods i.e., before and after Operation Neptune Spear, and (iii) find out whether the Operation Neptune Spear has caused any difference in the nature of coverage given to USA by leading press of the country . In other words, the Operation Neptune Spear has been taken as an independent variable in exploring its effect on anti-Americanism prevailing in Pakistani media. Although some other studies have also been conducted on portrayal of the image of America in Pakistani media such as Ayoub & Ahmed, 2013; Shami, 2011; Saleem, 2010; Khan & Safder, 2010 however such studies were mainly limited to

English language newspapers of the country. To make any objective opinion regarding the stance of national press of Pakistan, newspapers need to be selected in such a way that they represent both the mainstream Urdu and English press of the country properly. These newspapers are supposed to play a very crucial role in setting public opinion and official agenda in the country. The previous studies marginally analysed Urdu press, which is considered as popular press of Pakistan. Furthermore, we intended to take Operation Neptune Spear as an independent variable in the context of portrayal of America in the leading Urdu and English press of Pakistan. More importantly the previous studies conducted on the topic area had methodological problems. They either did not identify the causes of such portrayal (negative portrayal) or avoided to measure the extent of anti-Americanism/ degree of negative portrayal that could be caused by those factors. Researchers in the present study have taken care of this methodological problem.

Statement of the Problem
The present study was designed to investigate that whether and to what extent the Operation Neptune Spear caused anti-Americanism in the leading Urdu and English press of Pakistan. In fact, the mass media are considered powerful enough to frame and slant issues/ events/ people. They are also deemed competent of setting audience agenda by presentation of issues/ events and people in a way.

Literature review on portrayal of America in the Pakistani media reveals that American image in the Pakistani press is contingent with the prevailing relationship between the two countries, which in turn have been dependent on the different issues/events. Previous research works on image of America in Pakistan media to greater extent show anti-Americanism in Pakistani media due to one or another reason. Hence the purpose of this study was to investigate whether the ONS has caused any difference in anti-Americanism or negative portrayal of the image of USA in Pakistani media before and after the ONS. The study focused on exploring answers to questions such as (i) What is the extent of anti-Americanism before and after ONS in the leading Urdu and English press of Pakistan? (ii) Is there any difference in the image of USA as constructed by the leading newspapers of Pakistan before and after the Operation Neptune Spear? And (iii) how do Pakistani leading Urdu and English newspapers frame the attack on the OBL compound by the US forces?

Total time period of the study was four months: two months before the Operation (March 01, 2011 to April 30, 2011) and two months after the Operation (May 01, 2011 to June 30, 2011). The ONS was used as an independent variable for exploring anti-Americanism in the mainstream Pakistani media (print media)

while "drone attacks" in the Pakistani territory was selected control variable for analysis in the present study.

This study has greater significance in practical as well as theoretical terms. Results of the study will be helpful in formulation of effective joint policies / strategies for combating the WoT and to avoid Abbottabad-like operations which may prove to be negative for the bilateral relationship of America and Pakistan. The study has also its theoretical implications for mass communication research and theory in general and that of Pakistan in particular. It will help us explore framing and image building role of Pakistani mass media. The results of the study will also be helpful for future researchers who will be investigating the framing role of Pakistani mass media and for also that studying anti-Americanism in Pakistani mass media.

Anti-Americanism in Different Parts of the World
The anti-American sentiments are being found in many countries of the world, and various scholars around the world have been investigating the existence, extent, causes and effects of anti-Americanism in different parts of the world. Tony Judt (2005) has even termed it (anti-Americanism) "the master narrative of the age." Nevertheless, every country and each nation have its own reasons for such sentiments. As a matter of fact, such feelings are not shared equally by all groups of the same society and the same nation. For example, in Iran where a huge number of people say, "death to America", there are sympathisers of America as well. More importantly, in some countries such as Turkey, anti-Americanism has got a very basic position in Opposition politics (Türkmen, 2010). Pakistan is also no exception. Furthermore, ddemocracy is considered as a social value of the American society (McQuail, 1996) and in the name of democracy and social justice America even invaded Iraq and toppled Saddam's government there. But in other parts the Arab peninsula, America enjoys good terms with aristocratic regimes. Same is the case in countries where military dictators overthrow democratic governments, grab the power and America provides them its support as far as the military rulers serve American interests (for example Pakistan). Hence, pro-democratic people criticise America for such double standards. However, people of the same society whose interests are attached with the incumbent military dictator or king are not against America.

Scholars have distinguished anti-Americanism because of official policies at home and abroad of the American government and anti-Americanism due to the culture, and social values of America. The anti-American feelings due to policies of American governments in countries and peoples who are hit hard directly or even indirectly by such policies are more likely to be anti-America not due to its culture rather they are against the United States of America due to its foreign

policy. Füsun Türkmen (2010) has termed this kind of Anti-Americanism as objective or rational anti-Americanism. However, he views that such feelings also exist due to prejudice instead of some solid reason. He called such type of anti-Americanism as subjective or irrational.

People in the Middle East criticise America for its "unfair foreign policy" and they argue that America should revise its Middle East policy of its unjustified support for Israel (Zoubir & Aït-hamadouche, 2006). Even in Muslim countries of North Africa and other parts of the Muslim world, people in general consider American military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan as its (America's) anti-Islam and anti-Muslim policies. Even those nations who are supposed to be supportive of the American international policy measures in respect of international issues, such as terrorism, feel very uncomfortable with the policy of unilateral actions taken by American government without taking them into confidence regarding the pre-emptive war doctrine of the latter and then making the former to support its actions in different parts of the world (La Palombara, 2010). On the other hand, a greater number of American legislatures consider it as their prerogative to engage American troops in other parts of the world (Biden, 2000).

In some countries these feelings are limited to the masses excluding government level. Here the mass media are also following the official policy due to their own restricted freedom. In some other countries (such as Pakistan) where the mass media are comparatively free and work as a public sphere, they (national mass media) also share the element of anti-Americanism with the masses and even criticise their respective governments for toeing American policies at the cost of their own national interests. Qadir and Alasuutari (2013) found that mass media and politicians (Opposition) were very critical of Pakistan's involvement in the war on terror as a frontline ally of America and the supposedly negative political, economic and social implications of the war on terror on Pakistani society, drone attacks, and violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan. However, high government officials such as the President, Prime Minister, and other government functionaries had a different opinion than that of the general masses, opposition and the media. They were not against America.

There are other countries such as Russia (Bohm, 2014) where anti-Americanism is common in government, national media and general masses. However, in general, after World War-II the nation-based anti-Americanism has been decreased across the globe (Connery, 2001).

Türkmen (2010) views anti-Americanism as a global phenomenon. A recent survey conducted by the WIN/Gallup International poll in 65 countries shows that 24 per cent respondents considered America as the greatest threat to world

peace. However, respondents from Russia (54 per cent) and Pakistan (44 per cent) considered America as the greatest threat among the listed countries as potential threat to the world peace. Pakistani respondents even rated America on the threat index higher than India (15 per cent) and Israel (13 per cent). Although Pakistan has fought four wars against India and has been threatened by India since the first day of its creation on August 14, 1947, and Pakistanis consider Israel as occupier of Al-Quds and the killer of Palestinian Muslims but even then, 44 per cent respondents out of a sample of 2000 viewed America as the greatest threat to world peace (WIN/ Gallup, 2013). The element of anti-Americanism exists among radical, socio-religious, sovereign-nationalist and liberal Pakistanis (Afzal, 2013). Nevertheless, like some other parts of the world where anti-Americanism flourishes, a good majority of people who do not like America in Pakistan are not against the American people; rather they are against the American policies. Imran Khan, who is heading one of the major political parties of the country, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), said in a television interview that he was not anti-US. Rather he was against their policies (News Desk, 2013).

Negative feelings are also surging in European business community, politicians, scholars, and academicians. Lapalmbara (2004) viewed that although millions of Americans share their ethnic identities with Italians, Polish and Irish people but even in Italy, Poland, and Ireland people are strongly criticising America for its policies. Even anti-Americanism exists in Britain, France and Germany, who are considered as traditional allies of America (Hodge, 2009).

The roots of anti-Americanism in Pakistan may be connected to American policy in the Middle East, where the United States invariably supports Israel; its indifferent attitude towards solution of the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan; American military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan; its alleged interference in Pakistani politics and supporting military dictators who took power in the country by ousting elected governments in different time periods; frequent violation of Pakistani air and ground limits by American troops deployed in Afghanistan; leaving Pakistan in lurch and at the mercy of terrorists after the down fall of USSR; and more importantly Pakistani consider America responsible for the present state of terrorism in the country.

Portrayal of America in Pakistan Press
History of Pak-US relationship shows an invariable rise and fall in the bilateral ties between the two countries. In the same vein, portrayal of America by Pakistani media has also been changing from negative to positive and vice versa. Pakistani media portray America in the context of American policies and actions that the latter takes regarding the Muslim world in general, and Pakistan and Pakistani interests in the region and elsewhere in the world in particular. Saleem

(2010), in her study on "framing of U.S image in *The Pakistan Times* & *Dawn* with reference to Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan (1979-88)", found that both the dailies (*The Pakistan Times* and *Dawn*) portrayed positive image of America in their editorials. She found that *The Pakistan Times* in its editorials gave more positive coverage to America than the daily *Dawn* during the study period (December 1979 to May 1988). Here one can easily notice importance and impact of the time of the study. During this period (1979-1988) Pakistan and America were jointly combating a war against USSR in Afghanistan. Here the national press, particularly the two newspapers (Pakistan Times and Dawn), followed the foreign policy of the government. It is pertinent to mention here that then the daily "Pakistan Times" was a state-run newspaper.   Ayoub and Ahmed (2013) examined portrayal of Pak-US relationships in editorials of the two English language Pakistani newspapers, daily *Dawn* and daily *The Nation* from January 2-13 to June 2013 in the context of drone attacks in Pakistani tribal area, Waziristan, by the American forces. Main objective of the study was to examine the extent of coverage given to the issue in their editorial by the selected national dailies, and to know the stance of the papers on this important issue. They found that in total *The Nation* and *Dawn* published 22 editorials in the selected study period on the given issue. *The Nation* published 17 editorials while *Dawn* carried five editorials on the topic. Their results indicated that both the newspapers were very critical of the American policy of conducting drone attacks in Waziristan. Either of the papers termed such policy as a violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan. Similarly, Paracha, Imran and Khan (2012) also found that daily *The Nation* and daily *Dawn* gave more negative slants to drone attacks in their editorials. Khan and Safder (2010) explored the image of USA in editorials of daily *Dawn* and daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* from September 2001 to September 2004. The researchers wanted to know whether the selected newspapers toeing government policy in joining hands with the USA against the "War-on-Terror" and portray America and American policy positively in this regard. Results of the study showed that both the newspapers gave more negative coverage to USA in their editorials during the study period. The researcher also found that unfavourable coverage in editorials of the selected newspapers to USA increased with the passage of time. As compared to *Dawn*, daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* portrayed USA more negatively. Mahmood and Ahmed (2013) also found that Pakistani English press (*Dawn*, *The News*, and *The Nation*) portrayed US image negative in both hard and soft news. However, as per their findings the selected newspapers gave more unfavourable coverage to America in their soft news as compared to their hard news contents.

Savera Shami (2013) analyzed daily *The News* and the daily *Dawn* for portrayal of America after assassination of Osama bin Laden in their front and back pages and editorials. The time of her study was May to July 2011. She found that both

the papers portrayed America more negatively in their news pages (front and back). However, the researcher found that *The News* gave more negative coverage in its news pages to America than daily *Dawn*. Editorial coverage of the selected papers followed suit. The results revealed that both the selected papers portrayed America more negative than positive in their editorials during the period of study. However, as compared to daily *Dawn* daily *The News* framed America more unfavourable here too. Both the elite national papers considered assassination of Osama bin Laden by American marines in Pakistani territory as violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan. Almost all the above-mentioned studies portray negative image of America in their contents. However, these studies either did not explore the cause (s) of negative image/anti-Americanism in the Pakistani media or suffered from methodological problems. They have their own limitations. Ayoub and Ahmed (2013) and Paracha, Imran, & Khan (2012) took drone strikes as a possible factor of anti-Americanism in the Pakistani media but they did not measure the extent of anti-Americanism or the degree of negative portrayal that had been caused by drone strikes in Waziristan. Savera Shami (2013) also did not measure that how much anti-Americanism had been explained in the Pakistani media by her proposed independent variable i.e., the assassination of Osama bin Laden. These methodological loopholes cause the problems of validity and reliability.

The literature enabled the researchers to hypothesize that anti-Americanism in mainstream Pakistani Urdu and English newspapers will be less before the ONS as compared to the after ONS period.

Research Methodology
As the study was supposed to explore the extent of coverage given to America, and to know the effect of ONS on American negative portrayal hence the researchers tried to answer both descriptive and analytical questions in the present study. Descriptive questions were formulated to quantitatively map up the extent of editorial coverage given to America in two different time periods i.e., before the ONS and after the ONS by the sampled mainstream English and Urdu newspapers (*Dawn*, *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express*); whereas analytical questions were formulated to examine the effect of Abbottabad Operation on the nature of coverage (favourable, neutral, or unfavourable) given to USA by the selected mainstream newspapers of Pakistan. The researchers, therefore, took the ONS as an independent variable, drone attacks as control variable, and portrayal of America in the Pakistani mainstream English and Urdu newspapers as the dependent variable, and analysed editorials of the selected mainstream newspapers for anti-Americanism before and after the ONS. As evident from literature review America has been portrayed negatively by the leading Pakistani newspapers hence, the researchers examined portrayal of America by studying

framing of drone attacks before the ONS as well as after the Operation. In addition to the issue of drone attacks they analyzed the framing of America in the context of ONS to measure the effect of the main independent variable (Operation Neptune Spear) on portrayal of America/ anti-Americanism in mainstream Pakistani Urdu and English press.

By mainstream newspapers of Pakistan, the researchers meant flagship newspaper (Urdu /English) of the four major newspaper groups of Pakistan. The four newspaper groups of Pakistan are (i) Dawn Group of Newspapers, (ii) Jang Group of Newspapers, (iii) Nawa-i-Waqt Group of Newspapers, and (iv) Express Group of newspapers. Daily *Dawn* is the flagship newspaper of Dawn Group of Newspapers hence the researchers selected it for the study. The other major English language newspaper of the country is daily *The News*; the researchers, therefore, selected it from the Jang Group of Newspapers. Although Jang is the leading Urdu language newspaper of Pakistan but as the researchers had already selected daily *The News* of the same Group of Newspapers, hence they did not select it for the present study. In fact, the researchers wanted to give equal representation to the four Groups. *Nawa-i-Waqt* and daily *Express* are major newspapers of Nawa-i-Waqt Group of Newspapers and Express Group of Newspapers respectively, so they were selected amongst the mainstream Urdu language newspapers of Pakistan. The unit of analysis in the present study was editorial of the selected newspapers. Time period of the study was 1st March 2011 to 30th June 2011.The researchers used census technique instead of sampling and analysed all the editorials published during the period of the study. The Abbottabad Operation was conducted on May 3, 2011 hence the researchers gathered data two months before the operation (01 March 2011 to 30 April 2011) and two months after the Operation (01 May 2011 to 30 June 2011).

The researchers found that in total 130 editorials were published on the two topics (drone attacks and attack on OBL compound by American forces).

Table 1: Coverage Given to Drone Attacks and Attack on OBL Compound during the Two Periods

		Pre- Operation Neptune Spear	Post- Operation Neptune Spear	Total
	Drone Attacks	36	31	67
	Attack on OBL compound	0	63	63
Total		36	94	130

Analysis of the data in Table 1.1 showed that the selected leading Urdu and English press collectively published 67 on the issue of "drone attacks" during the specified period of the study (March-June,2011). Out of these 67 editorials 36 were brought out in the pre-ONS time period vis-a-vis 01 March 2011 to 30 April, 2011, while 31 were published during the post-ONS time period vis-a-vis 01 May, 2011 to 30 June, 2011. Although the number of editorials published on drone attacks was decreased during the "after ONS" period (May 1, 2011 to June 30, 2011) but the fact is that frequency of drone attacks got down after the operation as almost all segments of the Pakistani society, including army, government and Opposition took a very serious note of the Operation and strongly reacted to it. These newspapers also covered the issue of "attack on OBL compound" in 63 editorials. As per design of the study all these editorials were published during the post-ONS period of the study.

Table-2: Frequency Distribution of Total Coverage Given to Drone Attacks and Operation Neptune Spear by the Selected Newspapers during the Period of the Study

<div align="center">Topics</div>

	Drone Attacks	Attack on OBL
Total		
Newspapers		
Dawn	07 (10.4%)	14 (22.2%)
21 (16.2%		
The News	10(14.9%)	12 (19.0%)
22 (16.9%)		
Nawa-i-Waqt	31 (46.3%)	19 (30.2%)
50 (38.5%)		
Daily Express	19(28.45%)	18 (28.6%)
37 (28.5%)		
Total	67 (100%)	63 (100%)
130 (100%)		

Table-2 shows frequency distribution of coverage given drone attacks and ONS by the selected newspapers. It shows that daily *Dawn* discussed drone attacks only in its seven editorials while *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and daily *Express* covered the same topic in 10, 31 and 19 editorials respectively. The ONS was discussed in 14, 12, 19 and 18 editorials by *Dawn*, *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *Express* in that order. Urdu press gave more coverage to both the issues (drone attacks and attack on OBL compound) than the English press. *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *daily Express* published 87 editorials in total in the specified time (drone attacks = 50, and attack on OBL compound = 37), whereas *Dawn*, and *The News*

published 43 editorials (drone attacks = 17, and attack on OBL compound = 26) during the same period.

Framing of Drone Attacks before Operation Neptune Spear
Table 3, given below, shows that Pakistani press framed the issue of drone attacks by America in the tribal areas of Pakistan as violation of sovereignty of Pakistan; an ineffective measure for uprooting terrorism as it was causing more collateral damage; a source of flaming negative feelings against America in the region; causing negative impact on the WoT; no consent of government of Pakistan in these attacks; these attacks should immediately be ceased; Pakistan Army and politicians condemn drone attacks, and Pakistan should down the US drones. The analysis also indicated that the above-mentioned frames were dominant in the pre-ONS as well as the post-ONS.

Table 3: Framing of Drone Attacks by Leading Press of Pakistan during pre-ONS and post-ONS Periods

Frames	Pre-AO	Post AO	Total
Drones cause collateral damage.	24/38 (63.16%)	14/38 (36.84%)	38 100%
Drone attacks are against the sovereignty of Pakistan.	23/42 (54.76%)	19/42 945.24%)	42 100%
Drone attacks promote terrorism in the region.	20/30 (66.67%)	10/30 33.33%)	30 100%
Drone attacks should be stopped	18/31 (58.06%)	13/31 (41.94%)	31 100%
drone attacks inculcate negative feelings in the region towards USA	11/17 (64.71%)	6/17 35.29%)	17 (100%)
army/ politicians condemn drone attacks	26/36 (72.22%)	10/36 27.78%)	36 100%
Drone attacks are undertaken with covert consent of Government of Pakistan.	3/6 50%	3/6 (50%)	
Drone attacks are undertaken without the consent of Government of Pakistan.	6/13 (46.15%)	7/13 (53.85%)	13 (100%)
Pakistan should down drones.	10/19 (52.63%)	9/19 47.37%)	19 (100%)

Framing of Operation Neptune Spear
Table 4 shows the editorial coverage of ONS that the selected Urdu and English newspapers published 63 editorials on the issue of ONS during May 1, 2011 to June 30, 2011. Urdu press (*Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express*) published 37 editorials on the topic while and English newspapers (*Dawn* and *The News*) brought out 26 editorials on this issue respectively. Framing analysis of the published editorials revealed that the selected papers framed ONS (attack of OBL compound) as

against the sovereignty of Pakistan; bad for Pak-US relations; cause of promoting terrorism; kicking off negative feelings against America; inflicting damage to Pak-US counter terrorism initiatives; lack of confidence in Pakistan by USA; that Pakistan should withdraw its support from USA against the WoT, that is intensifying problems for Pakistan.

Table 4: Frequency Distribution of Frames of ONS by the Selected Pakistani Press

Frame	Frequency	Percentage
AO was against the sovereignty of Pakistan.	29	100%
AO was not against the sovereignty of Pakistan.	00	00%
AO will have negative impact on Pak-US relations.	28	96.55%
AO will have negative impact on Pak-US relations.	01	03.45%
AO will stir up terrorism.	07	63.64%
AO will stir down terrorism.	04	36.36%
AO will increase negative feelings against USA.	08	100%
AO will increase positive feelings against USA.	00	00%
AO will damage Pak-US counter terrorism alliance.	10	90.90%
AO will not damage Pak-US counter terrorism alliance.	01	09.09%
AO shows lack of America's confidence in Pakistan.	32	100%
AO does not show lack of America's confidence in Pakistan.	00	00%
Pakistan should no more co-operate with USA in the WoT.	17	100%
Pakistan should continue its co-operation with USA in the WoT	00	00%
AO will bring cause more problems for Pakistan.	17	94.44%
AO will ease problems of Pakistan.	01	05.56%

The analysis revealed that the ONS further intensified anti-Americanism in the Pakistani press. After the ONS, Pakistani press, both English and Urdu, urged the Pakistani government to take stringent actions against drone attacks. Nineteen editorials asked the Pakistani government to just down drones which enter its air space. In the same way 17 editorials advised the government to withdraw all its cooperation from USA in the war against terror.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, the researchers conclude that the Operation Neptune Spear against Osama bin Laden (OBL) intensified anti-Americanism in the Pakistani leading Urdu and English press. Irrespective of the language of the selected newspapers (Urdu and English), drone attacks and the attack on OBL compound were framed very negatively by the selected newspapers and interpreted them as bad for Pak-US relationships and disserving the cause of uprooting terrorism from the region.

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Quality Enhancement Cell and its Effectiveness: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Universities' Teachers and Students' Perceptions and Expectations

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Abstract

The study encompassed perceptions and expectations of teachers and students regarding the efficacy of Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs) in 07 public sector universities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The effectiveness of QECs was analyzed on 09 domains, standard criteria, set by HEC. The sample of the study comprised 105 teachers and 105 students selected through simple random sampling technique. Two closed-ended questionnaires were constructed consisting 34 question items, with same essence, one each for students and teachers. Gamma correlation coefficient technique was employed to analyze the data. The results of University of Peshawar revealed that QEC required improvement in the domains of implementation of plans, teachers' evaluation by students, weaknesses rectified, and corrective actions taken by university, course evaluation and teaching department's interaction with teachers regarding their evaluation and internal evaluation of teachers' performance. The University of Agriculture Peshawar, UET Peshawar and UST Bannu did not achieve the required standards in any of the 09 domains. Results further elicited that QECs of Islamia College University Peshawar, Gomal University D.I. Khan and Kohat University of Science and Technology did not address the domains of membership of international bodies, participation of students in international events and external evaluation of teachers' performance. The performance of QECs was not satisfactory in the selected universities.

Keywords: HEC; QEC; Quality teaching; Standards; Teachers-Students' Perceptions

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Introduction

In the first decade of 21st century, Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC) introduced semester system and launched 4-year undergraduate program in all the universities of Pakistan. HEC also established Quality Enhancement Cell (QEC) in every university to standardize the excellence of teaching and ensure the amplification of academic programs. However, it is assumed that the

newly established QECs need some resources to yield the required standards in the universities. This study may help QEC to play its role more efficiently, which brings harmony and fruitful results in teaching-learning process in the universities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Furthermore, the study also provides a base for stakeholders and policy-makers in education system to mold their plans to achieve international standards of quality in teaching and produce maximum output.

Batool & Qureshi (2007) states that the status of the quality teaching in Pakistan lies open before Higher Education Commission and it consciously develops plans to resolve the relevant issues and set up the standards to compete in the world. HEC mostly concentrate on 07 domains of quality viz. qualification of faculty members; improvement of basic framework of system; conducive environment of research and learning; curricula development; manage governance issues; measurement and evaluation issues and approval of new academic program as well as Universities and Degree Awarding Institutions (DAIs). To achieve the goal of acquiring international standards, it is inevitable to enhance the quality of higher education system. So HEC established the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) in form of independent and autonomous body for enhancing quality of teaching. Shaukat (2009) reports that establishment of Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs) got extended with the passage of time. QECs are functional in 69 public sector universities and fifteen private sector universities for improvement of standards within period of 2006-11.

According to Irshad (2011) QEC is responsible for maintaining the quality and standards of teaching in universities. It assesses the content of each subject to provide new and updated material to the new generation. QEC is supposed to associate with institutions of strong management and effective programs. QEC helps the employees to enrich their capabilities and skills of candidates to employ them for apt posts. The abilities of Master's, M. Phil, and Doctoral degree holders can be inferred through the reflection of framework and content of those degrees. QEC, in the universities, holds the responsibility to highlight expected skill, comprehension and proficiency of students after completion of a certain program. QEC is responsible to develop standard techniques of evaluation to ensure the provision of standard curriculum, subjects and quality teaching along with research and related scholarly activities. QEC approves new programs, supervises and evaluates annual programs, evaluates student perceptions; reviews the feedback of departments, students and faculty members, manage quality assurance of undergraduate and graduate programs.

Significance of QECs is evident from the fact that none of the Pakistani universities made it to world ranking list. However, after the establishment of

HEC and QECs, 03 universities of Pakistan: UET Lahore, University of Karachi and University of Lahore were ranked amongst 700 top world universities in 2014 according to Quacquarelli Symonds (QS).

