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Editor

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## Editor's Note

I thought I won't have to write another editor's note but I was wrong. I am forced again to write this note for the guidance of our contributors. This time the issue is the "Endnotes."

Endnotes are used to provide information that is not essential to the text of the paper. The general rule for the endnotes is that they should be used sparingly; however, it appears that some authors use endnotes for bibliographical information which are then duplicated in the reference list. *JHSS* allows the use of endnotes only for providing additional content information. In-text citations should be used to acknowledge the sources and the reference list to provide publication information for the source. Avoid giving publication information in the endnotes.

I hope our prospective contributors will pay heed to these guidelines.

*Au revoir!*

Mujib Rahman/Editor



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## Globalizing Comparative Literature

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### Abstract

Travelling of ideas, trends, movements and people is a reality of the age of globalization. With the publication of 'Travelling Theory' by Edward Said (1983), the concept of travel or travelling theories has achieved immense importance and recognition in various disciplines. This paper aims to explore the potential the 'Travelling Theory' offers in globalizing comparative literature. It investigates whether the travelling theory holds promise for destabilizing Eurocentric Canon and expanding the frontiers of comparative literature. It explores the mechanics involved in fast dissemination of theories to suggest that comparative literature has indeed become global. It also highlights the forces which delimit dissemination of comparative literature written in regional languages at an international level. The article suggests, as central to discussions in globalizing comparative literature, the need to initiate polyvalent dialogue from various geographical, cultural, ideological, racial and religious contexts, strengthening the commonalities and celebrating the differences in an atmosphere of mutual indebtedness for a noble cause of peaceful living.

**Keywords:** cultural and literary traditions, adaptations and transformations, globalization, dialogue, translation, dissemination.

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## Introduction

Globalizing comparative literature is necessary to cap on the potential globalization holds for fast travelling of theories, works, and individuals. This becomes imperative to counter the forces that overlook or mask heterogeneity and creative/critical potential of many cultures in favour of those commanding information technology and economy. Globalization is a two edged sword with the potential to strengthen as well as weaken the literary, social, and economic potential of different countries due to their unequal access and control over the chief globalizing trends.<sup>1</sup> Comparative literature finds itself squarely at the centre of this tension. It holds potential for becoming global as it is, since its inception, a multidisciplinary programme crossing national and linguistic boundaries. However, at the same time, it has to confront the Eurocentric Canon<sup>2</sup> strengthened by long established supremacy of intellectual and philosophical discourses generated in the West to ensure literary traditions of other regions equally partake in redrawing the frontiers of canon formation. The need to investigate different literary theories to find a new consilience<sup>3</sup> for establishing comparative literature in a globalized context impels the researcher to trace the potential offered by 'Travelling Theory'.

"Travelling Theory" by Edward Said (1983) introduced the concept of travelling of theories which move to other geographic lands or temporal periods from their point of origin and undergo resistance and adaptation, transformation and development in contact with the new cultures on the way to claim theoretical status. Said's "Travelling Theory" helps confront Eurocentric Canon supremacy by asserting active role to the cultures who may have borrowed foreign influences. Said asserts that travelling of ideas in the form of acknowledged or unconscious influences, creative borrowings or wholesale appropriations (Said, 1983: 226) are important for the nourishment of cultural as well as intellectual life. Even the concept of borrowing for him is a critical activity where readers and writers are governed foremost by their theoretical standpoints and in turn are empowered to overcome the constraints of their immediate intellectual environment (Said, 1983: 241). The most important contribution of Said is in distinguishing theory from critical consciousness — the potential which the researcher finds central to using travelling theory for globalizing comparative literature. Theory is understood in the context of its production which may later be compared to other locations where it is incorporated for use. Critical consciousness is the

awareness of the differences between situations, awareness too of the fact that no system or theory exhausts the situation out of which it emerges or to which it is transported. . . [as well as] awareness of the resistances to theory, reactions to it elicited by those concrete experiences or interpretations with which it is in conflict. (Said, 1983: 242)

Said regards a critic's job as highly important in not only providing resistance to a theory, but also opening it up towards historical and social reality, human needs and interests (Said, 1983: 242). As such all theories including those emanating from the West have to be studied in terms of the developments they undergo in the culture of arrival. According to Said, an idea or a theory passes chiefly through four stages. First, it moves from the place and time of its inception. Second, it traverses a distance through encountering pressures of various contexts to enter new space and time conditions. Third, in the new context of arrival it encounters a set of conditions of acceptance or resistance resulting in its introduction and toleration. Fourth, the fully or partly accommodated or incorporated idea is transformed by the local uses in a new time and place (Said, 1983: 226-227). Said develops this theory in the context of theories that travelled and ultimately arrived in Great Britain via Paris from Hungary. Critics such as Clifford (1998) and Boer (1995) believe that the development of theory as Said (1983) delineates is linear in time and direction and does not reflect the polyvalent dialogue initiated on account of travelling of ideas to and from various theoretical positions. Clifford, in "Notes on travel and theory", comments that Edward Said's four stages of a travelling theory following a linear path of immigration and acculturation ignores the ambivalent appropriations and resistances that characterize travel of theories and theorists between places in the First and Third worlds (Clifford, 1998:5). Boer recommends that departure from one point to another ought to involve also a return because otherwise "[i]f a round trip ticket is not included in the deal, we might rather speak of emigration" (Boer, 1995:110).

Comparative analyses should highlight specifically the adaptations, modifications, and transformations theories or ideas undergo in the context of arrival. The need is to make these theories and literary developments travel back to the sites of origin to assert the agency of receiving cultures and their contribution in further enriching them. Moreover, comparative theorists should highlight areas where literary values developed in the western literature owe inspiration from other literary cultures that are still marginalized. The two-way investigation can assert literary value of marginalized literatures. This requires highlighting the originality and critical



consciousness of the lesser-known writers even where they are borrowing or transforming influences from the Eurocentric traditions. It necessitates also highlighting the contributions of the lesser-known yet important literary figures in the established theories or the potential they still hold for further consolidating these. In this discussion highlighting the need to make contributions by and to the Eurocentric canon does not mean committing the mistake which Rey Chow argues many comparative theorists make by making comparisons only to a body of European texts which implicitly means acknowledging the superiority of European texts over the non-European ones. The comparative studies suggested above are required if comparative literature has to successfully renegotiate theoretical framework of the discipline. By encouraging the comparative studies in the areas suggested above, renegotiations are possible in the sense of what Boer explains, “problematization of hierarchies and inequalities in power relations, and on questioning the hegemony in setting the agenda” (Boer, 1995:117).

The debates of comparativists and travelling theorists are cantered on similar preoccupations. Comparative literature highlights similarities and differences in literatures produced in different corners of the world and also points out distinctive contributions made by different literary traditions that were, are or could be taken up and developed by other literatures. The focus is also on how literary traditions of different literatures can help redraw the frontiers of canon formation. Of particular significance is the widespread recognition to move comparative literature beyond its western origin and make it a productive arena of scholarly work on all literatures around the globe. By so doing, comparative literature will also attain a true theoretical status because as James Clifford, in *Notes on travel and theory*, rightly states that “[l]ocalization undermines a discourse's claim to 'theoretical' status” (1998:2). The manifesto of ‘Travelling Theories and Travelling Theorists’ given by Clifford & Dhareshwar (1989) in the preface to *Inscriptions*, thus rightly reflect this situation in emphasizing that:

Theory, by definition, is more than a local act. While it is enmeshed in specific traditions and locales, and while it is marked by the site and condition of its production, its purview is extensive, generalizing, comparative. If theories no longer totalize, they do travel. Indeed, in their diverse rootings and uprootings, theories are constantly translated, appropriated, contested, grafted. Theory travels; so do theorists (1989:1).

The concerns important to comparative literature also lay central to the debates of travelling theorists investigating the development of certain theories as they cross time and space barriers as well as tracing of intellectual similarities and borrowings in the works produced at different times or locations. The findings and interests of comparative literature and travelling theory thus overlap. Earl Fitz's "Internationalizing the literature of the Portuguese-speaking world" reveals that Helene Cixous' "l'écriture féminine" stems in fact from her discovery of Clarice Lispector's *Água viva*. Fitz asserts that "an important writer working in Portuguese has not only been largely ignored (or misinterpreted) on the world stage but, in this particular case, denied the widespread recognition that is due her for providing the prototype of one of the twentieth century's most important literary theories" (Fitz, 2002:446). The influence of Goethe's *Faust* on Byron's *Manfred* via its French translation by Madame de Staël is just one instance out of the myriad of such travelling of ideas, in this particular case between three major European languages. Even theories develop, as discussed above, through interaction of theorists from various theoretical and geographic landscapes. Clifford goes so far as to comment that Marxism developed a theoretical status as Marx developed his deep awareness of the situation in Rhineland in critical perspective of experiences garnered from his travels to Paris, the political centre of Europe, and thereafter to Manchester-London, the emerging source of industrial-commercial dynamism. All theories are being debated and developed by theorists of different regions and periods. Travelling theorists are interested in tracing the developments of different theories and ideas when they are modified for local use.

Edward Said's "Travelling Theory" thus introduced the concept of travelling theories and theorists resulting in transnational dissemination of literary works and theories. The travelling of ideas from various geographic, cultural, and linguistic locations develop a polyvalent dialogue where literary and cultural productions enter in dialogue in parity or compete for greater parity. Comparative literature as an interdisciplinary field stressing for greater dissemination of different literary and artistic creations across different cultural, linguistic and geographic boundaries in fact presumes the concept of travelling as a prerequisite. Since the publication of travelling theory and particularly in the age of globalization, travelling is inflated to include, apart from travelling of individuals, fast circulation also of theories, works, influences, forces, and ideas. Travelling theory has also increased interest in tracing the trajectories various cultural, political, economic, religious, and intellectual phenomena took in reaching their current state, as well as their networks of interaction and interdependency. It is not surprising then to also encounter studies

highlighting equal participation of different cultures in the development of World civilization. Tyler Cowen highlights this factor as:

If we consider the book, paper comes from the Chinese, the Western alphabet comes from the Phoenicians, the page numbers come from the Arabs and ultimately the Indians, and printing has a heritage through Gutenberg, a German, as well as through the Chinese and Koreans. The core manuscripts of antiquity were preserved by Islamic civilization and, to a lesser extent, by Irish monks. (Cowen, 2004:6)

Cowen also highlights that all civilizations throughout history are multicultural products resulting from international exchange of goods, services, and ideas. Western supremacy as the leading civilization is deconstructed also when the developments it owes due to other civilizations are considered:

To varying degrees, Western cultures draw their philosophical heritage from the Greeks, their religions from the Middle East, their scientific base from the Chinese and Islamic worlds, and their core populations and languages from Europe. (Cowen, 2004:6)

When the world civilizations are built upon shared experiences, developments, and modifications, it is impossible to neatly divide all scientific, literary or cultural phenomena in terms of absolute debtors or creditors. Eurocentrism appears anachronistic in front of the world developments due to globalization. With the intensification and acceleration of social and cultural exchanges, technological flow of information, easy and accessible modes of travelling, territorial divisions and canon frontiers are becoming less absolute. In the literary domain, this globalised trend of mutual borrowings, influences, and increased communication have become very pronounced and is reflected, as Clausen (1994) states, in the phenomenon of 'international writer' such as T.S. Eliot, Malcolm Lowry, Janette Turner, etc. who can be fitted only imperfectly into a single nation's literary heritage. Moreover, as he points out, even the most nationally specific historical material has become international literary property as manifested in just few of the examples mentioned by him: the Australian Thomas Keneally and the Englishman Richard Adams wrote novels about the American Civil War, the American Thomas Flanagan published two novels about the Irish struggle for independence and Stanley Wolpert wrote a novel about the assassination of Gandhi (Clausen, 1994:62-63). In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels detailed this cosmopolitan character to consumption and production which has forced the

nations to depend upon material and intellectual productions from distant lands. They discerned a remarkable development of a 'World Literature' as national one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness was becoming impossible and intellectual creations of individual nations were becoming a common property (as cited in Tomilson, 1999:76). Despite this, why is it that still Eurocentric canon and literature produced in the western world is more influential even at a time when globalization offers immense possibilities for free circulation of capital, commodities, cultures, and literatures. The people now are free more than ever before to choose from the diverse cultural and literary products. The following observation will appear commonplace to many privileged individuals:

Only in a world of globalized culture can I collect nineteenth- century Japanese prints, listen to the music of pygmy tribes, read the Trinidadian author V. S. Naipaul, and enjoy the humor of Canadian Jim Carrey, while my neighbors pursue different paths of their own choosing.(Cowen, 2004 :128)

The privileged may enjoy this diverse access. However, this remains an individual endeavour motivated in large part by the position and access of the individuals. An individual living in an advanced metropolitan centre may have access to various cultural artefacts, literary creations and visual media, but his freedom is only limited to choose from what is being offered. What about those cultural and literary products that fail to reach capitalist metropolitan centres from other parts of the world? This leads investigation on multiple levels. Why are some products disseminated more quickly and marketed more effectively than others? Why certain products fail to offer their uniqueness in this multicultural world? What pressures hinder this movement? Who benefits or loses then? How far is it right that the advanced western nations and the Eurocentric Canon dominate still for having better marketing standards and facilities and ensuring fast dissemination of their products? Moreover, the western world adds far less foreign cultural and literary products in the canon to give a glow of neutrality where their products are shown dominating naturally in an equal and fair participation, a trend that requires investigation. To answer these concerns, it is pertinent to investigate the mechanics involved in fast dissemination of theories and works and also the forces which delimit dissemination of comparative literature written in many national or regional languages at an international level.

Exploring the mechanics involved in the fast dissemination or otherwise of works is pertinent to ensure comparative literature becomes global. The process of

dissemination of a work undergoes, as Knapp (2005) states, in “Race, class, gender: Reclaiming baggage in fast travelling of theories:”

highly overdetermined processes involving constellations of politico-institutional power and opportunity structures, markets and survival strategies, linguistic hegemonies as well as unevenly distributed phantasies and prejudice about the use and exchange value of the works one has not yet read and of the necessity to read them ( Knapp, 2005: 251)

Factors like translation, effective media and publication opportunities greatly influence the transnational reception of a work. Translations are unavoidable for comparative literature aiming to “compare different kinds of poetics, and not just different variants of European poetics in its historical evolution” (Lefevre, 1995:3). Moreover, translations function as a type of intercultural communication increasing the audience of a particular text across linguistic barriers. Effective media representations of the significance of works written in different national or regional languages increase the chances of their translations in other languages and so their reception by foreign readers. The role played by mainstream publishing houses in the international dissemination of such works cannot be overlooked. A work selected by international mainstream publishing houses that are multinational corporations reaches more destinations than the one accepted by a localized publishing agency. A work written or translated into English has more chances of being published by leading publishing houses than those translated into other languages. Above all, publication of a work depends also on factors external to the literary merit of the work and more responsive to the cultural perceptions of the consumer society. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn reveals that the Euro-American cast asserted upon the literary works of American- Indian writers truly reflects the pressures writers of other nationalities also face for publication in the West. American Indian writers face questions that relate more to the taste of the foreign to-be audience than the intent of the writer. They confront questions such as “how can you make this story more accessible to the ‘general American reader’? (an agent’s query)” and “how and why is it that you use an Indian language word or phrase at certain places in your narrative ...? (an editors’ query)” (Cook-Lynn, 1993: 27). Nawal el Saadawi considers an irretrievable damage is done to the philosophical wealth of the former colonies where London assumes the sole right to decide the works to be translated and the writers that ought to be introduced to the world. Saadawi says:

London only translates the Indian or Arabic literature that it pleases and that corresponds to its view of India and the Arabs. Thus the greatest of Indian or Arab literature is not translated in London. It remains shut up in the local market and does not reach the international one (Saadawi, 1992:130).

Indian, Arab, South Asian or other resident writers from other world regions have not had the same privilege to be received as great writers like their western counterparts. In "Why keep asking me about my identity?", Saadawi points out the western publishing houses choose those works for translation which conform to the stereotypes prevalent in the West about that culture or wherein there is room for misinterpretation and accentuation of the exotic and the strange. In this situation the modern novels produced in Africa and the South which deal with the reality of relations between Africa and the North or with gender and class are not considered suitable for consumption in the North (Saadawi, 1997: 130-131). The hegemony maintained by the West in selective consumption and popularization of literary works from other cultures leads to misperception and myopic and distorted projection of cultural values of the nations. The misunderstanding generated thus between different cultures is also responsible partly for the polarization we observe in the world.

For comparative literature being translated, the issue of true depiction of the content of the work and intent of the author is very crucial. Any translation undertaken keeping in view the literary requirements of the target culture and audience may efface important cultural values of the original text and thus affect its individuality and literary value. Any translation that effaces the individuality and historical concreteness of a work even when it transcends geographic and linguistic barriers does not benefit the objectives of comparative literature which conforms to the rule Bassnett succinctly states:

Implicit to comparative literature outside Europe and the United States is the need to start with the home culture and to look outwards, rather than with the European model of literary excellence and to look inwards. (as cited in Chow, 2004:303).

Translations that occur amidst incapacitating restrictions when the content and style of works are forced to conform to the tastes and understanding of the target audience, who are not acquainted with the original language and civilization, fail to impart the true spirit of the original. In situations where the work is translated for a

foreign audience by a person foreign to the cultural system in which the book was written or contextualized, translators may take certain liberties which jeopardize the real focus of the work. Fitzgerald translated *Rubbaiyat of Umer Khayyam* and during the translation process took many liberties with the subject matter, which he justified in a letter to his friend E .B. Cowell as: "It is an amusement for me to take what liberties I like with these Persians who (as I think) are not Poets enough to frighten one from such excursions, and who really want a little Art to shape them"(qtd. in Lefevere,1992:75). André Lefevere believes Fitzgerald would have never dared to take such liberties with classical Greek and Latin literature because these were considered prestigious in the Western literature. On the other hand, no such reservation hindered him from taking liberties with the Persian literature as Lefevere justly explains "Persian and, by extension, Islamic literature were and are seen as marginal, "exotic," and can be treated with much less reverence" (Lefevere,1992:75).

Under these circumstances the sinuous web of misrepresentation and mistranslation has to be checked to adequately represent the comparative literature. Unless this happens, comparative literature cannot highlight the distinctive literary values of different literatures. In this regard scholars and professionals residing abroad are required to play an active role in translation, dissemination, and true reflection of their literature in the countries of their abode. They should project their indigenous literary traditions in enriching theory and practice in comparative literature. These writers, scholars and professionals must not submit to the phenomenon Tim Brennan termed "Third-World Cosmopolitans" living abroad as no longer tied down to national affiliations and interpreting the "homeland" from the vantage point of privilege (qtd. in Parker, 1993:66). Even western reviewers choose such literary voices as the interpreters and authentic public voices of their region. Scholars and critics residing abroad must present their literatures confidently and truthfully for comparative literatures to partake in introducing diversity of literary traditions and approaches, *recontextualise* Anglo-American and European perspectives, interrogate canon formation, *reconceive* canon and, as Bernheimer Report to ACLA recommends, produce "non-canonical readings of canonical texts, readings from various contestatory, marginal, or subaltern perspectives"(Bernheimer et al.,1993). The scholars living in advanced countries and having direct access to the latest knowledge and technology should cooperate with the local groups. Nawal el Saadawi, in "Why keep asking me about my identity", urges that this form of

North-South networking can do a lot in many fields, help resist marginalization of the millions back home, and also build up a global solidarity from below. She says

Step by step they can participate in creating a global force from below, an alliance of peoples united in a universal human endeavour which is able to respect cultures and identities and yet unite in struggle for true democracy, justice, peace and a better future for all people (Saadawi, 1997:131).

Of particular importance is Brooks' assertion, in "Comparative languages and literatures: A not so wild idea", that every culture has its tricksters, flawed heroes, different frameworks for storytelling, aphorisms, folk sayings, wise fools, treacherous friends, anthropomorphic beasts, kind monsters and these need to be searched out in all literatures and made readily available. She particularly raises a pertinent issue especially significant to those studying abroad and surrounded by foreign culture, language, and literature. She believes if such students can "find library books with their own languages and literatures and cultures highlighted, surely they will accept themselves and their cultures, and so will those who work with them" (Brooks, 1988: 35). This suggests the need to ensure that the literary and cultural texts of different regions in translated and untranslated form appear in standard teaching anthologies and in other forms and the media (Moon, 2004:338).

Travelling Theory suggests a new theoretical perspective for undertaking comparative studies which are sensitive to cultural, religious, ethnic and regional perspectives. By suggesting that theories and ideas cross linguistic, temporal, and geographic boundaries and take shape in the context of arrival, travelling theory suggests existence of polyvalent dialogue in different disciplines that needs to be in harness with the comparative literature. Komar suggests that "[b]y constantly challenging the latest icons of theory and by comparing them to other possible strategies, comparative literature as a discipline is constantly forced to renew itself" (Komar, 1995:291). I cap this statement by adding that travelling theory and travelling theorists can facilitate comparative literature in this constant pressure for renewal in this age of globalization.



## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Globalization involves economic, political, social, cultural and technological dimensions. It involves transnational processes that allow the economy, politics, culture and ideologies of developed nations to penetrate the developing countries. Information technology is another aspect of globalization where information flow has greatly sensitized the general public about their rights and their inclusion in the social and political processes. For complete information on it, read Steger, M. B. (2003). *Globalization: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Tomilson, J. (1999). *Globalization and culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- <sup>2</sup> Eurocentric Canon takes the literacy and cultural standards of the Western arts and literature as the basis for passing evaluative judgments on non-western literatures. It grew out of the historical process of western colonial and economic dominance and has in turn provided an ideological justification for that dominance. The categories and approaches used in the European academia help to maintain the political and intellectual superiority of Europe. For an insightful account of Eurocentric Canon and Eurocentrism, read Gheverghese, G., Reddy, V., & Searle-Chatterjee, M. (1990). "Eurocentrism in the Social Sciences." *Race & Class*, 31(4).
- <sup>3</sup> Merriam Webster's Dictionary defines the term as the linking together of principles from different disciplines especially when forming a comprehensive theory. *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (1998) by E.O. Wilson explores the methods that could unite the sciences and at the latter stage unite them with the humanities. This synthesis of knowledge from different specialized fields of human endeavour could comfortably be established among the different literary theories to ensure comparative literature becomes global. The potential 'Travelling Theory' offers is a modest step to find out that consilience.

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## **Risk Factors Associated with Stillbirths in Public-Hospitals in Peshawar, Pakistan**

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### **Abstract**

Stillbirth is considered one of the most important maternal and pregnancy health and healthcare indicators. This study investigates the association of stillbirth with a wide range of factors related to geo-demographics, maternal health and pregnancy history in public hospitals at Peshawar, Pakistan. Data on geo-demographics, maternal health indicators, pregnancy history and outcome scores for new-born babies and their families ( $n=1039$ ) were collected prospectively in a cross-sectional survey of four public hospitals in Peshawar. Crude and adjusted odds ratios were used to investigate the factors associated with stillbirth. The stillbirth rate was found to be 78.5 per 1000 births. The factors independently associated with stillbirth were maternal age ( $\geq 35$  years), paternal illiteracy, consanguinity, maternal height ( $< 1.55$  cm), congenital malformation and caesarean delivery. However, three factors (paternal education, congenital malformations and caesarean delivery) were highly associated with stillbirth ( $p < 0.0001$ ). In addition to congenital malformation and caesarean delivery, this study highlights the importance of paternal education regarding stillbirth rate in this area. The effect of paternal illiteracy on stillbirth might be due to its strong association with low family social-status, deprived area of residence, and maternal health conditions.

*Keywords:* Stillbirth rate, paternal education, congenital malformation and mode of delivery.

## Introduction

Stillbirth is one of the most important maternal and pregnancy outcome health indicator (McClure, Goldenbuerg & Bann., 2007) and access to quality and adequate antenatal and delivery care (Say, Donner, Gulmezoglu, Talijaard & Piaggio 2006). Worldwide stillbirths have been estimated to be 3.2 to 4 million per year (Stanton, Lawn, Rahman, Wilczynska-Ketende & Hill, 2006, McClure, et al., 2006). Recent estimates show that stillbirth rate is nearly 24 per 1000 deliveries worldwide, 32 per 1000 deliveries in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia compared to 5.3 per 1000 deliveries in the developed countries (Stanton, et al., 2006).

A review of literature on stillbirth found that the rate of stillbirths is less than 1% in the developed and 3% in the developing countries (Say, et al., 2006). Of the total stillbirths, 99% were estimated in developing countries with four Asian countries (China, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) sharing more than half (51%) of the total number of stillbirths (Stanton, et al., 2006). It is the highest in Pakistan at 41.4 per 1000 deliveries compared to recent estimates for the neighbouring countries India (29.5) and Bangladesh (37.8), respectively (Stanton, et al., 2006). Similarly, a study of five low income countries found that stillbirth rate was highest in Pakistan compared to Democratic Republic of Congo, Guatemala, Zambia and India (McClure, et al., 2007).

Studies in the U.K. (Ahmad, 1994; Parsons, Duley & Alberman 1990) found that stillbirth and neonatal mortality was nearly double in mothers born in Pakistan compared to those born in the U.K. This would suggest that the risk of having a stillbirth is higher for mothers born in Pakistan irrespective of whether they currently live in Pakistan, or have moved to a more developed country (Stanton, et al., 2006; McClure, et al., 2007; Parsons, et al., 1990).

Studies showed that the main demographic factors associated with stillbirth were teenage mothers (Hollander, 2006; Brian, Bateman & Lynn 2006), advanced maternal age, greater than 34 years (Hollander, 2006; Fretts, 2005; Brian, et al., 2006; Ferraz & Gray, 1990), maternal and paternal illiteracy (Fikree & Gray, 1996), maternal education, rural communities (Cripe, Pung, Nguyen & Williams 2007), low socioeconomic status (Fretts, 2005; Fikree & Gray, 1996; Ferraz & Gray, 1990), consanguinity (Stoltenberg, Magnus, Lie, Daltveit & Irgens, 1998 & 1999) and maternal race/ethnic group (Parsons, et al., 1990; Ferraz & Gray, 1990).

Other factors found to be associated with stillbirth were hypertension, diabetes, anaemia and maternal weight, medical and obstetrical complications and antepartum haemorrhage (Ferraz & Gray, 1990), vaginal bleeding (Jehan, et al., 2006) and previous adverse pregnancy history (Getahun, et al., 2007; Korejo, et al., 2007; Ferraz & Gray, 1990). In addition, congenital malformation (Jehan, et al., 2006; Ferraz & Gray 1990) and inadequate prenatal care were also reported to be some of the causes of stillbirths (Ferraz & Gray, 1990; Cripe, et al., 2007). Studies also showed that foetal abnormality, congenital infection, maternal medical conditions and pre-eclampsia were also some of the causes of stillbirths (Pasupathy & Smith, 2005).

Whilst Pakistan has a high rate of stillbirths, the local influential factors are still largely unknown. The present study therefore seeks to explore the specific determinants of stillbirth in Peshawar, Pakistan.

## **Material and Method**

Data were collected in a cross-sectional prospective survey on maternal and paternal geo-demographic factors, maternal health and pregnancy history and neonatal outcome from all public hospitals (Hayatabad Medical Complex, Khyber Teaching Hospital, Lady Reading Hospital, and Government Maternity Hospital) in Peshawar during August to November 2003 through volunteer clinicians on duty. The data comprise questionnaire responses collected from 1,039 single birth mothers delivered during the study period.

The clinicians interviewed women for this study in local languages at admission, and in the delivery room in the case of emergency. The responses were recorded on a pre-designed questionnaire validated by health professionals during a pilot study in the same hospitals. The Research Ethics Committee of Liverpool John Moores University, UK (reference number 02141) approved this study in 2003.

For the purpose of this study, a stillbirth is defined as the “delivery of an infant whose gestational age was at least 28 weeks or whose birth weight was at least 1000g, but who showed no signs of life and whose Apgar score was zero” (Tannirandorn & Jatuparisuth, 2004). Gestational age was calculated from the first day of the last menstrual period reported by the mother and categorised such that any delivery from 24 and <37 weeks were termed as preterm birth (Smith, Pell & Dobbie, 2003).

In this paper, pregnancy registration was taken as proxy for pre-natal care (Table 1 and 2). Five other factors were collected as continuous measures, which were later banded into categorical measures according to the previous literature. These measures include maternal age (Khan & Jamal, 2003), gestational age (Lone, Qureshi & Emanuel, 2004; Khan & Jamal, 2003), height (Fikree & Berendes, 1994) and the gap between this and the previous pregnancy (Grant & Bittles, 1997). However, the threshold for maternal pregnancy weight during analysis was decided to be 57 kg for this study, as this value had the highest significance for adverse pregnancy outcomes (LBW) at univariate level (Badshah, Mason, McKelvie, Payne & Lisboa, 2008).

**Table 1**

Characteristics of mothers (geo-demographic-factors) delivered and their new-born at the four Public-hospitals in Peshawar between August-November 2003, and their univariate associations with birth-status.

Maternal characteristics	Total	Stillbirths	Live-birth	OR[95% C.I]
		n(%)	n(%)	
Area of residence				
Tribal	245(24.3)	27(11)	218(89)	1.7[1.02, 2.70]**
Settled	764(75.7)	53(6.9)	711(93.1)	
Nationality				
Afghan refugees	117(11.5)	14(12)	103(88)	1.7[0.90, 3.17]*
Pakistani	901(88.5)	66(7.3)	835(92.7)	
Consanguinity				
Yes	608(60.0)	55(9)	553(91)	1.6[0.96, 2.60]*
No	406(40.0)	24(5.9)	382(94.1)	
Maternal age at delivery				
<20 years	76(7.5)	7(9.2)	69(90.8)	1.7[0.70, 3.90]
≥35 years	139(16.6)	29(17.2)	140(82.8)	3.4[2.07, 5.70]**
20-34 years	771(75.9)	44(5.7)	727(94.3)	
Fresh water availability				
No	370(36.6)	41(11.1)	329(88.9)	2.0[1.30, 3.13]**
Yes	640(63.4)	38(5.9)	602(94.1)	
Family income				
<5000 rupees	694(69.0)	64(9.2)	630(90.8)	2.2[1.20, 3.92]**
≥5000 rupees	312(31.0)	14(4.9)	298(95.5)	
Maternal education				
No	706(69.7)	67(9.5)	639(90.5)	2.4[1.30, 4.40]**
Yes	307(30.3)	13(4.2)	294(95.8)	
Paternal education				
No	384(37.9)	47(12.2)	337(87.8)	2.6[1.60, 4.20]**
Yes	628(62.1)	32(5.1)	596(94.9)	

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05 and \* p<0.10

There were two levels of data analysis, univariate (crude odds ratios) and multivariate (multivariate logistic regression) to identify the significant main factors associated with stillbirth. Multivariate logistic regression (Allison, 1999; Kleinbaum, 1994) was applied to assess the independent effects of factors on stillbirth, using uncorrelated groups of factors (Pearson's, Spearman's correlation with thresholds of 0.6), using SPSS (Field, 2003). Chi-square test was used for the significance of the factors in univariate models and Wald's test for multivariate models (Machado and Hill, 2003).

## Results

The results are for data from 1039 birth episodes, prospectively sampled in the four public hospitals in Peshawar. The overall stillbirth rate was found to be 78.5 per 1000 deliveries (gestational age  $\geq 28$  weeks). The crude odds of stillbirth were highly significant for four geo-demographic factors; maternal age  $\geq 35$  years (OR=3.4,  $p < 0.01$ ), non-fresh water sources (OR=2.0,  $p < 0.01$ ), maternal illiteracy (OR = 2.4,  $p < 0.01$ ) and paternal illiteracy (OR= 2.6,  $p < 0.01$ ). In maternal health and pregnancy history, the factors associated with stillbirth at univariate level were found to be maternal height  $< 155$ cm (OR=2.0,  $p < 0.01$ ), weight  $< 57$ kg at delivery (OR=1.9,  $p < 0.01$ ), pregnancy registration in the hospital (OR=2.2,  $p < 0.01$ ), anaemia (OR=2.7,  $p < 0.01$ ), any other health condition (OR=3.0,  $p < 0.01$ ), previous history of abortion/miscarriages (OR=2.3,  $p < 0.01$ ), previous history of preterm delivery (OR=3.5,  $p < 0.01$ ), parity  $\geq 5$  (OR=2.0,  $p < 0.01$ ), congenital malformation (OR=23.0,  $p < 0.01$ ) and mode of delivery (OR=2.4,  $p < 0.01$ ) (Table 2).

The adjusted odds of stillbirth showed that only three geo-demographic factors (i.e. maternal age, consanguinity and paternal education), and three maternal health and pregnancy history factors (i.e. maternal height, congenital malformation and mode of delivery) were independently associated with a stillbirth, using probability of entry and removal 0.01 for the model (Table 3). However, using probability of entry and removal as 0.001 for the model, only three factors — paternal education, congenital malformation of the baby and mode of delivery — were found to be independently associated with stillbirth (Table 4). Of the three significant factors, congenital abnormality had the highest odds (OR=21.1,  $p < 0.0001$ ), compared to paternal illiteracy and caesarean delivery (OR=2.99, 2.64,  $p < 0.0001$ ), respectively (Table 4).



## Discussion

The motivation behind this study was to collect data on stillbirths and to investigate the factors associated with it. This will help to identify areas for future research and to formulate policies for future interventions in order to minimise the high rate of stillbirth in this region.

This study represents only 9% (urban=18%, rural=6%) of the total births delivered in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province, because the majority (91%) of the deliveries take place at home, or in private hospital/clinics etc. (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2002). It was not possible to collect data from home births or private hospitals within the remit of this study because of a number of limitations, e.g. time and resources. This study therefore had to recruit women prospectively from the four public hospitals in Peshawar. The present study also uses information of the newborn after birth (live birth or stillbirth), so we do not know, whether the baby died during birth process or dead baby was delivered. However, the results of this study might be generalised for babies delivered in public hospitals in Peshawar only, although could give some indication of areas for further study of stillbirths occurring during home births and within private hospitals in this area.

Considering the reliability of data, it was found that some factors i.e. maternal and paternal education, non-fresh water areas, family income, consanguinity, diabetes, hypertension, anaemia and abortions are comparable with other reports for population or population-based studies (Badshah, et al., 2008). However our study found a higher proportion of women from Tribal areas and a lower proportion of teenage mothers compared to other figures and studies in the region (24% versus 15% of Tribal mothers, and 7.5% versus 19.6% of teenage mothers (Grant & Bittles, 1997). The high proportion of mothers from tribal areas might be due to lack of healthcare facilities in the tribal areas and subsequent referral of high risk mothers (Bartlett, et al., 2002), whereas low participation of teenage mothers in this hospital based study might be due to lack of health awareness.

The present study found that the stillbirth rate in Peshawar (78.5 per 1000 deliveries) is nearly twice the national stillbirth rate for Pakistan, nearly three times higher than a similar study in Karachi Pakistan (Jehan, et al., 2006), and more than 15 times higher than figures from developed countries (Stanton, et al., 2006). However, the main risk factors associated with stillbirth were

advanced maternal age, consanguinity, maternal low height, caesarean delivery, congenital malformation and no paternal education.

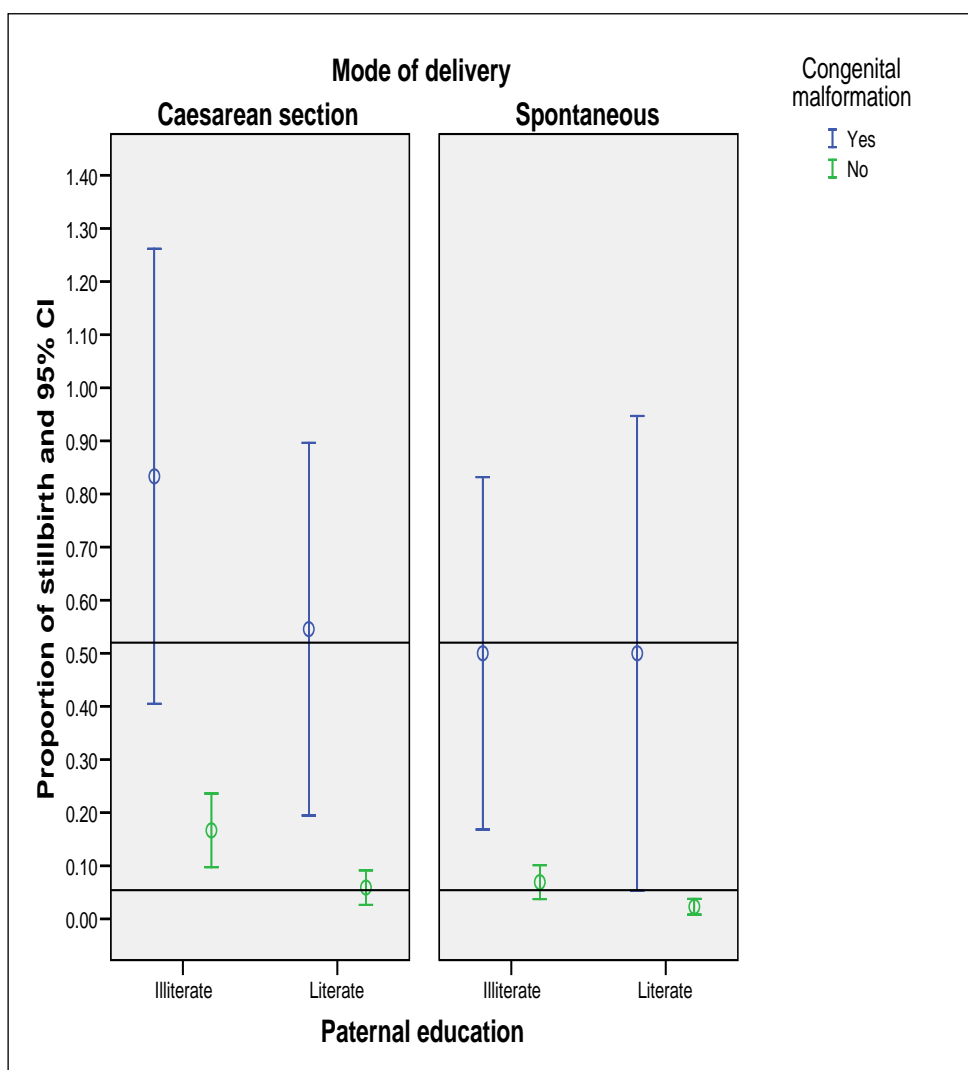
The association of maternal age >34 years with stillbirth is consistent with other such studies in United States, United Kingdom and Brazil (Hollander, 2006; Fretts, 2005; Brian, et al., 2006; Joy, et al., 2000 and Ferraz & Gray, 1990). Consanguinity reported to be one of the important factors for newborn health in Peshawar (Badshah, et al., 2008) and 11 cities of Punjab province of Pakistan (Bittles, Grants & Shami, 1993); was also associated with stillbirth in the present study and consistent with other studies Norway (Stoltenberg, et al., 1998 and 1999) and Karnataka India (Kulkarni & Kurian, 1990). Similarly the adverse effect of short maternal height on stillbirth was consistent with other studies in Sweden (Stephansson, Bickman, Johansson & Clattingius, 2000), Jamaica (Greenwood, Golding, McCaw-Binns, Keeling & Ashley 1994), and India (Desai, Hazra & Trivedi, 1989).