According to economic survey of Pakistan (2002) the quality of education in Pakistan is on its last legs. Science education needs to be improved drastically as the quality of science education is declining. Teachers' shortage needs to be addressed. Laboratories ought to be well equipped and curriculum development requires intensive refurbishing. Schools results are not up to the mark. Most probably present critical situation of education is due to the factors of irrelevant and non-beneficial curricula, untrained and teachers, lack of conducive environment, and use of unfair means in examinations.

According to Dilshad (2010) common defective issues in the education system of Pakistan are lack of institutes and resources, untrained teachers, huge volume of unbeneficial content, irrelevant curricula, unequipped teachers' training centers, lack of interest of teachers towards training, unequipped laboratories, lack of relevant books in libraries, low funding and lack of interest of government to implement reforms in institutes, over-emphasis on theory, lack of coordination between education departments and policy makers and defective examination and checking structure.

Ahmed (2012) states that political volatility in Pakistan severely affects the policies that meant for reforms related to education system. Most of Political leaders show indifferent attitude towards implementation of reform policies and uplift of quality education in Pakistan. This reckless and imprudent attitude of political leadership has damaged the foundation of education system in Pakistan. A gulf has been created among policy makers, educators and teachers, which resulted in deterioration of education in Pakistan. To overcome this situation a firm and effective planning and its strict implementation is required.

According to Ahmad and Aziz (2012) quality in education is a must concern in Pakistani perspective at every level. The same concern turns into the demand for quality education from society that eventually influenced the government to set up National Assessment and Accreditation Council in 2006 for the quality assurance and accreditation of teacher education institutions.

Likewise, researchers also believe that Pakistan is progressing in the field of higher education; even the public in general, and youth have developed interest in quality education and they aspire to see Pakistani Universities ranked among the world top-notch universities. However, at present the universities of Pakistan are

inept to produce the desired outcomes, which result in brain drain, corruption and other undesired activities.

Mustafa (2012) reports that location of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan is very significant not only geographically but economically too. The province is spread over an area of 74,521 square km and its 26.62 million population increasing at the rate of 2.8% per year. About 7million people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are deprived from education. Recently the literacy rate has been improved to 53% from 37% in past.

Shaheen (2013) argues that National Education Policy 2009 emphasized on quality education as quality of education is dependent on quality teaching in classroom. Teacher are agents of change and they not only influence the education system but place impact on every walk of like. The academic qualification, command on subject matter, teaching methodology and techniques, dedication, and approach of teachers greatly affect the quality and standard of education along with students' cognitive development at every level.

According to Shah (2015) despite a lot of weaknesses the previous government took great initiatives to boost up higher education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa by establishing new universities. However, the current government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa fails to improve the quality of education in province during the last two years. Most of government's energy got wasted on modifying the two-year-old universities model act. It is worth mentioning that none of the universities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa made it to top ten ranking list of HEC 2014-15. Even the University of Peshawar, UET Peshawar, and Gomal University, which are regarded to be the oldest institutes of the province, failed to make the difference. This might be lack of interest on the part of provincial or federal governments in the past.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
The study is a survey and focuses at exploring the perception and expectations of teachers and students about the performance of Quality Enhancement Cells towards promotion of quality of teaching in those Universities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where QECs have been working at least for the last 8 years. One of the researchers personally visited all the sampled universities and distributed the questionnaires to the respondents. The researcher, specially, briefed the students about the study and various question items and responded to individual queries of the students. Respondents were given one-week time to fill-in the questionnaires; subsequently the questionnaires were collected by the researcher in person. The researcher also shared email with the respondents; in case they have any query about the questionnaires, but none contacted the researcher on email.

Population and Sample of the Study

All the students and teachers of the following 07 Public Sector Universities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa comprised the population of the study:

  i.   University of Peshawar
  ii.   University of Agriculture Peshawar
  iii. University of Engineering and Technology of Peshawar
  iv.   Islamia College University of Peshawar
  v.   Kohat University of Science and Technology
  vi.   University of Science and Technology Bannu
  vii. Gomal University of D. I. Khan

Sample of the study comprised 105 teachers and 105 students from 03 teaching faculties of each sampled university. The samples faculties and respondents were selected by employing simple random sampling technique. The total number of respondents, including teachers and students, from each university was 30.

Design of Research Instruments and Pilot Testing

The researchers concentrate on the following 09 domains, in accordance with HEC's standards, affecting the quality of teaching in the universities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa:

  i.   Implementation of plans
  ii.   Weakness rectified, and corrective actions taken
  iii. Teachers evaluation by students
  iv.   Course evaluation by teachers/students
  v.   Conduction of seminars/workshops/meetings at university
  vi.   Membership of international bodies
  vii. Participation in international/national events
  viii. QEC's and departmental interaction regarding teachers' evaluation
  ix.   Internal and external evaluation.

Two closed-ended questionnaires, one each for students and teachers, were developed keeping in view the 09 domains. The instruments include 36and 55question items for students and teachers respectively. The respondents opted for their responses on 3-point Likert rating scale. Subsequently, research instruments were distributed among 05 students and 05 teachers in KUST. The received responses were analyzed separately to check the flaws in instruments. The respondents for pilot testing were not included in main study. The respondents mentioned some shortcomings and vagueness of items in questionnaires, which were removed before the commencement of the actual data

collection. Originally question items in instruments of teachers and students were 60 and 41, which were reduced to 55 and 36 respectively as a result of pilot testing.

Data Collection and Interpretation

Gamma correlation coefficient is used to interpret and analyze the received data. The gamma statistics is employed when the researcher deals with ordinal natured data that is meant to rank the individuals in a small number. According to Goktas (2011) by using the gamma statistics one can determines the rank of one variable keeping in view the information got for another variable. The perfect correlation is concluded between the two variables if value +1of gamma is obtained for received information while value -1 is the indication of perfect negative correlation. The gamma statistic measures the intensity of association between the two variables. For the purpose of correlation, 34 common question items from both the questionnaires were selected.

The following table deals with the correlation responses of the respondents form all the seven universities and data are tabulated and interpreted as follow:

Table-1: **Correlation of Teachers' and Students' Responses of All the Seven Universities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

S. No.	Items	Correlation (p-value)						
		UET	KUST	UoP	UoA	ICU	UST Bannu	Gomal Uni.
1	University/QEC seriously collects teachers' performance with the intention to improve quality teaching.	-0.077 (0.84)	0.268 (0.52)	0.574 (0.04)	-0.019 (0.95)	0.125 (0.73)	-0.412 (0.35)	0.190 (0.57)
2	The assessment tool (teacher evaluation proforma) includes all aspects of teaching.	-0.200 (0.56)	-0.600 (0.21)	-0.040 (0.87)	-0.077 (0.89)	-0.281 (0.49)	-0.279 (0.48)	0.286 (0.33)
3	Students evaluate teachers honestly.	0.000 (1.00)	-0.105 (0.81)	-0.625 (0.02)	-0.074 (0.83)	0.444 (0.37)	0.333 (0.74)	0.254 (0.33)
4	QEC gives importance to the students' evaluation of teachers and facilitates teachers to overcome teaching problems; if any.	-0.387 (0.12)	-0.143 (0.49)	-0.619 (0.01)	-0.49 (0.88)	-0.889 (0.02)	0.261 (0.54)	0.524 (0.46)
5	The assessment proforma helps enough to identify the strengths and weaknesses in teaching of faculty members.	-0.143 (0.57)	0.424 (0.06)	0.332 (0.35)	0.000 (1.00)	0.000 (1.00)	-0.429 (0.23)	-0.125 (0.79)
6	Faculty members regularly take their classes.	-0.707 (0.02)	0.102 (0.77)	0.478 (0.29)	-0.600 (0.12)	-0.143 (0.72)	0.393 (0.22)	-0.947 (0.00)
7	The teachers/ supervisors always ready to extend academic guidance to the students.	-0.018 (0.95)	0.306 (0.32)	-0.273 (0.38)	-0.405 (0.34)	-0.318 (0.32)	-0.220 (0.41)	-0.102 (0.78)
8	Teachers objectively mark the students' papers.	-0.182 (0.62)	0.070 (0.86)	-0.130 (0.76)	0.064 (0.88)	-0.278 (0.57)	0.556 (0.06)	0.579 (0.15)
9	Some teachers do not have command over their subject.	0.220 (0.53)	0.524 (0.21)	-0.158 (0.65)	-0.038 (0.91)	-0.188 (0.54)	-0.111 (0.71)	-0.242 (0.40)
10	Teaching methodology of most of the teachers is satisfactory.	-0.143 (0.74)	0.478 (0.33)	0.000 (1.00)	0.525 (0.17)	0.069 (0.78)	0.022 (0.95)	0.103 (0.83)
11	Teachers provide clear concept of the	-0.222	-0.024	-0.688	0.021	-0.535	-0.91	-0.677

	subject in teaching learning process.	(0.57)	(0.95)	(0.04)	(0.96)	(0.14)	(0.83)	(0.08)
12	Teachers always come prepared to the class.	0.115 (0.73)	-2.265 (0.43)	0.103 (0.70)	0.100 (0.66)	0.231 (0.52)	0.192 (0.52)	-0.283 (0.35)
13	Teachers have capability to satisfy students' questions with appropriate answers.	-0.269 (0.42)	0.244 (0.46)	-0.106 (0.71)	0.00 (1.00)	-0.417 (0.21)	-0.467 (0.20)	-1.00 (0.08)
14	Students are encouraged by teachers to perform well.	-0.238 (0.46)	0.525 (0.27)	-0.154 (0.59)	-0.438 (0.39)	0.234 (0.58)	0.622 (0.10)	-0.636 (0.13)
15	There is communication among HoDs, teachers and parents of students to address students' problems.	0.154 (0.68)	-0.457 (0.09)	0.015 (0.94)	0.632 (0.77)	-0.592 (0.04)	-0.470 (0.08)	-0.774 (0.14)
16	Faculty members take initiative for students' counseling.	-0.544 (0.04)	-0.246 (0.47)	0.077 (0.88)	0.632 (0.05)	-0.318 (0.38)	0.00 (1.00)	-0.774 (0.00)
17	The teaching departments take strict action against serious misconduct of students.	0.409 (0.28)	-0.119 (0.73)	0.019 (0.96)	-0.023 (0.96)	-0.150 (0.67)	0.200 (0.52)	-0.478 (0.25)
18	Current course fulfills the demands of society and modern age.	-0.556 (0.05)	-0.074 (0.84)	0.437 (0.05)	-0.133 (0.71)	-0.911 (0.00)	-0.087 (0.81)	0.345 (0.29)
19	The current course is dynamic and beneficial enough for students' overall development.	-0.227 (0.52)	-0.055 (0.87)	0.320 (0.30)	-0.500 (0.28)	-0.667 (0.09)	0.395 (0.29)	-0.538 (0.09)
20	Course contents are according to the students' interest.	-0.538 (0.20)	-0.952 (0.00)	0.182 (0.54)	-0.806 (0.03)	-0.028 (0.32)	0.070 (0.85)	-0.594 (0.00)
21	The current course contents are too lengthy to be covered in a semester.	-0.400 (0.25)	0.071 (0.84)	0.069 (0.84)	0.556 (0.06)	-0.40 (0.89)	-0.277 (0.45)	-0.130 (0.62)
22	Usually the course contents are not covered by teachers.	-0.085 (0.78)	0.452 (0.09)	0.016 (0.94)	0.333 (0.20)	0.051 (0.86)	0.051 (0.88)	0.137 (0.70)
23	Seminars are conducted frequently in university to improve the quality of teaching learning process.	0.400 (0.12)	0.125 (0.58)	-0.548 (0.00)	0.137 (0.56)	0.255 (0.46)	0.385 (0.21)	-0.458 (0.08)
24	Regular seminars and workshops enhance capacity building of teachers.	0.034 (0.91)	0.515 (0.02)	0.526 (0.11)	0.184 (0.62)	-0.211 (0.65)	0.630 (0.07)	-0.261 (0.43)
25	Faculty members and students take interest to attend the enrichment seminars.	0.333 (0.43)	-0.235 (0.36)	-0.190 (0.58)	-0.261 (0.39)	-0.200 (0.60)	-0.111 (0.78)	-0.098 (0.82)
26	Most of the faculty members are foreign graduate.	-0.088 (0.74)	0.360 (0.31)	-0.119 (0.68)	-0.137 (0.62)	0.434 (0.13)	0.647 (0.00)	-0.594 (0.00)
27	University offers indigenous scholarships to students for higher education.	-0.407 (0.18)	-0.178 (0.89)	-0.406 (0.18)	0.103 (0.10)	-0.333 (0.27)	0.074 (0.80)	-0.300 (0.34)
28	University provides international scholarships to motivate students to get higher education.	-0.016 (0.95)	0.515 (0.09)	0.091 (0.78)	-0.284 (0.27)	0.404 (0.33)	-0.016 (0.96)	-0.015 (0.96)
29	University offers opportunities to students to participate in technical and professional societies.	0.415 (0.10)	0.238 (0.41)	-0.046 (0.90)	0.250 (0.39)	0.511 (0.14)	-0.059 (0.84)	-0.254 (0.43)
30	Students are encouraged to participate in national / international events.	-0.652 (0.02)	0.127 (0.63)	0.036 (0.90)	0.440 (0.14)	-0.277 (0.37)	0.000 (1.00)	0.254 (0.41)
31	Co-curricular activities are arranged by the university on regular basis.	-0.821 (0.00)	0.115 (0.76)	-0.538 (0.09)	-0.080 (0.39)	0.043 (0.91)	0.290 (0.36)	-0.250 (0.57)
32	Sports facilities are available for students.	-0.348 (0.24)	0.095 (0.80)	-0.043 (0.89)	0.062 (0.86)	-0.333 (0.37)	0.019 (0.96)	-1.00 (0.08)
33	Study trips are arranged by university on regular basis.	-0.800 (0.02)	0.000 (1.00)	-0.022 (0.94)	0.185 (0.61)	0.875 (0.11)	0.259 (0.46)	-0.381 (0.24)
34	QEC systematically evaluates teachers' performance time to time.	-0.651 (0.00)	0.343 (0.21)	0.418 (0.14)	-0.143 (0.87)	0.294 (0.35)	0.283 (0.45)	0.288 (0.32)

Discussion

The data presented in Table-1 elicit correlation between teachers and students' responses with corresponding p-value. The sign with the estimated correlation, direction of responses, and p-value illustrate the significance. The established

rule of thumb suggests that any p-value less than 0.05 is considered significant. The table further explains that correlation between teachers and students' responses are insignificant, which indicates disagreement of the respondents on most of the responses.

In most of the question items one category of respondents disagreed with the other, which clearly indicates dissatisfaction of the respondents in respective category. Both the categories of respondents in all the seven university lucidly show their discontent on the performance of QECs in their respective universities. They believed that the performance of QEC is not up to the mark in accordance with HEC standards and their expectations are not met.

Findings

Based on data collection and interpretation from the responses of teachers, students, and QEC representatives, the following university-wise findings are drawn:

1. *University of Engineering and Technology, Peshawar:* QEC's has not achieved the required standard in any domain of the study. It requires improvement in domains of Implementation of Plans, Teachers' Evaluation by Students, Weaknesses Rectified and Actions Taken by University, Course Evaluation, Participation of Students in National Events, and QEC and Departments Interaction and Internal Evaluation. However, QEC has not touched the domains of Conduction of Seminars/Workshops/Meetings, Membership International bodies, Participation of Students in International Events, and External evaluation of Teachers' Performance.

2. *Kohat University of Science and Technology:* The performance of QEC is better in domain of Participation of Students in National Events and Providing co-curricular Activities for Students. It requires expansion in domains of Implementation of Plans, Teachers' Evaluation System, Weaknesses Rectification, Course Evaluation, Conduction of Seminars/Workshops/Meetings, QEC and Departments Interaction, and Internal Evaluation of Teachers' Performance. However, university has not properly worked on the domains of Membership of International bodies, Participation of Students in International Events, and External Evaluation of Teachers' Performance.

3. *University of Peshawar:* The performance of QEC is better in Participation of Students in National Events and providing them co-curricular Activities. It needs improvement in the domains of Implementation of Plans, Teachers' Evaluation by Students, Weaknesses Rectified and Actions

Taken by University, Course Evaluation, QEC and Departments Interaction Regarding Teachers' Evaluation, and Internal Evaluation of Teachers' Performance. While the university has not touched the domains of Conduction of Seminars/Workshops/Meetings, Membership of International Bodies, Participation of Student in International Events, and External Evaluation of Teachers' Performance.

4. *University of Agriculture, Peshawar:* The QEC's performance is not up to the mark in any of the domains of the study. It needs improvement in domains of Implementation of Plans, Teachers' Evaluation by Students, Weaknesses Rectified, Actions taken by University, Course Evaluation, Participation of Students in National Events, and Internal Evaluation of Teachers' Performance. However, QEC has not touched the domains of Conduction of Seminars/Workshops/Meetings, Membership of International Bodies, Participation of Students in International Events, QEC and Departments Interaction, and External Evaluation of Teachers' Performance.

5. *Islamia College University, Peshawar:* QEC is performing better in the domains of Participation of Students in National Events, and Providing co-curricular Activities. It requires improvement in the domains of Implementation of Plans, Teachers' Evaluation System, Weaknesses Rectification, Course Evaluation, Conduction of Seminars/Workshops/Meetings, QEC and Departments' Interaction, and Internal Evaluation of University. However, university has not worked on the domains of Membership of International Bodies, Participation of Students in International Events, and External Evaluation of Teachers' Performance.

6. *University of Science and Technology Bannu:* QEC's performance is not up to the mark in any of the domains of study. It needs enhancement in domains of Implementation of Plans, Teachers' Evaluation System, Weaknesses Rectified and Actions Taken by University, Course Evaluation, Participation of Students in National Events and Providing co-curricular Activities, QEC and Departments Interaction, and Internal Evaluation of University. However, university has not touched the domains of Conduction of Seminars/Workshops/Meetings, Membership of International Bodies, Participation of Students in International Events, and External Evaluation of Teachers' Performance.

7. *Gomal University of D.I.Khan:* The QEC's performance is better in domains of QEC and Departments Interaction Regarding Teachers'

Evaluation. It requires further progress in Implementation of Plans, Teachers' Evaluation by Students, Course Evaluation, Conduction of Seminars/Workshops/Meetings, Participation of Students in National Events, Providing co-curricular Activities, and Internal Evaluation of Teachers' Performance. However, QEC has not touched the domains of Weaknesses Rectification and Actions Taken by University, Membership of International Bodies, Participation of Students in International Events, and External Evaluation of Teachers' Performance.

Recommendations

Considering data interpretation and findings, following recommendations are made, which are effective to all the universities alike:

1. The results reveal that QEC in the universities are somehow not successful in implementing the plans. To perform effective role QEC needs strong supervision and funding. Production based on quality approach needs to be adopted. Mission and vision of the university be established based on resources in hand and its future needs. HEC may establish an interaction with QECs about plan implementation in the universities and may assist QECs to execute their role autonomously up to final step. The performance of QEC be enhanced by close association of Head of Departments (HODs) of departments with their respective QECs.

2. Universities may ensure professional, logistic and technical support for the promotion of teaching-learning process. Up-to-date and sufficient libraries be established in the universities, which cater the need of students, faculty and staff.

3. Refreshers courses for the teachers be ensured on regular basis, which not only enhance their professional capabilities but also align with the Government and HEC's policies.

4. Teaching performance requires improvement on two facets: Accountability and Progress. SARs need to be efficacious and the input of respective (HoD) on teachers' performance needs to be ensured in the meetings with QEC staff. The component of reliability be ensured in students' feedback on teachers' evaluation by rigorously developing inter consistency in the assessment tool (Teachers' evaluation proforma).

5. Financial support be provided to teachers for research publications and other achievements in the field of research and teaching. Industrial based researches be publicly announced and advertised through the office of ORIC. The impact of research be evaluated in a proper time framework for its effective and up-to-date usage.

6. Course content be updated regularly and be relevant to field value. The feedback of students during the process of course revision may be of prime assistance.
7. Motivational seminars be arranged both for teachers and students on regular basis besides the professional ones. In addition to this Students may be facilitated to participate in national and international events, which could develop their various innate capabilities.
8. Teachers as well as students be offered performance-based scholarships especially to those countries with which universities have academic partnerships. Proper advertisement of scholarships be ensured besides educating them, through seminars, how to apply and earn a scholarship.
9. QEC evaluation report of teachers' performance be shared with both teachers and HoDs and meeting of all the stakeholders be ensured regularly regarding the evaluation reports.
10. The frequent interaction between parents and teachers may resolve various issues pertaining to students' academics; hence universities need to take parents on board through continuous correspondence about their children's academic performance.

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The Mariner's Centre of Gravity: The Self

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In the last analysis every life is the realisation of a whole, that is, of a self for which reason this realisation can also be called "individuation" (Jaffe 377).

I define life as the principle of *individuation*, or the power which unites a given *all* into a *whole* that is presupposed by all its parts (Halmi et al 400).

Abstract

Modern day selfishness and senselessness has imperatively necessitated the quest for the true "Self." Bereft of his true identity in the confused milieu of modern times, man frantically searches for a perennial culture of which he was mythically a part and where he was firmly rooted. The search is not external but rather internal; it is to be carried out within the inner recesses of mind and not in the external social life; it does not relate to human life in social progress but in his archetypal realities that are the cornerstones of eternal human psyche. With us today it is the internal world that is desolate and uninhabited. The strong desire, which was once with the man of yore to gather ourselves into the interiority of a rare world of values and convictions, has given way to the uncertain preoccupations of which we hardly feel ourselves as part. The Mariner's story in Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" relates a similar account that can be accounted for Man's eternal quest for wholeness.

Keywords: Individuation; Self; Jung; Coleridge; "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner"

The "Self" is Jung's concept of a total comprehensive personality comprising a harmonious integrated whole of the conscious and unconscious. As such it remains a hypothesis for it can never reach to its perfect attainment in the life of an individual. It can never be a substitute of the Ego personality for the latter only comprises of the conscious half. An integrating, assimilating flow of the unconscious into the conscious expands the horizons of the total personality thus

introducing a process of dislocation of the Ego-personality and shifting the centre to the "Self." But the journey towards the "Self" is never-ending; its beauty lies in its evasiveness; its aim is not consummation but rather anticipation. Jung defines the 'Self' in the following words:

> But if the unconscious can be recognized as a co-determining factor along with consciousness, and if we can live in such a way that conscious and unconscious demands are taken into account as far as possible, then the centre of gravity of the total personality shifts its position. It is then no longer in the ego, which is merely the centre of consciousness, but in the hypothetical point between conscious and unconscious. This new centre might be called the self' (Jung 1983:45)."

The concept of the "Self" is not exclusively psychological; all religions and beliefs of the human history regard the Self as a heavenly manifestation in human beings. As such religion and psychology come much closer when both are considered as struggling towards a unified vision of the self (Wilmer 81-2). Coleridge's Christianity, in this sense, is a practical one as he himself declares in *Aids to Reflection* that it is a living process rather than a theory (Halmi et al 580). His concept of prayer is rather profound where he thinks about it as a union between the Creator and the creature. His talking about union with God refers to some psychological truth; that there should be a creaturely guilt and redemptive process consequent upon which a union of the finite will with Absolute Will ensues. Psychologically, a similar process takes place in individuation where, after a certain lapse, a painful process of rediscovering the "Self" begins. If accomplished to its near perfection, the process leads to an intimation of the God image "within" which is akin to its Christian interpretation (Robert & Barth 89). The shooting of the albatross becomes a lacuna for the Mariner from where he starts a struggle of reintegration of the self. The process involves a reassessment of all the processes hitherto unattended to and culminating into the tragic act.

The *Rime* records the Mariner's initial de-centering from the axis of the "Self" and, in the aftermath of his struggle with his shadow, the centering upon a cumulative vision of the totality of creation. Though his re-joining in the "goodly company" (604) bears religious overtones but in psychological dynamics he is intimated with a centre of the being that controls his entire psychic faculties. The trauma of his struggle involves the settling of all oddities to their proper resolution in which his psychic energies (libido) get directed into their proper channels of functioning. His seemingly preachy sermon to the Wedding-Guest is significant for psychological reasons:

> To walk together to the kirk,
> And all together pray,
> While each to his great Father bends,
> Old men, and babes, and loving friends,
> And youths and maidens gay (605-9).

Symbolically the "kirk" may be a fetish symbol through which the initiate is introduced into the ceremony of initiation (prayer) for the simple reason to purge his/her soul of dense impurities (in the form of shadows). The Father (God/Christ) is the symbol of a rare totality in all religions of the world.[1] The "Self" is achieved through the process of individuation—a synthesizing process in which the conscious and unconscious parts of the psyche are diffusively focused on a single vision. The process is a means towards an end and Fordham explains this in the following words:

> The whole man is an individual, but he is not individualistic, which means being ego-centred, and is often used as an excuse to develop peculiarities at the expense of other people or to behave in an egotistical fashion. The individuated person, on the other hand, through his acceptance of the unconscious has, while remaining aware of his unique personality, realized his brotherhood with all living things, even with in-organic matter and the cosmos itself (np).