We found that Caesarean delivery was at higher risk for stillbirth, and this was also seen in a study of the 5 poor countries that “The low rates of physician attendance, hospital delivery, and caesarean section deliveries suggest that stillbirth rates could be reduced by access to higher quality institutional deliveries” (McClure, et al., 2007). The effect of congenital malformation on stillbirth in our study is also consistent with Jehan, et al., (2006) study in Karachi, Ferraz & Gray (1990) study in Brazil, and Pasupathy & Smith (2005) study in UK.

The effect of paternal illiteracy in our study was also consistent with Fikree & Gray (1996) study in Karachi and a population based study in Norway (Arntzen, Maqnuus & Bakketeiq, 1993). However, after further analysis of the data, the effect of paternal illiteracy on stillbirth was found to be due to independent association of paternal illiteracy with a number of other important factors, i.e. (i) non-registered pregnancy (OR=1.6,  $p<0.01$ ), (ii) deprived area of residence and low income families, respectively (OR=1.7, 3.6,  $p<0.01$ ), (iii) maternal illiteracy (OR=3.44,  $p<0.01$ ), (iv) low pregnancy weight at delivery (OR=1.6,  $p<0.05$ ) and (v) mothers at high risk of diabetes (OR=5.5,  $p<0.01$ ). The effect of non-registered pregnancy, deprived area, low family income, maternal illiteracy is evident from the literature (Cripe, et al., 2007; Fretts, 2005; Fikree & Gray, 1996; Ferraz & Gray, 1990).

Figure 1 shows that the proportion of stillbirths (for non-congenital malformation babies delivered through caesarean delivery) was significantly high for illiterate

fathers (17%) compared to 6% for literate fathers (OR=3.2,  $p<0.01$ ). The effect of paternal illiteracy compared to paternal literacy even in the case of spontaneous and non-congenital malformation babies was also established. This finding further strengthens the evidence and effect of paternal illiteracy on stillbirth.



**Figure 1:** The proportion of stillbirth for paternal illiteracy controlling for mode of delivery and congenital malformation.

## Conclusion

The stillbirth rate in Peshawar hospitals is very high compared to the rest of Pakistan. This study highlights the importance of paternal literacy, which was found to be associated with a number of geo-demographic factors and health conditions. However, the root causes of congenital malformation and effect of caesarean delivery on stillbirth need further investigation to identify the main factors of stillbirth in this region. Further studies are recommended to explore, the expertise of the clinicians controlling for other important factors associated with stillbirth

These findings are specific to public hospitals in NWFP-Pakistan. Further studies on stillbirth in private hospitals and clinics, along with studies of home delivery, are also needed in order to extend the scope of this work on stillbirth in this area of Pakistan.

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**Table 2**

Characteristics of mothers (maternal health and pregnancy history) delivered and their newborn at the four Public-hospitals in Peshawar between August-November 2003, and their univariate associations with birth-status.

Maternal characteristics	Total n(%)	Stillbirths n(%)	Live-birth n(%)	OR[95% C.I]
Maternal height				
<155cm	311(31.0)	36(11.6)	275(88.4)	2.0[1.20, 3.14]***
≥155cm	691(69.0)	43(6.2)	648(93.8)	
Pregnancy weight				
<57kg	246(24.5)	29(11.8)	217(88.2)	1.9 [1.20, 3.10]***
≥57kg	759(75.5)	50(6.6)	709(93.4)	
Pregnancy registration				
No	543(54.0)	56(10.3)	487(89.7)	2.2 [1.30, 3.60]***
Yes	463(46.0)	23(5)	440(95)	
Gestational age				
<37 weeks	220(21.9)	24(10.9)	196(89.1)	1.7 [1.00, 2.70]*
≥37 weeks	783(78.1)	54(6.9)	729(93.1)	
Maternal diabetes				
Yes	26(2.6)	5(19.2)	21(80.8)	2.9 [1.10, 7.90]**
No	972(97.4)	74(7.6)	898(92.4)	
Maternal hypertension				
Yes	184(18.5)	23(12.5)	161(87.5)	1.9 [1.20, 3.20]**
No	812(81.5)	56(6.9)	756(93.1)	
History of anaemia				
Yes	385(38.8)	48(12.5)	337(87.5)	2.7 [1.70, 4.30]***
No	608(61.2)	31(5.1)	577(94.9)	
<sup>1</sup> Any other health condition				
Yes	59(6.1)	11(18.6)	48(81.4)	3.0 [1.50, 6.10]***
No	916(93.9)	65(7.1)	851(92.9)	
Abortion/miscarriage				
Yes	173(17.4)	24(13.9)	149(86.1)	2.3 [1.40, 3.75]***
No	55(82.6)	55(6.7)	768(93.3)	
History of preterm				
Yes	120(11.9)	23(19.2)	97(80.8)	3.5[2.10, 5.99]***
No	888(88.1)	56(6.3)	832(93.7)	
Parity				
One	293(28.8)	13(4.4)	280(95.6)	0.6 [0.33, 1.24]
≥5	298(29.3)	38(12.8)	260(87.2)	2.0[1.20, 3.33]***
2-4	426(41.9)	29(6.8)	397(93.2)	
Congenital malformation				
Yes	39(3.9)	23(59)	16(41)	23[11.5, 46.0]***
No	970(96.1)	57(5.9)	913(94.1)	
Mode of delivery				
Caesarean	340(33.7)	42(12.4)	298(87.6)	2.4 [1.50, 3.82]***
Non Caesarean	669(66.3)	37(5.5)	632(94.5)	

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05 and \* p<0.10

<sup>1</sup> other than diabetes, hypertension and anaemia.



**Table 3**

Factors independently associated with stillborn babies at four Public-hospitals in Peshawar between August-November 2003, using multivariable logistic regression method\* for all factors in Table 1 & 2.

<i>Factors</i>	<i>adjusted odd-ratios</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Maternal age (20-34 years, as ref. category)			
<20 years	1.30	[0.50, 3.34]	0.605
≥35 years	2.90	[1.61, 5.20]	0.0001
Consanguinity (No, as ref. category)			
Yes	2.23	[1.23,4.10]	0.008
Paternal education (literate, as ref. category)			
Illiterate	2.86	[1.66,4.92]	0.0001
Maternal height (≥155cm as ref. category)			
<155cm	2.50	[1.31,3.85]	0.003
Mode of delivery (Spontaneous, as ref. category)			
Caesarean	2.48	[1.50,4.24]	0.001
Congenital malformation (No, as ref. category)			
Yes	24.50	[11.35,2.88]	0.0001

\* using probability of entry and removal 0.01 for the model

**Table 4**

Factors independently associated with stillborn babies at four Public-hospitals in Peshawar between August-November 2003, using multivariable logistic regression method\*\* for all factors in Table 2.

<i>Factors</i>	<i>adjusted odd- ratios</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Paternal education: illiterate (literate, as ref. category)	2.99	[1.77, 5.05]	0.0001
Congenital malformation: yes (No, as ref. category)	21.10	[10.10,44.20]	0.0001
Mode of delivery Caesarean (Spontaneous, as ref. category)	2.64	[1.58, 4.43]	0.0001

\*\* using probability of entry and removal 0.001 for the model.



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## Impact of Inflation and Interest Rate on Stock Return

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### Abstract

The research undertaken analyses short run influence of inflation and interest rate on stock returns in Pakistan. Inflation was represented by “CPI”, interest rate by “I” and stock return by “KSE100”. Monthly data comprised of 45 observations from 1 July 2005 to 1 April 2009 was taken. Simple and Multiple regression models have been used for the estimation of coefficients. The empirical results show that there is significant relationship between the stock price interest rates and inflation. Moreover inflation is negatively related with stock prices while interest rate is positively related with the stock prices. So it can be concluded that in short- run the impact of inflation on stock returns is negative while positive in case of interest rate.

*Keywords:* Inflation, Interest Rate, Stock prices, Karachi Stock Exchange 100 Index

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### Introduction

Inflation and interest relationship with Stock return has a trace record way back to two centuries when companies started emerging and economies were becoming more and more industrialized. Different researches are undertaken in

order to describe the nature of this relationship. All important economic variables in one or other way are depicted in these three variables. Moreover, the fluctuation in world's economies also made the researches to undertake such researches in order to give benefit to the investors and make some policies to prevent the investors from the adverse impact of such fluctuations. Inflation and interest are integral part of the economy; both enjoy close relationship not only with stock return but also with each other. Inflation is present in each economy either in form of cost push inflation or demand pull inflation and sometimes inflation through expectation. Sometimes it rises above 20% and some time it takes the form of deflation. Both the extremes are adverse. It is believed that 2% to 3% is good for the economy as it shows quality improvement. Inflation above it is detrimental for the value of currency because its purchasing power is greatly affected. Some times more money injected in the economy also severely affect the prices of the goods if there is no real growth and more money, obviously prices will soar up. Similarly when interest rate is more, people will have more money to invest in bond and banks instead of investing it in equities as interest payment is more than the return they are getting from stock and vice versa. But these are not any hard and fast rules as different researches gave contradictory results. Pakistan a developing economy which is now thought by Western countries a failed state has been greatly affected by terrorism and where industries are now on decline and FDI is retracted can give an interesting picture of their variables relationship. Being a front line ally of America on war on terror, the government is successful in extracting billion dollars of aid from IMF which amounts to \$11.3 billion and also in the form of Kerry Lugar Bill which amounts to \$7.5 billion (\$1.5 billion annually). Nevertheless, the upheavals which have shaped our industry, investors in Pakistan are still optimist and investing more and more in equity market which could be easily sought from the stock index which have crossed the Psychological level of 15000 on 20 April 2008 and peaked to 15737. 32. The remaining of the paper contains literature review in which the work of the past researchers in the same area is briefly discussed followed by methodology and data then empirical results and finally conclusion at the end of the paper.

### **Literature Review**

The impact of inflation and interest over stock return has remained a topic of great concern for both researchers and investors. It has been probed down by different researchers at different time and space.

Fama (1981) and Gesky & Roll (1983) inferred that stock return and inflation are negatively correlated through a third variable called real economic activity; rising inflation first reduces the real economic activity which in turn influences the return on stock and profit. Fama (1981) has referred to the negative relation between stock return and inflation as "Proxy effect." According to him, the effect remains as long as the real economic activity is triggered by inflation but once real economic activity becomes unmoved by inflation the proxy effect vanishes Garbade & Wachtel (1978).

Behram & Arjun discarded this hypothesis by taking data from Brazilian market from January 1986 July 1997 and concluded that negative relation may exist between stock return and inflation regardless of real economic activity. They gave the explanation that future corporate profit is threatened by inflationary pressure and also nominal interest rises with rise in inflation which reduces present value of future profit thus ultimately reduces stock return. However, both agree that proxy effect is valid in the long run but not necessary in short run (Fama, 1975; Lintner 1975).

Nicholas (2002) based his conclusion on the analysis of monthly data taken from 1988 to 1996 on Greece that decreasing inflation pushed the prices of stock upward. Nishat & Shaheen (2004) reported that negative relation exists between these two variables by taking quarterly data on Pakistan equity market from 1973:01 to 2002:04.

Stock return was thought to be a good hedge against rising inflation in the long run. This proposition was given by a Fisher (1930) and later on was proved by empirical results of (Boudoukh & Richardson, 1993) and also by (Ely & Robinson, 1997). They are of the opinion that increased prices deteriorate the value of the financial assets so if invested in real asset like in equity thus can provide a cushion against the rising price as the equity prices are also getting soared with inflation. But some researchers are of the opinion that stock could be a good hedge in the long run but in the short run it could be a poor hedge as people spends more money on basic necessities rather than invest in stock, and thus the relationship gets its equilibrium after some time (Peter & Sellin, 2001; Fisher, 1911).

Interest rate also has a profound impact on stock return; most commonly stock return increases with decline of interest rate. However, studying literature, mix results could be obtained.

Patelis (1997) inferred that there exists a long run relationship between both stock prices and interest rates and the movement of stock prices are to great extent determined by fluctuation in interest rate. However, various other researchers have shown a different picture by concluding that prices are not influenced by the movement of interest rate (Fair 2000). The empirical results of the study conducted by Akbar (2009) on a Pakistani market also shows that stock prices are not effected by monetary policy through the level of interest rate and prevailing inflation. Interest rate is thought to have negative relationship with stock return and was successfully proved by (Hashamzadeh & Taylor, 1988) but the empirical results from the research conducted by (Modigliani & Cohn 1979) shows a positive relationship between stock return and interest rate. This positive relationship was also reported by other researchers and having this explanation that drop in the interest rate induces most of the investors not to trade in stock due to surge in the level of risk in trade of stock (Barsky, 1989; Nelson (1976).

## Methodology and Data

### *Data*

The data for this research have been taken about the three variables, i.e., KSE 100 stock Index, Inflation and Interest Rates. The stock index data has been taken on monthly basis from the Business Recorder while monthly interest rates of KIBOR are taken from the State Bank websites and monthly inflation rates are taken from the Ministry of Finance annual Reports. All the data were taken from the Period of 1 July, 2005 to 1 April, 2009.

### *Methodology:*

All the data is in time series, simple regression and multiple regression are used. In estimating the effect of inflation over stock return first of all simple regression is used by taking inflation as an independent variable. The proposed econometric model for which is

$$KSE100 = \alpha + \beta CPI + \mu \dots \dots \dots 1)$$

The variable KSE100 indicates here stock return and is dependent variable over CPI which is independent. “ $\alpha$ ” shows intercept and “ $\beta$ ” shows slope coefficient. Second model is about three variables in which stock return is regressed over inflation and interest rate.

$$\text{KSE100} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{CPI} + \beta_2 \text{I} + \mu. \dots\dots\dots 2)$$

$\mu$  shows error term.  $\beta_2$  is slope coefficient of interest rate.

### Empirical Results

The empirical results of all of the two regressions Model are as under.

#### Model #1 Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>b</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Inflation Rates <sup>a</sup>		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: StockIndexKSE100 Return

#### Model 1: OLS estimates using the 45 observations 2005:08-2009:04

Dependent variable: Stock Return

#### Model# 2 Regression

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	T- Stat.
Inflation Rate	-0.0862854	0.0419213	- 2.059
Mean of dependent variable	0.00348222		
Standard deviation of dep. var.	0.389019		
Standard error of residuals	0.389034		
Unadjusted R-squared	0.82645		
Adjusted R-squared	0.826		
Durbin-Watson statistic	1.98		

A: Inflation is independent Variable

B: Stock Index Return is Dependent Variable.

#### Model # 2: Regression

Variables Entered/Removed

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Interest Rates, Inflation Rates <sup>a</sup>	.	Enter

## Variables Entered/Removed

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Interest Rates, Inflation Rates <sup>a</sup>	.	Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

**Model 2: OLS estimates using the 45 observations 2005:08-2009:04**

Dependent variable: StockReturn

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-Stat	F-Stat.
Inflation Rate	-0.085620	0.0424108	-2.0188	
Interest Rate	0.0952848	0.0364919	2.61	18.2355
Mean of dependent variable		0.00348222		
Adjusted R-squared		-0.8322		
Durbin-Watson statistic		1.996		

A: Inflation and Interest Rates are Independent Variables.

B: Stock IndexKSE100 Return is Dependent Variable.

**Conclusion**

This paper basically analyses short term relationship between inflation, interest rate and stock return. Simple regression shows negative relationship between stock return and inflation which is in line with most of results of previous researches. Stock in this case is a poor hedge as one unit increase in CPI brings down stock return. The results of the simple regression are statistically significant. Similarly the regression run on the second model also gives statistically significant results. Interest rate here positively influence stock return with this theoretical underpinning that investors are risk averse as when interest rate increases it reduces the risk premium for the investors due to increase in risk free rate. Thus with less exposed risk investors start trading in stock and in return stock prices go up.

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## **Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment and Personality Traits: A relationship Study**

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### **Abstract**

The present study had two main objectives; first, to discover the relationships between job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and personality traits among employees of AW (Air Weapon Complex), Second, to find out the age, salary, marital status, and education differences on job satisfaction and organizational commitment of employees. In present study three instrument; Job Satisfaction Scale JSS (Macdonald & MacIntyre, 1997), Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) (Mowday, Steer, & Porter, 197), and Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) (Rentfrow, Gosling & Swann, 2003); were administered to a sample of (N=100) along with demographic sheet. Results of the study revealed significant positive correlation between job satisfaction and organizational commitment of employees; significant negative association of neuroticism with job satisfaction and organizational commitment; extroversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness showed significant positive correlation with job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Findings of the study also showed significant age, education, salary, and marital status differences on job satisfaction and organizational commitment as all these demographic variables were positive correlates of job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

*Keywords:* Job satisfaction; organisational commitment; personality traits

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## Introduction

One of the leading challenges in management has been implementing effective human development strategies to enhance organizational performance and accountability. A great deal of research has been conducted that attempts to link employee's attitudes with their outcomes. Early researches tend to focus on job satisfaction as the key attitude related to employee behaviour such as job performance and turnover (Locke, 1976). Mowday, Porter, and Steers (1982) have investigated organizational commitment as an important attitudinal predictor of employee behaviour and intentions. The traditional view of organizational psychology has been that employee attitudes such as organizational commitment are cognitive assessments that reflect characteristics of the work environment. Employee's job satisfaction and organizational commitment are two buzzwords associated with the retention of personnel in a variety of occupational settings. The relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment has been extensively investigated by the scholars in the field (Okpara, 1996) found that overall job satisfaction is significantly positively correlated with organizational commitment. However, it should not be constructed that job satisfaction and organizational commitment are the same.

Organizational commitment focused on the attachment to the employing organization. While job satisfaction emphasize the specific task environment where an employee perform his or her duties. Most of the researchers (Petrides & Furham, 2006) who investigated the relationship between organizational commitment and job satisfaction are either treated job satisfaction or organizational commitment as dependent or independent variable. Despite all these research work, job satisfaction and organizational commitment have been adequately investigated, apparently due to growing evidence that they may have a considerable effect on the success and failure of an organization. Scheider and Dachler (1978) found that, over time, satisfaction with a job remains unusually stable, which made them believe that it was people's personality that was due to the satisfaction with their job, rather than other variables. The role of affective dispositions (personality traits) in shaping an individual's work-related attitudes is now becoming increasingly accepted by organizational psychologist. Support for the role of affect as an antecedent of work attitudes comes from studies that measure both the attitudes and the affective dispositions of individuals. Some meta-analysis studies (Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002; Thoresen, Kaplan, Barsky, Warren, & De-Chermont, 2003) found that job satisfaction and organizational commitment are correlated positively with extraversion and negatively correlated

with neuroticism. In summary we can say that individuals high in positive affect (extraverts) tend to be more committed and to express more favourable attitudes to their work, and individuals high in negative affect (neurotics) tend to be less committed and to express less favourable attitudes to their work (Gelade, Dobson, & Gilbert, 2006).

## **Job Satisfaction**

Job satisfaction is described as degree of congruence between characteristics of a job and the employee's perceived qualities. It can also be defined as the extent that the working environment meets the needs and values of employees and the individual's response to that environment (Tewksbury & Higgins, 2006). The researcher has conceptualized job satisfaction in many different ways. While some of the conceptualizations were based on some specific facets of the job (Rice, Mcfarlin & Bennett, 1989) others have used conceptualization based on total satisfaction (Levin & Stokes, 1989), while still others have used conceptualizations based on the intrinsic-extrinsic distinctions. Job satisfaction is multi-dimensional in nature. It includes several distinct domains such as satisfaction with pay, promotion opportunities, fringe benefits, job security and the importance/challenge of the job. For the organization, job satisfaction of its workers means a work force that is fully motivated and committed to high quality performance. Increased productivity—the quantity and quality of output per hour worked—seems to be a by-product of improved quality of working life (Baloch, 2008)

## **Theories of Job Satisfaction**

Various theories have been constructed to explain what makes people satisfied with their jobs (Manisera, Dusseldrop, & Kooij, 2005; Staples & Higgins, 1998). The major theoretical conceptions of job satisfaction are:

1. Maslow's Need Hierarchy Theory posits five kinds of human needs which arranged from most to least fundamental, they are: psychological needs, safety needs, social needs, esteem or ego needs, and self-actualization needs (Haleem, 2001). Maslow job satisfaction should be determined by how well the job meets the needs that are dominant for a given individual (Hussain, 2001).
2. Herzberg's Two Factor Theory posits two kinds of needs: physical needs (hygiene factors) and psychological needs (motivation). Herzberg suggested that job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction is caused by different and independent set of factors. He found that when people are satisfied, they attribute their satisfaction to the work itself. While when people are

dissatisfied with their jobs, they are concerned about the environment in which they are work (Maniser, Dusseldrop, & Kooij, 2005).

3. Expectancy theory is based on the idea of expected value: that people choose to behave in a way that maximizes the expected payoff of the consequences of their actions (Mitchell, 1985). Expectancy theory holds that satisfaction is the result of what workers expect to get for their efforts compared to what they actually get (Greunberg, 1976; Weiner, 1980).
4. The social information processing approach to job satisfaction holds that satisfaction and dissatisfaction result from comparing oneself with other workers. This approach emphasizes the importance of social environment in shaping individual behaviour (Haleem, 2001).
5. Opponent Process Theory proposed that job satisfaction could be explained by excitatory and inhibitory actions of the brain. Within the central nervous system, there are opposing processes that move the organism towards equilibrium. To keep job satisfaction high, worker need additional excitatory phenomenon.
6. The genetic theory of job satisfaction considers dispositional factors as the major determinants of job satisfaction. Work in this area is based on the observation that some people are largely satisfied or largely dissatisfied with their job regardless of the situation in which they are working (Levin & Stikes, 1989).

### **Organizational Commitment**

Organizational commitment is one of the organizational concepts that have widely been examined in administrative literature due to its importance for organizational performance and effectiveness. Organizational commitment is characterized by 3 factors; (i) acceptance of the organization's values, (ii) willingness to exert effort on behalf of the organization, (iii) and desire to remain an employee of the organization. The main focus of organizational commitment is on bond linking individuals to the organization (Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Meyer & Allen, 1991: 1997). Most definitions of organizational commitment describe the construct in terms of the extent to which an employee identifies with and is involved with the organization (Curry, Wakefielf, Price, & Mueller, 1986).

Meyer and Allen (1991) developed a multidimensional model; of organizational commitment based on three distinct themes which are referred as components of organizational commitment. These include affective commitment (emotional

attachment), continuance commitment (cost based), and normative commitment (obligations). Affective Commitment (AC) is the affective bond an individual feels toward the organization, characterized by identification and involvement with the organization as well as enjoyment in being a member of the organization (Meyer & Allen, 1997; Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982). Continuance Commitment (CC) is the extent to which a person needs to stay with the organization, due to the costs of forgoing benefits associated with an individual's investments in the organization (Backer, 1960; Meyer & Allen, 1991). Normative Commitment (NC) is the extent to which a person is obligated to stay with the organization (Allen, 2003; Meyer & Allen, 1991).

Demographic variables of the employees play a very significant role towards their job and organizations. Researchers have also found that the age of employees has a strong positive correlation with their level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Al-Aameri, 2000; Cabrita & Perista, 2007; Castillo, 2004; Cliek, 2008; Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996; Du, Song, Liu, & Picken, 2007; Meyer & Allen, 1997; Mosadeghrad, Ferlie, & Rosenberg, 2008; Salami, 2008; Sneed & Herman, 1990).

Many researchers have found that academic qualification of the employees has significant positive association with employees' job satisfaction and organizational commitment (AL-Hussami, 2008; Cabrita & Perista, 2007; Castillo, 2004; Du, Song, Liu, & Picken, 2007; Mosadeghrad, Ferlie & Rosenberg, 2008; Salami, 2008; Stup, 2006). Marital status is positively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment, as married employees demonstrated more emotional attachment than single employees (Bowen, Radhakrishna, & Keyser, 1994; Cabrita & Perista, 2007; Du, Song, Liu, & Picken, 2007; Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996; Mosadeghrad, Ferlie & Rosenberg, 2008; Salami, 2008). Money is the most important factor in motivating the industrial workers to achieve greater productivity. Some researcher also find out that money or good salary packages have the ability to enhance employees' level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Mosadeghrad, Ferlie & Rosenberg, 2008; Sinclair, Tucker, Cullen, & Wright, 2005; Tella, Ayeni, & Popoola, 2007).

### **Personality Trait**

A clear and univocal definition of personality containing all the essential aspects is complicated by the many approaches to personality. Schultz and Schultz (2001) define the personality as the unique, relative enduring internal and external aspects

of a person's character that influence behavior in different situations. Although the term personality is sometime employed in a broader sense, in conventional psychometric terminology personality tests are instruments for the measurement of emotional, motivational, interpersonal, and attitudinal characteristics, as distinguished from abilities. However, a number of theorists have chosen to emphasize the function of personality in mediating the adjustment of the individual. This approach leads the personality psychologists to study individuals in term of their personality traits (Hall, Lindzey, & Campbell, 1998).

Traditionally, the essence of the trait approach has been the assumption that behavior is primarily determined by stable generalized traits. The chief goal of the trait psychology has been to find the person's position on one or more trait dimensions (e.g., intelligence, introversion, anxiety) by comparing the individual with others under similar uniform conditions (Mischell, 1999). Broadly speaking traits are consistent pattern in the way individual behave feel and think (Chishti, 2002). Thus to a trait theorist, personality is the sum of an individual's traits explain that person's behavior. Now there is growing among the personality psychologists from many different perspectives that, at the broadest level there are five major dimensions of personality called five factor model of personality. The five-factor model is a hierarchical model of personality traits with five broad factors, which represent personality at the broadest level of abstraction. These five factors are Neuroticism (N), Extraversion (E), agreeableness (A), openness (O), and Conscientiousness (C) have been recovered in self report and rating, in studies of adult and children, in a variety of questionnaire (Pervin & John, 2001; Rayckman, 2004).

The term agreeableness basically reflects the individual differences in concern with cooperation and social harmony; they are considerate, friendly, generous, helpful, and willing to compromise their interests with others (Hall et al., 1998; Rayckman, 2004; Hartmann, 2006; Pervin & John, 2001). Conscientiousness basically deals with the way in which we control, regulate, and direct our impulses. Inherently these impulses are not bad; but occasionally time constraints require a snap decision, and acting on our first impulse can be an effective response (Allen, 2000; Rentfrow et al., 2003; Schultz & Schultz, 2001). Extroversion is marked by pronounced engagement with the external world. Extraverts enjoy the gathering of people; they are full of energy, and often experience positive emotions. These people tend to be more enthusiastic, action-oriented individuals (Hartmann, 2006; Rentfrow et al., 2003). Those people who score high on neuroticism may experience primarily one specific negative feeling such as anxiety, anger, or

depression, but are likely to experience many of these emotions. Emotionally reactive people have high scores on neuroticism (Friedman & Schustack, 2003; Mischell, 1999). Openness to Experience is that dimension of personality that distinguishes imaginative, creative people from down-to-earth, conventional people. People with openness personality trait are intellectually curious, appreciative of art, and sensitive to beauty (Rayckman, 2004).

### **Job Satisfaction, Personality Traits and Organizational Commitment**

Job satisfaction and organizational commitment are topics that have been extensively researched in the United States, Europe, Asia, and other industrialized countries (Angle & Perry, 1981; Bateman & Strasser, 1984; Farkas & Tetrick, 1989; Johnston, Varadarajan, Futtrell, & Sager, 1987; Katz, 1978; Mobley, 1977; Mowday; Porter, & Steers, 1979; Wiener, 1982). Studies showed that job satisfaction and organizational commitment have causal relationship with each other (Currivan, 1999).

The causal relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment and its nature is an issue that has not been resolved. It is considered that these two variables are highly interrelated. In other words, while an employee has positive feelings towards the organization, its values and objectives, it is possible for him to be unsatisfied with the job he has in the organization. Many researches (Bhatti & Qureshi, 2007; Busch, Fallan, L. & Pettersen, 1998; Chi-Yueh, 2000; Feinstein & Vondrasek, 2006; Freund, 2005; Mannheim, Baruch, & Tal, 1997; Slattery, 2005; Salami, 2008; Tziner, Brodman, Vardi & Waisman-Manor, 2008) concluded from their finding that job satisfaction and organizational commitment are highly positively correlated with each other.

Scheider & Dachler (1978) found that, over time, satisfaction with a job remains unusually stable, which made them believe that it was people's personality that was due to the satisfaction with their job, rather than other variables. There are many different personality factors that have been correlated to job satisfaction, but overall, there seem to be two traits that have significant correlations: locus of control and negative affectivity (Spector, 1997). The big five factor model was investigated the relationship of five factor personality model to job satisfaction, as well as to organizational commitment, as these two attitudes are empirically distinct from one another (Brooke, Russel, & Price, 1988). Judge, Heller, and Mount (2002) conducted a meta-analysis, linking the five factor personality model to job satisfaction. We used their investigations as a guide to our study.



According to this analysis Neurotic individuals show low level of job satisfaction, high on extroversion tend to experience positive feelings for job and organization, conscientiousness may contribute to higher level of job satisfaction, Agreeable individuals show higher level of job satisfaction, and People who are higher on openness to experience have high job satisfaction.

Few studies have explored the relationship between personality traits and organizational commitment (Bowling, Beehr, & Lepisto, 2006; Erdheim, Wang, & Zickar, 2006). Thoresen, et al., (2003), found that extraversion personality trait has positive correlation with organizational commitment while neuroticism personality trait has negative relationship with organizational commitment. Agreeable and conscientious individuals show high level of organizational commitment (Tziner, Brodman, Vardi, & Waismal-Manor, 2008). Tziner, et al., (2008) find out positive relationships between organizational commitment and openness to experience.

## **METHOD**

### **Objectives**

The objectives of the study were as follows:

1. To find out the relationship between Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment and Personality Traits.
2. To explore the age, education, pay, and marital status differences on Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, and Personality Traits.

### **Hypotheses**

The hypotheses of current study are listed below:

1. There exist positive relationship between Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment.
2. Employees with Neuroticism personality trait will have low level of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment.
3. Employees with Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Extroversion, and Openness to Experience personality trait will have high level of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment.
4. Older employees will have higher level of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment as compared to young employees.

5. Employees with high academic qualification will have high level of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment than employees with low academic qualification.
6. Married employees will have higher level of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment than single/unmarried employees.
7. Highly paid employees will have high level of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment than Low paid employees.

### **Sample**

In the present study, convenient sampling method was used to select the sample from employee population of AWC (Air Weapon Complex), Wah Cantt. The sample size was  $N = 100$ ; with age range of 20-60 years. The present sample was divided into two categories on the basis of age i.e., 20-40 years (young employees), and 41-60 years (old employees); which was further divided into two categories on the basis of employee's pay i.e., low paid= 10,000 to 30,000, and high paid=above than 30,000. Similarly this sample was divided into two categories on the bases of marital status (married, unmarried); and employees educational level (low educated= F.Sc. and high educated=above F.Sc.).

### **Instruments**

In this study we use three questionnaires; Job Satisfaction Scale, Organizational Commitment Questionnaire, and Ten Item Personality Inventory.

#### ***Job Satisfaction scale (JSS)***

JSS was developed by Macdonald and MacIntyre (1997), which comprised upon 10 item with scoring on five-point likert scale apply for ages of 25 – 60.

#### ***Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ)***

Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) was developed by Mowday, Steer, and Porter (1979) (see Annexure B). This scale is consisted upon 15 items and responses are obtained by using five point likert scale (strongly disagree=1, disagree=2, neutral=3, agree=4, strongly agree=5). In this scale item no. 3, 7, 9, 11, and 15 are reverse items. They developed this instrument to measure attitudinal organizational commitment (the extent to which the members are committed to the work and are willing to stay in their organizations or teams) (Hussain, 2006). This instrument's reliability has been well established by prior

researchers (Mowday, et al., 1979, Lee and Johnson (1995), and Martin & Hafer, (1995). Chronbach alpha values in these studies, for example, have ranged from .85 to .93. Test-retest reliability over two and three month periods range from R-values of .62 to .72. This questionnaire has demonstrated both high discriminate and convergent validity (Cook, Heppworth, Wall, & War, 1981). This scale measure the single underlying construct which is organizational commitment questionnaire (Ferris & Hryana, 1983).

### ***Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI)***

TIPI is a ten-item personality inventory, developed by Rentfrow et al., (2003) with scoring on 7-point likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 2=moderately disagree, 3= a little disagree, 4= neither agree nor disagree, 5= agree a little, 6= agree moderately, 7= agree strongly) (see Annexure C). TIPI measures the Big Five personality dimensions, with two items (one reverse scored) assessing each dimension; Extroversion (item no. 1, 6-R), Agreeableness (item no. 2, 7-R), Conscientiousness (item no. 3, 8-R), Emotional Stability (item no. 4, 9-R), and Openness to Experience (item no. 5, 10-R). The test-retest reliability of this inventory is .72 with approximately two weeks interval on the sample size of  $N=180$ . TIPI has  $r = .77$  convergence correlation with other multi-item inventories.

### **Procedure**

For the purpose of present research, the sample of employees were selected and approached within the premises of AWC (Air Weapon Complex), Wah Cantt. After developing rapport with the subjects, Informed Consent Form was given to them. The questionnaire of Job Satisfaction Scale (JSS), Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ), and Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI), along with and Demographic Sheet, was distributed among the sample of employees ( $N = 100$ ) to get information job satisfaction level, commitment level with organization and about their personality traits. All the participants were thanked for their cooperation.

### **Results**

Table 1 shows significant positive relationships between Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment of employees. It indicates that employees' high level of job satisfaction leads toward their high level of organizational commitment.

**Table 1:**

Correlation coefficient between JSS and OCQ (N=100)

Scale	Job satisfaction scale
Organizational commitment questionnaire	.658**

\*\* $p < .01$ 

Table 2 describes that JSS has significant positive relationship with three Facets of TIPI (Extroversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness), while has significant negative correlation with Emotional Stability and Openness to experience.

**Table 2:**

Correlation coefficients between the facets of TIPI and Job Satisfaction Scale (JSS) (N=100)

Facets of TIPI	JSS
Emotional Stability	-.462**
Extroversion	.582**
Openness to Experience	-.410**
Agreeableness	.296**
Conscientiousness	.400**

\*\* $p < .01$ 

Table 3 shows that OCQ has significant positive association with three Facets of TIPI (Extroversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness), while it has significant negative association with remaining two facets (Emotional Stability and Openness to experience) of TIPI.

**Table 3:**

Correlation coefficients between the facets of TIPI and Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) (N=100)

Facets of TIPI	OCQ
Emotional Stability	-.642**
Extroversion	.775**
Openness to Experience	-.420**
Agreeableness	.552**
Conscientiousness	.506**

\*\* $p < .01$

The findings of Table 4 describe significant age differences on Job Satisfaction Scale (JSS), which indicates that the level of job satisfaction increases among employees with their ages.

**Table 4:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of Old and Young Employees on JSS (N=100).

	N	M	SD	t	P
Old employees	47	44.08	7.210	3.550	.001
Young employees	53	39.70	2.681		

*df* = 98

Table 5 shows significant age differences on Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ); which indicates that older employees are more committed to their organizations than young employees.

**Table 5:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of Old and Young Employees on OCQ (N=100).

	N	M	SD	t	p
Old employees	47	57.96	10.362	3.259	.002
Young employees	53	50.82	6.943		

*df* = 98

Table 6 portrays significant education differences on Job Satisfaction Scale (JSS). It indicates that higher the academic qualification of employees is related to higher level of job satisfaction.