Life is a steady growth toward maturation. This involves intimations to the ego from the unconscious through different kinds of manifestations. In the process are involved a balancing adaption to the inner and outer realities that leads to a true realization of the real self. As a means towards the end, the individuation process is a natural one and not extrinsic to the inner process of becoming. It is through pains that we become humans; the commission of the crime on part of the Mariner sets him on the course towards self-certainty removing all the external factors of influence. His crime, moreover, is a suspension that divides the boundaries of the usual from the unusual. His action and thought process become intrinsic—much more painful and devastating. This is consciousness of the "other" within that had been pushed to willful unconsciousness.

The single moment of realization is accompanied by the fixture of all thought processes on a single agenda of selfhood that initially becomes a burden:

> This constitutes one of the clearest perils of emergent self-consciousness. The beautiful formula, "to a deep stillness / Did my pride tame my pride," intimates not only inner conflict but also how energetically the divided self seeks recomposition. All the energy of the man goes inward; and, as

in The Ancient Mariner, an external deliverance——"a breeze," an action of grace or nature—is needed before the spell can be broken even in part (Hartman 47).

Initially, the unsettling consequences of setting on the path of individuation are those of internal and external alienation. Unconsciously conscious to some settled patterns of life and character, the ordinary man within and without gets apprehensive of the seeming abnormalities that are taking place in the demeanour of the individuating subject. In the common standards of assessments, he is seen as deviant from what the commonality approves of. This is typical of the attitude shown by the immediate reactions of the companions of the Mariner who become impatiently judgmental after the killing of the albatross. The exclusive difference of character is shown when it comes to endurance and steadfastness in the face of a calamitous line of action towards higher achievements. A practical encounter (the marathon process of uniting the conscious and the unconscious) with the realities of life is the best introduction to a vision of the "Self" that is constructed on sound footings. Standing idly as a bystander, looking down upon the arena is not the best substitute of participating in the action itself: "Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" (Kimball 56).

For a unified psychic inception, conscious and unconscious realities of the psyche should be given equal chances of interplay so that their contents may be meaningfully utilized. This may provide a coherent vision of life inclusive of all the pluses and minuses. The "Self" is not created but re-realized in the processes of psychic explorations. Like every individual, the self is there in the Mariner, but he is disoriented from it as a believer strays away at moments from the fold of creatureliness. The path is redirected to the centre (Self, God) when further self-accreditation becomes impossible. This concept, either projected into the self of the individual or the deity, is the centre of power and energy described by Jung as archetype.[2]

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.[3] This new synthesis gathers into one symbiosis 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 Quest[4] 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). Jung further explicates this feeling of release in the following words:

> It is as if a river that had run to waste in sluggish side-streams and marshes suddenly found its way back to its proper bed, or as if a stone lying on a germinating seed were lifted away so that the shoot could begin its natural growth (Jung 1981, 184).

The truth is that it is by comparative analysis that misunderstandings and misapprehensions are removed, and a culture of mutual confidence and trust instituted. Once the far-off frontiers of the self are explored with the gusto of an inner determination, a relapsing into prosaic causality and deadened sensibility may prove too costly. It is something to be guarded and guided by discretion and constant renewal of commitment. Though the Mariner's repetitive compulsion may appear his crazy obsession with his nightmares, it by no means falls short of communicating the depth and extent of its message. In Vlasopolos's view the Mariner's vision is incomplete as he sees by the sheer magic of imagination a transformed universe but lapses back into superstition by ascribing the rare vision to the kind saint or Virgin Mary (368). But these figural configurations are archetypal in their very nature revealing eternal truths lost by man in the humdrum of worldly pursuits. Though rendered in the familiar cultural and religious moulds of Marry and saint, these figures are universal thought patterns that may acquire any form retaining their idealistic significance.[5] To my mind this kind of imaginative and psychic recourse does not seem a regression (the negative connotations of the concept) but a progression in the direction of higher truths that can be momentarily glimpsed of with constant imaginative vigil.

The ever-expanding world of collective consciousness is not simply an intellectual one. It is rather between the two extremes of individual consciousness and a bigger whole that flows from collective unconscious. That it is the archetypal wisdom manifested at moments into the limited consciousness of man. In the Mariner's journey it is by slow and gradual intimations that he arrives at a religious conclusion of the dilemma facing him so starkly. His conclusion is inherent to his story of psychic disintegration and integration, but he locates it by default in religious terms that poses questions of hasty sermonizing.

The journey of self-exploration is a timeless tradition renewed and relived in every generation by the most powerfully potential and rebellious minds in a bid to create their own epochs. Arriving at a final declaration of the slogan "I AM" restively preserves in the background a struggle of extra-human proportions. Coleridge's "I AM" is Jung's "Individuation" which in other words is the

summation or condensation of the "Self" (Kimball 78). The Mariner is one of this timeless tradition:

> I pass, like night, from land to land;
> I have strange power of speech;
> That moment that his face I see,
> I know the man that must hear me:
> To him my tale I teach (586-90).

Only a few individuals can achieve the stage of individuation through a synthesis of the unconscious which Barnes equates with the concept of the Plotinian "ekstasis." The moment of this inner wholeness remains that of a fleeting nature, very similar to that of a mystical experience. But it is something that recurs in the life of the individuated self at moments that crucially ask for a referential "other" (574-5). And the Mariner has reason to repeat his story at moments that need a renewal of retelling:

> Since then, at an uncertain hour,
> That agony returns:
> And till my ghastly tale is told,
> This heart within me burns (582-85).

In the words of John Clay, the Mariner is in a puer-like state, "somebody special, like the divine child, a carrier of the divine spark, and hence shows us our destiny and where meaning resides, knows more than ordinary mortals and is on the side of Spirit (290)." Becoming conscious of the unconscious must be accompanied by the larger contexts; that the individuated self becomes a part of the larger cosmos and permeates into the soul of an all-time humanity. His sorrows are "no longer as my sorrow but as *the* sorrow of the world, no longer as personal, isolating pain but as pain without bitterness, binding all human beings together (Barnes 571)." But there lurks a danger when a man gets individuated; there could be the danger of a greater vanity, of considering oneself the source of ultimate knowledge and perfection. This new consciousness must be preserved with a realization that the individual subject is a part of even vaster possibilities. For Jung it is when one encounters the unconscious he becomes the known as opposed to the knower, "the subject of the object in a complete reversal of ordinary consciousness where I am always a subject that has an object (Jung 1940: 70)." To a certain extent such loss of self with Jung is seeing oneself as the whole of humanity. We are brought out of our isolation. On both personal and collective levels, the Mariner is becoming conscious of a new momentum of life. He is gathering into one body all bits of the self and accommodating them into a perception of totality.

Individuation and the final arriving at selfhood are real for those who go through the experience of their ordeal. Religion and psychology come closer when the final achievement is attributed to a vision of the self, a self which is the result of balancing factors that constitute a new personality. It is only a difference of naming though the means and end are the same.

Like the Mariner one needs a crucial juncture where the whole soul is aroused to activity and where further self-deception becomes futile. Then the moment of moments starts a decisive movement ultimately culminating into the true experience of the true Self. The psyche's wholeness is this experience of the true self which is brought into actuality by the synthesis of conscious and unconscious (personal and most importantly the collective unconscious which is the repository of archetypal wisdom).

Notes

[1]See Harry A. Wilmer, *Practical Jung: Nuts and Bolts of Jungian Psychotherapy* (Illinois: Chiron Publications, 1988), pp.81-2.

[2]John Clay explains this concept of the archetype as under:

Archetypes are inherited, pre-existing structuring patterns in the psyche, that become recognizable in outer behaviour, in the basic and universal experiences of life…. Archetypal patterns are there waiting to be realized in the personality, and are powerful. The ability to resist being overpowered by the archetype, by that of the powerful mother, for example, or of archetypes such as envy or rage, depends largely on the individual's own stage of development and conscious awareness. Archetypal behaviours tend to become most evident at times of crisis, when the ego is at its most vulnerable (289).

Archetypes are the potential resources that can be tremendously meaningful in the realities of the inner world. In them are the flowering seeds of individuation:

From early childhood we are exploratory creatures, forever seeking to impose meaning on events. Conscious awareness of ourselves and the world is constructed out of meanings. This is the essence of the individuation process, for archetypes are meaning-creating imperatives (Stevens 43).

[3]On the differentiation of the two see Wilmer 158-9.

[4]For a complete discussion on the subject of "Quest" see Linda Forge Mellon 934-944.

[5]The idea behind is that of the wisdom of the Old Wise Man primordially inhabitant of the collective unconscious slipping very rarely into consciousness at moments that are extremely crucial to the life of an individual & community.

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Economic Analysis of Moonlighting in Higher Education Institutes of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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Abstract

The main objective of this study is to investigate the determinants of moonlighting in public sector universities of KP. A multi-staged sampling was used for data collection. In the first stage, the population was stratified into rural, semi-urban and urban universities and 9 universities were purposively selected. In the second stage, in each selected university teaching faculty was further stratified into Professors, Associate Professors, Assistant Professors, Lecturers and Teaching Assistants. In the third stage, a sample of 656 faculty members was selected using simple random sampling and proportional allocation method. Binary Logistic regression model was used as the dependent variable was of dichotomous nature (moonlighting vs. no moonlighting). Wage rate of second job, accumulative wage of more than one second jobs, employment status and cadre, hours of work at second job, location and marital status were found significant in determining moonlighting. Based on its findings, the study recommended that moonlighting may be encouraged which may not only enhance moonlighter's income but also their efficiency. The study also recommended that studies on moonlighting in other sectors may also be conducted which could help policy planners, researchers and other stack holders.

Keywords: Moonlighting; Wage differentials; Logistic regression; Pakistan.

Introduction

Due to the dynamic nature of environmental factors, more flexible market situations are created which has impacted the employee and employer relations in terms of loyalty, higher risk of loss of employment as well as smaller work contracts (Harrison, 1998; and Gregg and Wadsworth, 1995; 1999). These factors have changed the behavior of labour as well. They now look for more ensured jobs, more secured employment, and earning of continuous and more income flow resulting in occupational mobility (Gregg and Wadsworth, 1996). The Employees have also adapted to such situations by various strategies. One of such strategies is moonlighting.

Moonlighting[1] is the result of hours' constraint on primary job. It is believed that low satisfaction level (earning less than reservation wage[2]) of first job causes a rational worker to go for a second job in order to maximize his/her utility and household income. According to Boheim and Taylor (2004) there are four motives which cause employees to moonlight. Firstly, it is suggested by standard model that employees are hour constrained on their primary job i.e. first job, due to which they cannot earn above it and so moonlighting is done for financial motives. Standard labour-leisure model assumes that people/workers willingly supply more labour but the work is not offered by the employer in primary job (Perlman, 1966; Conway and Kimmel, 1998). As most of the firms have policy of offering a fixed level of pay and work hours (Shishko and Rostker, 1976), any work policy which is divergent from an optimal hour of work as perceived by a utility maximizer worker at his/her given wage will induce him/her towards moonlighting conditioned upon a second job wage which is above his/her reservation wage at first occupation. Secondly, there is another situation in which employees come across unwanted financial jolts (shocks) which may motivate them to look for a second job as an alternative source of precautionary savings (Guariglia and Kim, 2004). Thirdly, there is job portfolio motive where the heterogeneity is the main motive when an employee derives different utilities from primary and secondary jobs. This decision does not relate to hours constraint on first job but a desire for different job experience and hence diversity. The supply of labour hours in both first and second job are not the perfect substitutes and the second job is undertaken for reasons other than first job labour work hours (Böheim and Taylor, 2004). Lastly, the fourth motive is mostly related to job insecurity and second job, thus, is taken as an insurance device to cope with the risk of loss of the primary job. It is also a mean of human capital diversification suggested by Panos, Pouliakas and Zangelidis (2009). It is most likely that individual may change job due to skill transferability because of perfect information (Shaw, 1987). According to this study, moonlighting is positively related to the total income of household. It can be thought that wealthy people moonlight with an increase in total income to satisfy their aspirations. While low income class increases moonlight with the fulfillment of their needs.

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[1]Berman and Cuizon (2004) have defined moonlighting as a situation in which an individual having a primary full-time job also has at least one additional job.

[2]Reservation wage refers to that lowest wage rate at which a worker is willing to accept a job. In other words, if such job is offered which involves similar type of work and the similar working conditions, but wage rate is lower, would be rejected by the worker.

Teacher's Moonlighting

There are various definitions of teaching moonlighting in education literature. One of such definitions is given by Burch (1966) and Stewart (1981) as working outside the school for payment during the school year. A modified definition of moonlighting is given as additional salary earned while working outside the school when the session is off (Tucker, 1965); while there is another updated definition which states that moonlighting refers to any work which is aimed at additional compensation within or outside the school at any time of the session (Williams, 1992). Williams defines moonlighting in teaching as "compensation for work either inside or outside the school setting." Any additional work even at the same work site is considered as a second job. It is considered that the income earned by moonlighting in teaching is considerably small, but it contributes significantly towards the socioeconomic development of teachers (Wisniewski and Kleine, 1983). The wage growth remains relatively low in Pakistan. Real wages have been falling for more than a decade in Pakistan (Shah, 2014). Although, there has been a 0.7% increase in real wage rate in two decades in Pakistan, but the cost of living has increased manifold. The price hike and salary rigidity has intensified labour efforts to meet livelihood needs on one hand and market demand of labour on the other. The labour market is also saturated as jobs are difficult to find and the job structure has also been diversified in terms of regular, contract, ad-hoc and daily wages in public sector. Similarly, labour on their own part has also tried to cope with these demands (Hyder and Ahmed, 2009).

It is the case in most of the education institutes that those teachers who are practicing more than one job have been thought of as profit maximizer. It is assumed by the agency theory that profit maximization is the ultimate purpose of agents and work effort is the representation of cost accrued to them, hence there is a tendency to minimize work effort (Laffont, 2003). Similarly, there is also an observation that moonlighters have developed negative behavioral attitude in the first job (Biglaiser and Ma, 2007) due to which their performance can be affected. Teaching in Pakistan has been allotted prescribed credit hours based on teaching cadre like twelve credit hours per week for lecturers, nine to assistant professors and so on. The reason for setting such prescribed hours is that teachers at higher levels are required to give additional time to preparation, research supervision at M.Phil and PhD levels, grading, and professional development as per the need of students and institute. The phenomenon of moonlighting has not been well researched in Pakistan in a pure economic perspective and there are very few studies conducted in Pakistan related to the issue of moonlighting. There is a need for a thorough investigation of this very important issue. Such studies may provide guidelines for all those who may be interested to know the causes of double jobs undertaken by most teachers in

public sector universities in KP. As the percentage of people working more than the stipulated hours (50 hours per week) is high in KP's education sector as compared to other provinces of Pakistan, its results can be very beneficial to other provinces. In order to fill this gap, the present work is a pioneering one which empirically investigates the determinants of moonlighting in KP's higher education sector.

Research Methodology

All public-sector universities constitute the universe of this study and all faculty members of these universities are the target population. In order to select a representative sample, a multi-stage sampling is used. In the first stage, the population is stratified into rural, semi urban and urban universities and nine (9) universities are purposively selected from all these public-sector universities of KP. These include Khushal Khan University Karak, Islamia College University Peshawar, University of Malakand, Bacha Khan University Charsadda, University of Engineering and Technology Peshawar (Mardan campus), University of Haripur, University of Swabi, the University of Agriculture Peshawar and Khyber Medical University Peshawar. The data of faculty of the selected universities was taken from the offices of the registrar. In stage two, each of the selected universities was further stratified according to the designation of the faculty members i.e. Professors, Associate Professors, Assistant Professors, Lecturers and Teaching Assistants. From each stratum, a sub-sample of individuals was selected using simple random sampling. Then, proportional allocation method was followed to select respondents from each category in each university. The following sample size selection formula was used for sampling in first stage in which the number of respondents for each category of teachers was calculated (Mwakaje, 2013).

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$ …………………………………………………….… (1)

Where

n = required sample size

N= Population

e = margin of error which is 5% in this case

In order to select sample from each university, proportional allocation method was applied (Chaudhry, 2008).

$$n_i = \frac{N_i}{N} n$$ ………………………………………………………… (2)

Where n = the required sample size which is randomly selected from the public-sector universities.

N = the total number of teacher the population size (N= 1286).

$N_i =$ Number of teacher in individual category in each university.

$n_i =$ Number of teacher in individual category to be selected from each university.

Out of the total population (1286), a sample of 656 faculty members was selected from the 9 selected universities. Out of the total sample, the number of Professors was 98, Associate Professors 60, Assistant Professors 195, Lecturers 246 and Teaching Assistants 67, respectively.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are various frameworks towards the study of moonlighting. Broadly two, economic or financial perspective, were presented by Shisko and Rostker (1976) as a tradeoff for free time for wages, and individual or dispositional as choice between moonlighting and other choices under situations of economic needs (Allen, 1998). The underlying assumption is that an individual's labor supply decisions to either first or second job or both are out of utility maximization principle although the supply of labor may not be similar in first and other jobs. Let us suppose labour hours supplied to the first job is designated by H_1, on the second job H_2, L as hours of leisure. Hence the utility function may be written as following, subject to the budget constraint (PX) and time constraint 24-L

Mathematically:

$$\text{Max } U \ (C, H_1, H_2, L) \ ...\ (3)$$

Subject to the condition:

$$PX = Y = C = W_1H_1 + W_2H_2 + A, \text{ where } H_1 + H_2 = 24 - L \ (4)$$

Where

C denotes consumption

A denotes unearned income

W_1 wage in first job and W_2 wage in second job respectively.

If the work effort on either job does not provide any (dis)utility beyond the supplied labour or in other words the foregone leisure, then equation 3 is simply the standard leisure/consumption utility function.

$$\text{Max } U \ (W_1\bar{h}_1 + W_2h_2 + A, \bar{h}_1, H_2, 24 - \bar{h}_1 - H_2) \ ...\ (5)$$

This equation, on further solution, results into the optimization equation showing condition between the reservation wage and market wage.

$$(U_2 - U_1)/ U_c = -W_2 \ ...\ (6)$$

and solution of H_2 gives moonlighting equation

$$H_2 = H_2^c(W_2, A + (W_1 - W_2)H_1, H_2^-) \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (7)$$

In case of unconstraint employee, the utility maximizing behavior becomes:

$$(U_2 - U_l)/U_c \quad = -W_i \quad \text{for } i = 1, 2 \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (8)$$

Majority of the moonlighting researches are based on utility maximization principle, showing that equality between negative wage of a job and the ratio of marginal disutility of another hour and marginal utility of income is the condition for supply of labour to it i.e.

$$H_i = H_i^u(W_1, W_2, A) \quad \text{for } i = 1,2 \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (9)$$

Hours Constraints view of Leisure–Choice theory

This theory is based on the pioneering work of Shishko and Roskter (1976) that extended the standard labour supply model. The labour-leisure model is based on the notion that employees want to work more but they are not given the choice to do so and hence they are hours' constraint (Perlman, 1966). As individuals are constraint on their first job, they resort to do a second job to maximize their utility based on the principle that the second job pay is more than the employee reservation wage. Figure 1 clarifies this idea. Here Y is taken as non-labour income, t as total time available, w_1 and w_2 wages at first and second job, respectively; H_1 shows fixed hours worked at first job and H_2 hours work at second job. As the individual is time constraint, he/she cannot work more than H_1 hours although is desirous to work $T-H_1-H_2$ in order to maximize his/her utility from first job at I*Utility level. The intersection of first job wage line and I_1 utility level shows the wage offered in second job. The utility maximizer individual will take on second job if his/her reservation wage is less than its second job wage and hence will attain a higher utility level at I*. Teachers in university are constrained to a certain credit hours of class room lecture fitting this case.
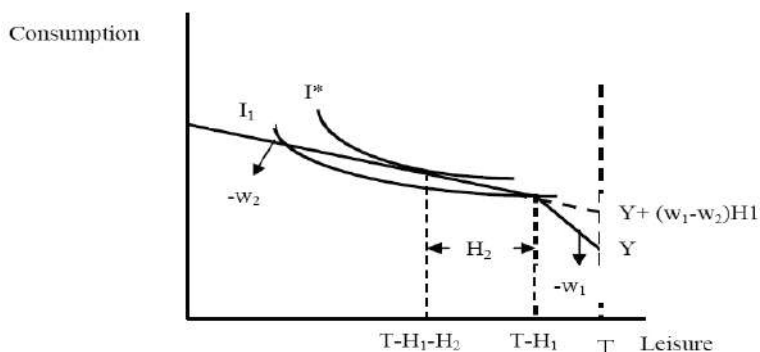

Figure 1: Utility Maximizing Hours-Constraint Moonlighter
Source: Dickey, Verity, and Alexenddros (2011).

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Heterogeneity of Job or Job Portfolio View of Leisure-Choice Theory

There is another case of moonlighting for non-pecuniary reason when the individual may not be constrained on her/his main job. For instance, learning about new skills and occupation (Heineck and Schwarz, 2004), for precautionary savings (Guariglia and Kim, 2004a), maintaining flexible work schedule or job satisfaction as heterogeneity (Heineck, 2003). There is an individual preference that matters in moonlighting decision making. Figure 2 shows a situation of non-constrained moonlighter. He/she is free to work ($T-H_1$) hours of standard working hours. The supply to second job is still subject to higher wage of second job like a Professor taking a consultancy. The point is shown as $T-h_1-h_2$.
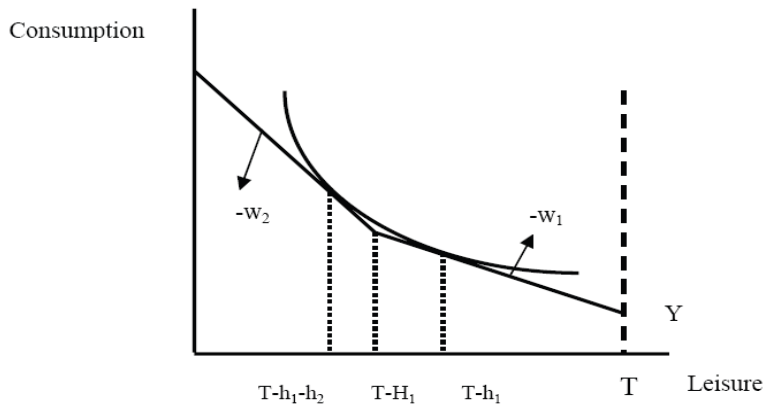

Figure 2: Utility Maximizing Non-Hours-Constraint Moonlighter
Source: Dickey, Verity, and Alexenddros (2011)

When the motives behind dual job holding are examined, it can provide evidence related to elasticity of labour supply in relation to wages as well as the prevalence and effects of constraints on this supply. An instance may be of a university professor who, while having a primary job, goes for a second higher paid job in the form of a consultancy or a doctor doing practice on private clinics to earn higher incomes. But it's not necessary; working on a second job may be a mean for pleasure. Like a musician who performs at night although possess a regular first job with considerable pay. This is the case of non-pecuniary (monetary) benefits of second job. There can be cases when non-pecuniary benefits cause an employee to take on two jobs (Conway and Kimmel, 1998). These facts were recognized by Shishko and Rostker (1976) for the first time while Lilja (1991) undertook an exploratory study to know its theoretical and empirical realities.

Econometric Model of Moonlighting

The present study employed logistic regression for the estimation of factors affecting moonlighting. As the data included dichotomous dependent variable i.e. the moonlighting and no moonlighting activity of university teacher, and independent variables are not interval as well as variation is supposed to be unequal (variance), logistic regression best fits the requirements. Similarly, other assumption of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories and large sample (50 cases per predictor) is also met by the data. It uses maximum likelihood method of estimation by maximizing the probability of classification of the observed data into appropriate categories with given regression coefficients based on asymptotic theory.

Mathematically

$$\mathbf{logit}(p) = log\left[\frac{p}{(1-p)}\right] = ln\left[\frac{p}{1-p}\right] \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots (10)$$

Where logit (p) is the log to the base e. It shows the log of the odds ratio. It is also the maximum likelihood ratios showing that the dependent variable is 1.

The range of p is between 0 and 1 while logit (p) ranges from negative infinity to positive infinity. The symmetry occurs at logit of .5 i.e. zero.

The following equation shows the relation between logistic regression equation and simple regression equation

$$\text{logit}\left[p(x)\right] = \log\left[\frac{p(x)}{1-p(x)}\right] = b_i \sum_{i}^{k} X_i + u_i \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots (11)$$

Although both equations are the same, the goodness of fit and overall significance of the statistics used in logistic regression is different. Rearrangement of equation (10) gives equation (11) which can be used to estimate p as:

$$p = \frac{exp^{(a_1 + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_3 \dots)}}{1 + exp^{(a_1 + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_3 \dots)}} \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots (12)$$

The p is the probability of a case in a particular category, exp is the base of natural logarithms (almost 2.72), a is the constant and b the coefficient of predicted variables. Equation 13 is a generalized linear model with binomial errors and link logit.

Our model for finding the significant factors (causes) of moonlighting will be:

$$\log \frac{prob(moonlighting)}{prob(no\ moonlighting)} = X\beta + u_i \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots \ (13)$$

Or

$$\frac{prob(moonlighting)}{prob(no-moonlighting)} = e^{X\beta + ui} \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots \ (14)$$

If p is taken as moonlighting, equation (14) can be rearranged for finding the effects of the independent variables on moonlighting.

$$\text{Prob (Moonlighting)} = \frac{e^{X\beta + ui}}{1 + e^{X\beta + ui}} = [1 + \exp(-X\beta)]^{-1} + u_i \dots\dots\dots \ (15)$$

Where X is a vector of independent variables and β is a column vector of regression coefficients. As we are assuming a case of university teachers who are constrained by hours of class room lectures, our primary case is for financial motive. For empirical analysis of financial motives, the model will be estimated with the following independent variables.