**Table 6:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of High and Low Educated Employees on JSS (N=100)

	N	M	SD	t	p
High Educated	51	43.94	6.944	2.884	.004
Low Educated	49	40.14	3.386		

*df* = 98

The findings of Table 7 show significant differences of education of the employees on OCQ. It describes that high educated employees are more committed with their organizations as compared to low educated employees.

**Table 7:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of High and Low Educated Employees on OCQ (N=100)

	N	M	SD	t	p
High Educated	51	57.46	9.854	3.337	.001
Low Educated	49	50.54	8.940		

*df* = 98

Table 8 portrays significant differences of marital status of the employees on Job Satisfaction Scale (JSS). It shows that the married employees have higher level of Job satisfaction than unmarried or single employees.

**Table 8:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of Married and Unmarried Employees on JSS (N=100)

	N	M	SD	t	p
<i>Married</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>42.52</i>	<i>4.627</i>	<i>2.380</i>	<i>.019</i>
<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>39.52</i>	<i>7.929</i>		

*df* = 98

Table 9 portrays significant differences of marital status of the employees on OCQ. It reveals that married employees are more committed with their organizations as compared to unmarried employees.

**Table 9:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of Married and Unmarried Employees on OCQ (N=100)

	N	M	SD	t	p
Married	54	56.40	8.984	2.805	.006
Unmarried	46	50.68	10.104		

*df* = 98

Table 10 shows that salary or pay of the employees has significant differences on JSS. It describes that the highly paid employees have high level of job satisfaction while low paid employees have low level of job satisfaction.

**Table 10:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of High and Low Paid Employees on JSS (N=100)

	N	M	SD	t	p
High Paid	55	42.60	4.454	3.250	.002
Low Paid	45	38.33	8.668		

*df* = 98

Table 11 illustrates significant differences of employees' salary on OCQ. It shows that high paid employees are more committed with their organization as compared to the employees with low pay.

**Table 11:**

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-values of High and Low Paid Employees on OCQ (N=100)

	N	M	SD	t	p
<i>High Paid</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>54.64</i>	<i>9.725</i>	<i>3.107</i>	<i>.002</i>
<i>Low Paid</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>48.10</i>	<i>9.466</i>		

*df* = 98

## Discussion

The present research aimed at exploring the relationships between organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and personality traits (extroversion, neuroticism, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness) among employees of AWC (Air Weapon Complex). Another objective of the study was to explore the age, education, pay, and marital status differences on job satisfaction and organizational commitment of employees.

The data on first hypothesis revealed that there is a significant positive relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment of employees (see Table 1). These findings are consistent with the results of many

previous researches (Al-Aameri, 2000; Bhatti & Qureshi, 2007; Busch, Fallan, & Pettersen, 1998; Chi-Yueh, 2000; Feinstein & Vondrasek, 2006; Freund, 2005; Heslin, 2003; Ishida, 2000) which found that job satisfaction and organizational commitment of employees are highly inter-correlated with each other. Employees who were more satisfied with their job had higher levels of organizational commitment because their higher level of job satisfaction leads to their higher level of organizational commitment. Satisfied employees tend to be more loyal with their organizations.

Our data support the second hypotheses of present study that employees with neuroticism personality trait have low level of Job Satisfaction and organizational commitment (see Table 2 & 3). The results on Job satisfaction are aligned with the findings of some previous researches (Bowling et al., 2006; Skibba, 2002; Spector, 1997; Thoresen, et al., 2003; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) that Neuroticism is a strong negative correlate of job satisfaction these employees foster negative affectivity, which lead to diminish their level of job satisfaction. Findings on organizational commitment are consistent with the results of previous researches (Gelade, Dobson, & Gilbert, 2006; Thoresen, et al., 2003), which founds that neurotic people are less committed with their organizations.

Our finding for the third hypothesis portrayed significant positive association of employees' job satisfaction and organizational commitment with extroversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness personality traits (see Table 2 & 3). Many previous researches also describe significant positive association of job satisfaction with extroversion (Judge et al., 2002; Lee, Trauth, & Farwell, 1995; Skibba, 2002; Thoresen, et al., 2003; Watson & Clark, 1997), with Openness to experience (Judge et al., 2002; Tziner, Brodman, Vardi, & Waismal-Manor, 2008), with agreeableness (Skibba, 2002; Tziner, et al., 2008), and with conscientiousness (Jiang, Klein, & Ballou, 2001; Judge et al., 2002; Skibba, 2002). Similarly Some previous researcher also found positive association of organizational commitment with extroversion (Erdheim et al., 2006; Gelade, Dobson, & Gilbert, 2006; Meyer & Allen, 1991; Thoresen, et al., 2003), with openness to experience (Erdheim et al., 2006; Tziner, et al., 2008), with agreeableness (Erdheim et al., 2006; Tziner, et al., 2008), and with conscientiousness (Gelade, Dobson, & Gilbert, 2006; Erdheim et al., 2006; Tziner, et al., 2008) personality traits.

Extrovert people show high job satisfaction and organizational commitment because these employees tend to experience positive effects and to get more out



of social interaction and have good interpersonal and communication skills. Employees with Openness personality have high job satisfaction and organizational commitment as they have tendency of receptivity to change, learning, and new experiences, are inquisitive, broadminded, creative, and cultured. Agreeable employees have high level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment because they get along with their co-workers in enjoyable ways, which should lead, in turn, to higher level of job satisfaction. Conscientiousness employees have a general work involvement tendency that provide informal rewards, such as recognition, respect, and compliments. To the extent that conscientiousness employees earn such rewards, they should be more satisfied with their jobs and organizations.

The results of data analyses support the fourth hypothesis of present study that older employees have high level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment as compared to the young employees (see Table 4 & 5). These results are in line with the findings of some previous researches that (Al-Aameri, 2000; Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996; Du, Song, Liu, & Picken, 2007; Meyer & Allen, 1997; Mosadeghrad, Ferlie, & Rosenberg, 2008; Salami, 2008; Sneed & Herman, 1990), which found that old employees are more satisfied and committed with their jobs as compared to young employees. It may be because the longer the workers stay with an organization or the older they are the more time they have to evaluate their relationship with the organization.

The results of present study also found that Employees with high academic qualification have high level of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment than employees with low academic qualification (see Table 6 & 7). These findings are consistent with the results of some previous studies (AL-Hussami, 2008; Du, Song, Liu, & Picken, 2007; Mosadeghrad, Ferlie & Rosenberg, 2008; Salami, 2008), which discovered significant positive relationship between employees' academic qualification and their level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. More educated people get good status and salary packages from their organizations which are sufficient to meet their basic needs. As these packages fulfill the basic requirement of the employees so they feel satisfied with their current jobs and organizations.

The t-values of analyses demonstrate significant marital status differences on employees' level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment (see Table 8 & 9). Many previous researches support our findings (Bowen, Radhakrishna, & Keyser, 1994; Du, Song, Liu, & Picken, 2007; Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996;

Mosadeghrad, Ferlie & Rosenberg, 2008; Salami, 2008) by describing that married employees are more satisfied and committed with their jobs as compared to unmarried or single employees. Married employees are more satisfied and committed with their jobs as they use to be more family oriented and see the organization as a kind of family provider, as opposed to single employees who, being more self-oriented, may view the employing organization only as a source of income and therefore feel less satisfied and less emotionally attached with their organizations.

The results of the current study revealed that employees with high salaries are more satisfied and committed with their job than employees with low salaries (see Table 10 & 11). These results are inline with the findings of many previous studies (Mosadeghrad, Ferlie & Rosenberg, 2008; Sinclair, Tucker, Cullen, & Wright, 2005; Tella, Ayeni, & Popoola, 2007) that salaries of the employees has significant positive association with job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Money or good salary package has the power to attract, retain, and motivate individuals towards higher performance in job responsibilities and ultimately towards high organizational commitment.

In conclusion, it can be said that job satisfaction and organizational commitment of the employees are significantly positively related with each other. The results of current study found negative correlation of neuroticism personality trait with employees' job satisfaction and organizational commitment. In the same way, the findings revealed that Extroversion, Openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness personality trait was significantly positively correlated with both job satisfaction and organizational commitment of employees. The results revealed significant age differences on job satisfaction and organizational commitment which indicate that older employees were more satisfied and committed with their jobs than young employees. The findings of current study demonstrated significant education differences on job satisfaction and organizational commitment, which showed that highly qualified employees have more job satisfaction and organizational commitment than low qualified employees. It was also found that marital status of the employees has significant effect on their level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment as married employees are more satisfied and committed with their jobs than single or unmarried employees. With respect to salary of the employees, the results of data analyses revealed that significant salary or pay differences emerged on job satisfaction and organizational commitment, which indicated that salary of the

employees, has direct relation with their level of job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

### **Limitations and suggestions**

Present study was conducted only on small sample of employees of AWC with limited demographic differences. The future research should be conducted with large sample of employees of different organizations (government, semi-government, and private) with wider range of demographic variables. The present study just explores the relationships between job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and personality traits. For future research it is suggested to find out the causal inferences for these relationships.

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## Is Cooperative Microfinance<sup>1</sup> a Myth or Reality? An Economic Analysis of the Welfare of Marginalized Segments

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### Abstract

The present study was conducted to investigate the impact of the Islamic Cooperative Microfinance program (*Murabah'ah*<sup>2</sup>) on the standard of life of the poor and the marginalized segments of the society. The Islamic microfinance program of the Islamic Relief-Pakistan was taken as a model of cooperative microfinance. A sample of 100 clients along with a control group of 25 respondents was selected randomly so as to avoid selection bias. The socio-economic impact of the said programs on the poor marginalized groups was evaluated by two Binary logistic models. The first model is based on respondents' perception regarding the overall welfare, while the second model is based on standardized consumption expenditure, used as a proxy for welfare in quantitative term. Findings of the study suggest that the Cooperative microfinance program has a positive impact on the overall welfare of the clients. This is also reflected in the empirical investigation which reveals that standardized consumption expenditure as a proxy for well-being (welfare) of the clients represents a more appropriate picture as compared to the welfare model based on respondent perceptions only. The results suggest that the respondents who avail the facility of the cooperative microfinance are approximately 10 times more likely to increase their welfare as compared to non-clients. We propose that by expanding the facility of the cooperative microfinance by sensitizing the poor and the marginalized segments regarding this facility can effectively alleviate the absolute level of poverty, and also has the required potential to increase the social wellbeing of these people.

*Keywords:* Cooperative microfinance; Islamic microfinance; marginalized segments;

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## Introduction

To alleviate poverty in most developing countries, financing small and micro enterprises is considered a “new paradigm” for bringing about Development and eradicating absolute poverty. Small enterprises have received growing attention at both national and international levels during the last decade.

In Cooperative Micro Financing, we are essentially looking at a “double bottom line”— social gains and commercial success. Conventional Micro financing setup is somewhat also lying on the same concept however Cooperative financial system naturally focus on welfare aspect. The welfare may be in the form of no penalty in case of genuine late payment reason, risk sharing, profit sharing according to the percentage to support the ups and downs of business, asset based/backed transactions to overcome interest or *riba*, settlement in the form of goods; whether it be hardcore welfare aspects of *qard-e-Hassan* (interest free loan), *sadaqah*, *zakah*, Charity – have far more reaching and implicitly impacting positive role in each and every regard of life. Cooperative Microfinance Programs (CMFPs) are the new experiments in this field. The growing magnitude of these programs has attracted many countries of the world. CMFPs have a general acceptability in Muslims communities in particular, and non-Muslim communities in general since the principles of financing of these organizations are neither contradictory to the Islamic Shariah nor to any divine religion’s principles or norms, values and traditions of any society.

Furthermore, the profit and loss of business are shared by the financier and the investor, which protects the debtor and makes him confident to invest freely in Shariah-based activities. Conventional microfinance Organizations (CMPOs) do not provide credit to extremely poor and actual marginalized groups of the society because they are generally considered defaulter. While CMPOs facilitate such groups from Zakat and Waqf (Charity) funds. CMFPs can better serve the community and make sure the participation of all vulnerable groups. Islamic relief the popular NGO involved in Cooperative Micro financing programs over in Pakistan uses group lending methodology, where no physical collateral is required. Social pressure is used as an alternative to physical collateral.

Different studies have been conducted against CMFPs and in favor of CMFPs. Due to lack of fund mobilization and high administrative cost, most CMFOs are not economically viable. Bennett (1998, p. 116) reports that administrative cost

of five CMFOs in South Asia is in the range of 24 percent to more than 400 percent of per dollar lent. Reed and Befus (1994, p. 190) study five CnMFOs and find average return on assets for three of these to be below 2 percent, one at 3.5 percent and the other at 14.6 percent. The type of activity for which the funds are used may also be low productivity activities. Furthermore, CMFOs target women and some studies find that rate of return on credit given to women is low as they engage in relatively low productivity activities (Hossain 1987, Rahman and Khandker 1994). Osmani (1989) points out that one factor that forces some households out of microcredit schemes is that the resulting increase in the supply of output causes the rate of return on loans to be lower than its cost of borrowing.

Ditcher (1996), Hulme and Mosley (1996a), and Montgomery (1996) report that microfinance institutions do not serve the poorest who are either not given loans or drop out of the credit schemes. The declared objective of targeting women as recipients of funds is to empower them (Khandker 1998 and Rahman 1999). Khandker (1998), however, finds that financing women rarely empowers women. Rahman (1999) further reports that targeting the women as beneficiaries of credit by CMFOs creates tensions within the household and increases frustration and Violence in the family. Rahman (1996 a, b, 1999) discovers that the Grameen Bank borrowers often take loans from other sources to pay installments and are trapped in a spiraling debt cycle. Sadeq (2004) in Bangladesh on conventional CMFOs and Cooperative Micro finance he found that it was due to negative effects of social as well as economic nature of microfinance that attracted the critics to provide alternatives, which will be free from the negative effects. Some of them have come up with faith based micro financial services, and are categorized as Cooperative Microfinance Programs (CMFPs). They and their services are different from their counterparts in number of ways. First, the CMFOs provide micro financial products, which are free from interest. Their products are based on mark-up pricing, profit sharing and so on. Second, the IMFOs provide micro financial services to both men and women, without any differential treatment. Mannan (2007) in Bangladesh he found that CnMFPs are based on the implicit assumptions of social class conflict, so they tend to empower women, whereas CMFPs intends to empower family by ensuring joint liability of husband and wife in case of lending to family or groups of families. Ahmad (2002) believes that Cooperative microfinance can provide greater benefit to clients through non-interest based financing and reliance on funds from awqaf as a substitute to expensive external fund.

A majority of the authors have supported the idea of Cooperative microfinance on theoretical grounds. This paper attempts to use quantitative data, obtained from the respondents, in the intervention area ( clients and non-client) of Islamic Relief Pakistan.

### **Method and Material**

The notion of wellbeing is something parallel and opposite to poverty. Qualitatively, it may be reflected by the perception (or feeling) of the respondent that his life style has been improved in general after getting support from the microfinance program. It is denoted by the odd ratio 'W', which may assume the form of a binary variable. The parameter ' $\lambda$ ' shows the probability that wellbeing of the respondent has increased overtime. In case an individual feels that his wellbeing has improved after interaction with the program concerned, then the dependent variable will be coded '1' and otherwise '0' if he feels no change otherwise.

Alternatively, this notion can be quantified and consumption expenditure may be considered as proxy for the level of wellbeing. We may assume an average MPC for the population of respondents and compute a benchmark level of consumption expenditure sufficient enough to fulfill the basic needs. The variable 'W' then denotes the odd ratio of the probability that monthly consumption of an individual is equal to or greater than the benchmark level to the probability that his earning is less than the said level. This ratio will help us in evaluating the impact of intervention of the microfinance programs on wellbeing of the clients. There is no change in the rest of the structure.

Microfinance programs are expected to promote well-being of the clients or improvement in the standard of their life. Evaluation of the impact of microfinance programs on the welfare or wellbeing of the clients is not so easy and straight forward. The notion of welfare or wellbeing is itself very dubious, and involves personal judgment. Although, the level of income may be considered as an index of wellbeing and if the position of an individual shifts above the poverty line as a result of support from microfinance programs, his welfare is supposed to be enhanced. However, we have tried to confirm the results by introducing a binary logistic model.

$$W_i = \delta_0 + \delta_1 D_c + \delta_2 D_s + \delta_3 D_m + \delta_4 D_e + \delta_5 D_a + u_i$$

$W_i = \frac{\lambda_i}{1-\lambda_i}$  is the **odds ratio**, i-e the ratio of the probability that the wellbeing

of the individual has increased to the probability that he does not feel so.

$\lambda_i$  = probability that wellbeing of the individual (respondent) has increased.

$D_c$  is the dummy variable used to show clients and non-clients; assuming values of 1 or 0.

$D_s$  is the dummy used for individuals having other sources of income, assuming values of 1 or 0.

$D_m$  is the dummy used to show duration of membership of clients, assuming values of 1 or 0.

$D_e$  is the dummy used for educational level of respondents, such that:  $D_e = 1$  if the respondent has at least 10 years of schooling (SSC) and  $D_e = 0$  if otherwise.

$D_a$  is the dummy used for the age or maturity of respondents, such that:  $D_a = 1$  if an individual is aged 40 years or more and  $D_a = 0$  if otherwise.

Qualitatively, wellbeing may be reflected by the perception (or feeling) of the individual. Thus, the binary variable  $W_i$  may be assigned some value if the respondent reveals the feelings that his/her life style has been improved in general after getting support from the microfinance program. The parameter ' $\lambda$ ' shows the probability that wellbeing of the respondent has increased overtime. We asked a question on this aspect and the responses recorded in the survey.

Many studies on impact assessment of microfinance programs have used this qualitative index for wellbeing. However, we have quantified this index and used household consumption expenditure as proxy for welfare. Assuming a simple Keynesian consumption function:  $C = f(Y)$ , we have estimated the aggregate consumption function for the data set, comprising 125 observations in the intervention area of Islamic Relief :  $C_i = b_0 + b_1 Y_i + u_i$ .

Using the poverty line of Rs. 5100/-, the benchmark level of consumption expenditure just sufficient to satisfy the minimum basic needs will be Rs. 4039/- or Rs. 4040/- approx. per month. It is now straight forward to compute the indicator of wellbeing 'W' where the parameter ' $\lambda$ ' shows the probability that consumption of the individual respondent is at least equal to this benchmark. For the sake of comparison, we follow both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

## Results and Discussion

Under this section we have estimated the logistic model qualitatively and quantitatively.