Variables of the Moonlighting Model
The wage in primary job, wage in secondary job, experience in number of years of first or main job, age, age square, number of children and dependents in home in case of married and number of dependents in case of unmarried were continuous variable in this research.

Wages are the primary determinant of moonlighting as is found by various researches and that is why it is assumed to be a possible cause in present case as well. Wages were represented by wage rate i.e. wage per hour. The wage of first job divided by 30 resulted into wage per day which was transformed into wage per hour in order. This was done in order to show wages of both jobs in similar manner. The second jobs are mostly paid on hourly basis. As the experience increases, a person becomes aware of job market as well as his networking is increased and hence he can find second job easily. Age has been found to affect moonlighting in two ways. The second job is taken for monetary purposes in young ages and for heterogeneity of jobs in old ages that is why it is taken as independent variable. Age square is taken as a representation of convexity or concavity of the relationship between age and moonlighting to confirm the results of age. Number of children is basically the representation of increase expenses, and a married person is assumed to increase his income. Dependents are taken in consideration based on our societal norms. We care and live with our parents and young brothers and sisters. Most of the times, unmarried people contribute towards family income and there is less remaining for their future saving. So, if a person is contributing to family dependents, he may moonlight to increase his future savings.

Education level as defined by degree, job grade, gender, location of job i.e. urban or rural, marital status, spouse job status and employment type whether regular or contract. As the level of education increases, a person becomes more valuable to the job market. His demand increases and there is a propensity to supply his labour based on demand. Low graded teachers may get less income and are assumed to moonlight. Higher grade may moonlight, the reason may vary. Urban areas like Peshawar has many private universities which are based on cost minimization and they offer visiting jobs due to which there is a great likelihood of moonlighting as compared to rural areas. Contract employees are more insecure in job and they are representation of moonlighting for job insecurity reasons. Marital status increases household expenses and it requires more income and spouse job status can affect moonlighting decision as well. The model can be written as:

$$\text{Prob}\begin{pmatrix} 1 \text{ if moonlighting} \\ o \text{ if not moonlighting} \end{pmatrix} = e^{(\alpha + \beta_1 w_{1i} + \beta_2 w_{2i} + \beta_3 w_{3i} + \beta_4 \exp_i + \beta_5 age_i + \beta_6 ags_i + \beta_7 dep_i +}$$

$$\beta_8 TA_i + \beta_9 D_{1i} + \beta_{10} D_{2i} + \beta_{11} D_{3i} + \beta_{12} D_{4i} + \beta_{13} D_{5i} + \beta_{14} D_{6i} + \beta_{15} D_{7i} + \varepsilon_i) / 1 + e^{(\alpha + \beta_1 w_{1i} + \beta_2 w_{2i} + \beta_3 w_{3i} + \beta_4 \exp_i + \beta_5 age_i + \beta_6 ags_i + \beta_7 dep_i + \beta_8 g_i + \beta_9 D_{1i} + \beta_{10} D_{2i} + \beta_{11} D_{3i} + \beta_{12} D_{4i} + \beta_{13} D_{5i} + \beta_{14} D_{6i} + \beta_{15} D_{6i} + \beta_{16} D_{7i} + \beta_{17} D_{8i} + \beta_{15} D_{9i} + \varepsilon_i}\ldots\ldots(16)$$

Taking natural log on both sides, equation 7 becomes:
$$\ln(p/q) = \alpha + \beta_1 w_{1i} + \beta_2 w_{2i} + \beta_3 w_{3i} + \beta_4 \exp_i + \beta_5 age_i + \beta_6 ags_i + \beta_7 dep_i + \beta_8 TA_i + \beta_9 D_{1i} + \beta_{10} D_{2i} + \beta_{11} D_{21i} + \beta_{12} D_{3i} + \beta_{13} D_{4i} + \beta_{14} D_{5i} + \beta_{15} D_{6i} + \beta_{16} D_{7i} + \beta_{17} D_{8i} + \beta_{15} D_{9i} + \varepsilon_i \ldots\ldots(17)$$

Where p is the probability that the respondent will moonlight, and q is the probability that he will not moonlight. Moonlighting (moonlighting refers to any work which is aimed at additional compensation within or outside the school at any time of the session (Williams, 1992; Wisniewski and Kleine, 1983) which does not directly relate to teaching at university level. It does not include incomes from property.

w_1 = wage rate of first job
w_2 = wage rate of second job
w_3 = Accumulative wage of more than one second jobs
exp = experience (number of years)
age = age (years)
ags = age square
dep = number of dependents
D_1 = Dummy for sex   where 1 = male and 0 otherwise
D_2 = Dummy for location   where 1 = urban and 0 otherwise

D_3= Dummy for location   where 1 = rural and 0 otherwise
D_4 = Dummy for marital status where 1 = married and 0 otherwise
D_5 = Dummy for spouse job   where 1 = on job and 0 otherwise
D_5 = Dummy for employment status   where 1 = regular and 0 otherwise
D_6 = Dummy for degree   where 1 = masters and 0 otherwise
TA = Dummies for Teaching Assistant where 1= Teaching Assistant and 0 otherwise
D_7 = Dummy for Lecturer   where 1 = lecturer and 0 otherwise
D_8 = Dummy for Assistant Professor   where 1 = Assistant Professor and 0 otherwise
D_9 = Dummy for Professor   where 1 = Professor and 0 otherwise

Logistic Regression
Logistic regression model was estimated using STATA9. The coefficients were reported in place of odd ratios because it is easier to understand and interpret coefficients than odds ratios. The estimated coefficients are given in Table 1.

Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression Model
Table 1 shows the estimated coefficients of the estimated logistic regression model. It shows that 62% of the variation in dependent variable (moonlighting) is predicted by the explanatory variables. The likelihood Ratio value showed that the overall combination of independent variables is significant. As far as the individual effects of these variables are concerned, the results were not similar. Some variables were significant in their effect and some were not. The individual effect of age was found statistically insignificant. The relation, though, was negative. We can say that moonlighting decreases with increase in age. With the passage of time (age), people are more specific and directed towards needs fulfillment both in pecuniary and non-pecuniary sense. Similarly, an inverse relation was found for age square variable, and hence it can be inferred that age has a linear relation with moonlighting. The effect of both age and age square were, however, found insignificant statistically. Gender was a dummy variable in this research. The reference category was male. The relation was found negative and insignificant. When it comes to professional work, there is no such difference between a male and female teacher. They teach to the same class and combination of students. Hence gender has no effects on moonlighting. The marital status was also a dummy variable and reference category was married. The result was significant at 10%. The result showed that if a person is married, he or she will moonlight more by 1.034. It may be due to the psychological effect as a married person may perceive his needs increment and decide to moonlight. The status of working spouse was inversely related to moonlighting but the result was insignificant. Master degree was taken as reference for education level as master is the basic required education for entry level job in university, like

lecturer. The effect of degree (Master) as a proxy for education was found insignificant in this research towards effecting moonlighting. Hyder and Ahmad (2013) also found education as insignificant. Moonlighting is a voluntary action and it is not linked with a higher level of education as such. It is not necessary that a higher degree will induce a faculty to moonlight. The effect of experience was found to be negative in relation to moonlighting, but it was statistically insignificant. So, moonlighting can decrease with increase in experience but not significantly. It is not just an increase in experience, but an increase in wage and opportunity for new task at primary job. If a need is satisfied at the primary place of work, then what is the need to look around. The contract based job was reference category for mode of job variable in this research. It was found out that contract employees moonlight more than regular employees. This result is in agreement with the results of Heinck and Schwarze (2004) and Kimmel and Powell (2001). Contract employment is linked with job security insurance, as well as financial motives behind moonlighting and logically proves to be a valid reason for it. Number of dependents had a positive relation with moonlighting as suggested by findings of this study. An increase of one dependent would result into increase in moonlighting by 0.368 units. Earlier in 2011, Dickey, Verity and Alexenddros (2011) and Kimmel and Powell (2009) also found that children and dependents have positive effect on moonlighting. An increase in dependents necessitates more financial resources and overtime is one strategy for extra earning. There were five job scales viz. Teaching Assistants, Lecturer, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and Professor. For these, four dummies were used. Teaching Assistant is the lowest category in teaching in university. It is not a structured job but a special category present in some of the sampled institutions. The relation of a Teaching Assistant with moonlighting was found statistically insignificant and positive. Though a Teaching Assistant has a positive tendency towards moonlighting, but it was found insignificant. The reason could be non-popular scale of Teaching Assistant. The result for a lecturer scale was found opposite to Teaching Assistant. The relation of a Lecturer towards moonlighting was found statistically significant at 10% significance level. A lecturer would decrease moonlighting by 1.08 as suggested by these results. An Assistant Professor was found to decrease moonlighting by 1.45 units (at 5% significant level). A Professor had positive and insignificant tendency towards moonlighting. Scales have mixed response towards moonlighting. Teachers in lower and higher scales (Teaching Assistant and Professor) had positive effect but insignificant towards moonlighting, while teachers in middle scales of Lecturers and Assistant Professors had inverse and significant effect on moonlighting. It can be claimed that lower scales may moonlight for monetary reasons and higher for heterogeneity of jobs. It can also be said that teachers in high ages may moonlight for non-monetary reasons and young teachers moonlight for monetary reasons. This study introduced three locations, Urban, Rural, and Semi Urban.

Two dummies for rural and urban locations were used in estimation. The result revealed that urban location is highly significant in effect towards moonlighting and that faculty who work in urban location moonlight more. Though there is competition in urban areas, there are a lot of opportunities as well and that is the reason that moonlighting may increase in an urban setting. There is another reason as well. Cost of living is comparatively high in urban locality and faculty may opt to moonlight to fulfill financial requirements. Baah-Boating, Adjei, and Oduro (2013) and Zhongmin, Balmbridge and Zu (2009) have also reported similar results for location. As far as rural location is concerned, the effect was statistically insignificant. Primary job wage rate was found insignificant in effect towards moonlighting and secondary job wage rate was highly significant in its effect. With a one unit increase in secondary wage rate, moonlighting was found to increase by 0.013 units but earning from all sources (services of own labour) was found inversely related to moonlighting. In the very earlier study on moonlighting, Shishko and Rostker (1976) found the same result for second job wage rates while similar were the results by Zhongmin, Balmbridge and Zu (2009) for second wage towards moonlighting. The strong predictor towards moonlighting is secondary job wages which induces to moonlight. Hours of work at second job was found to have positive relation with moonlighting and an hour increase in second job work hour was found to increase moonlighting by 0.3 units. Hours of second job are important for payment is made on hourly basis and not on monthly basis. Secondly, there is no constraint on second job working hours and one can earn up to one's own ability and management. That is also comparable to hour constraint on main job. We can say if a teacher is constraint on main job for working hours, he/she may find it attractive to work in second job up to manageable limit of working hours.

Table 1: Estimated Coefficients of Moonlighting using Logistic Regression Model

Moonlighting	Coef.	Std. Err.	Z	P>z
Age	-0.014	0.213	-0.07	0.948
sex /Gender	-0.63	0.459	-1.38	0.169
Marriage	1.034	0.556	1.86	0.063**
Spouse working	-0.020	0.433	-0.05	0.962
Education (Master)	0.334	0.462	0.72	0.470
Experience	-0.083	0.050	-1.64	0.100
Mode of Mode	1.111	0.407	2.73	0.006*
Number of dependents	0.368	0.125	2.94	0.003*
Teaching Assistants	0.023	0.864	0.03	0.979
Lecturers	-1.08	0.569	-1.90	0.057**
Urban Location	1.826	0.497	3.67	0.000*
Rural Location	0.07	0.540	0.13	0.897
Primary wage rate	0.0001	0.0002	0.56	0.572
Second job work hours	0.298	0.0398	7.50	0.000*
Secondary wage rate	0.0133	0.0015	8.86	0.000*
Professors	0.693	0.786	0.88	0.378
Assistant Professor s	-1.450	0.576	-2.52	0.012*
Earning from all secondary sources	-0.000009	0.000002	-4.96	0.000*
Age square	-.0015598	0.0028	-0.56	0.577
_cons	-3.654636	4.168	-0.88	0.381

Source: Survey

Note: * refers to significance at 5% and ** shows at 10% respectively.
LR Chi^2(19) = 400.26, Prob> chi^2 = 0.000
Log likelihood = -124.11 Pseudo R^2 = 0.617

Assessment of the Moonlighting Model
There are various diagnostic tests which provide us proof that the model we have estimated is acceptable on a scientific base. For logistic regression, some diagnostic tests were performed in this connection. One of these was link test which is used for checking model specification; Table 2 shows the results. Logistic regression model assumes that logit of the outcome variable is a linear combination of the independent variables. Two aspects are involved in this. The

outcome variable, on the left-hand side, is correct function and we have included all the relevant variables (right hand side) and logit as a function is a linear combination of the predictor variables. If these conditions don't apply, we may have a specification error. The linear predict value i.e. _hat and the square of linear predicted value (_hatsq) are two parameters for checking specification. The value of _hat must be significant for it is the predicted value from the model. While the _hatsq value must not be significant for it should not have predictive powers except by chance. Table 2 shows that _hat and _hatsq value satisfy specification conditions and hence we had no specification issue.

Table 2: Model Specification of Moonlighting Model

Moonlighting	Coef.	Std. Err.	Z	P>z
_hat	0.955	.0914	10.45	0.000
_hatsq	-0.042	.0311	-1.36	0.175
_constant	0.124	.1976	0.63	0.529

Source: Survey

Similarly, Table 3 shows that Hosmer-Lemeshow test for goodness of fit was statistically insignificant which also showed that there is no goodness of fit issue. We had a good model fit.

Table 3: Logistic Model for Moonlighting, Goodness-of-fit Test

Number of observations = 630	Number of groups = 10
Hosmer-Lemeshow chi2(8) = 7.46	Prob> chi2 = .4882

Source: Survey

8. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

This study concludes that moonlighting is practiced in the higher educational institutes of KP. The incident is 21% in regular university year while 27% faculty had additional (mostly administrative) charge within the university. The conclusions were drawn from the research that moonlighting is predicted by moonlighting wage rate and old age increases moonlighting wage. Moonlighting is positive in relation to wage of second job and negative to primary job wage. Urban location determines moonlighting. Non-regular employees moonlight. Hours of work at secondary job are a strong predictor of moonlighting. The effect of education is insignificant. Assistant professor tends to decrease moonlighting. The study recommends that moonlighting may be given due encouragement as it may enhance household income. It may also fulfill other pecuniary needs of the moonlighters. The study also recommends that such studies may also be undertaken in other sectors of the economy.

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Coleridge's Albatross: The Wider Contexts of Relevance[1]

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the symbolic significance of the Mariner's brutal act of killing the unsuspecting innocent Albatross for reasons and motives that are even unknown to the former and relate this significant episode to issues that are individual and collective prevailing over the whole spectrum of life. This argument will also bring into spotlight the Albatross symbol that has been variously interpreted, with diverse dimensions, over the years. The main purpose is to shed light on the individual-social paradigm in the heavily loaded atmosphere of the ballad poem.

Keywords: Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*; Albatross & its Killing

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With my cross-bow
I shot the Albatross.[2]

The rampant human tragedies of the world are more or less the same like those of the Mariner-Albatross paradigm. Unmindful of the rights and privileges of others around us (the albatrosses in their respective harmlessness) we, like the Mariner, transfix them down under pretext too clumsy for logic. Looking at the matter macrocosmically and microcosmically the picture becomes comprehensible when one comes out of one's self, stands impartial and sees the "other" in his/her own situation; and also, when one comes out of his/her geographical set-up and judges others from the standpoint of his/her situations. To be more specific it is a journey around the inner and outer worlds with the quest to search for the right solutions of our individual and collective identities; to be progressive extensions of each other keeping at the same time our individual identities intact.

The unlimited symbolic possibilities of the albatross testify not only to the richness of the symbol but the flexibility of its contextual variety. As Lowes puts it, "A poet's words mean more at times than the poet knew they meant" (153). It would,

therefore, be naive to dwell upon the "minusculity" of the act in comparison to its repercussions.

The motiveless killing of the albatross[3] has been considered as an innate depravity of man originating from Original Sin which, by and large, is related to the Fall of Adam. But according to Stuart for Coleridge the Fall of Adam was "secondary, posterior" and "phenomenal" to a spiritual Fall that was "noumenal." This "pre-Adamatic" sin is the Original Sin perennially present in human nature. The eternal recurrence of evil in acts that seem spontaneous and unmotivated is the archetypal slipping into consciousness of the evil that sets in action the whole being of man. J. A. Stuart contends as follows:

> Coleridge suggests, then, through the Mariner's shooting of the Albatross, that the latent evil in man's will may unexpectedly erupt in wanton acts which have no rational or conscious motive…for the poem makes clear that it releases an evil dynamism which the Mariner is powerless to control or bring to a halt (183).

Inadvertently the albatross is killed; the liberation and intuition associated with the bird is rejected in favour of the social applause represented by the Mariner's judgmental comrades. The Mariner tragically misses this opportunity of imaginative expansion and relies instead on the judgmental opinions of his mariners:

> Then all averred, I had killed the bird
> That brought the fog and mist.
> 'Twas right, said they, such birds to slay,
> That bring the fog and mist (99-102).

The horrible sequence of afflictions occasioned by the Mariner's own doings and that are consequent upon killing the albatross, could be ridiculous in the literal sense. But metaphorically the bird symbol could be deeply rooted in those realistic values that are the corner-stones of man's moral and psychic characters. As such Chris Rubinstein sees the Mariner as a White European previously engaged in the slave trade with the infliction of unprecedented atrocities on the slaves and now is a guilty-stricken soul suffering at the hands of his memories. Symbolically the Mariner's confessions and struggle towards redemption are seen as that of the White Man now standing in utter spiritual destitution.[4]

In Harding's view the killing act is symbolically the rejection of a social offering that was harmless, and associative; it could have proved a better companion had it been given the chance to operate in the total scheme of things. The Mariner's

lack of apprehensiveness in measuring the significance of an apparently ordinary "part" of the "whole" incites him on an arrogant rejection that to his mind is an ordinary act of his justifiable supremacy (56). This creates a moral and psychic vacuum that widens day in and day out for it is the first act in a direction that is difficult to take. The rest is but a usual routine of normalcy. An aggression of the kind can initiate a horrendous legacy of mishaps as it is a small moment in the life of an individual or a nation that starts a big movement.

Quoting P. Stallknecht, Elizabeth Nitchie concurs on the point that the shooting of the albatross is the replacement of "feeling" by "reason" resulting in spiritual dreariness and dryness.[5] To bring back the lost soul to its original source of fertility, a loving disposition is to be regenerated to encompass the whole of creation into wholeness. Only then the final moral of the poem ("He prayeth best, who loveth best.") will acclimatize its worth and value (867,870,872).

In the words of Kabitoglou shooting the Albatross, symbolically, is the transformation of an imaginative, mythical vastness into the limitation of perceptive, physical definition; it is somewhat the replacing of shrouding mysteries with causal dynamics; it is the testing of the "untestables" into the crucible of physical viability. Establishing an exclusively individual identity introduces the rhetoric of subduing or eliminating the "other"; Man distances himself from himself and consequently an ideal equilibrium is lost (209):

> Alone, alone, all, all alone,
> Alone on a wide wide sea!
> And never a saint took pity on
> My soul in agony (232-235).

The killing of the albatross may also mean man's unconscious suppression of the inner voice which is necessitated by the desire for social acceptability. Jung talks in these words: "Blind acceptance never leads to a solution; at best it leads only to a standstill and is paid for heavily in the next generation" (*Memoirs* 215). With Henderson, the bird is a symbol of transcendence, of intuition, of release and liberation (*Man and His Symbols* pp. 147, 156). In the Mariner's case the bird may also symbolize the motherly Eros (Harding 73) in whose regressive attachment he feels the blissfulness of freedom from the demands of his ego. The intuition and liberation associated with the bird could have been positively assimilated into the total scheme of things had there been a conscious realization of their worth and value. Fruman puts the commission of such a crime into an imaginative universal experience that subsequently recurs in shame and remorse (411): "And I had done a hellish thing/And it would work 'em woe" (91-92).

The Mariner's action and its consequences have symbolic universal implications in individual as well as collective spheres. Man's lust for absolute power has deprived him of his sense of belonging with the "other". This, his absolutism, destroys nations and civilizations if ways are not mended timely. A coursing back into those realms of the 'self' where the wide gulfs between man and man, and man and nature need bridging must be undertaken to rescue to safety and security the whole race of mankind. To achieve this synthesis a pluralistic concept is needed to approach the whole of humanity pervasively, without any inferior motive of expediency. Exploiting the weaknesses of the weaker has become the order of the day and this new set of ethics is gaining currency in every contemporary set up. The need is to open up the horizons of our self-beleaguered Ego (bargained by compromises) and with solemn sympathy recreate a wholesome human community (Haven 33-34).

Stockholder highlights the Mariner's killing act as shutting our eyes to those realities that are ours no matter how much we try to absolve ourselves from them. Human societies survive only when individuals honestly contribute to the collective well-being; ignoring one's timely responsibilities is like destroying the social harmony which in turn is the symbolic death of its spirit (37). It is not unusual in our contemporary times that infanticidal crimes are committed in desperation when strong determinations degenerate into cowardly lethargy; when people start judging actions and intentions in the scales of personal gains and losses. The most difficult thing in life is the realization and acceptance of one's duties to oneself and to all those around that are part of the bigger whole. The Mariner's act can be interpreted as a paternal shirking away from those momentous responsibilities that establish the foundations of a family and a nation. An over-calculated approach to the unforeseeable future deprives man of faith and confidence in life.

The gist of Vlasopolos's argument focuses around the thoughtless violation of others' freedom under the misguided impression that the "other" is a fragile commodity that can be easily possessed and subdued (how much of gender disequilibrium and disparity we read here). This kind of over assertion of one's imagined potentials is reflected, at a larger scale, in the social and international power politics that has pushed the world to the brink of an almost moral bankruptcy. The tragic reality about our contemporary situation is that we are consuming all our energies in those lawless expansions that are devastating to the existence of human species even beyond this earthly habitat; while pathetically we are shrinking into concepts of cosmopolitan sympathies that are more than ever practically needed (367).

Reading the Cain-Abel analogy in the Albatross tragedy, Modiano sees a fracture at the very heart of things. It is as if one part of man is slaughtering its other less protected and vulnerable part (208). Here again is Coleridge's argument of *lectures 1795* helpful in understanding the gist of individual and collective revolutions. An inner instinct to kill and destroy in revenge is shown in historical events like those of the French Revolution about which Coleridge says in these words:

> Unillumined by Philosophy and stimulated to a lust of Revenge by aggravated wrongs, they (*dough-baked Patriots*) would make the Alter of Freedom stream with blood, while the grass grew in the desolated Halls of Justice (A Moral and Political Lecture 1795).[6]

For Empson it is the "neurotic guilt" associated with the slaughtering of the Albatross that makes the Mariner a sensitive being carrying forever the burden of his guilt (160). In Ebbatson's reading the Mariner's punishment is a befitting one as his crime is symbolically a transgression "against the indigenous peoples of the globe" meaning the slave trade by the Europeans (205). In other words, it is the realization of the "other" within that brings into active consciousness the "other" without. Though it seems difficult if not impossible at moments to be completely impartial in the judgment and evaluation of personal character in relation to others, the decisive step could be enlightening in expanding the relational context of the "self" and the "other." The lurking mistrust remains the main impediment in our approach to understand each other in a friendly atmosphere. This, we think, has created the biggest vacuum in understanding each other in the familial, communal, social, national, and international spheres.

A belief in absolutes is the dilemma of those who have been brainwashed with the ideas that the "other" who calls in question or is skeptical of a long established value in religion or faith is the greatest infidel. The persecutions inflicted upon these so-called infidels or dissenters are justified on different grounds and the collective judgmental convenience of others (as is the case with the Mariner and his peers) binds it with the sanctity of a covenant. Hawthorn's *The Scarlet Letter* somewhat relates a similar story of woe and agony in which the confused social and religious milieu rules the roost. Through collective irrationality an innocent human being is subjected to paralyzing privation without looking into the reality of the allegation.

The Mariner's act of killing the bird is a perceptive crime in which a different orientation takes place. Things are not accepted in their own validity and right of existence but manipulated under disguises ignoble by any standard of decency. This is how the corrupting agency of mind maneuvers right things for the wrong

reasons; the fault with perceptive misapprehension is largely conditioned by the projective faculty of the mind. Seeing the external realities of the world in a one-sided polarized ego-reflection may not give a true picture of that reality as it is tainted by that one-sidedness no matter how much justification could be produced in its favour. Heir to this legacy of confused standards of evaluative perceptions, modern man is caught in the turbulent vortex of his own "undoings." Seen in the vaster contexts of nations, communities, cultures, ideologies, politics, religions, dogmas, and countless other domains, this individualistic vision of self-assertion and utter disregard for others' rights of self-respect and self-esteem have created an atmosphere of unprecedented terror and misgivings in which, like the Mariner and the Albatross, both the aggressor and the aggressed are horror-stricken.

Walking victorious, like a Tsar or Fuhrer, over the dead bodies of brethren humans may satisfy the deadly whims of the perpetrator, but an ultimate facing up of the conscience exacts the most terrible taxing. Bemused with the progress of his (ours as well) journey, the Mariner is led to the temptation of an inflated supremacy in juxtaposition to the hierarchy of lower creation. It is the first temptation that leads on further into the unending series of sinful commissions. Each step is a distancing away from the associative selflessness into isolated selfishness. This creates a destabilizing polarity in the otherwise calm ambivalence of opposites maintained in a miraculous golden mean (Woodring 379).

Instead of due recognition of others' right to life and its opportunities an oppressive, subversive culture is instituted for self-assertion. For Kabitoglou the ruthlessness of such a culture can be seen in its faith in a power play of eliminating the "other" as contender rather than coexisting in a positive, constructive, competitive atmosphere. Destroying the bird in an act of unreasonable violence is equivalent to destroying the natural instinctive faculties that, as intuitions, come to the rescue of man caught in the cross purposes of his worldliness (209-10).

The Mariner's crime is an act of deadly assertion in which the flowing moments of life are squeezed to the narrow channels of self-preservation and safety within a social or religious or cultural set-up. Such a tragic failure of apprehension has turned an otherwise beautiful world into infernal fires. In the rampage towards higher securities, indiscriminate atrocities are inflicted upon those that are wrongfully implicated as threats to the so-called peace syndromes.

What makes life beautiful and bearable is its quality of flexibility in crises of understanding and accommodating all those factors that defy ordinary perceptions. In moments of utter desperation, when surrounded by snow and fog,

the only rescue for the Mariner and his sailors is the albatross[7] that is subsequently obliterated through inflated supremacy although it could have been understood and accommodated in its own right and privilege. This act of brutality can be seen into the paradigm of creating a powerful persona that elicits from the weaker a gesture of recognition in the spree of suppression and repression. The heart's inability to expand and quicken in acts of love and sympathy leads to the sorry states of our present human conditions. Unconsciously we remain stuck and fixed in the vicious web of our personal interests and allow no room for others to enjoy their fair share of opportunities.

Our reading of the poem sufficiently supports our conviction that day in and day out we indiscriminately kill our Albatrosses: in religious fanaticism; in political dissention; in racial excommunication; and in countless other notorious self-fabrications as pretexts for slaughtering and plundering. The innocence within us, like the associative, innocent albatross, tries to fly free from the wrathful fires of our vengeance and glide leisurely in the boundless gales of all time cosmopolitanism. But we won't let it escape in the name of our so-called flimsy and shaky "pride" and "schisms."[8] In an urge and desire for self-assertion, we, like the Mariner, surrender our souls to the negative forces,[9] which are utterly inhuman. In our desperate hours of isolation and alienation we listen to our own voices of agony in a "self-created inferno or celebrate our self-created heavens" (Khattak 15). Our redemption and release are at hand only when we begin striving for a change of heart; when we subject ourselves to ruthless self-analysis; when we begin to enlarge our humanity only in the name of humanity; and above all to broaden and open up our vision to see a more beautiful world transformed and re-created. We become better human beings when we become conscious of our iniquities.

Today as ever we read the *Rime* with renewed enthusiasm and each time we find new meanings and significance in the poem's narrative. We see our lives meaningfully explained as the story is richly symbolic and we follow its symbolic significance. We have become careful not only of our "Albatross" but of all those who surround us and caressingly love them as we love our own.

Notes

[1]This 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]*Coleridge's Poetry & Prose*, eds. Nicholas Halmi, Paul Magnuson, and Raimonda Modiano (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), lines, 81-82. All subsequent references are to this edition and are parenthetically indicated in the text of this work by line numbers.

[3]For a detailed discussion on the topic see Robert Penn Warren, *A Poem of Pure Imagination: An Experiment in Reading, Selected Essays* (New York, 1958).

[4]See Chris Rubinstein, "A New Identity for the Mariner? A Further Exploration of 'The Rime of "The Ancyent Marinere,"'*The Coleridge Bulletin* No 3, Winter 1990, pp 16-29.

[5]All in a hot and copper sky,
The bloody Sun, at noon,
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the Moon (111-114).

[6]Halmi et al. P.243

[7]At length did cross an Albatross,
Thorough the fog it came;
As if it had been a Christian soul,
We hailed it in God's name (63-66).

[8]Jung is more emphatic on the issue: The current "isms" are the most serious threat in this respect, because they are nothing but dangerous identifications of the subjective with the collective consciousness. Such an identity infallibly produces a mass psyche with its irresistible urge to catastrophe. Subjective consciousness must, in order to escape this doom, avoid identification with collective consciousness by recognizing its shadow as well as the existence and the importance of the archetypes. The latter are an effective defence against the brute force of collective consciousness and the mass psyche that goes with it (*On the Nature of the Psyche* p. 131).

[9]We always see the "Other" as the embodiment of all evils, no matter how much harmless and innocent the "Other" may be; our negative projections never let us see a beautiful world out there.

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Burnt Shadows: "Home", "Cosmopolitanism" and "Hybridization"

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The individual exists only within a social and cultural context. Therefore, we can really know ourselves only if we know others, and we can really know others only if we know the cultures in which they (and we) exist. (Lindholm 2010, 10)

Abstract

Multi-cultural societies, according to the cultural theorist Homi Bhabha, are in the process of developing hybrid identities that are in a state of flux. Shamsie's *Burnt Shadows* reflects an individual who retains a strong link with the past but also develops in the future. For the protagonist displacement and loss is an on-going process yet is a living example of a person who can adjust in varied cultures. In contrast Raza the cosmopolitan, with a fluid identity has the capacity to form a new identity from diverse cultural sources. Bhabha's concept of cultural identity provides the backdrop for the reader to reach an understanding of identity.

Keywords: Multi-cultural Societies; Hybrid Identities; Fluid Identity

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The concept of cultural identity in a postcolonial situation is presented with a new perspective after the emergence of the concept of 'hybridization' and 'the third space' by the cultural theorist Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (2004). This methodology is particularly effective in our analysis of Kamila Shamsie's *Burnt Shadows* (2009).[1]*Burnt Shadows* (2009) is Kamila Shamsie's (1973-) latest novel. Her first novel was *In the City by the Sea* (1998), followed by *Salt and Saffron* (2000), *Kartography* (2002) and *Broken Verses* (2005) (www.bloomsbury.com/author/kamila-shamsie).

Bhabha argues that the cultures of the present multi-cultural societies are in 'the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion' (Bhabha 2004). From a reading of his work *The Location of Culture* (2004) we come to understand that no culture and its identity, whether national or otherwise, is pure because, like language, it is open to change, to interactions and to adoptions. As languages evolve and develop so do cultures. As most languages borrow words from other languages, modern languages today are an amalgamation of influences of other languages. In the same way cultures combine within themselves influences and ideas from other cultures they meet.

Hence, languages, cultures and cultural identity are always in the process of transforming, varying and evolving. Bhabha further argues that cultures that conflict with a dominant culture evolve towards a hybrid identity whether they have been post-colonial, migrant or diasporic. This happens both among nations and within nations. Thus, those communities within a nation who make a movement, say from the rural area to the urban, can have a hybrid identity. As Bhabha says: "the regional movements of people within nation-states and the financial and cultural impact of migrants upon their "home" communities and societies, should not be neglected in favor of a celebration of diasporic communities" (Bhabha 2004).

In the development of a hybrid identity both cultures, the national culture (i.e. the dominant culture) and the migrant culture (i.e. the minority culture or sub-culture in a society),[2] meet in a "liminal" space --- what Bhabha calls the "third space" of the "interstice." For it is "in the emergence of the interstices --- the overlap and displacements of difference --- that the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness,* community interest, or cultural value are negotiated" (Bhabha 2004). Both these cultures (i.e. the national and the migrant) negotiate their cultural differences and create a culture that is hybrid in the "third space". In an interview Bhabha elaborates on his idea of the "third space" when he says: 'for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the "third space" which enables other positions to emerge". He goes on: "This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom." (Rutherford 1990). He further says that "the process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (211). Bhabha argues that the third space is not just where new ideas and ideologies are made and produced but also the place where they are practically carried out and imposed. These hybrid communities negotiate in the third space so that "otherness" is not suppressed but rather included to make something new.

Bhabha then argues that "Where, once, the transmission of national traditions was the major theme of a world literature, perhaps we can now suggest the transnational histories of migrants, the colonized, or political refugees" (Bhabha 2004) as the major themes of literary works. An important figure in these transnational histories is what Bhabha calls the "unhomely" individual. Bhabha opines that the "unhomely" individual is caught between two cultures and both make him feel a foreigner and an outsider. One result is that the familiar is no more familiar rather, feels like a guest/stranger in his home. The desire to go back home, the recreation of home or the rejection of home are some of the major

themes that are used in the literary works of postcolonial, diasporic or migrant writers.[3] And to see these themes enacted in the "house of fiction" according to Bhabha creates a desire for social solidarity for the un-homed individual who is "looking for the join" (Bhabha 2004) meaning he is trying to unite his past and his present to create something new that will allow him to be comfortable. The identity, individually or en masse, is never pre-given: it must be enunciated or performed: "It is the 'Third Space', though un-representable in itself, which constitutes the discursive condition of enunciation; that ensure the meaning and symbols of culture and have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha 2004). The result is that the people who have a hybrid identity open the way to "conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multi-culturism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*" (Bhabha 2004).

Bhabha makes us aware that culture is not stagnant; it is not something set in time but rather a flowing process where its interaction with new experiences and norms cause it to evolve and develop. The keyword here is the *performance* of culture. A healthy hybrid culture based on the migrant experience (in the host nation), depends on the fact that its "terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative," are produced performatively. "Representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of *pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition" (Bhabha 2004) but rather the "social articulation of difference." A migrant culture is a continuous intricate performance based on "negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation." In short, the "right" to signify from the periphery of authorized power and privilege does not depend on the persistence of tradition; it is resourced by the power of tradition to be reinscribed through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness that attend upon the lives of those who are "in the minority" (Bhabha 2004). Bhabha addresses the migrant experience in their new "homes", but he also addresses the experience of formerly colonized countries. Bhabha argues that talk of "homogenous national cultures" rather than the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or organic ethnic communities." In opposition to the idea of a pure national identity Bhabha posits "the complex interweavings of history and the culturally contingent borderlines of modern nationhood" (Bhabha 2004). For a culture to survive, it requires that it is in contact with new cultures: this "newness" creates "a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation" and we see that "the 'past-present' becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia, of living" (Bhabha 2004). For me this is best displayed by Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic in a speech at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 4, 1994[4]

> These are periods when all consistent value systems collapse, when cultures distant in time and space are discovered or rediscovered. (neoenglishsystem.blogspot.co.uk)

This speech outlines the essence of post-colonialism: the mixing, the disintegration, and the instability of identities.

I

Hybridization is associated with cosmopolitanism. They are integrally related, for cosmopolitanism is more exemplified in diasporic societies. Cosmopolitanism means literally that an individual is a citizen of the world. Indeed, in the 21st century, Scheffler argues, that "The hybrid lifestyle of the true cosmopolitan is in fact the only true response to the modern world in which we live" (qtd in Scheffler 1999). Cosmopolitan culture is always changing and being reconstructed but that must not be taken as a sign of its weakness. Rather it is one of its main strengths. The constant change in culture and society and its adaptability is the strategy for being able to prosper and thrive (Scheffler 1999). Traditionalists and critics of cosmopolitanism have the fear that, as the individual now is no more associated with any community, he loses his contact with the culture of a community to morally guide him and make him aware of his responsibilities and obligations. There is the danger; they feel of such individuals falling into a moral vacuum (Scheffler 1999). Furthermore, traditionalists feel that, with the emergence of new cultural practices, many established practices and beliefs are threatened with extinction. Bhabha's answer to this fear is that "the borderline work of culture demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of the past and present" (Bhabha 2004).

Bhabha argues that this hybridization will lead towards what he terms "global cosmopolitanism" where the greatest virtue should be tolerance (Bhabha 2004: xiv). But this global cosmopolitanism is in practice limited to affluent communities. He refers to them as "imagined communities that consist of silicon valleys and soft-ware campuses" for they celebrate "a world of plural cultures and peoples located at the periphery, so long as they produce healthy profit margins within metropolitan societies" (Bhabha 2004). Countries like the United States and India that encourage these global villages pledge their allegiance to "diversity, at home and abroad, so long as the demography of diversity consists largely of educated economic migrants" (Bhabha 2004). Bhabha argues that this globalization should commence at "home" (Bhabha 2004) where a nation can deal with "the difference within" (Bhabha 2004). Bhabha advocates a vernacular cosmopolitanism that "measures global progress from the minoritarian perspective. Its claims to freedom and equality are marked by a 'right to difference in equality', rather than a diversity founded on a 'dual economy'" (Bhabha 2004) that forces a poor nation to live in a culture of conditionality that

is enforced upon them by international economic bodies like the IMF or the World Bank. The lives of the migrants make them vernacular cosmopolitans translating between cultures, renegotiating tradition from a position where "locality insists on its own terms, while entering into larger national and societal conversations" (qtd in Sam Knowles 2007: 7). There are migrants in all communities but as Arendt says, "we are not born equal, but *become* equal as members of a group on the strength of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights" (qtd in Bhabha 2007).

What is vital for these communities, cultures and individuals who have been diasporic, migrant or displaced is to feel at "home" when they cross the boundaries of not only geography but also of identity because their race, gender constructions, traditions, culture, language, nationality are challenged by their migration or displacement. They are wrestling with their identities to understand what they are and who they think they should be. What they desire is to adapt to their new environment and feel at home in the new situation so that it develops into a place of comfort and belonging.

These are some of the issues and problems that will be highlighted and examined below in our analysis of *Burnt Shadows* (2009) by the award-winning novelist Kamila Shamsie.

Burnt Shadows: An Analysis
Burnt Shadow (2009) is a novel where the main character around which the story revolves is repeatedly displaced, and where previous tribulations are replaced by new ones. As Stuart Hall very aptly says in "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," "Cultural identity …is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (Rutherford 1990). This means that an individual's identity is always in a state of adaption and change but there is a link between what we were in the past and what we have become in the future. In *Burnt Shadow* (2009) central characters like Hiroko and Sajjad adapt to changing circumstances while Raza radically transforms his identity. The Sajjad in Karachi learns to adapt in Karachi and shelve his dreams of becoming a lawyer for one as manager in a soap factory.[5]In Delhi, a city he loves very much and would never imagine leaving, before the partition of the sub-continent, he had been promised a job by James Burton in his law firm. But his dreams come to nothing when he comes to Karachi and finds he cannot practice law because he had no qualifications and the Delhi solicitor who could vouch for his abilities was dead. He hides his disappointment behind a beaming smile and gets on with being a manger in a soap factory "as though that was all he had ever wanted from the world" (137). Hiroko adjusts in the cultural environ of Karachi as she had done in Delhi and further adjusts when she goes to New

York. In comparison, Harry and Raza the two transnational spies can transform their identities to any situation.

The novel has a brief Prologue and is divided into four sections. Each section takes place in a separate country. First it is Nagasaki in 1945 (the atomic bomb), then Delhi 1947 (the partition of the sub- continent into Pakistan and India), thirdly Pakistan 1982-3 (the time of the Afghan Jihad when co-operation between the Americans and the Pakistanis was at its peak) and the final section is in New York and Afghanistan 2001-2 (the period after 9/11). The historical backdrop for each section is significant for each date has played a noteworthy role in world history. The story is simple; it follows the relation of two families, the Ashraf-Tanaka and the Burton-Weiss over the years, with one-character Hiroko Tanaka being present throughout. In fact, she is the protagonist, the central character around whom the story revolves. Her time in Nagasaki is one of happiness though it is against the setting of the Second World War. She is in her twenties and is in love with Konrad Weiss, her fiancé and a German. With the dropping of the atomic bomb over Nagasaki on 9 August 1945, in a matter of seconds, Hiroko's world is turned upside down. She is wearing a white Kimono with a pattern of three black cranes across its back "when the world goes white" (23). She survives but her back is burnt and the black cranes remain imprinted on her body.[6] They symbolize for her all that she has lost: [7]

> Her fingers can feel her back but her back cannot feel her fingers. Charred silk, seared flesh. How is this possible? Urakami Valley has become her flesh. Her flesh has become Urakami Valley. She runs her thumb over what was once skin. It is bumped and raw, lifeless (27).

The scars are a personal reminder for her and a symbol of her great loss. They also become a symbol of the taint of "hibakusha" (49) with which she has to live all her life. At the same time, they form part of the larger metaphor for the shadow of nuclear destruction that hangs over the world still. The most poignant moment in her life and in the novel, is when the burnt body of her father crawls towards her:

> Hiroko looks down, sees a reptile crawling up the path towards her house…The reptile raises its head and the girl drops the spear, calls out Hiroko's father's name. 'Tanaka-san, Tanaka-san,' hands gripping the sides of her face as she stares at the reptile (27).

She only tells Sajjad her heart-breaking account of the horror of what happened, for she knows he would understand as he had understood Konrad:

> Those nearest the epicenter of the blast were eradicated completely, only the fat from their bodies sticking to the walls and rocks around them like shadows…and I looked for Konrad's shadow. I found it. Or I found something that I believed was it. On a rock. Such a lanky shadow. I sent a message to Yoshi Watanabe and together we rolled the rock to the International Cemetery…' She pressed a hand against her spine at the memory. 'And buried it' (77).

In the second section, the theme of personal identity that leads to the novel's major theme of cultural identity enters the story line. Konrad has a half-sister living in India during the end of the British Raj. In search of a fresh start, for 'she had started to feel that word "hibakusha" start to consume her life' (49), she goes to India to meet Konrad's sister. Here she also meets Sajjad Ashraf who teaches her Urdu. Just as with Konrad she falls in love with a man who belongs to a different cultural and social background. As already mentioned previously, Sajjad loves his "Dilli" and would never think of leaving it, but is forced to do so at the time of Partition. After that he cannot return:

> 'They said I chose to leave'. He said the words slowly carefully, as though they were a foreign language whose meaning he was trying to grasp. 'They said I'm one of the Muslims who chose to leave India. It can't be unchosen. They said Hiroko; they said I can't go back to Dilli. I can't go back home' (125).

This is the "unhomely moment"[8] that fills him with incredulous terror for now the familiar has become the strange. However, as discussed previously, Sajjad learns to adapt in the society at Karachi. Now he cannot bear to visit Delhi because it has become unfamiliar to him and he finds himself a stranger there. This feeling of being a stranger begins with the death of his mother when for the first time he feels uneasy with the naive thought he had always believed in that "the world would change around him but his own life would stay unaffected" (80). He realizes that it was the presence of loved ones that gave one a sense of belonging for as he looks at Delhi after his mother's death "it was absence, not belonging, that the Old City echoed back at him" (103). At the beginning of the novel nothing can replace his sense of belonging to his beloved Dilli. With the passage of time there grows within him an acceptance of Partition and a love for another city, Karachi. He thus realizes that home is never static: it can be many places and spaces. He who believed in "continuity" (113) has to accept that the world was changing: he could not hold on to the old world for that world was just 'kite-strings attached to air at either end'; instead he had "to learn how to live in a new world" (113). It pains him in the beginning when he realizes that what was once "home" (Dilli) is now the "Other", but he finds that, in his search for a location

where the "self" is at home, he is able to find it in Karachi. However, the sense of nostalgia does not allow him to forget his love for Dilli, a Dilli he had known, but he knows no more exists. As he tells Harry "Dilli is Dilli" but he goes on to say "My first love. I would never have left it willingly. But those bastards didn't let me go home" (161). And once he has left it, "Dilli" exists only in his memory. Shamsie also foregrounds the divisions within a culture. She explains how the British Raj divided the culture of the Indians and the British into water tight compartments.[9]Sajjad sees this in the separateness of Dilli and Delhi: "I am like those occasional pigeons, Sajjad thought. At home in Dilli but breaking free of the rest of my flock to investigate the air of Dehli" (34).

It is also seen in his outburst to James Burton when he is called a Young Turk by him:

> 'No, Mr Burton,' Sajjad said not understanding the reference. 'I'm Indian'…He looked at James, as though considering something that had never occurred to him before.' Why have the English remained so English? Throughout India's history conquerors have come from elsewhere, and all of them --- Turk, Arab, Hun Mongol, Persian--- have become Indian. If --- when--- this Pakistan happens, those Muslims who leave Delhi and Lucknow and Hyderabad to go there, they will be leaving their homes. But when the English leave, they'll be going home (82).

The psychological impact of Partition for Sajjad that caused him to be "unhomed" is tremendous. Many migrants like him realize that when new geographical boundaries were set these boundaries not only severed ties but also problematised their identity. For the first time they see their culture and identity challenged. Altamash and Bilal explain how the suspicion that follows all migrants is reflected in the labels/names given to them:

> In India when they want to insult Muslims they call us Pakistani. Bilal had laughed out loud. In Pakistan when they want to insult Muhajirs they call us Indian, he replied. (190)

Sajjad goes through a painful process of evolution and development but, as we have seen, he is able to overcome the loss of identity by merging and accepting this new society that he encounters in Pakistan. Sajjad also felt he had survived the Partition and its aftermath because of Hiroko.

Sajjad is able to find contentment in Karachi through his cultural negotiations with the society he encounters there. By taking his marriage negotiations as a model he is able to adjust. In his married life Sajjad knew he would have easily

given in to every "negotiations" (135) if he had not known Hiroko would "disdain him for it" (135); to keep her respect and love he had to calculate where to give in and where not to. Life after Partition had been a painful process for along with thinking of home (here the new Karachi society) as an emotional space Sajjad also considers it a social place where he (and particularly his wife) would be welcomed if she conformed to their way of life by wearing their clothes and celebrating their religious holidays. But he realizes the truth that, in the society, just as in his marriage, he had to find his own space through negotiations and compromises. He can adjust for he is able to adapt between the old and the new. Thus, when Harry enters Sajjad's home for the first time, he finds that "the flower pots filled with marigolds, snapdragons and phlox which were clustered near the tree recalled another Delhi world" (152). These flower pots reflect similar flower pots found in the Englishman's bungalows before partition that for Sajjad symbolized separateness and demarcation. For the British it was a reminder of their home in England. For Sajjad, in Karachi, they were a reminder of his life in Delhi when he would visit the Burtons and admire their garden and flowers.

II

In contrast to Sajjad, his wife Hiroko, is a character for whom displacement and loss is an ongoing continuous process. She is displaced time and again. The first time is in Nagasaki after the nuclear bomb, an incident that throws a continual shadow over her life. She finds comfort, security and respite in the home she creates with Sajjad in Karachi but is forced to be displaced once again after his death to the completely new environment of New York. A city built on immigration where Kamila Shamsie suggests its denizens have the freedom to seek their identity, in just being American. As a character Hiroko negotiates and adjusts in whichever society she encounters. However, she also appears as a firm character that lives on her own terms. In Karachi in the home that she creates with Sajjad she lives and is accepted on her own terms by the society around her and "it didn't bother her in the least to know she would always be a foreigner in Pakistan --- she had no interest in belonging to anything as contradictorily insubstantial and damaging as a nation" (204). When she takes up a teaching position her students become "her first allies --- recognizing in her a woman who could never be fooled or flattered, but whose smiles of approval or encouragement could transform a day into glory" (139). Through her students she was able to win over the mothers and through them her neighbours. Similarly, when she steps into New York her "love affair" (288) with the city begins. The cosmopolitan atmosphere delights her for she is in a city where she could hear "Urdu, English, Japanese, German all in the space of a few minutes" (288). Above all, she felt there was "nothing foreign about foreignness in this city…. She felt she had been waiting all her life to arrive here" (289). And when the 9/11 incident occurred she felt an empathy with the grief stricken. She goes to donate blood but when it is not accepted as she belongs to a malarial country she feels

the need, like any Pakistani, to quote Prophet Mohammad. The point to be made is that, even though New York and its influence is becoming an important part of her life and personality, she cannot shed her past in Pakistan that is a part of her make-up. She evolves and develops to adopt parts of the new and the old. Maybe that is one of the reasons she is able to adapt wherever she goes. Stuart Hall calls these "Diaspora identities…which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and differences" (Rutherford 1990).

We see that Hiroko evolves and develops towards a hybrid identity from the beginning of the novel. She lives in Nagasaki which was a cosmopolitan city before the war. She falls in love with Konrad who is a German. Being with Konrad she encounters a completely foreign culture but is able to relate to it. After his death she moves to Delhi where she begins to negotiate a completely new culture and way of life. Her ability to learn new languages quickly is a talent that allows her to make friends in new environments. Languages play an important role in her life. It is because of languages and her desire to learn and teach them that she meets Konrad Weiss and Sajjad. For Raza her son the recollections of childhood "were bound up in his mother's gift of languages to him" (200). She is always in the process of evolution and hybridization. She comes to Karachi, a melting pot of different cultures,[10] and establishes a comfortable home with Sajjad but we are led to believe that always at the back of her mind is the knowledge that her final destination is New York living with Ilse --- and Sajjad plays no role in that part of her life: "She never denied she used to imagine a life without him…that the new life would have been in the company of Elizabeth Burton, now Ilse Weiss, whose every letter in the first years implored Hiroko to come and stay with her in New York, while never mentioning Sajjad" (136). In Karachi nevertheless, Hiroko feels her appearance and behaviour is a source of shamefulness for her son. Beset by his own desire for acceptance, Raza is critical of his mother for not conforming to Pakistani society's intolerant attitude towards western clothes. As he tells his mother:

> "I can't ask any of my friend's home," he had yelled, the sound so unexpected Sajjad had run into the room. "With you walking around, showing your legs. Why can't you be more Pakistani?" Afterwards, she and Sajjad hadn't known whether to howl with laughter or with tears to think that their son's teenage rebellion was asserting itself through nationalism (130).