### Impact on the Wellbeing of Clients (IR-Pak)

- i. Qualitative approach: Based on the perceptions of the respondents, the dependent variable ' $W_i$ ' is distributed in two categories based on the values of the parameter ' $\lambda$ '. The results are depicted in Table- 1

**Table 1:**

Logistic Regression (IR-Pak)-Qualitative

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z-Statistics	Odd ratio	Prob.
C	-1.452387	0.556692	-2.608960	0.234011	0.00091
D <sub>c</sub>	2.487291	0.682225	3.645851	12.02865	0.0003*
D <sub>a</sub>	3.121532	1.156895	2.698198	22.68110	0.0070*
D <sub>e</sub>	0.725468	0.506604	1.432023	2.065698	0.15210
D <sub>m</sub>	0.916542	0.505309	1.813825	2.500628	0.0597**
LR statistic (4 df)	37.32285	McFadden R-squared			0.438154
Probability(LR stat)	1.55E-07				
Obs with Dep=0	40	Total observations			125
Obs with Dep=1	85				

\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%

The above table shows that if the dummy variable ( $D_c$ ) increases by one unit (if an individual avails the facility of microfinance), then the estimated logit will increase by 2.4873 units. This suggests that the probability in favor of an increase in wellbeing will increase by  $e^{2.4872} \approx 12.0275$  times. Similar interpretation can be given for other dummy variables used for age, education level and duration of membership. All the coefficients carry the expected positive signs. However, the impact of education on the level of welfare has turned insignificant.

- ii. Quantitative approach: As stated above, the dependent variable is based on the level of consumption expenditure and thereby quantified. The parameter

‘ $\lambda$ ’ shows the probability that consumption expenditure of the respondent is above the benchmark level. The results are depicted in Table- 2

**Table 2:**

Logistic Regression (IR-PAK)- Quantitative

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z-Statistics	Odd Ratio	Probability
C	2.352477	0.556692	4.225810	10.23401	0.00910
D <sub>c</sub>	2.712291	0.682225	3.974451	15.06370	0.0003*
D <sub>s</sub>	2.156050	0.528200	4.083333	8.63698	0.0002*
D <sub>m</sub>	1.156352	0.505309	1.288320	3.17815	0.0538**
D <sub>a</sub>	2.39532	1.156895	1.828798	10.97171	0.0002*
D <sub>e</sub>	0.525468	0.506604	1.037123	1.69124	0.0513**
LR statistic (4 df)	41.32285		McFadden R-squared	0.4154	
Probability(LR stat)	1.67E-07				
Obs with Dep=0	40		Total Observations	125	
Obs with Dep=1	85				

\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%

In the above model, the dependent variable  $W_i = \lambda_i / 1 - \lambda_i$  is odd ratio showing the probability in favour of average consumption of Rs: 4036 per month or above. If the consumption of an individual is above this level, it may be presumed that his/her wellbeing has increased. D<sub>c</sub> is dummy variable used to show that the respondent concerned is clients of the microfinance organization. The results indicate that if D<sub>c</sub> increases by one unit (if an individual avails the facility of microfinance), then estimated logit will increase by 2.7123 units. In other words, the probability in favor of an increase in wellbeing will increase by  $e^{2.7123} \approx 15.06388$  times. Likewise the variable D<sub>s</sub> has been used as dummy for other sources of income. This suggests that if an individual avails the facility of microfinance and he/she also enjoys some other sources of income, then the probability in favour of an increase in wellbeing will increase by  $e^{2.1560} \approx 8.6365$  times. The dummy variable used to capture the effects of age or maturity (40 years or above) is significant and carries the expected sign. Same is the case with the dummy variable used for the level of education and that used for the duration of membership with the program concerned. The McFadden R-squared (0.4381) and LR-statistic (41.32) with very small probability show that the model is overall significant.



## Conclusion

The present study has been conducted to investigate the impact of Cooperative (Islamic) Microfinance program on the standard of life of poor and marginalized segments of the society. For this end Islamic microfinance program of Islamic Relief-Pakistan has been taken as a model of cooperative microfinance. A sample of 100 clients along with a control group of 25 respondents has been selected randomly so as to avoid selection bias. The socio-economic impacts of the said programs on the poor marginalized groups have been evaluated by Binary logistic models. Two logistic models have been estimated to investigate the welfare of the respondents. The first model is based on respondents perception regarding overall welfare, while the second model is based on standardized consumption expenditure, has been used as a proxy of welfare in quantitative term. Findings of the study suggest that Cooperative microfinance program has a positive impact on the overall welfare of the clients. This is also reflected from the empirical investigation that standardized consumption expenditures as a proxy of wellbeing (welfare) of the clients represent a more appropriate picture as compare to welfare model based on respondent perceptions only.

## Main Findings and Recommendation

1. Cooperative Microfinance program contributes positively in term of the socio- economic uplift of clients. Respondents who avail the facility of cooperative microfinance are approximately 10 times more likely to increase his/her welfare as compare to non-clients. We can figure out that by expanding the facility of cooperative microfinance by sensitizing the poor and marginalized segments regarding this facility can effectively alleviate the absolute level of poverty and also has the required potential to increase the social wellbeing of these people.
2. The empirical analysis indicates that total dependence on the facilities provided by the cooperative microfinance institutions might not be sufficient for a significant uplift in the life style of poor people. The projections of this study intimate that if a client of the IR-Pak owns some other assets (sources of earnings) besides the microcredit facility, the probability of his/her crossing the poverty line will be 9 times higher than those who possess nothing else and depend only on the facilities provided by the MFO concerned.

3. The empirical investigation reveals that if credit is provided to mature clients (of age 40 or more) this will increase the chance in favor of social wellbeing by more than 10 times as compare to immature clients. Based on this result IR-Pak Should concentrate to provide the facility of Islamic microfinance to mature clients so as to effectively contribute in socio- Economic uplift of clients.
4. As per general observations the intensity of poverty is much higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas. The majority of poor inhibited in rural areas of Pakistan are generally illiterate, technically backward and politically depressed. As such, the rural areas deserve special attention of the cooperative Microfinance institutions.
5. Although majority of clients do utilize the micro credit efficiently for self-employment and income generating activities, however there are fair chances of wrong or inappropriate use of credit. Therefore proper inducement, effective training, monitoring and supervision of the clients are necessary.
6. Last but not least cooperative microfinance program is performing well in intervention area (The urban slums of Rawalpindi) all such programs need to be promoted and encouraged, both by the government as well as the well to do citizen of Pakistan. Such programs, working in different areas like health, education, housing, training and skills as well as micro credit extension are the candles of hope and aspiration for the poor and deprived segments of the society.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> The Cooperative/Welfare microfinance program is a program where the poor and marginalized group of the society will be facilitated through free-interest loans, partnership and trade based financing.

<sup>2</sup> *Murabah'ah* is an Islamic mode of finance. It is also called cost plus selling contract. According to the rules of this contract a commodity is purchased by the financing organization on behalf of the client and it is then sold to the client by adding profit margin.

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## A Review of Kabul River Uses and Its Impact on Fish and Fishermen

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### Abstract

In this paper a detailed account of Kabul River has been given to highlight the socio-economic importance related to fish decline in Kabul River. Kabul River is a major river of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. Its water is widely used for irrigation in Peshawar, Nowshera and Charsadda Districts. At the same time it receives wastewater directly from various industries situated in the mentioned district. This induction of waste water has deteriorated water quality and adversely affected aquatic flora and fauna in which fish is of major economic importance. This study shows that Kabul River enormously contributes in economic prosperity but the deterioration of water quality hampers the growth of fish population. On the whole there are nine species of fish, which are of immense economic importance and whose population is sharply declined. Pollution and over fishing are the two main causes of this decline. The collective contribution of pollution and pesticides is above 60% while that of illegal fishing mainly through electric current and dynamite is 25% and only 15% is due to legal fishing. Pollution and illegal fishing are considered as the major threats to fish decline. Therefore, both preventive and curative measures are recommended.

*Keywords:* Pollution, Fishing, Illegal Fishing, Kabul River Fish Species, Dissolved Oxygen (DO), Biological Oxygen Demand (BOD)

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## Introduction

Kabul River has diverse sources scattered over both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The various tributary rivers in Pakistan include Chitral River, Swat River, Bara River, and Jindi River (Nafees 2004). Afghanistan contributes in the form of Alingar River, the Kabul River branch and Kunar (Lashkaripour and Hussaini. 2007) which combine together at Jalalabad to make the main Kabul River. The Kabul River enters Pakistan at Sheen-Pakh, Mohmand Agency and Swat, Bara and Jindi rivers join the Kabul River at various points in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province (Nafees, 2004). The Kabul River plays a great role in the economic uplift of the areas it runs through, and is widely used for agriculture, power generation and fishing (Anwar, 1991).

A Study was conducted in 1991 that mentions the presence of 156 fish species in the various rivers of Pakistan (Mirza, 2003). In which 54 were in Kabul River out of which 35 species were common in the entire stretch of the Kabul River (Fazal, et al. 1988 and Javed, 1989). The decline in fish species and population was observed in the 1990's. Among these, the famous species called Masheer, also called king of river fish was common specie of Kabul River. The population of Masheer is reported to have considerably declined. This decline is attributed to commercial scale fishing and pollution load in the river at Peshawar-Nowshera region, preventing up/down stream migration to spawning ground in the Swat River (Nafees, 2004). In this way pollution is considered as the main reason of fish decline.

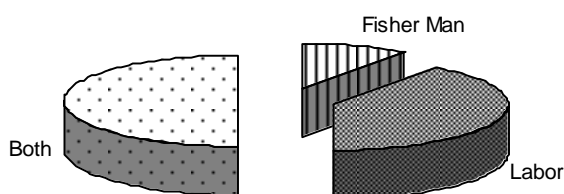
Moreover, over fishing may also be the big reason of this decline. In this regard various studies have been conducted. No doubt, over fishing and illegal fishing has been studied with its impacts on fish population (IUCN-DEPM, 1994, Nafees, 2004, Zahid, 2010). But the big contributor has not been efficiently evaluated and demonstrated.

In this study an attempt has been made to give a detailed account of past and present status of pollution and fishing related economic activities, attached to the Kabul River, with the objective to know about the present status of fish and fishing profession.

## Methodology

- i. Literature from 1947 to 2010 was reviewed to collect information about pollution in Kabul River.
- ii. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques were applied to determine trends in various fishing techniques. For this purpose a group of fishermen consists of five members were randomly selected and questions were asked from them about the various fishing methods. Time line PRA technique was used to get quantitative data.
- iii. To evaluate the effect of various activities on fish decline a judgment from professional is required. For this purpose 20 experts belonging to fishery and fish related businesses were interviewed. Besides, a survey was conducted in various shops along Kabul River and fish market in Peshawar City. A total of 14 people were interviewed which helped. in the identification of the present status of fish in Kabul River and in its tributaries.
- iv. To know about affected fisherman selective sampling techniques were applied. For this purpose old fishermen were identified and were interviewed. A total of ten fishermen, 40 laborers were interviewed (Fig 1). Besides, various huts/hotels offering fish were also interviewed. A total of 50 people including 32 from Sardayab, 10 Naguman and 8 Shalam River were interviewed.

**Fig 1: Sample Size and Profession-wise Distribution of Respondints**





## Results and Discussion

### Pollution in Kabul River

Pakistan had a weak industrial base in the beginning. During 1947-1971 rapid industrial growth took place in various cities of Sind and Punjab provinces. Thus little attention was given to Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa (KP) Province in comparison to the other part of the country. In KP, industrial development started in 1938 with the establishment of Frontier Sugar Mills at Mardan followed by Adamjee Paper Mill and Sarhad Colony Textile Mill Aman-Grah, district Nowshera in 1951 (Nafees and Ghulam, 1993). After setting Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation and Sarhad Development Authority tremendous development has been made (Mumtaz and Nawaz, 2008). Currently there are fifteen industrial estates in KP (five major industrial estates, and 10 small industrial estates). Most of them throw their wastes to Kabul River (SDA, 1996). Amangrah, Hayatabad and Kohat Industrial Estates, contribute directly to Kabul River without prior treatment. Besides, there are so many industries along the entire stretch of Kabul River or its tributary scattered throughout Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa (KP) which directly affect Kabul River with their effluent discharge.. Such as Mardan city which throws its effluent wastes through Kalpani River, Malakand, Swat and Charsadda districts throw their wastes through Swat River (Nafees, 2004). On the whole there are 1848 industrial units in the province (The Daily Nation, 2003), the waste of which, directly or indirectly reaches Kabul River, affecting fish population adversely. A survey conducted during 1992 revealed that 15% (Peshawar 205, Charsada 10, Nowshera 41 and Mardan 45) industries were found in the watershed of Kabul River. Among these the major industries are: sugar, Ghee, textile, tanneries, paper, pharmaceutical and rubber. They are dumping their effluent wastes into Kabul River (IUCN & DEPM, 1994 and Nafees, 2004).

Larry conducted the first pollution related study in 1977. He observed that the industries of textile, paper and tannery were important from point of view of pollution. The pollution impacts identified at that time was termed as localized with minimum effect on fish life (Nafees, 2004). After five years, in 1982 another study was conducted on Kabul River in which impacts of industrial effluents were evaluated. It was reported that the industries' direct discharges affected the level of dissolved oxygen (DO) negatively, which is the basic requirement for aquatic fauna. This decrease was attributed to increase in Biological Oxygen Demand (BOD) which is caused by organic load. The various industries contributing to organic load, include paper, Ghee and textile industries (Ahmad and Saleem, 1982) In

1983 BOD was quantified again and was observed that the BOD increases from 0.4 mg/l at Azakhail to 0.56 mg/l at Attock (Ahmad and Khan 1983)

Kamin, et al. (1985) worked on sulphide contamination in addition to BOD and observed that the sulphide level of wastewater joining Kabul River was 0.75 to 3.31 mg/l. Sulfide is toxic to fish and also affecting DO level, which was considered a big threat to fish life. The main contributor of Sulfide is tannery industry but it was also found in municipal effluents. Beside industrial and municipal wastewater disposal, Kabul River is also used as dumping site for solid waste. The impact of which was evaluated in 1989 and it was observed that the suspended load and other material thrown in Kabul River accumulates on the river bed and affect the bottom feed. This has negative impacts on fish population (Sohail 1989). This study was further supported by Kahlid (1989) who studied BOD, DO relation and the area downstream of Noswshera was considered not fit for fish life.

Amangrah industrial estate which was established in 1952 was the main contributor in the increase of pollution level at Nowshera (Nafees and Ghulam 1993). Till 1992 Kabul River was studied in parts at different locations. In 1993 IUCN, Peshawar and Department of Environmental Planning and management, University of Peshawar carried out a detail survey of Kabul River, its tributaries and wastewater joining Kabul River. In which Shalamn River was found to be the most polluted one and considered unfit for drinking, bathing, washing and fishing. While the Naguman and Adizai were observed comparatively clean (IUCN-DEPM, 1994). Another study was conducted in the same line. A ten time increase was noted in BOD since 1982. It was also observed that pollution is not the only reason for decline in fish population. The use of illegal fishing such as electric current, dynamite and pesticides were equally responsible for decline in the fish population (Nafees *et al* 2002).

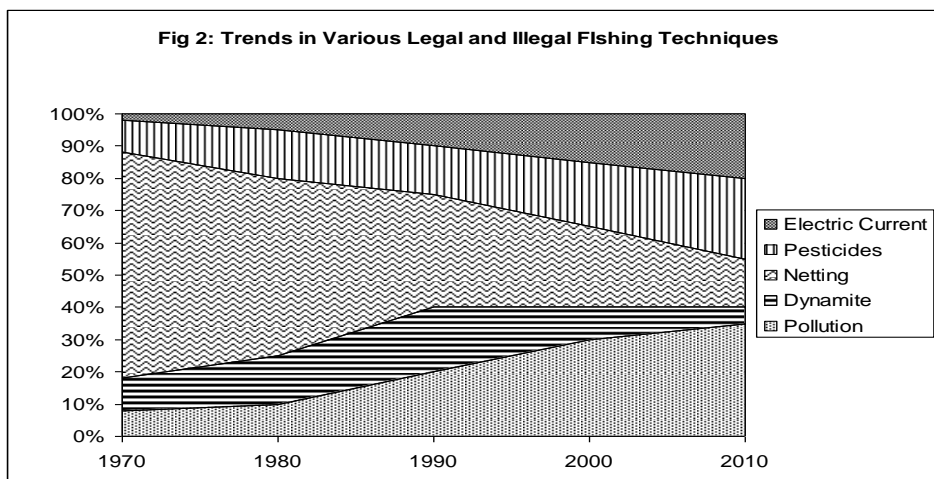
In 2009 a study was conducted and its results were compared with Pakistan National Environmental Quality Standards (Pak-NEQS). Among the studied parameters BOD, Sulphide and suspended solids were found well above the permissible limits set in Pak-NEQS. According to them the water is not fit for drinking, irrigation, fish and other aquatic life (Zahidullah *et al* 2010 and Ali *et al.* 2010).

It is also a common perception that Afghanistan may be major contributor in terms of pollution affecting fish population negatively. In historical prospective as compare to Afghanistan, Pakistan appeared to be the major effluent contributor. In

Afghanistan the first factory was built in Kabul in 1887 to produce coins and spare parts required for the military. Later on at the same site, the manufacturing of woollen goods, soap and a printing press were added. In 1974-75 a textile industry was introduced and it became the major industry of Afghanistan. During 1974-75 Kabul with the largest number of industries, was contributing waste directly to Kabul River (Amin and Schliz, 1976). After 1979 there was regular decline and in 1990 Afghanistan was left with no industry to contribute pollution load to Kabul River (Heintz et al., 1981). The contribution of other small scale industries, although were there, but negligible. In this way, at present it does not contribute but may contribute in future (Nafees and Rasul, 2010).