Hiroko briefly tries to conform but gives up when she still doesn't meet her son's requirements.

> For a while, though, she had packed away her dresses and taken to wearing shalwar kameezes at home…. But a few months later, Raza said her kameezes were too tight, she returned to the dresses (130).

If Hiroko does not conform to the Pakistani views on dress, at the same time she is also not at home with the Japanese women who live in Karachi and represent her old world, Japan. In the beginning it had felt good to "sit and laugh in Japanese" (140), but she never told them that she had been in Nagasaki at the time of the bomb and "Considering it now, she decided the day she knew her life had tilted into feeling "at home" in Karachi was when she found she was able to tell her neighbourhood friends that she had lived through the bombing of Nagasaki, while still insisting to the Japanese women that, although she grew up there, she was in Tokyo when the bomb fell" (141). She also felt that the new members of the Japanese group started to appear foreign to her as she did to them. This estrangement from Japan she also feels in New York where she is intrigued by the young Japanese women whose "unabashed laughter, their vocabulary peppered with words she didn't understand," force her to recognize "that her own Japanese belonged to "Grandmother's generation"' (289). This makes her realize that the world she knew in Nagasaki is now no more. She tells Elizabeth that she had always planned on leaving Nagasaki, but only when she saw it "reduced to ash you don't realize how much we crave familiarity … I want all those things that never meant anything, that still wouldn't mean anything if I hadn't lost them …. But should I tell you what I don't want? I don't want to go back to Nagasaki. Or Japan" (100). Just as Sajjad loses touch with the Dilli he loved, in the same way the familiar has become strange in the case of the Japanese women that Hiroko encounters. The only person she was comfortable with was Rehana, a Pakistani woman who had lived in Tokyo with her Japanese husband and now lived in "Abbottabad, that hill station with its echoes of Mussoorie" (254).[11] After Sajjad's death Hiroko makes her home there and enjoys the peace of the hills. Here Hiroko discovers herself as a woman who could enjoy her own company and the solitude of the place. But too soon the world intrudes once more and with the expectation of Pakistan testing its nuclear bomb, she goes to New York, her final destination, with the expectation and "the belief that there are worthwhile things still to be found" (99).[12]

As already mentioned, she learns to love New York because Hiroko finds that she finds no strangeness in being a foreigner in a city where it was possible for her to hear all the languages she knows so well. It appears to be a city that can absorb and be tolerant towards all cultures. All the characters in the novel including Hiroko, Harry, Raza, Illse and Kim move to the pulsating city of New York. It is a city where Hiroko notices the Indians and the Pakistanis live without animosity. These immigrants have apparently found harmony and unity in just being an

American citizen. Her taxi-driver tells her about the strike by Indian and Pakistani drivers ---

> 'No, no, please,' Omar said. 'Don't ask how it's possible that we can strike together when our countries are in the middle of planning the Day of Judgement. It's what all the journalists ask. Aunty, we are taxi drivers, and we're protesting unjust new rules. Why should we let those governments who long ago let us down stop us from successfully doing that' (2)?

When "the buildings fell" (289) Hiroko feels this sense of "solidarity quite unfamiliar, utterly overwhelming" (289) though she also tells Kim that the incident of 9/11 is not the world's but that of the "neighbourhood" (250). However, we realize that it is the incident of the world: unless and until America is satisfied, the world will not "stop being such a terrible place" (292). As the structure of the novel suggests, the world has become a terrible place due to American foreign policy that began with the dropping of the nuclear bombs on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which killed thousands of people. Recalling that "unspeakable day" (99), Hiroko cannot understand "Why did they have to do it? Why a second bomb? Even the first is beyond anything I can … but a second." (99). The 9/11 incident is revealed as the outcome of American actions around the world. As Abdullah tells Kim: "countries like America always fight their wars 'somewhere else'. 'The disease always happens somewhere else; because you understand war least of all. You need to understand it better" (344). Once Americans understand and feel the horror of war maybe then the world will stop being a terrible place.

New York is a city where the hybridization of culture does take place, although for the moment this hybridization is accompanied by the growing intolerance of a people whose understanding and charitableness has taken a back seat to their fear of destruction--- the destruction of all they believe in. After the initial feeling of solidarity when "the buildings fell" (289), Hiroko felt things shifted: "The island seemed tiny, people's views shrunken. How could a place so filled with immigrants take the idea of "patriotism" so seriously" (289)? This is seen in the event concerning the escape of Abdullah and the arrest of Raza. The step Kim takes is based on the fear of doing the wrong thing by not turning in Abdullah. Not realizing that the person she harms is Raza who is ready to sacrifice everything for Abdullah because "finally he counted for something" (356). Hiroko in turn, like the author, realizes that the intolerance of the world will at least stop in New York for New York represents a cosmopolitan city that accepts all differences despite the prejudice, narrowness and harsh attitude of the rest of the world for "finally, mid-January in New York, the world felt different … at least it felt like space in which to exhale" (289-290). At the end of the novel we

feel that Hiroko will continue to adapt and adjust to the changing situations of life. Sajjad realizes Hiroko "was a woman who had learnt that she could leave everything behind, and survive" (135) as a migrant. And, even though at the end of the novel she is in her seventies, she still has the "willingness to enter into new experiences without too much concern for whether anyone might consider it either foolishness or frivolity" (249).

III

Hiroko is a living example of the process of adjusting in cultures: she is someone who can adjust and feel at home in New Delhi, Karachi or New York, for whom "home" is not a place but the people in her life. In the words of Bhabha, previously quoted, she undergoes the process of adjustments by living "in another's country that is also your own" (Bhabha 2004: xxv). In contrast to her is her son Raza who is one of the most enigmatic and complex characters in the novel. He is also one of the cleverest. He is a character who is caught between two cultures, the Japanese and Pakistani, and he does not know how to balance the two in his being. The only thing he feels that is holding him back is the foreignness within his makeup that is reflected in his middle name, Konrad, and "He wanted to reach into his own name and rip out the man whose death was a foreign body wedged beneath the two Pakistani wings of his name" (191). Ironically, the name is German and not Japanese as it should have been. But Raza in his own frustration misses the sentimentality and love that is behind the reason why he is named after Konrad.[13]

He is articulate and multilingual, a polyglot like his mother, but he is never accepted in Pakistan because of his mixed parentage that is reflected in his physical appearance. Whereas, his mother, Hiroko's gift of learning new languages allows her to adapt in and be comfortable in a new culture, Raza's was a "passion": '" But it was a passion that could have no fulfilment'" (146) in Pakistan. His mother understands his sorrow in the realization that "he would have to take that most exceptional part of himself and put it to one side" (146). She also knew that Raza was the "miring sort" (146) who did not have the ability to move on from a problem: he would be stuck in it. Then he allows his guilt on leaving Abdullah at the mujahideen camp dictate all his life. In this way, he was very much unlike his parents who were "two of the world's great forward-movers" (146).

Raza realizes he will always be a stranger standing on the outside looking in: "In contact with the world of his moholla, but not intersecting it. After all intersections were created from shared stories and common histories, from marriages and the possibility of marriages between neighbouring families—from this intersecting world Raza Konrad Ashraf was cast out" (189). In order to fit in "he sought out as many nationalities as possible, acquiring language with the zeal

of a collector" (258) and the only thing he wanted was to "spend my days burrowing into new languages" (146). The more languages "you learned, he discovered, the more you found overlap" (258).[14] One place he can blend in and be at home is the city of New York that is known for its diversity and sizeable portion of ethnicity but like Harry, of whom in many ways he is "another version" (273), he is not able to stay there for longer periods. He does appreciate the fact that "It would be good to be back in America, no matter how briefly" (300) for this was one place he could feel comfortable in and be himself. This is important for him for all his life he has realized the importance of being someone particularly when he has undergone the "terror of unbecoming" (308). But this is also ironic for he is imprisoned by the United States at the end.

With the increased access to international markets and means of communication there has been an increase in cosmopolitan individuals who interact with two or more societies that traverse international borders. In *Burnt Shadows* (2009) Harry and Raza are a kind of transnational travellers. They are CIA spies who, under the guise of working for a private company, "contracted to the American military" (259), are in Afghanistan as undercover agents. The only role offered (in this novel) to cosmopolitans like Raza and Harry --- is either terrorist or counter-terrorist spy.

Raza's conformity in any situation develops into a professional skill when he becomes a spy for the CIA. This suppression of his "self" is a process that developed since he was a young boy and became a part of his personality as he grew older:

> All those years ago when he'd entered a class of older boys, at an age when a year was a significant gap, his teacher had remarked on how easily he fitted in. He saw no reason to tell her it wasn't ease that made it possible but a studied awareness ---one he had from a very young age --- of how to downplay his manifest difference (139).

Long before Raza became a spy he received his training in leading a double life from his visits to Sohrab Goth as Raza Hazara. Here, along with his friendship with Abdullah and his teaching of English to Afghan children, his confidence grows. This growing confidence enables him to pass his examination and, after his result is announced, he knows he has to choose "one life over the other" (209). He makes an emotional decision to go with Abdullah to the Mujahideen camp. In his naivety he thinks it would be easy to vanish in Peshawar after the trip and bring "the friendship of Raza Hazara and Abdullah to a close in a manner that it deserved, in a burst of adventure and camaraderie" (211). There was much he learnt on the trip but most importantly that "the closer he got to the

Afghanistan border the less people gave him a second glance" (212). As this suggests, Raza's desire for belonging, for acceptance and approval, is very great. He appeases his guilt at his deception of his friends with the thought that he had given the children of Sohrab Goth "months of education which they would never have received if not for is charade, and those months were his gift to them, and not a commitment" (213). When reality sets in, as at the Mujahideen camp, he is overwhelmed and consumed by his guilt for leaving Abdullah behind. This incident not only builds on his feelings of remorse but also points towards his future as a CIA operative. It shows how well he is able to disguise his personality in order to live the double life of an agent.

Raza's life is overshadowed by this enduring guilt in relation to the Afghan escapade, and all his life he is consciously or unconsciously looking out for Abdullah whom he feels he betrayed and let down at the Mujahideen camp. At the end of the novel, in order to appease the guilt of his betrayal he allows Abdullah to escape. He felt it was a gift he could finally give Abdullah and when his, Raza's, freedom ended it "counted for something" (356). At the same time, he never feels Kim had betrayed him but rather that she had helped him in allowing Abdullah to escape and appease his guilt. This appeasement is the final sample of the subtle pattern that the two families, Ashraf-Tanaka and Burton Weiss, follow in the novel of helping each other.

Conclusion
Burnt Shadows (2009) is a novel of adjustments, negotiations, hybridization and cosmopolitanism. The novel deals with many issues but it would be oversimplifying it if we were to take it simply as a saga of two families as they undergo the trials and tribulations that life offers them. It is a novel that can be read on various levels as the narrative moves from one place to another taking part of each location and culture into the next. Critics and reviewers have paid greater attention to the interplay of history and personal life[15] but I feel this novel will always be remembered for its development of characters particularly that of Hiroko and Raza. Hiroko stands out throughout the story as a firm and strong character that makes the necessary adjustments to adapt to various situations, environments and cultures but her sense of her identity remains intact. On the other hand, her son Raza is the most hybrid of identities. He is the modern cosmopolitan with a fluid identity that has the capability and capacity to form a new identity from diverse cultural sources. Shamsie ends the novel on a bleak note when "Hiroko stood up and walked slowly over to the window. Outside, at least, the world went on" (363), as she had begun it when the prisoner (whom we now know to be Raza) throws the challenge of "How did it come to this" (1) to which the novel rises.

Notes

[1]Kamila Shamsie (1973-) is a Pakistani author whose novel *Burnt Shadows* was short listed for the Orange Prize for Fiction and was the winner of the Anisfield-Wolf Book Award.(www.bloomsbury.com/author/kamila-shamsie) All the references from her novel are to this edition Shamsie, Kamila (2009) Burnt Shadows: London: Bloombury Publishing. They are parenthetically incorporated in the text with page number.

[2] The national culture is the already established traditions and beliefs, behaviour and perceptions of the majority of the people. They may be living in a complex diverse society where people have migrated from different parts of the world. These migrants retain much of their original cultural traditions and they are likely to be a part of an identifiable sub-culture in this new society. The shared cultural traits of these migrant cultures set them apart from the rest of their society. As the cultural difference between the members of the migrant culture and national culture blur and eventually disappear the migrant culture ceases to exist except as a group of people who claim a common ancestry. It must be remembered that this migration can even occur within a nation when people from the rural areas migrate to the urban.

[3]The concept of 'home' as a reaction to 'dislocation' and 'cultural denigration' is seen in postcolonial works like Chandani Lokuge's 'Turtle Nest' and James George's 'Hummingbird'.

[4] This is an extract from the acceptance speech of the Czech President Vaclav Havel when he was awarded the Philadelphia Liberty Medal at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on 4th July, 1994 on the 218th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America.

[5]Abdullah, like Sajjad, understands 'lost homelands and the impossibility of return: he had looked at the photographs of Kandahar's orchards as Sajjad used to look at pictures of his old mohalla in Dilli' (313).

[6] In an interview Shamsie describes how, in a book about the aftermath of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, 'she had read of Japanese women wearing white kimonos with dark patterns and after the nuclear bomb had the patterns tattooed on their skin because of the heat generated by the bomb. The white reflected the heat while the dark absorbed it'. Hence, Shamsie uses the same idea in her novel concerning the tragedy. She uses the image of the cranes that symbolize life but here they form a grotesque image/picture of being on burnt skin. (www.youtube.com Uploaded 9 April 2009)

[7]The description of Hiroko's loss is important to understand her character, especially how she develops a tenderness, love and understanding towards other people particularly those who have undergone loss. She sees the same tenderness reflected in Abdullah whom she sees helping a drunk. As Abdullah bodily lifts

the drunk out of her path and sets him down again 'with a quick pat on the shoulder' he was unaware she had seen his entire character in that gesture' (313).

[8]For a greater understanding of the 'unhomely' see also Sigmund Freud '*Das Unheimliche*' (1919). *Unheimliche* which means the unfamiliar and unknown is also the uncanny in German. Freud states that the specificity of the sensation of the uncanny lies in the fact that something is frightening, not because it is unfamiliar or new but because what is familiar has become strange.

[9] During the British Raj in India the British and the general population of India did not interact except on the official level. Hence the strict lines of demarcations between the world of Sajjad i.e. Dilli and that of the Burtons i.e. Delhi. Hiroko like her fiancé Konrad Weiss believed that 'barriers were made of metal that could turn fluid when touched simultaneously by people on either side' (*Burnt Shadows* 2009: 82)

[10]Karachi is the main sea port and financial centre of Pakistan. It is also home to a population of varied ethnic groups that include Sindhis, Baloch, Gujrati, Rajastani, MalyaliMapla, Muhajir, Punjabi, Pashtun and Bihari. Each has their own culture and language.

[11]Abbottabad is a city located in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in Pakistan. The city is well known for its pleasant weather, high standard educational institutions and military establishments.

[12]On 11 May 1998 the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee announced that India had conducted three nuclear tests. In the wake of India's tests, the Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif was under pressure to demonstrate its own prowess in a similar manner. On 28 May 1998 Pakistan conducted five nuclear tests and became the world's seventh nuclear power and the first nuclear weapons state in the Islamic world.

[13]Hiroko and Sajjad both loved Konrad and they always felt that it was because of Konrad that they met. To honour his memory, they name their only child Raza Konrad Ashraf.

[14]As in languages this overlap is also found in cultures when they come in contact. As already quoted previously, Homi Bhabha argues that 'it is the emergence of the interstices --- the overlap and displacement of domains of difference---that the intersubjective and collective experience of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated' (Bhabha 2004 2).

[15]Reviewers and critics have paid greater attention to the central characters' presence at the time of major historical events. These include Hiroko's life in Nagasaki at the time of the atomic bomb, Sajjad and Hiroko's life at the time of the partition of the subcontinent and their stay in Karachi at the time of the Afghan Jihad and Raza's relation with the Afghan Mujahideen and finally Hiroko's presence in New York at the time of 9/11. Lesser attention has been paid to the author's skill at developing characters and their relation to each other.

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Regional Interference in Afghanistan and its Implications for Regional Peace and Security

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Abstract
Owing to Afghanistan's geostrategic location, diverse ethnic composition, decentralized governance and socio-political structure, outside interference has been a historical phenomenon. However, 1978 can be treated as a watershed which changed the entire dynamics and context of foreign interference in the country. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan triggered by global power politics and developments subsequent to Soviet forces withdrawal in 1989, accentuated prospects of competition among regional players. The extreme rivalry proved to be self-defeating for regional countries as their policies were not well grounded. The covert manipulation of Afghan policies by regional countries together with Afghans own internal divisions and divergent interests have had serious repercussions for Afghanistan's stability and that of the region as a whole. Most importantly none of the regional players have managed to achieve their self-defined objectives in Afghanistan. The dire instability and insecurity has deprived all the regional countries of economic dividends and development. The paper suggests that the self-interests of each of the regional countries would be best served through collaboration and problem-solving approach. This would demand more nuanced focus on shared interests, cooperation and a broad common vision that would promote an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. This article attempts to highlight the regional interference in Afghanistan and its implications for regional security. Moreover, it contends that common destiny of the region is interwoven through history and a collective prosperous future.

Keywords: India; Iran; Pakistan; Afghanistan; Interventions; Conflict; Peace; Cooperation; Security.

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Introduction
Afghanistan, a small landlocked country, is vulnerable to interference from regional countries. The saga of external interference in Afghanistan is not a new

phenomenon. It is a fact that Afghanistan has been a goat among the buzkshi[1] playing regional powers to hold their sway and are not prepared to allow others to gain preponderant influence in Afghanistan. In addition, almost all the neighbours maintain links to non-state actors who are responsible for much of destabilization and debilitating Afghanistan. States in the neighbourhood may well sponsor subverting forces in the event that Kabul governments fail over time to extend their authority and tangibly improve people's lives, or should Afghanistan's international benefactors lose their patience and interest. Undeniably it remained Afghanistan's chronological history that domestic political forces pursue developments in the neighbouring territories and have intermittently sought opportunities to manipulate relationships in the region to achieve domestic benefits. (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013)

Afghanistan quagmire is complicated by conflicting interests of regional countries. Regional interference in Afghanistan is increasing with the passage of time, which is causing instability in the region as well as hindering the rapprochement process between regional countries. How regional interference has problematized the Afghan situation need to be highlighted for reaching a solution to Afghan dilemma which is complex and multi-layered. Studying regional interference in Afghanistan is significant for managing interstate conflicts and understanding the regional dynamics in a better way. Moreover, the future of the region depends upon stable Afghanistan. Constructive partnership among all Afghan ethnic groups and its neighbours are necessary for stability of the region.

Pakistan, Iran and India are chosen for the study because their role is critical in stabilizing Afghanistan and has direct bearing on the regional stability. China is also an important regional country and Afghanistan's neighbour, but its role is deliberately excluded because of the space limitation as it will broaden the scope of article. In addition, for theoretical purpose different types of interventions are highlighted but the focus of the article is on political interventions by regional countries as it is not possible to discuss in detail all kinds of interventions.

The first section generally highlights different types of interventions for better understanding of the nature of the concept, and helps in distinguishing types of interventions in Afghanistan. It is followed by factors that drove Pakistan's, Iran's and India's interference in Afghanistan and its pitfalls. It also mulls over whether these regional interventions have yielded any results or not. The last section formulates recommendations for ironing Afghan quagmire fuelled by consist interferences. Interference from Pakistan's side is highlighted more because of its centrality to Afghanistan's foreign policy. Moreover, it is Afghanistan immediate neighbour, sharing longest border as well as it is

generally believed that among all the regional countries, interference from Pakistan is dominant.

Types of Interference

Interference in the affairs of other countries is not a new phenomenon and has a long history. It is an old and well entrenched tool of foreign policy like war, negotiations and diplomacy. Since the era of Greeks to present day, states consider it beneficial to interfere in the domestic affairs of other states for protecting and promoting their interests. Other countries in the wake of their interests have showed stiff resistance to such interventions and have resorted to "counter interventions" to protect their interests (Morgenthau, 1967).

External interference in the domestic affairs of other countries is a destabilizing factor and as mentioned above is a common practice in international relations. The absence of a common government to implement rules complicates relations among states, thus making cooperation difficult but also allows war and hostility to erupt. Such absence not only weakens state's capacity to arrive at a better-informed policy of managing interstate conflicts but also make it difficult to recognize shared interests which can act as a force multiplier and a catalyst to forge better relations. Therefore, mistrust on the intentions of other states, direct or indirect interference and defection, is the fall out of the anarchic nature of the international system (Jervice, 1978:167-170).

International interventions for much part of the history have been a subject that has occupied much debate in international law. Since the unification of Germany in 1871along the fall of communism in 1991and the end of bipolar supremacy of the world landscape, the topic is a major discourse among the jurists. The argument regarding the subject can by and large be placed into two categories. In the first argument, the realists believe that where state sovereignty is concerned, no other rationale but self-defence should allow states to take arms against one another. In the second argument, "intervention is advocated from a more liberal approach of rectifying wrongs and protecting the innocent" (Ahmed, 2012).

In order to study types of interference, it has been categorized as ideological, political, economic and humanitarian.

Ideological Interference

Every country has its own ideological foundations which play an important role in formulating its foreign policy. The cold war period best describes ideological war between superpowers i.e. US and Soviet Union. Thus, ideologies have been a motivating force between states to intervene in other countries. Containment was the strategy by which the United States waged the Cold War and intervened in

other countries to bring them in its orbit. The main aim of containment was to counter the Communist ideology and spread of Soviet power. After the Second World War, Soviet Union intervened in Poland and Hungry on ideological basis. Likewise, on August 20, 1968, the Soviet Union led Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia to rupture reformist trends in Prague.

In 1948, Czechoslovakia endeavoured to join the U.S led Marshall Plan. The aim was to assist post-war rebuilding which was disrupted by Soviet takeover and the installation of a new communist government in Prague. Resultantly, Czechoslovakia continued to be a stable state within the Soviet sphere. In the 1960s, however, the new leadership in Prague led a series of reforms to reduce the appliance of communist doctrines within the country's border. Soviet leaders were apprehensive of these developments in Czechoslovakia. Communist Party leadership in Moscow, after much deliberation, decided to interfere to set up a more conservative and pro-Soviet government in Prague. (US Department of State, 2014).

Thereafter, US intervened in Vietnam on ideological grounds. The Vietnam War initiated public debates and several theories emerged providing details about the war and its protraction. Generally, the deliberation on the Vietnam War saw two sides, the "hawks" (those who support military action) and the "doves" (those against military action). Ideological discrepancy was also used to explain the war. Therefore, the split between communism and capitalism provoked obvious or clandestine involvement of states (*The Views Paper*, 2011).

Political Interference
Political Interferences have another kind of destabilizing effects. A country's internal political instability often invites external interference which exploits the internal political stability to its own advantage. Political instability may be due to either ethnic or sectarian differences or struggle for power among different political groups which often engulf the whole geostrategic and geopolitical environment (Adam, 2005).

Robert Jervice in his work highlighted that states interfere in the affairs of other states in order to bring it in its orbit, thereby controlling their resources or land so as to protect their possessions. Mostly, the states in order to make sure the necessary supplies during wartime also interfere in the affairs of other countries. This was the main drive behind Japan interference in China before Second World War. Moreover, when there are tight linkages between domestic and foreign policy or between the domestic politics of two states, the quest for security may drive states to interfere pre-emptively in the domestic politics of others in order to provide an ideological buffer zone (Robert, 1978:170-178).

Political interference is contrary to the norms of international relations and has a long history. According to scholars like Thomas and Max Beloff, political intervention is the act of interference by one state in the affairs of another state. Thomas contends that "intervention occurs when a state or group of states interferes in order to impose its will, in the internal or external affairs of another state, sovereign and independent with which peaceful relations exist and without its consent, for the purpose of maintaining or altering the conditions of things". According to Max Beloff intervention is an attempt by one state to affect the internal structure and external behaviour of other states through various degrees of coercion (Chander, 2000:403).

It was until the birth of nation state, because of Westphalia treaty of peace and since French revolution, that the validity of political intervention has been inquired. The Westphalia treaty of peace in 1648 laid the foundation of nation state and gave a Westphalian constitution containing three principles i.e. territoriality, sovereignty and autonomy. It said that mankind is organized into specific territorial community having fixed borders; autonomy and sovereignty. Westphalian constitution paved the path for a rule that was developed by French constitution and later by UN charter i.e. non-interference in the affairs of other states (Benjamin, 2008).

In 1973, article 119 of French constitution declared that the French people do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations and will not tolerate interference by other nations in their affairs. Onwards for a century or more lawyers, statesman, political scientists endeavoured hard to devise a strategy through which to make a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate interventions. To that effect, the principle of non-interference was added in the course book of international law and statesmen started condemning the act of interference (Morgenthau, 1967).

In this regard, the United Nations also took a lead and in Dec. 1965 adopted a declaration on the "admissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of states and the protection of their independence and sovereignty" which says that "No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned". But we are witnessing inference in the domestic affairs of states around the globe (Morgenthau, 1967).

Economic Interference

Every state has the right to formulate its economic policy towards other states in such a manner to protect and promote its economic objectives. If such a policy is used to impose its will or to influence state behaviour in such a manner to force a state to take or to prevent a state from taking certain actions, then such actions are considered as economic interference or economic intervention. Economic interference can take place through trade relations. Economic interventions through trade relations occur through impositions of tariffs, embargoes, boycotts and sanctions. Tariffs are imposed by states for generating revenue but when the same are used for coercing states then it becomes intervention. In the same manner, embargoes can become intervention when it is used to force another state to come to terms or prevent a state from taking certain actions against the former. Third type is through boycott i. e. dismantling its commercial or financial relations with another country or forcing its citizens to boycott other state products to inflict harm on its economy (Chander, 2000: 405).

In addition, economic interference can be the result of competition among multinational cooperation, foreign investors or intervention by international financial organizations such as IMF, WTO or World Bank. Likewise, United States has endeavored to manipulate the domestic policies of other states by using other economic means such as linking "most favored nation" status to a country's human rights record or keeping out the import of goods from states in which illegal child labor is prevalent. Consequences from these actions seriously impact a country's economic development and can also influence the general welfare of a nation (Adam, 2005).

Moreover, economic intervention also occurs under UN charter through imposition of sanctions Article 41 of UN charter says:

> The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations (UN, 1945).

The Security Council, since the end of the Cold War, has more relied upon collective economic sanctions. Sanctions have been imposed on former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, Libya, Liberia, Angola, Rwanda and Sudan. As can be seen from these examples, UN sanctions may be imposed in peacetime as well as in times of armed conflict (Ellen & Connell, 2002).

Economic intervention is predominantly a contentious matter. In fact, it is very difficult to illustrate a difference between the rightful expedition of the State's own economic interests and illicit interventions in another State. Article 1 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties (1974) clearly set out that "external coercion of a State in the affairs of another State is prohibited in any form" (United Nations, 1974).

This explanation is not generally acknowledged as it would lead to a non-intervention principle that prevents any action which drives a State in a particular direction. It does not take into account that in the contemporary international world, States are economically connected with each other in such a way that almost every economic act a State executes impinge on other States and may thus put strain. Furthermore, in order to find out illegal economic coercions, it is important to look at the factors that motivate a State and recognize the objective of the State's intention. However, the factors of motivation cannot be the only decisive factor; some other important factors are the intensity of the measures taken and the connection between the means and the object.

In order to draw a line between acceptable economic pressures and prohibited intrusions, different categories have been made. These categories set out that typical economic interference is intrusion in trade and shipping and the denial of transit by land and water. On the other hand, the strict criterion of an illegal economic intervention stays vague. In this area cases on the borderline, nevertheless uncertain as to their legal qualification, are the imposition of sanctions, embargoes, and boycotts. The refusal or extinction of aid to developing countries or the violation of an economic treaty does not amount to a breach of the non-intervention principle. States are free to make a decision and which other States they want to give economic support to, as a right to development aid does not exist (Barry, 2011).

Humanitarian Interference
"Humanitarian intervention," is an old concept. It is the intervention for the purpose of protecting human life from the state oppression, natural calamity or civil breakdown. Customary international law has always recognized a principle of military intervention on humanitarian grounds. It is currently being practiced in Somalia and parts of Iraq, and has been discussed, with varying degrees of seriousness, about Bosnia, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Zaire, Sudan and Haiti (Alex, 1994).

Humanitarian intervention can be forcible and non-forcible. Non-forcible humanitarian intervention is the provision of humanitarian aid including medicine, food, clothing etc. On the contrary, forcible humanitarian intervention

is the use of force by humanitarian consideration i.e. self-defence, protection of nationals abroad or intervention by invitation. In this regard legal justification for the use of force is driven by humanitarian component sanctioned by the Security Council (Lowe & Tzanakopoulous, 2010).

The forcible humanitarian intervention goes back to Hugo Grotius during period of Renaissance 1300-1700, thus saying that wars are the punishment of the wicked-on behalf of the oppressed. Thereafter, Emmerich de Vattel supported the idea to intervene in the support of the oppressed when they themselves rise against the oppressive government. Though, he rejected intervention in the affairs of another state in any other circumstances. Intervention by great powers in the nineteen centuries for the protection of Christian and Jewish population is often cited as humanitarian intervention. In the modern era the UN collective security changed the modality of humanitarian intervention. The UN has the authority to intervene on humanitarian grounds in any member state under chapter vii UN charter (Lowe &Tzanakopoulous, 2010).

Pakistan's Political Interference in Afghanistan
Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, extending over the last four decades, is seen by most Afghans as the root cause of their miseries. For most part of Pakistan's independent history, relations with Afghanistan have been problematic, characterized by recurrent mutual suspicions which most of the times are noticeable in the policies of interference and even in attempts at undermining cooperative measures. Pakistan and Afghanistan are neighbouring countries, sharing 2240 km long border. Despite shared geography, proximity, faith and ethnic ties, relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have never been smooth. With the only exception of Taliban government in Afghanistan (1996-2001), successive governments in Kabul have exhibited varying amount of discontent towards Pakistan. Resultantly demonstrating the fact that the above-mentioned factors i.e. geography, proximity, faith and ethnic ties are ineffective if they are not in sync with the government in place and its interests, diplomacy and internal weakness and nationalism (Hassan, 2013:82-87).

The above-mentioned factors have far reaching consequences and better explain the motives that drove Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan over the period of time, in comparison to the factors of commonalities. Pakistan has a history of troubled relations with the Pushtun nationalists because of their support for Pushtunistan as well as with northern alliance because of their anti-Taliban stance which highlights how the statecraft or the government in place affects the relations. To demonstrate it more clearly, Hamid Karzai's government was dominated by northern alliance whose representation was oversized and shared a history of belligerent relations with Pakistan. Pakistan requested US that they

should not be allowed to take over the administration but to Pakistan's dismay it was allowed to dominate the administration. As a result, even if the Afghan government wanted to pursue friendly relations, the top brass in foreign services and army would continue with anti-Pakistan agenda and blame game (Hassan, 2013).

The second important factor which drove internal meddling and shapes their relation was diplomacy. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan always relied on external support and adopted aggressive attitude to pursue their foreign policy goals. Since the beginning their relations were confrontational by establishing relations with US and Soviet Union respectively. Afghanistan adopted aggressive attitude towards Pakistan by raising Pushtunistan issue with the support of Soviet Union, which was rejected forcefully by Pakistan thus keeping their relations strained for most part of the history. In case of Pakistan, it was also external support that played a role in building militants groups, thus launching them in Afghanistan to counter the Soviet Union (Hassan, 2013).

Moreover, poor administration, domestic security situation, often plays a negative role in relations with big neighbour. President Musharraf of Pakistan tried to legitimize his rule, and gained international aid by exaggerating threat of terrorism from within and threat arising out of Afghanistan in the shape of its tilt towards India. On the other hand, Karzai's government in Afghanistan covered its short comings of not being able to establish writ of the government beyond Kabul, by addressing the concerns of all ethnic groups in Afghanistan. It failed to eradicate corruption and develop modern economy; resultantly it started blaming Pakistan for poor law and order situation in order to divert the attentions of masses from real problems. Regional based competition, strategic culture of Pakistan and Afghanistan of blaming each other and narrow outlook of the dominant elites who hypothesized threat perception did play a role and accelerated interference (Usman, 2013).

In addition, to the above-mentioned factors, historical political events also paved path for Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan. It did not start interference in Afghanistan immediately after its inception. Pakistan started out as a security seeker and was converted into fearful one by Afghanistan's non-cooperative attitude. Afghanistan refused to recognize Pakistan and laid claims on its territory; it rejected Durand line agreement and opposed Pakistan's entry in UN which shaped the latter's interference in Afghanistan. Afghanistan interfered in Pakistan for three reasons as defined by Ayub Khan in his book, *Friends not Masters* i.e. its fear of Pakistan democracy and large size. They considered democratic Pakistan as a threat to Afghan monarchy. Secondly, Afghan traders, a dominant social group, wanted access to sea for free and uninterrupted trade.

Thirdly they inherited a disputed border i.e. Durand line which became a cause of interference and mistrust between the two neighbours. Durand line is the most misquoted and misinterpreted agreement which shape Pakistan's interference and policies towards Afghanistan. Afghanistan misperceived that agreements concluded with the British government have become dead and illegal; that the Durand line was concluded for hundred years i.e. from 1893 to 1993 (Muhammad, 1967). Furthermore, Afghanistan's misperceptions shaped the future course of relation in negative direction. Afghanistan misperceived that Pakistan as a state would no longer survive, because it was lacking necessary infrastructure which is a prerequisite for any state. Therefore, Afghanistan considered it wise to lay claims on Pakistani territory before it disintegrates (Usman, 2013).

Pakistan's policy since its inception until Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was defensive. Pakistan's main aim during this period was to prevent Afghanistan's support to Pushtun and Baluch nationalists thus halting Pushtun demand of Pushtunistan into a full-fledged movement of freedom. Pakistan effectively countered Afghanistan's attempts of interference in its domestic politics. Afghanistan supported Pushtun nationalists in their demands of Pushtunistan which was countered by Pakistan by giving support to Afghan dissident groups. It started out when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government put its weight behind the Islamists after Sardar Daud staged a coup against the Afghan monarchy and declared Afghanistan a republic in 1973, due to the resistance to his government's modernization policy. Pakistan supported Afghan Islamists by allowing them on territory to create ideological buffer zone in Afghanistan. Pakistan supported political instability and a struggle for friendly regime in Afghanistan which intensified during and after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (*Daily Times*, 2013).

Pakistan supported Hezb-e-Islami of Hekmatyar, favorite of ISI (a Pushtun Sunni group) and then Taliban. Pakistan believed that Hekmatyar would establish friendly relations with Pakistan and would provide much strategic depth against India. Strategic depth is a military term evolved by Pakistan's military establishment in 1989. It was adopted during Zia's regime and extended by the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif by recognizing Taliban regime in 1994. Strategic depth was a two-pronged policy i.e. to make Afghanistan a satellite state by installing a friendly government which will not provoke Pushtun nationalism and to cleanse Indian influence in Afghanistan (Shehzad H, 2011).

To achieve strategic depth, Pakistan relied on proxies in the shape of Mujahidin[2] and then Afghan Taliban.[3]When Hekmatyar failed to maintain peace, Pakistan started supporting Taliban. After Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the latter

got embroiled into civil war. Fighting broke out first between Mujahidin and then resistance developed against the Taliban rise. The nature of civil war that broke out in Afghanistan after Soviet withdrawal was the imposed civil war if the appropriate term is used. In a sense, without Pakistan's support to certain Afghan factions and then Taliban, the situation would have been different. Although Iran also interfered in Afghanistan, but dominant interference was from Pakistan's side. Pakistan's relations with Hekmatyar, Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud were demonstration of this fact, until mistrust developed between Pakistan, Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Massoud (Najib, 2009).

Pakistan distrusted Rabbani and his foreign policy when he became the president of Afghanistan for a brief period i.e. from 1992-1996. The major reason was that Rabbani kept direct relations with foreign countries especially India and Russia. In June 1986, a delegation under the leadership of Rabbani visited Washington to meet Reagan. In Dec 1988, he met Russians in Taif and again in November 1991 against Pakistan's wishes and Hekmatyar's protest. Pakistan always wanted Rabbani to accept Pakistan's dictates and treat it as an elder brother for nurturing Afghan refugees for more than a decade during Soviet Afghan war and for facilitating Afghan resistance against Soviets. As a matter of fact, Rabbani was not against Pakistan, but he was against compromising independent Afghan foreign policy. Specifically, the disturbing factor was Rabbani's overtures towards India (Najib, 2009).

Pakistan, to counter this behaviour, started pursuing strategic depth policy which continued until Taliban government was toppled by US in 2001 and even in post-Taliban era by Pakistan's reliance on proxies. Another reason given by analysts while explaining Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan is the notion of installing friendly regime in Kabul for establishing relations with Central Asian Republics (CARs). After Soviet dismemberment, Pakistan saw Iran and Turkey as main competitors for securing CARs markets. Albeit Pakistan do not share direct border with any of CARs republics therefore the only option left was Afghanistan. For this matter friendly and peaceful Afghanistan was the utmost priority. Here it is pertinent to note that Pakistan's mistrust of Rabbani went against Pakistan's advantage. Bringing Rabbani into Pakistan's orbit by working for stable rather than friendly Afghanistan would have facilitated Pakistan's access to CARs (Najib, 2009).

Islamabad, in post-9/11, gave up the idea that it can establish Afghan government of its choice. To maintain its sway, Pakistan instead chose to depend on its personal networks with Pashtun leaders built up by its Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) directorate. Pakistan, during that period, did interfere by backing certain Pashtun political figures, some of them were opposed to the central government

in Afghanistan, thereby supporting their claims of unequal representation in government offices and development funds (Gul, 2010). In addition, after Pakistan's reversal of policy on Afghanistan, pro-Taliban officials in the ISI, some officially retired military officials, continued with their previous positions. It was frequently alleged during the above said period that pro-Taliban elements continue to remain active within Pakistan's security apparatus.

Political Interference by Iran

Iran's interest in Afghanistan is embedded in history. In 1737, Nadir Shah's Army marched and captured Afghanistan. After his death, Ahmed Shah Abdali rose to power and controlled area around Kandahar and started moving towards Kabul. Iran got actively involved in Afghanistan politics after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. To counter Soviet influence, it worked with various Mujahidin groups, including the Northern Alliance of Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara militias for ideological and political reasons. Until 1993, Pakistan and Iran worked closely to achieve a remedy to Afghanistan predicament which began with Soviet invasion. After Soviet withdrawal, regional countries patronized their favourites on the basis of ethnicity. Pakistan put support behind Sunni Islamist groups i.e. Hizb-e-Islami and later Taliban as discussed above. Meanwhile, Iran supported Shia and Persian speaking groups i.e. Herkat-i-Islami and Hazara Nasr party (which later on was united into Hezb-i-Wahdat) and Jamat-i-Islami, so as to achieve greater representation of Shiites in the government. Resultantly, regional powers supporting different factions caused civil war and chaos in Afghanistan (Usman, 2013).

Afghanistan is strategically significant for Iran. It is important for Iran to secure its vital economic interests, prevent cross border trafficking in weapons, persons and narcotics. Iran's relations with Afghanistan are complex, mostly driven by external factors. In post-Taliban era, Iran interfered to counter US influence in Afghanistan. For this purpose, Iran supported Al-Quds forces to undermine US influence. Al-Quds established good relations with Shia Hazaras' militias which received weaponry from Iran since Soviet-Afghan war. It is also believed that the Hazaras political parties achieved mandate in 2010 with the Iranian backing (Center for Stretegic and International Studies, 2013).

Iran's relations with Taliban or Haqqani network[4] is limited because of their Sunni ideology as well as the atrocities they committed against Hazaras back in late 1990's. There were reports that Tehran supported Taliban financially and with arms to pressurize US and Hamid Karzai's government (Center for strategic and international Studies, 2013).

Political Interference by India

Relations between Afghanistan and India can be traced back to over 2000 years ago. India has always struggled to keep up its interests in Afghanistan. In order to keep foreign invasions at bay via Afghanistan, British India endeavoured to keep Afghanistan a buffer zone between India and the Tsarist Empire. Although, the partition of India broke the geographical proximity, but political interaction remained intact. India maintained good relations with King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan. It was the only South Asian country which recognized the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government and supported the presence of Soviet military, provided technical and humanitarian aid to Babrak Karmal and then President Najibullah of Afghanistan. Soviet withdrawal created a political vacuum leading to internal conflict between different Mujahidin groups leading to the rise of Taliban (Shreshta, 2012).

India faced many security threats in the form of increased Afghan Mujahedeen militants in the Kashmir area during Taliban's rule. In 1999, Indian Airlines Flight 841 was hijacked by a Pakistani-based Mujahedeen group and eventually landed in Afghanistan. The hijackers were believed to be associated with the Taliban, which led to further tensions between Afghanistan and India. Resultantly, India backed the northern alliance (Shreshta, 2012).

In post-Taliban Afghanistan, India enjoyed close and multifaceted relations with Afghanistan. Many factors drove India's political interference in Afghanistan i.e. the Pakistan factor, Islamic militancy and Central Asian hydrocarbon resources. Pakistan is paranoid of Indian presence in Afghanistan and has accused it of fomenting troubles and aiding separatists' elements in Baluchistan. According to a leaked US embassy cable, in 2010, the then Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani told US Senator John Kerry that India had to "decrease its footprint in Afghanistan and stop interfering in Baluchistan" in order to gain its trust. Pakistan blamed the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), the Indian military intelligence agency, of sending spying personnel into Afghanistan under the garb of engineers and doctors, and of delivering the Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA), a militant separatist group, with arms. In order to contain Taliban and Pakistan's sway in Afghanistan, India built up the defence mechanism of the northern alliance by giving them high-altitude combatant equipment worth of $ 10 million via its Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) as well as provided technical guidance to the Northern Alliance. India has repeatedly denied these allegations, which have not been backed up by enough evidence (*The Economic Times*, 2010).

Conclusion and Suggestions
In order to conclude, it is necessary to discuss the problems halting regional interference in Afghanistan. Multiple regional organizations i.e. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), or Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) (which is economic oriented) lacks expertise to deter external interference. In addition, regional organizations are unable to block the proliferation of militant groups. These groups are well equipped and can retain long arm struggle. After Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan the Soviet forces left behind stock of weaponry including AK-47 which was used by different Mujahidin groups along with the weaponry channelled by US and was transferred to Pakistan. The Gun is now manufactured in Khyber agency at very cheaper rates. Therefore, the availability of small arms makes it difficult to block the proliferation of militant groups.

Moreover, mostly neighbouring countries retain links with groups working on their behalf which has made Afghanistan a battle field for proxy wars. Afghanistan is a land of diverse ethnic groups i.e. Pushtun, Uzbek, Tajik and Hazara. The countries surrounding Afghanistan have competing interests. Pakistan wants to counter Indian influence; Iran cannot compromise Shias being treated as second class citizens by Sunnis; while India and Central Asian countries have their own stakes.

In addition, Afghan rulers have always acted on behalf of other countries and have never ruled by fairly elected Afghan representatives. The Afghan citizens have less influence on decision making or participating in governance. As a result, the need of Afghans has always been kept passive to the strategic interests.

Moreover, India used humanitarian assistance to justify its presence in Afghanistan. Iran took active part in Afghanistan's reconstruction and aligned itself with India to rebuild the country and supported Shia political groups to achieve its wide range of interests. Likewise, Pakistan adopted some tactical measures to safe guard its stakes involved in Afghanistan.
In Afghanistan's case, responsibility for much of the political instability and misery of its people can be traced to regional powers seeking influence to realize their own strategic, ideological, and economic interests in the country. Indubitably, Afghanistan has been a victim of regional and extra regional interference since centuries. Regardless of the existence of international coalition forces in Afghanistan and the pledges of the United States, United Kingdom, and NATO to support the autonomy, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of Afghanistan, the country is still prone to the intervention by neighbouring countries, which has the possibility to either ruin or promote Afghanistan's stability. Optimistically looking at Afghanistan's situation, there exists "peace

and stability", with continuity of democratic political process and an end to the conflict, especially after the successful Afghan presidential election held in 2014. On the contrary, "civil war" continues, with an institutional decay and escalation of the conflict. The article concludes that, regional dimension is more important. Afghanistan is prone to regional powers' meddling, especially if the country remains unstable. Eventually it matters for the regional powers whether Afghanistan get on the path of peace and prosperity, or whether it slips back to civil war. Although through their collective and bilateral decision making, the regional powers have some prospects to influence developments towards a more favourable outcome.

The conception of Afghan actors having regional patrons is well established in Afghan political thought. A strong central government that remains committed to exclude such militant groups, or at least carry security operations against them, because aid donors are expected to demand this. On the other hand, there are apprehensions that restoration of the Islamic Emirate, or serious conflict scenarios, can result in militant groups receiving regional backing to increase activities to counter other regional powers.

In this scenario, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Iran have good reason to collaborate in support of conflict resolution. Their efforts for peace will be a key part of their frame of reference for dealing with Afghanistan. However, progress towards mitigating fighting in Afghanistan is possible to be accomplished gradually, through broad range of persistent measures rather than by a simple peace agreement. Nonetheless, effective regional cooperation can considerably contribute to the accomplishment of an Afghan peace process. In this regard Pakistan, which shares longest border and blamed for excessive interference, should refrain from relying on Pushtun card. The only workable strategy is to consolidate and bring reforms in its own Pushtun dominant tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. If these areas have better education, institutions and industrial infrastructure then it will be in better position to compete with India and Iran, thereby winning hearts and minds of Afghans.

Notes

[1]"Buzkashi" means "goat grabbing" and is the national sport of Afghanistan. Many historians believe that Buzkashi began with the Turkic-Mongol people, and it is indigenously shared by the people of Northern Afghanistan. In Buzkashi, a headless carcass is placed in the center of a circle and surrounded by the players of two opposing teams. The object of the game is to get control of the carcass and bring it to the scoring area. Although it

appears to be a simple game, but it is not. Only the most masterful players (called chapandaz) ever even get close to the carcass. The competition is fierce, and it reflects the boldness and fierce competitive spirit of the Afghan people. *See* G. Whitney Azoy. (2011). *Buzkashi: Game and Power in Afghanistan* (3rd Edition). Waveland PrInc: Illinois.

[2]Mujahidin is the plural of Mujahid. It is used for a person engaged in Jihad. Afghan Mujahidin refer to those Afghans who were involved in guerrilla warfare against the Soviets.

[3]Afghan Taliban is used for those who are involved in Islamic fundamentalist movement in Afghanistan. They ruled Afghanistan from 1994-2001.

[4]Haqqani network is the Afghan insurgent group that is working against US led NATO forces and Afghan government. Siraj-ud-din Haqqani is the current head of Haqqani Network. It operates on both side of Pak-Afghan border and has links with Taliban. *See "Haqqani Net Work"*, website Institute for the study of warfare, http://

http://www.understandingwar.org/report/haqqani-network.*Also* see, Valid, Brown & Don, and Rasslar. (2013). *Fountain Head of Jihad: The Haqqani Nexus* 1973-2012. UK: Oxford University Press

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The Inflation–Output Nexus: Empirical Evidence
from Pakistan, Indonesia and Iran

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Abstract

This paper observes the dynamic associations among inflation, output growth for Pakistan, Indonesia and Iran with their uncertainties. We use various GARCH models to estimate the conditional variances that are used as proxies for creating uncertainties of output growth and inflation. Finally, we use bi-variate ARMA (p,q)-GARCH-M (1,1) models with diagonal BEKK specification to find the twelve causal relationships between inflation, its uncertainty vs output growth with its uncertainty. Our evidence supports numeral of important conclusions. Firstly, we find that Friedman (1977) hypothesis, i.e., inflation clues to increase the uncertainty of inflation, which is not supported in both Pakistan and Iran but not for Indonesia. Secondly, Cukierman-Meltzer (1986) hypothesis is accepted in Pakistan and Holland (1995) hypothesis is accepted in Indonesia and Iran. Thirdly, Black (1987) hypothesis is accepted in Pakistan and Iran whereas, Deveraux (1989) hypothesis is accepted in Indonesia. We also discover that higher output growth causes to reduce the inflation in both Pakistan plus Indonesia. Higher inflation reduces output growth in both Pakistan and Indonesia but not in Iran. We also conclude that the policy makers of these countries may take measures to reduce inflation rate because output growth is inversely linked with inflation and the prevailing uncertainty in the economy.

Keywords: Inflation; Output Growth; Uncertainty; GARCH Models
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Introduction

Inflation is always a monetary phenomenon. Monetary policy practitioners worldwide assumed that output growth of economy is theoretically determined by inflation. However, this relationship is scant. Now-a-days, there is a large number of mutually theoretical with empirical research of considered relationship for inflation, its uncertainty, output growth plus its uncertainty. This study investigates the relationship of inflation and output growth plus their

uncertainties considering Muslim countries because very little work of research explores this area. Inflation has a significant impact on economic development that is why it plays a crucial role in any economy as an economic indicator. Numerous literatures point the indefinite impact of inflation on the growth of economy (Fountas & Kasranasos 2006; Ozdemir 2010; Narayan & Narayan 2013). Inflation has influenced the economic development and growth directly by influencing its rate of growth and indirectly its output. This impact has led a great deal of ambiguity among researchers and has not yet been well defined, because of which it has been one of the most researched topic both in theory and on empirical fronts. Dynamic association of inflation vs. output growth, plus their uncertainties are leading issues in mutually theoretical vs. empirical characteristics to be discovered mainly for Muslim countries. Milton Friedman (1977) has pointed out that inflation is directly proportional to uncertainty that leads to overall economic and its growth problems and shows ineffective price mechanism.