### Settlements along the Kabul River's Banks and Fishing Related Activities

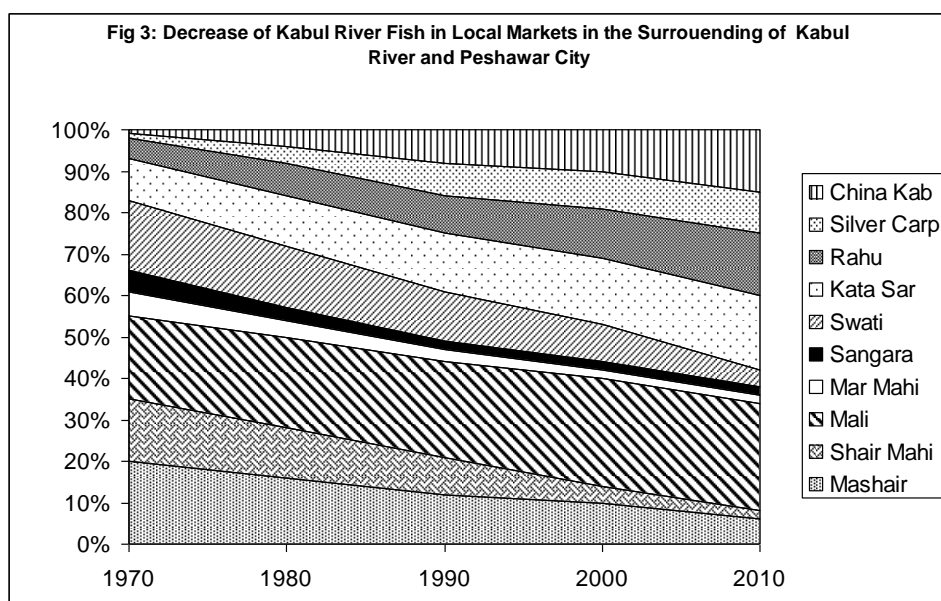
Total length of Kabul River is 1500 km (Kabul River and its tributaries). In Pakistan, throughout its length, about 1000 villages and 20 cities are directly or indirectly dependent on Kabul River. One of the activities is fishing. It is a general perception that fish is affected mainly by industrial pollution. According to this study there are two different factors affecting fish population negatively i.e. pollution and over fishing. The various sources contributing to pollution include industrial and municipal discharge and the use of pesticides. Among these pesticides are also used for fishing purposes which not only contributes to pollution but also causes the death of huge number of fish. one of the safest fishing techniques is netting, the use of which has declined from 70% to just 20% with the increase in unsafe fishing techniques like electric current, which is increased from 5% to 10%. Dynamite is another such technique but in its use various fluctuation has been observed. Initially, in 1970 its



use was about 10% with a slight increase of up to 15% during 1990s. After which a regular decrease has been observed and by 2010 it come down to less than 5%. The use of pesticides is a popular fishing technique (Fig 2).

### Effects on Fish Life

Fishing is a common practice along the entire stretch of Kabul River. In Pakistan 45 fish species are common out of which seven species are of economic importance (Mirza, 2003). Enquiry from the people living along the river revealed that several unauthorized and highly undesirable methods of fishing are detected including the use of electric current, explosive and insecticides, particularly Malathion, Thiodan, Cymag, Endo-Sulfan, Cypermethrin and Sanogas (Fig. 2). Field study also reveals that the fish population is on decline because of over fishing and industrial discharge. In Sardaryab area various huts are visible offering fish. The survey revealed a visible change in Kabul River indigenous species (Mashair, Shair Mahi Mali, Mar-Mahi, Sangara, Swati and Solay). Among these species Sangara, Mar-Mahi and Solay are not popular in the market. The species which is mostly available in the local markets are Rahu, Silver and China Kab which are usually coming from different ponds and dams in Punjab (Fig-3). In this way Local Markets are receiving 70% fish from various other sources, showing that Kabul River is no more offering fish on commercial scale while 10-15 years ago there were enough fish population to support commercial fishing (Fig-3). During the survey, five different factors affecting



fish population negatively are identified. These include municipal waste, industrial discharges, power generation, agriculture, and illegal fishing. At present only two species are found as abundant, Mali and Solay. Two species are considered as adequate and seven species are declared as rare (Table 1).

**Table 1:**

Different activities and their percent effect on common fish species

Fish Species	Municipal	Industrial	Hydro Power	Agriculture	Illegal Fishing	Status
Mashair <i>Tor putitora</i>	10	20	10	10	50	Adequate
Shair Mahi <i>Clupiosoma Naziri</i>	5	30	10	10	45	Rare
Mali <i>Wallago Attu</i>	5	25	15	15	40	Abundant
Sangara (Braytai) <i>Mystus seenghala</i>	5	30	35	5	25	Rare
Swati Fish <i>Schizothorax plagiostomus</i>	15	20	25	5	35	Adequate
Solay <i>Channa punctatus</i>	5	15	25	35	20	Abundant
Rohu <i>Labeo rohita</i>	10	25	20	15	30	Rare
Silver Carp <i>Hypophthalmichthys molitrix</i>	10	20	20	10	40	Rare
Mar Mahi <i>Mastacembelus armatus</i>	5	10	15	35	35	Rare
Torkay <i>Labeo dyocheilus</i>	15	30	15	5	35	Rare

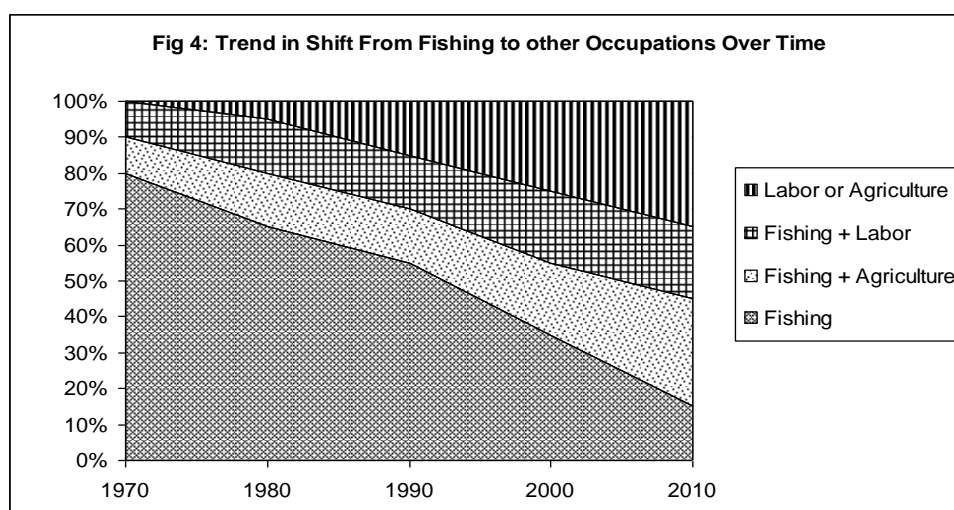
In area downstream of Warsak, fishing opportunities are there but the output is very low. Hydro power generation indirectly affects fish population by blocking its up and down movement: Warsak Dam appeared as hurdle affecting upstream fish movement; thus affecting both fish species diversity and population negatively. The various species affected negatively by hydro power generation include Sangara (35%), Swati Fish (25%), Solay (25%), Rohu (20%) and Silver Carp also 20% (Table 1).

Municipal and industrial pollution has got negative effect on almost all fish species. The collective average effect on Shair-Mahi, Sangara was 35% each and Mali was 30%. The contribution of agriculture in the form of agrochemicals (pesticides) was comparatively low. On Mashair, Shair Mahi and Silver the effect is 10% each, on Sangara, Torkay and Swati the effect is 5% each while on Rahu the effect is 15%. Significant effect of Pesticides is reported on Solay and Marmahi (35% each) due to the effect of pesticides on the food chain. As Solay and Marmahi are carnivores and mainly dependent on earth worm and small fish which is affected by pesticides and decreasing its population.

In total only 2 species are found to be abundant (Mali and Solay) but toward decline. Two species are adequate i.e. Mashair and Swati while five species are identified as rare (Table 1).

### Effects on the Fishing Community

According to our survey, there were thousands of fishermen living along the river bank. Majority of them (85%) have abandoned this business. Thirty percent have added agricultural activities, 20% have added other labor to fishing, while 35% have completely quitted the profession of fishing. Figure 4 shows the gradual change in the profession of these fishermen. Till 1970 fishing was their only entitlement to money, food and life. They used Net technique for fishing in the past. According to them there is a change (decrease) of 10-15 Kg in fish catch. This obvious change in the fishing community was also triggered by other factors such as pollution in Kabul



River, absence of good nets for fishing, huge inflation, and less attention by the fishery department of KP. Normally the net costs Rs. 3000 while license for fishing costs Rs. 5000. Due to unbearable price hike, the nets available in the market are very expensive. Due to enormous price hike and inflation the quality of nets is also degenerated. These nets are vulnerable to sharp things while fishing. Mostly nets are destroyed or torn out during fishing. The income generated per fisherman is Rs. 4000/month which is not sufficient in comparison with the cost. This forced the local fisherman to take loan from fish-shop owners in case of dearth of Money. During catching season they then work for that money in these hotels which halt them from fish catch. Fishing is a primary source of income of these fishermen, except a few who pursue other occupations. The households exclusively dependant on fishing have deficit family budgets than those who have subsidiary occupations other than fishing. Birth, death, marriage, illness, etc. are occasions which mostly disturb the family budgets of the fishermen.

Therefore, majority of fishermen have changed their profession in this way either to labor or work in the fish shops. Thus there is a growing change in profession. Our survey represented that almost every interviewed fisherman is in debt and he have to serve a hotel for a particular period to pay these debts. Therefore poor fishermen have been ousted from fishing business. The fish department management is also playing negligible role in saving this profession. They should provide nets to local fisherman for fish catch and reduction shall be done in license money. According to survey fishermen highlighted that use of electric shocks, medicines, illegal catching and crackers use in water is reducing the fish breeding spots and over the years the declining trend is high. If the current situation persists the River Kabul will lose its productivity.

## Conclusion

Kabul River is the main water body of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and has got socio-economic importance. A large number of people are directly or indirectly, the beneficiaries of Kabul River. Due to pollution and continuous use of illegal fishing techniques, the river is no longer fit for commercial fishing. Fish related businesses are on the decline. What needs to be done to save this profession is proper encouragement of fish-farming and provision of fish catching facilities to the poor fishermen.

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## The Rise of Religious Politics in Pakistan: A Case Study of October 2002 Elections in the NWFP (KP)

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### Abstract

The impressive gains of the six-piece religious party alliance, the MMA (*Muttahida Majlis-i-Am*), in October 2002 Elections in Pakistan represent a mass mobilization in the name of Islam on a scale not seen since the creation of Pakistan. The theory of 'Islam in danger' was raised both against foreign, i.e., American neo-imperialism and against what were seen as 'un-Islamic forces' within the society. The concept of political Islam and its manipulation by the Islamists stirred the political will of the masses. October 2002 polls marks the ever first time experience of the NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), at least in the post-independence period, where a pre-electoral religio-political parties' alliance (the MMA) ruled the province with apparently no threat from the central government. The replacement of political forces/parties in certain regions (dominating by them since 1937) with relatively inexperienced religious leaders, unexposed to modern western education required the attention of all the stakeholders, including the international actors, now very active in the region. In this paper, we try to look into and analyse religion, politics and ethnicity with particular reference to the causes of and factors for the success of the MMA in the Pakhtun dominated areas in Pakistan.

*Keywords:* 2002 General Elections; MMA; religion; politics; ethnicity; KP (NWFP)

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## Introduction

The incident of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent counter-terrorist strikes on Afghanistan had enormous impacts for Pakistan body politics. It affected the outcome of the October 2002 election results as well. The Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-i-Azam group (PML-Q) won 118 national assembly seats out of 342 followed by 80 seats of Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People Party Parliamentarians (PPPP). The astonishing development in Pakistan's political history was the landmark victory of the religio-political alliance, the Muttahida Majlis-i-Aml (the MMA)<sup>1</sup> which won 30 out of 36 National Assembly seats in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). Having total sixty one seats in the national assembly, the MMA emerged the third largest party in the national assembly. The MMA successfully grabbed the position of the leader of opposition for Mawlana Fazlur Rahman, head of the Jamiat ul ulama-i-Islam-F.<sup>2</sup> Winning 53 out of 99 general seats, the MMA formed its government in the NWFP, while in Baluchistan it became a partner in the coalition government with the PML-Q.<sup>3</sup> The entrance of the religio-political parties in the government needs a scholarly attention as it re-emphasise the role of religion in politics in certain societies. For a proper understanding of this phenomenon background knowledge of the region in terms of political dynamics is necessary.

## Islam and Afghanistan as determining factors in NWFP Politics

The ethnic-cum religious nationalism and happenings in Afghanistan usually remained dominant factors in the NWFP politics. Pakhtun viewed Islam as one of the principal constituents of their Pakhtun self-definition. To them, Muslim ways of life and Pakhtun culture are not opposite rather complementing each other. They were always ready to rise in support of religion particularly if it is not contradictory to some of their cultural traits. Secondly politics of the province had always been affected by the happenings in neighbouring country Afghanistan. This is true for the past as well as for the present political dynamics of the region. Historically speaking, the Anglo-Afghan wars of 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the final one in 1919, perturbed Pakhtun in the NWFP. In late 1920s, Pakhtun were unhappy over the political turmoil in which Amanullah Khan was expelled by a Tajik, Habibullah Kalakani (known as Bachai Saqao) from Kabul. Pakhtun intellectuals in the NWFP saw the secret hand of the British intelligence in the king's exit. Pakhtun in the NWFP showed sympathy and solidarity with anti-British elements in Kabul, and even supported them financially (Rauf, 1999:68).

In the aftermath of the 1929 events in Kabul, the leadership in the NWFP decided to launch an organised movement. In the year 1929 Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his associates started Khudai Khidmatgar (servants of God) for the uplift of Pakhtun community and against the British imperialism (Shah, 1999:167). Khudai Khidmatgar broadly based its philosophy on bringing reformism in the primordial and customs ridden Pakhtun society through persuasion and modern education. Khudai Khidmatgar, Bacha Khan and his brother Dr. Khan Sahib dominated politics of the province in the days to come.

Certain historical events and anecdotes related to British India also had concern for the people of Afghanistan. The flight of students from Lahore to Kabul (during World War I) in protest against the British antagonistic policies towards the Ottoman Empire; the 'Silk Handkerchief Conspiracy' movement of the ulama of Deuband in 1915-16; the Mujahidin movement of the later followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (1786-1831); and the Indian Hijrat movement of 1920 are occasions where Afghanistan share its sympathies with the people of British India particularly with Pakhtun of the NWFP.

The Afghan factor remained intact in the post-independence days of Indo-Pak subcontinent also. In the early days, Afghanistan rejected Pakistan's claims of British inherited legacy at least on the question of its Durand Line. Kabul government strongly reacted when the One Unit Scheme<sup>4</sup> was adopted in 1955. The use of force in the tribal areas by General Ayub Khan in 1960s was also resented by Kabul. Z. A. Bhutto's government crackdown against Pakhtun nationalists in mid 1970s once again created distance between Kabul and Islamabad. These strained relations sometime led to break of diplomatic relations. The political developments in Kabul also responded reactions from the people in the NWFP. The overthrow of Zahir Shah and coming of Sardar Dawud got a mixed reaction but Soviet intervention in 1979 affected more than anything else the economic, political, social and cultural life of the NWFP.

Pakhtun commitment to religion as described earlier does not mean their adherence to the religious political parties headed by *mullah* at least in the elections. Most of the Pakhtun consider adherence to Islam and obedience to *mullahs*, the stakeholders of Islam, entirely two different and fully separable entities. According to Pakhtun nationalists, traditionally *mullah* has had an inferior place in Pakhtun society. They were considered as members of a professional group, never very high in society and used to have four main duties: to sit in the mosque and lead prayers; to give *azan* in the ear of a new-born baby

as a ritual of initiation; to ensure performance of the funeral ceremony, i.e. to correctly place the dead body in the graveyard with the appropriate words of blessing; and to perform *nikah* (a contractual bond) of marriages.<sup>5</sup> The political role of the *mullah* was largely circumscribed by other political parties and landed interests groups.

The role of clergymen greatly changed in the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century in Pakhtun society, primarily due to implicit and explicit external influences and interventions. The traditional leader in prayers became active in the newly created political stage. The formation of a religio-political government (after October 2002 elections) was unprecedented in the history of the NWFP.<sup>6</sup> This was the ever first time since the partition of India in 1947, that the NWFP was placed under a pre-electoral alliance government and composed of clerics.

The rise of religious activities in Pakhtun regions begins with the arrival of Soviet forces in Afghanistan in 1979. Those who resisted the Soviets in the guise of mujahidin became strategic partner of the military and security agencies in Pakistan. They got the real taste of power when the three major sources of power Allah, Army and America combined to contain the 'infidel' USSR by waging an international jihad (Anwar, 2007). The US and its Arab Allies financial providence strengthened religious elements in Pakistan in general and NWFP particular. The role of Iran after 1979 revolution in fomenting religious enthusiasm and fanaticism in Pakistan cannot be ignored. There were only 30 religious parties, organisation and groups in Pakistan in 1979 which increased to 245 in 2003 (Rana, 2003). The number of madrasas also increased to a substantial level. According to the ICG Report Official estimate indicates that 151 new *madaris* were opened during 1979-82 and 1000 during 1982 to 1986 (ICG, 2002:9). These developments gave rise to *jihad* culture in society in 1980. Pakistanis fought shoulder to shoulder with the Afghans against the Soviets. Those who were killed their martyrdom was celebrated by the Jihadi organisations. A conspicuous number of Pakhtun trained with sophisticated arms entered in the social and economic fold. The whole phenomenon is locally described as 'Kalashnikov Culture' means the accumulation of weapons and increase of use of force for achieving ones objectives particularly in educational campuses. In 1988, the main architect of this policy, Zia ul Haq died in an air crash. But the sympathisers of *jihadis* continue to enjoy a proportionate chunk in the legal, political, economic and educational structures of the country. The democratic governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif in 1990s were unwilling or were not allowed to roll back the well-entrenched infrastructure of

*Jihad*. However the religious elements/forces failed to muster electoral support of the masses primarily due the active involvement of established political leaders in the society.

After the 1999 military *coup d'état* of General Musharraf, the national political leadership had no other way but to leave the country. The prolonged absence of these political leadership affected the social stratum of the NWFP which was very much vulnerable to the religious catchwords. Weaknesses of moderate mainstream political parties at the social level further the shattering of the Pakhtun social fibre and created a leadership vacuum (Waseem, 2006:196). This vacuum was filled by the religious parties, having a widespread backup of mosque and *madrasa* network (Zaman, 2002:235). The Musharraf-led military government is also blamed for a covert support to religious elements. In the wake of religious fanaticism in Pakistan he would have posed himself to the West particularly to the US as the only alternative to counter the religious fanaticism in Pakistan.

Another factor which contributed to the religiosity of Pakhtun is the growing strength of the Tabligh-i-Jama'atin in the province (see for details Haq, 1972 and Masud, 2000). In the last few years, Pakhtun tilt to religion is successfully exploited by this movement while explicitly professing no political agenda. In the annual gathering of the Tabligh-i-Jama'at, Pakhtun participation is greater than any other community. The NWFP is the most suitable bastion for the Tabligh-i-Jama'at, as this province had hardly any population having divergent views to Jama'at's theological legacies.

### **The MMA and the October 2002 Elections**

The analysis of factors/causes of the success of the MMA and failure of other political parties in October 2002 elections would not only help to understand a major turn in the NWFP politics but would also enlighten us in religious and political dynamics of one of the most volatile region of the world. These factors/causes have been divided into three categories: Core Factors, Supportive Factors, and the Catalyst.

#### **CORE FACTORS**

Core factors refer to those which contributed directly to the achievement of better results by the MMA in the October 2002 election in Pakistan.