Apergis (2004), Balciliar and Ozdemir (2013) have strongly supported the findings of the Friedman Hypothesis. Fountas (2010) and Ozdemir (2010) have found mixed evidence and Cakan (2012) has failed to find any supportive evidence for Friedman Hypothesis. Some empirical studies have highlighted the contributory outcome of inflation vs. its uncertainty. Cukierman and Meltzer (1986) have found a positive association between inflation vs. its uncertainty. The findings of Apergis (2004), Berument, Yalcin and Yildrim (2009), Jiranyakul and Opiela (2010) and Mughal, Aslam, Jabbar and Ullah (2012) have strongly supported the Cukierman-Meltzer Hypothesis. Whereas Fountas and Karanasos (2007), Ozdemir (2010) and Fountas (2010) have found diverse evidences to favor the Cukierman-Meltzer Hypothesis but Cakan (2012) and Javed, Khan, Haider and Shaheen (2012) do not favour it. Ball (1992) examines the misinformation among public vs. policy makers in concern of upcoming inflation policy; he concludes that "high inflation leads to cause its uncertainty high" and is identified as Friedman-Ball Hypothesis. This hypothesis has been strongly supported by the previous studies while inquiring partial relationship of inflation and inflation uncertainty (Fountas, 2001; Berument & Dincer 2005; Daal, Naka & Sanchez 2005; Jiranyakul & Opiela 2010; Javed *et al.,* 2012). Holland (1995) has established negative causative relationship of inflation uncertainty on inflation, known as Holland's Hypothesis. This hypothesis is supported by Payne (2008) and Balcilar and Ozdemir (2013). Moreover, "output growth is increased due to its uncertainty" proved by Mirman (1971) and Black (1987).

Deveraux (1989) shows that uncertainty of output growth leads to increased inflation. Black (1987) also finds that inflation is reduced by the uncertainty of

higher output growth. These theoretical studies examine the interactions of inflation vs. output growth plus their uncertainties but still remain undiscovered amongst Muslim countries. The objective of this study is to overcome the scant literature on Muslim countries to analyze the connections of inflation vs. output growth with their uncertainties. Here we inspect 12 causations among these four considered variables (inflation, inflation vs. output growth plus uncertainties) applying bi-variate GARCH-M (1, 1) Models. We test the succeeding hypotheses (1) Friedman (1977); (2) Cukierman-Meltzer (1986); (3) Holland (1995); (4) Black (1987); (5) Mirman (1971) and Black (1987); (6) Deveraux (1989) hypotheses for 3 Muslim countries.

This paper is outlined as: Sect-2 presents macroeconomic framework. Sect-3 presents model specification and methodology. Sect-4 reports data, preliminary examination, estimated GARCH models and Empirical results. Sect-5 provides conclusion and policy recommendations.

MACROECONOMIC FRAMEWORK
Impact of Inflation on Inflation Uncertainty
Friedman (1977) hypothesis: 1st part states that inflation clues to its uncertainty and its 2nd part states that it leads to diminish the growth of economy. Demetriades (1988) finds a positive connection between inflation vs. its uncertainty but unable to find any direct causation between both inflation vs. its uncertainty. Ball (1992) ideas the misinformation among public vs policy makers for future inflationary policy. His main idea as Friedman-Ball Hypothesis pointing out more of inflation is due to its uncertainty. Fountas (2010) and Chowdhury (2014) support the hypothesis.

Impact of Inflation Uncertainty on Output Growth
Friedman (1977) states "inflation is the main cause of reducing economy's growth". In theory, the signs and descriptions of both output growth and inflation uncertainty are well presented. Theories supporting the negative signs (Fountas, Ioannidis & Karanasos 2004) and positive sign (Abel 1983; Blackburn & Pelloni, 2004) are between uncertainty of inflation and output growth. Huizinga (1993) determines that uncertainty of inflation decreased the output growth. Fountas (2001) and Caglayan, Kandemir and Mouratidis (2012) also support the hypothesis.

Impact of Inflation Uncertainty on Inflation
"Uncertainty of inflation leads to higher the inflation" as Cukierman-Meltzer (1986) hypothesis. Grier and Perry (2000) determine that outcomes are corresponding with the hypothesis. Fountas (2010) and Chowdhury's (2014)

outcomes are parallel with it. Omay's (2011) outcomes are mixed and Naryan and Naryan (2013) miscarry hypothesis.

Holland (1995) discovers the negative link between inflation vs. its uncertainty. This hypothesis is supported for Sweden but no supportive evidence for Netherlands and Germany (Karanasos & Schurer 2008). Narayan, Narayan and Smyth (2009) also support it as well as Balcilar and Ozdemir (2013).

Impact of Output Growth Uncertainty on Output Growth
Mirman (1971) and Black (1987) achieve the positive link between growth vs. its uncertainty; Friedman (1968) determines nothing and Pindyck (1991) establishes negative association between both variables. "Higher uncertainty of output increases output growth" states Mirman (1971) and further this work is clarified by Black (1987). Dejuan and Gurr (2004), and Naryan and Naryan (2013) conclude the positive, whereas, Kneller and Young (2001) achieve negative relation. Zero effect between both variables is in the findings of Dawson and Stephenson (1997).

Impact of Output Growth Uncertainty on Inflation
Deveraux (1989) concludes "impact of inflation by uncertainty of output growth" by considering Barro and Gordon (1983) index of wage in the model as exogenous variable. Firstly, progressive outcome of inflation proceeding uncertainties of output growth. Secondly, also uncertainty of output growth causes uncertainty of inflation. Cukierman and Gerlach (2003) favour Deveraux (1989).

Inflation rate is lowered down by uncertainty of output growth theoretically known as Taylor (1979) effect, if rate of inflation is controlled as proposed by Cukierman-Meltzer (1986) hypothesis. Negative association between uncertainty of output growth and inflation is proposed by Black (1987). Grier and Perry (2000) fail to upkeep the Deveraux (1989) hypothesis but backup Black (1987). Fountas, Karanasos and Kim (2002) fail to upkeep and Naryan and Naryan (2013) maintain the Black (1987) hypothesis.

Impact of Output Growth on Inflation
Most of the researchers discussed the inflation direct impact on output growth. Briault (1995) and Klump (2003) conclude the positive association and Barro (1995) found negative association inflation and output growth. Negative effect on output growth is due to inflation as by Khan and Senhadji (2001). Caporin and Di Maria (2002) inspect the negative link between inflation and output growth.

Impact of Output Growth on Inflation Uncertainty
Pourgerami's and Maskus (1987) found an inverse association between uncertainty of inflation and output growth. Brunner (1993) found that uncertainty of policy responses leads to increase the uncertainty of inflation and decreases output growth. Uncertainty of inflation is decreased by output growth as by Ungar and Zilberfarb (1993). Fountas *et al.* (2002) claims no causation among variables for Japan. But Fountas and Karanasos (2007) support partially by considering G-7 countries for uncertainty of inflation vs. output growth.

Impact of Output Growth on Output Growth Uncertainty
Theoretically, signs of the relation between output growth vs. its uncertainty is very ambiguous and researchers examined it. By considering negative effect, increase of output growth also causes inflation to increase ('Phillips curve' in short-run) plus cause to increase the uncertainty of inflation (Friedman ;1977). Fountas *et al.* (2002) found positive relationship. Fountas and Karanasos (2006) find the negative association.

Impact of Inflation on Output Growth
Uncertain situation for investment projects are always disturbed by high inflation causing higher prices. Which clues to cut the overall output growth investigated in most studies. Negative sign is found in Naqvi and Khan's (1989) study. Sarel (1995) settles positive association of output growth with inflation. But Bruno and Easterly (1995) found no relation among both variables.

Impact of Inflation on Output Growth Uncertainty
Inverse connection between inflation and uncertainty of output growth is unclear and its sign is also vague. With the coalition of Friedman (1977) hypothesis through Taylor (1979) series, Inflation may have negative influence on uncertainty of output growth. Conrad and Karanasos (2008) accomplish that inflation indirectly disturbs uncertainty of output growth and directly disturb output growth; finds positive effect on output growth uncertainty due to inflation considering India (Balaji, 2014).

Model Specification and Methodology
In our study, we apply bivariate Generalized Autoregressive Conditional Heteroscedasticity (GARCH) models to examine linkage of output growth vs. inflation plus respective uncertainties. Changing aspects of inflation vs. output growth plus respective uncertainties are examined by specified models. We use univariate GARCH models like GARCH (1,1), EGARCH (1,1) and GJR-GARCH (1,1) to find conditional variances for inflation plus output growth further to be used as uncertainties of both variables for further analysis. We also use bivariate GARCH-M (1,1) model with diagonal BEKK specification to

estimate the association between inflation & output growth by applying conditional variances and conditional means of inflation & output growth in conditional mean equation as explanatory variables.

Bi-variate ARMA (p,q)-GARCH-M (1,1) Models of Inflation and Output Growth Series

Here we use the bi-variate ARMA (p,q) GARCH-M (1,1) with diagonal BEKK specification (Engle & Korner 1995) to find the relations between inflation and output growth with respective uncertainties simultaneously. In model, dependent variables are inflation and output growth; the explanatory variables could predict the inflation & output growth in mean equations and their uncertainties in variance equations.

An ARMA (p,q)- GARCH-M (1,1) is specified as follows:

$$X_t = a + \sum_{j=1}^{Q} \alpha_j X_{t-j} + \sum_{i=1}^{p} \beta_i \mu_{t-i} + \theta_1 Z_{Xt}^2 + \theta_2 Z_{Wt}^2 + \sum_{k=1}^{n} \tau_k W_{t-k} + \mu_t \tag{3.1}$$

$$Z_{Xt}^2 = \gamma_0 + \alpha_1 \mu_{t-1}^2 + \beta_1 Z_{X(t-1)}^2 + \sum_{i=1}^{p} \alpha_i X_{t-i} + \sum_{k=1}^{n} \tau_k W_{t-k} \tag{3.2}$$

$$W_t = c + \sum_{j=1}^{q} k_j W_{t-j} + \sum_{i=1}^{p} \emptyset_i \mu_{t-i} + \partial_1 Z_{Wt}^2 + \partial_2 Z_{Xt}^2 + \sum_{k=1}^{n} \rho_k X_{t-k} u_t + \varepsilon_t \tag{3.3}$$

$$\sigma_{Wt}^2 = \gamma_0 + \alpha_1 \varepsilon_{t-1}^2 + \beta_1 \sigma_{W(t-1)}^2 + \sum_{i=1}^{p} k_i W_{t-i} + \sum_{k=1}^{n} \rho_k X_{t-k} \tag{3.4}$$

$$COV = \rho_{\varepsilon\mu} Z_{\varepsilon t} Z_{\mu t} \tag{3.5}$$

Equation (3.1) defines a function of autoregressive & moving average modules with lags of p and q of mean inflation (X_t), conditional variances of both (inflation (Z_{Xt}^2) & output growth(Z_{Wt}^2)) and real output growth (W_t). Equation (3.2) defines conditional variance of inflation. Equation (3.3) defines a function of autoregressive & moving average modules with lags of p and q of output growth (W_t), conditional variances of both (inflation (Z_{Xt}^2)& output growth(Z_{Wt}^2)) plus inflation (X_t). Equation (3.4) defines conditional variances of output growth. Equation (3.5) denotes the constant covariance among residuals of conditional correlation model of Eq. (3.1 & 3.3). The positivity of GARCH, $\omega_0 >$ 0, $\alpha_1 > 0$ and $\beta_1 > 0$ (Eq. (3.2 & 3.4)), Bi-variate GARCH (1, 1) for stationarity condition is used with diagonal BEKK specification (($\alpha_1)^2 + (\beta_1)^2 < 1$).

Bi-variate (diag-BEKK GARCH (1, 1)) general form is as follows:

$$I_t = A'A + B'\mu_{t-1}\mu'_{t-1}B + C'I_{t-1}C \qquad (3.6)$$

with

$$A = \begin{bmatrix} a_{XX} & a_{XZ} \\ a_{XZ} & a_{ZZ} \end{bmatrix}, B = \begin{bmatrix} b_{XX} & b_{XZ} \\ b_{XZ} & b_{ZZ} \end{bmatrix}, \text{ and } C = \begin{bmatrix} c_{XX} & c_{XZ} \\ c_{XZ} & c_{ZZ} \end{bmatrix}$$

The bi-variatediag-BEKK GARCH (1, 1) model represents in the equ. (3.6) all diagonal elements is unique of matrix A is positive and $b_{\pi\pi}, c_{\pi\pi} > 0$. For the stationary condition, Engle and Korner (1995) show that the diagonal BEKK model is covariance stationary if and only if $(b_{\pi\pi})^2 + (c_{\pi\pi})^2 < 1$.

To estimate GARCH Models, ARMA (p,q) model is examined with various specifications and both conditional variance and conditional mean is simultaneously estimated. Maximum-likelihood estimation is used for GARCH model's estimation. AIC and SIC log-likelihood values, LM ARCH test, Box-Pierce Q and Q² Statistics are used (normal and t-distribution) for estimating GARCH models. For estimating ML of the parameters, we use Broyden–Fletcher–Goldfarb-Shanno (Fletcher, 1987). Bi-variate GARCH models with Diag- BEKK model (Engle & Korner 1995) is used for inflation and output growth condition.

Data and Preliminary Analysis
Association of inflation vs. output growth with their uncertainties are established for Pakistan, Indonesia and Iran. For analysis, consumer price index & industrial production/ manufacturing production used proxies of inflation vs. output growth. Monthly Data used in this study ranges for Pakistan (1979-M1 to 2012-M12), Indonesia (1984-M4 to 2012-M12) and Iran (1989-M4 to 2012-M12) from IFS (Intl. Financial Statistics) data base. Both Inflation vs. output growth are measured as: monthly difference (as log of CPI ($\pi_t = \log(CPI_t/CPI_{t-1}) * 100$) and log of ($W_t = \log(IP_t/IP_{t-1}) * 100$) as Industrial production / manufacturing production). For the uncertainties of both variables, proxies of monthly squared returns series are used as not observed directly.

Empirical Results
The summary statistics and real economic growth rate for three countries are presented in table 4.1.

able 4.1: Summary Statistics

	Pakistan		Indonesia		Iran	
	Inf.	Output	Inf.	Output	Inf.	Output
Mean	0.0067028	0.0046579	0.0076408	-0.0012482	0.01464	-0.000235
S-D	0.0076042	0.099134	0.012327	0.06528	0.013912	0.091608
Skew.	0.48819	0.063900	4.3769	-0.17616	0.88676	0.033432
E-K	0.85265	0.80503	27.818	2.7414	2.5428	62.001
J-B	25.765	10.188	13041.	117.14	113.73	45489

Where mean, S-D, skew., E-K and J-B test are presented. Kwiatkowski-Phillips-Schmidt-Shin (KPSS 1992) test with constant and trend terms is used for stationarity of data. Results are given below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Unit Root Tests

Variables		KPSS Test Statistic					
		Level			First Difference		
		With Const.	With Const. &Trend	Results	With Const.	With Const. &Trend	Results
P A K	Inflation	13.4781***	0.766226***	Non-Stationary	0.275902***	0.190788***	Stationary
	Output	12.5617***	0.517952***	Non-Stationary	0.00713298***	0.00606625***	Stationary
I N D O	Inflation	12.4019***	1.15322***	Non-Stationary	0.233548***	0.19192*	Stationary
	Output	9.0055***	2.60441***	Non-Stationary	0.105368***	0.0178686***	Stationary
I R A N	Inflation	9.33511***	1.89757***	Non-Stationary	0.26483***	0.117137**	Stationary
	Output	1.009503**	0.939612***	Non-Stationary	0.0898113***	0.0127624***	Stationary
C.V (KPSS)							
		1%	5%	10%			
No Trend		0.739	0.463	0.347			
With Trend		0.216	0.146	0.119			

To check conditional heteroskedasticity, we use LM test. Ljung-Box test is used on both inflation & output growth return series for Pakistan, Indonesia and Iran. Q and Q² (Ljung-Box-Pierce) statistics signifying the presence of significant serial correlation in both residual and square residuals at lag 4, 8 and 12. LM test indicates the presence of ARCH effect for both variables (inflation & output growth) squared residual series for Pakistan, Indonesia and Iran.

Estimation GARCH-in-Mean Model of Inflation and Output Growth
Pakistan
Results of bi-variate GARCH-M (1, 1) with diagonal BEKK specification model (inflation & output growth) are given below:

An ARMA (0, 3) – diag-BEKK GARCH-M (1, 1) as follows:

$$X_t = \underset{(0.0397)**}{0.0000678} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.961978}X_{t-1} - \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.824557}\mu_{t-1} - \underset{(0.0286)**}{0.185198}\mu_{t-2}$$
$$+ \underset{(0.0284)**}{0.117053}\mu_{t-3} - \underset{(0.0965)*}{3.928042}Z_{Xt}^2 - \underset{(0.1331)}{0.047700}Z_{Wt}^2 - \underset{(0.0002)***}{0.008934}W_{t-1}$$
$$+ \mu_t \tag{4.1}$$

$$Z_{\pi t}^2 = \underset{(0.1783)}{0.001019} + \underset{(0.9998)}{0.000039}\mu_{t-1}^2 + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.883098}Z_{X(t-1)}^2 + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.038447}X_{t-2}$$
$$- \underset{(0.8207)}{0.0000002}W_{t-2} \tag{4.2}$$

$$W_t = \underset{(0.4226)}{-0.019820} - \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.579618}W_{t-1} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.611562}\mu_{t-1}\underset{(0.0085)***}{0.176073}\mu_{t-2} + \underset{(0.0019)***}{0.205595}\mu_{t-3}$$
$$+ \underset{(0.1355)}{7.845047}Z_{Wt}^2 + \underset{(0.4480)}{77.567640}Z_{Xt}^2 - \underset{(0.0007)***}{1.632303}X_{t-1}$$
$$+ \varepsilon_t \tag{4.3}$$

$$Z_{Wt}^2 = \underset{(0.5366)}{0.000011} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.302292}\varepsilon_{t-1}^2 + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.952580}Z_{W(t-1)}^2 + \underset{(0.7590)}{0.0000004}W_{t-2}$$
$$- \underset{(0.1225)}{0.048741}X_{t-2} \tag{4.4}$$

$$COV = \underset{(0.0984)*}{-0.009032}Z_{\varepsilon t}Z_{\mu t} \tag{4.5}$$

Friedman (1977) and Cukierman-Meltzer (1986) hypotheses are accepted. For Pakistan, not accepted hypothesis is Holland (1995). Higher output growth reduces inflation vs. opposite case is supported by Ayyoub *et al.* (2011). For both (inflation &output growth) series β (GARCH term) is significant but α (ARCH term) is insignificant for inflation series at 1%, 5% and 10%. Stationarity condition i.e., $\alpha^2 + \beta^2 < 1$ i.e., 0.779862 (inflation series) & 0.998789 (output growth) is satisfied. Diagnostic tests also fulfilled the requirements.

Indonesia
Results of bi-variate diag-BEKK GARCH-M (1,1) model (inflation & output growth) are given below:
An ARMA (0,2)- diag-BEKK GARCH-M (1,1) as follows:

$$X_t = \underset{(0.2722)}{0.001241} + \underset{(0.0065)***}{0.712833}X_{t-1} - \underset{(0.4974)}{0.145593}\mu_{t-1} - \underset{(0.0002)***}{0.51355}\mu_{t-2} + \underset{(0.4432)}{2.873065}Z_{Xt}^2$$
$$- \underset{(0.6047)}{0.066759}Z_{Wt}^2 - \underset{(0.0010)***}{0.024969}W_{t-1}$$
$$+ \mu_t \tag{4.6}$$

$$Z_{Xt}^2$$
$$= \underset{(0.0069)***}{0.002625} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.540527}\mu_{t-1}^2 + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.841320}Z_{X(t-1)}^2 + \underset{(0.2789)}{0.011595}X_{t-2}$$
$$- \underset{(1.0000)}{0.0000000}W_{t-2} \tag{4.7}$$

$$W_t = \underset{(0.5196)}{-0.001981} - \underset{(0.0705)*}{0.407040}W_{t-1} - \underset{(0.3632)}{0.337347}\mu_{t-1} - \underset{(0.0910)*}{0.179562}\mu_{t-2} + \underset{(0.0663)*}{1.621177}Z^2_{Wt} +$$
$$\underset{(0.5404)}{8.769121}Z^2_{Xt} - \underset{(0.0263)**}{0.980711}X_{t-1} +$$
$$\varepsilon_t \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad (4.8)$$

$$Z^2_{Wt}$$
$$= \underset{(1.0000)}{0.000000} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.480373}\varepsilon^2_{t-1} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.486373}Z^2_{W(t-1)} + \underset{(1.0000)}{0.0000000}W_{t-2}$$
$$- \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.424870}X_{t-2} \qquad\qquad\qquad (4.9)$$

$$COV = \underset{(0.2387)}{0.021761}Z_{\varepsilon t}Z_{\mu t} \qquad\qquad\qquad (4.10)$$

Friedman (1977) Hypothesis is not supported in the case of Indonesia contrary to Daal *et al.* (2005) findings. Cukierman-Meltzer (1986) hypothesis is absent and Holland (1995) hypothesis is proved to exist in Indonesia. Inflation reduced by output growth, uncertainty of output growth is increased by output growth and output growth reduced by inflation as proposed by Deveraux (1989) hypothesis is accepted here. Both β (past variances) and α (past shocks) are significant at 1%, 5% and 10%. Stationarity condition as values of $\alpha^2 + \beta^2 < 1$ i.e., 0.999988 (inflation) & 0.467317 (output growth) is satisfied. Diagnostic tests also fulfilled the requirements.

Iran
Results from bi-variatediag-BEKK GARCH-M (1, 1) model (inflation & output growth) are given below:

An ARMA (0,2)- diag-BEKK GARCH-M (1,1) as follows:
$$X_t$$
$$= \underset{(0.0003)***}{0.002412} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{1.359622}X_{t-1} - \underset{(0.0342)**}{0.615053}X_{t-2} - \underset{(0.0025)***}{1.06375}\mu_{t-1} + \underset{(0.2670)}{0.388574}\mu_{t-2}$$
$$+ \underset{(0.0200)**}{3.496578}Z^2_{Xt} + \underset{(0.0583)**}{0.196970}Z^2_{Wt} - \underset{(0.3343)}{0.004801}W_{t-1} - \underset{(0.2628)}{0.009936}W_{t-2}$$
$$+ \mu_t \qquad\qquad\qquad (4.11)$$

$$Z^2_{Xt}$$
$$= \underset{(0.2825)}{0.003087} + \underset{(0.0007)***}{0.505437}\mu^2_{t-1} + \underset{(0.0064)***}{0.517680}Z^2_{X(t-1)} - \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.057625}X_{t-3}$$
$$- \underset{(0.7193)}{0.006819}W_{t-3} \qquad\qquad\qquad (4.12)$$

$$W_t$$
$$= \underset{(0.5039)}{0.001107} + \underset{(0.0717)*}{0.231589}W_{t-1} + \underset{(0.4133)}{0.081972}W_{t-2} - \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.882160}\mu_{t-1} + \underset{(0.3296)}{0.119182}\mu_{t-2}$$
$$- \underset{(0.0317)**}{0.740517}Z^2_{Wt} + \underset{(0.9601)}{0.261806}Z^2_{Xt} - \underset{(0.1467)}{0.338659}X_{t-1} + \underset{(0.1607)}{0.369263}X_{t-2}$$
$$+ \varepsilon_t \qquad\qquad\qquad (4.13)$$

$$Z_{Wt}^2 = \underset{(0.0066)***}{0.062508} + \underset{(0.0000)***}{0.219616}\varepsilon_{t-1}^2 + \underset{(0.0130)**}{0.416913}Z_{W(t-1)}^2 + \underset{(0.6341)}{0.004373}W_{t-3}$$
$$+ \underset{(0.9589)}{0.000899}X_{t-3} \qquad (4.14)$$

$$COV = \underset{(0.9453)}{-0.000293}Z_{\varepsilon t}Z_{\mu t} \qquad (4.15)$$

Friedman (1977) is accepted but Cukierman-Meltzer (1986) hypothesis is not accepted for Iran. Holland (1995) hypothesis is accepted. Uncertainty of output growth is decreased due to inflation, also uncertainty of output growth upsurges the output growth and also increases the inflation as proposed by Balck (1987) is accepted for Indonesia at 10% significant level.

Both β and α are significant (at 1%, 5% and 10%). Stationarity condition as values of $\alpha^2 + \beta^2 < 1$ i.e., 0.523459 (inflation) series & 0.222048 (output growth) is satisfied. Diagnostic tests also fulfilled the requirements.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations
Our paper empirically investigates causal association between inflation vs. output growth along with their uncertainties for Pakistan, Indonesia and Iran. We use bivariate GARCH-in-Mean (1, 1) with diagonal BEKK specification, to estimate the 12 Causal relationships between these variables. Friedman (1977) Hypothesis is accepted for both (Pakistan & India) but in case of Indonesia it fails. Cukierman-Meltzer (1986) hypothesis is accepted for Pakistan whereas, for Indonesia Holland (1995) hypothesis is the accepted one. Black (1987) Hypothesis is accepted in Pakistan and Iran whereas Deveraux (1989) Hypothesis is accepted in Indonesia.

Inflation is reduced by higher output growth as proposed in previous studies (Briault 1995; Klump 2003) is also accepted here for Pakistan and Indonesia but not in Iran. In conclusion, we can say that normal uncertainty of inflation plus inflation existed in the economy leads to affect its output growth. So government of Muslim countries must try to lower down inflation rate. Price stability as a main objective of these economies must be controlled effectively by their respective central banks. To reduce inflation, policy makers must emphasize that inflation rate has to be controlled. This paper also leads to analyze the inflation-output nexus not only centered on geographical regions but also based on religion and cultural activities.

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