## 1. Unification of Religious Parties and Schools of Thought

Alliance of the religious parties was one of the major factors/causes that led to the victory of the MMA in the October 2002 General Elections. Before the electoral alliance, certain developments inside and outside the country obliged the religio-political parties to come under one umbrella. One such development was Deuband Conference hosted by JUI-F in Peshawar in April 2001.<sup>7</sup> It may be regarded as the first leg of the religio-political parties' election campaign, and it came in the wake of a strictly enforced ban on political activities in the country. The conference was attended by religious scholars and leaders from a number of Muslim countries, including India, Afghanistan, Iran, UK, UAE, Libya and Saudi Arabia. This conference attracted nearly one million people, and filled up Peshawar's roads and streets for three days. The most important episode was the audio messages of Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar, who criticised the west for their antagonistic policies toward the Muslims. This conference boosts feelings of all religious elements in Pakistan in general and in the NWFP particular to confront all elements who could not aligned with them under one umbrella.

Prior to the MMA, there had also been two such alliances; Milli Yakjehti Council (MYC), formed in 1995 to curb sectarian conflicts in Pakistan. It was eventually derailed due to differences between the JUI (F) and the JUI (S) over the distribution of the alliance offices and Islami Muttahida Inqilabi Mahaz (IMAM), a 29 religious party's alliance led by the JUI (F) in early 2000. Unity of the religio-political parties the MMA was originally not for electoral purposes but to block what they viewed as incursion of 'western ideology and culture' in the guise of certain non-governmental organizations (NGOs), especially in Baluchistan and the NWFP (Herald, 2002:46). In the post-9/11 political scenario, these parties shifted their concerns to the defence of Pakistan and Afghanistan which were in danger as perceived by the US. The religio political parties now started demonstrations and called for strikes for the safeguard of Pakistan and Afghanistan particularly in the wake of Musharaf's decision to side the Americans in their 'War against Terror'. Maintaining a consistent stride, the religio-political parties' alliance protest campaign was finally converted into an electoral campaign when the then government announced general elections to be held on 10 October 2002.

In the year 2001, the MMA was formed consisting of six religio-political parties. It was considered a good omen on the part of the religio-parties to the people of Pakistan. In Pakistan's political arena, masses had often criticised political clergy

by asking 'If, as they say, they work for the sake of Islam and the Islamic system of government, then why there are different religious parties and sects?' Consequently, the clerics had usually failed to mobilise public support for them in elections.

Pakistan's religious population is divided into various groups dominated by *Deobandis* and *Barelvi*, and Shia. The first two groups belong to the Sunni school of thought. The former is 'an orthodox religious movement professing its loyalties with some puritanical tinge to the *Hanafi* school of Muslim *fiqh*' (Faruqi, n.d. vii). They demystify the role of saints and believe in simple ceremonies, and lays stress on getting rid of all types of heresies. The *Barelvis* are primarily aligned against the neo-traditionalist *Wahabi* interpretation of fundamental Islam. Its leader and founder, Ahmad Raza Khan (1856-1921), tried to recast the Prophet's *sunnah* (tradition of prophet) according to his own perception of the *Fiqh-i-Hanfi* (Ahmad, xiv). The *Barelvi* tendency is more inclusive, follows cultural *sufism*, and celebrates 'urs (death anniversaries of saints). The two factions of the JUI are followers of the *Deobandi* school of thought, while the followers of the JUP belong to the *Barelvi* School. The Shia sect is having many views divergent to the majority Sunnis including a special reverence and religious authority to the house of holy prophet which they called Ahl-i-Baiat. Islami Tehrik Pakistan (ITP), formerly known as Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqh-i-Ja'faria Pakistan was the only Shi'a political party in the MMA. The JI, which consists of the urban educated, professional and business classes, is considered to be more orthodox than other religious groups. Its recruitment is largely drawn from modern educational institutions, rather than the traditional madrasas. The JI worked as a bridge between different schools of thought now united under the MMA. The Jami'at Ahl-i-Hadith, which follows the Prophet's tradition and disavows any particular school of thought as such, is associated with the *Wahabi* sect in popular parlance. This process of unification of these groups had advantages; the unity of the MMA was above sectarianism, which remained a serious social problem of the 1980s and 1990s, and has created a situation of agreement between self-identified allies on most issues. Secondly through a unified forum, the MMA constituent parties become able to pool votes into one basket. Otherwise, the vote bank of the religious parties would have been dispersed in different factions, sects and parties. Thirdly, majority of people, ambivalent about making a choice among various religious parties, were now convinced enough to accept a combined appeal of the religious parties under a common electoral symbol, book.



## 2. Political Fallout of Crackdown on Seminaries/*Jihadi* Network

Pakistan's educational system lacks uniformity. Along with modern educational institutions, a parallel system exists primarily to impart learning, teaching, and training in certain traditional and religious disciplines. These institutions get financial support from the wealthy man and families through their zakat and other donations. In terms of administration country's leading religious parties, sponsor most of these schools. Dr. Mahmood Ahmed Ghazi, the then federal minister of religious affairs, reported that there were about 10,000, *dinimadaris* (religious seminaries) boarding 1.7 million students in 2002 (Khokhar, 2006). Majority of the militants, who fought alongside *Al-Qaida* and *Taliban* troops in Afghanistan, had been educated in these religious seminaries under the auspices of CIA-ISI joint mission. These seminaries were increasingly seen as breeding grounds for the 'foot-soldiers of militant Islam', motivated and trained to wage *jihad*, be it against communism in Afghanistan, or the Hindu-India domination in Kashmir.

In the beginning of 2002, the military government started to reform the religious schools and issued the '*Madaris* Registration and Regulation Ordinance'. The *Ulema* thought that the reform scheme was brought on the behest of the US and other western countries to curtail the religious sentiments among the people. Government failed to remove this impression. Most of the religious leaders and organisations rejected the government's orders requiring religious seminaries to register, and to reform their curricula in accordance with the ordinance. The inability of government in implementation of its policies weakened state functionaries while on the other it strengthened the position of religious leaders in society.

The MMA's election strategy was implemented with a strong and effective network of *madrasas* and *jihadi* organisations. These madrasas having more than one million students became functionally useful in election. They provided street power and organisational support to the MMA, which seems to be another factor enabling the MMA to have a wholesale electoral campaign with a common electoral agenda. They were successful in pooling the otherwise divided votes into a single box in October elections. In the wake of 9/11 and the attack on Afghanistan, Musharraf banned several terrorist outfits. However, their activists were released and they took part in the elections as they were now organised under different names. Such a network immensely helped the MMA and gave them an extra edge over other political parties in the elections which were dysfunctional due to General Musharaf's military rule.

### 3. People's Thirst for *Sharia* Rule

Despite all internal contradictions among religious parties, classes and sects the MMA patched up their rift by providing a common agenda, a common cause: *sharia*, the 'Islamic system of governance'. In the elections campaign of October 2002, the MMA leaders continuously excited the masses against the establishment, constantly criticised the policies of the military regime in Pakistan. Furthermore, they concluded that the plight of the Muslims all over the world was due to the failure of the *ummah* to establish a socially just and Islamic system of governance which in their eyes was *Sharia*.<sup>8</sup> The thirst for *Sharia* rule was also evident in the movement launched in 1977 by PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) against Z. A. Bhutto which finally concluded in the overthrow of Bhutto and imposition of martial law General by Zia ul Haq. He exploited the Islamic sentiments of the people.

### 4. Ethnic Factor

The MMA won majority seats in Pakhtun dominated areas of the NWFP and Baluchistan. The MMA won 27 out of 29 National Assembly seats in these areas, while the remaining two seats went to PPP (Sherpao Group) as both parties had a pre-electoral seat adjustment. In the Pakhtun areas of Baluchistan, such as Zhob, Pashin, and Loralai, the MMA achieved better results than the Baluch dominated areas. The Pakhtun population in Karachi also contributed to better results of the MMA in constituencies where Pakhtun were considerable in numbers (Waseem, 2006:58). Top leadership of three integral component parties of the MMA were Pakhtun such as Mawlana Fazlur Rehman, Mawlana Sami-ul-Haq and Qazi Hussain Ahmad. They understood well the psyche and mentality of the Pakhtun voters. They addressed the people in their own mother tongue, and thus fully utilised the situation better than the other political parties and leaders.

The destruction caused by the war in Afghanistan after 9/11 created an impression that the war was Pakhtun-specific, which incited Pakhtun against the attackers, the government and the political parties who supported the war on terror in Afghanistan. The Pakhtun living in the two provinces of Pakistan had deep fraternal relations with those suffered under laser-sights and daisy cutter bombs in Afghanistan. Anti-war and anti-government sentiments among the Pakhtun increased yet more when the wounded and dead bodies of Pakhtun taking part in *jihad* in Afghanistan returned to the country. Thousands of Pakhtun under Mawlana Sufi Muhammad, leader of the TNSM, crossed Pak-

Afghan border to take part in Jihad against the US forces. A large number of people is still missing or in a precarious conditions in the jails of Afghanistan. The fact that the Pakhtun-nationalist ANP party, supporting the attacks on *Taliban*, could not catch the Pakhtun sentiments in the 9/11 election campaign, helped the religious parties in winning seats in the Pakhtun belt (Ahmad, 2002).

## 5. Voters' Grievances Against other Political Parties

Pakistan's politics revolves greatly around the leaders and personalities of the political parties. Over the years, the disenchantment of the public with the PPP and the PML-N has increased because of widespread charges of corruption, embezzlement, nepotism, and miss-governance, publicised by the military government. Poor performance of these political parties was substantially attributed to the absence of main national leaders from the country. This absence tarnished their image in the eyes of the people, who start considering their self-exile as an act of cowardice because of their fear of imprisonment or threat to their life. Such lack of resoluteness in their character undermined the credentials of the other political parties, and strengthened the *locus standi* of the *mullahs*. Regarding this situation, Dr. Rasul Bakhsh Rais, a leading political scientist said,

Never have the people of Pakistan voted in such a large numbers in favour of religious parties before...Again, this change is not confined to the old, ignorant, rural people, but young, urban and professional class seems to be tilting toward the religious parties...But the trend is visible and, if the mainstream political parties continue to ignore the fundamental issues of good governance, good state and society, the general public including the middle class may embrace the fold of religious parties."<sup>9</sup>

The MMA, in contrast to other political parties, had been very vocal against America's high-handed tactics in Afghanistan and its interference in Pakistan's policies, actively mobilised the people against Musharraf government, and never hesitated to go behind bars. Compared to the issue-driven campaign of the MMA, the conduct of the non-religious parties appears to most observers as vacuous and spineless.

## 6. The MMA Election Symbol 'the' Book

The MMA was allocated book as an electoral symbol in the election 2002. In the election campaign, leaders and supporters of the religious parties emphasised, in their Friday sermons, orations, and public speeches, that it was

mandatory upon Muslims to cast their votes in favour of 'the' book. 'The' book, they said, meant nothing other than the Holy Qur'an itself. Posters, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets, charts printed for election campaign explicitly symbolised the Holy Quran as a ballot icon.<sup>10</sup> They termed the election as a battle between Islam and *kufr* (infidelity).<sup>11</sup> It is plausible that some of the masses did indeed take the election symbol, 'the Book', as the holy Qur'an itself as majority of the population particularly among Pakhtun are illiterate. There is likelihood of people, on the polling day, who were yet undecided due to the vacuum caused by the absence of the mainstream political game players, stamped their votes on 'the' book, considering it a token of reverence for the holy Qur'an and an act to beautify not only this life but the other world also. That is why the non-the MMA political parties and candidates accused the MMA and its candidates for playing with the people's loyalties to their faith and making political capital out of it (Waseem, 2006:96).

### **Supportive Factors**

There are certain factors which provided a favourable environment for the MMA to attract Pakistani voters in the 2002 election. Some of these factors have its origin in the regional and international events happened in and around Pakistan, while others were result of the policies adopted by the then Musharraf's government ostensibly for its own benefits. All these factors are grouped as supportive factors for the success of the MMA in the 2002 election.

#### **1. Musharraf Earnest Quest for legitimacy**

Since his military takeover in October 1999, Musharraf had promised an end to religious extremism and promotion of a moderate Islam. His decision to join the international coalition against terrorism after September 11, 2001 did bolster his image as a reformist and a secular leader in the international community. However, he also needed to have legitimacy for his rule not only at the international level but also in home. It was thought that Western governments' support to his policies was not enough. The public still considered Musharraf as a military dictator. Only elections in Pakistan could have provided such legitimacy to his rule. He needed a result showing his popularity and strength among the masses in the proposed elections. Parties like Nawaz Sharif's PML-N and Benazir Bhutto's PPP were sensed to be the real threat to his design of legitimising his rule through election. Thus Musharraf opted to follow his military predecessors by forging alliances of convenience with religious entities in order to counter his

arch political adversaries. Musharaf has been reported, in his three-hour long meeting with Qazi Hussain Ahmad, to have expressed his determinations to block the PPP's return to power, and thus wanted all anti-PPP forces to join hands.<sup>12</sup> The threat of Nawaz Sharif's PML was subsided with cutting it down after creating PML-Q headed by Choudry Shujaat Hussain once interior minister in Nawaz Sharif government.

To bring his blue eyed politicians and certain political parties inside the parliament, Musharaf's regime manoeuvred, rather engineered, the October elections. The anti-Musharraf parties' particularly the PML-N and the PPP complained about rigging in the October elections. Some of these complaints have been endorsed by the European Union Observers Mission (EUEOM). The mission noted official interference in favour of the pro-government 'King's Party' i.e. PML (Q) and to some extent the MMA before and on the polling day.<sup>13</sup> In one of the pre polling manipulation of results, the PPP claimed that in the month of September, just before the elections, 140 election officers were moved from their places (Herald, 2002:10). These transfers and postings traditionally benefit those who are in government in Pakistan. Even before the elections, the PPP proclaimed pre-poll riggings and voiced that in the forthcoming elections, religious parties would have been given favour. For example, the government did not provide enough time for the election campaign as there was ban on political activities and it continued for too long. Its repeal was announced on 28 August 2002 and become effective only on 01 September 2002, thus giving very little time for the political parties to address its electorates effectively. On the other hand, the MMA was allowed to hold processions and rallies even in Rawalpindi, where the military headquarters are located, while the Muslim League (Nawaz) and the PPP were denied the same permission of such public gatherings (ICG, 2002:16). Furthermore, for mobilization of mass support the MMA launched a train march from Karachi to Lahore to Peshawar on 28 August 2002 without any restriction of the then government. These religio-political parties already had pulpits in the mosques from where they could openly discuss political issues with their electorates.

## **2. Political Unrest and Alternative Government**

Pakistan was facing severe economic crisis due to economic sanctions after the nuclear test in 1998. The Kargil Crisis (1998-99) and the retreat of Pakistan military from the Tiger Hill further increased the distance between military and political leadership. Nawaz Sharif was made responsible for this humiliating retreat. The country was passing through a period of serious economic crises as

a result of economic sanctions by the international community after the nuclear test in 1998. The political instability, government-opposition tussle and religious fanaticism all had their origins in the short-term political expediency and charge of corruption of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto's elected governments in the past eight years make these governments unpopular (Sheikh, 2002:41-42). The fragile political system of Pakistan aggravated when General Musharraf ousted the elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on 12 October 1999. Pakistan once again slipped away from democratic norms and the response of the international community was seriously condemning and censorious in the beginning.

In early 2002, India, imitating the United States, declared a preemptive strike policy on the 'terrorist groups' in the Azad Jammu and Kashmir, and piled one million troops on Pakistan's eastern boundary.<sup>14</sup> They campaigned to equate the movement of freedom fighters in Kashmir with international terrorism, and suggested the US-led war against terrorism should be fought in Kashmir as well. On the western border of Pakistan, the US military deployment in Afghanistan was felt by the public as to be inching towards insecurity. People watched the removal of the friendly *Taliban* regime with suspicion, and doubted the sincerity of the American friendship towards Pakistan.

People were generally fed up with political parties and their leadership and thus wanted a change in the political-cum-administrative spheres. The MMA, which run better electoral campaign and held huge public meetings in Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, attracted the masses as to be a serious alternative contender of power in Pakistan.<sup>15</sup>

### 3. New Electoral Rules 2002

The Government announced a new eligibility criterion for candidates in the election. Accordingly, one of the pre-requisite was that a candidate must have certain educational qualification to contest election for the assemblies. The Chief Executive's Order (No.7 of 2002) stated that 'a person shall not be qualified to be elected or chosen as a member of *Majlis-i-Shora* (Parliament) or a Provincial Assembly unless he is at least a graduate possessing a bachelor degree in any discipline or any degree recognized as equivalent by the University Grants Commission under the University Grants Commission Act, 1974 (XXIII of 1974)'. Certificates issued by religious seminaries (*madrasas*) called *Shadat al Aalmiya* were equivalent to a university degree by the then University Grants Commission and thus accepted for contesting the October polls by the mullahs

whereas many veteran politicians, including Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan,<sup>16</sup> the leader of the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD), were debarred to take part in the election. Consequently, many politicians were disqualified on one ground or another from taking part in the elections. The provision greatly benefited the religio-political parties as they had enough persons in each constituency to qualify for contesting elections.

#### **4. The Government Media Policy**

Media plays a very crucial role for the neutral or undecided voters to reach a decision about a candidate or political party in the election campaign. As Pakistanis had little access to private media reports, thus they have to rely on the state run media apparatus. The people in rural areas which constituted 70 % of the total population, Radio Pakistan and Pakistan Television are the only accessible means to information. In the election, coverage in the government controlled media was also biased towards mainstream political parties. The PML-Q and the MMA were provided more coverage on the Pakistan Television (PTV), the only state-run channel, than the PPP and the PML-N. According to a survey, in the first phase of the campaign, the MMA received an average of seven minutes and 48 seconds of coverage, while the largest party, the PPP, received only two minutes and 53 seconds in the state-controlled television news bulletin *Khabarnama* (national news bulletin).<sup>17</sup>

#### **The Catalyst: 9/11 & Pakistan's Entry in the US-led War in Afghanistan**

International politics, economics, national interests, and diplomatic relations among many a world state took a sudden and immediate turn when the twin cities of America came under terrorist attack on 11 September 2001. In Pakistan, the response of the religious parties was a little more ambivalent in its combinations of expressions of satisfaction, sorrow, and other emotions over the attacks on America. Shah Ahmad Noorani termed it 'the wrath of heaven brought about by the wails and cries of the oppressed nations.' Qazi Hussain Ahmad denounced it as open terrorism and ruled out Muslim involvement in the event. He even reminded the US the event of the Oklahoma City bombing, for which Muslims were held responsible; they were arrested, but investigations proved later that these allegations were false.<sup>18</sup> Mawlana Fazlur Rahman condemned the attacks, but labelled them 'a lesson' for US policy makers. He advised them to stop their cruelties against innocent people in the Third World countries. Mawlana Azam Tariq stated that the US should realise that when its cruelties are boundless, the reaction would be equally dreadful. Leaders of the

*Mujahidin* fighting in Kashmir avoided giving any comments over the events. Mawlana Samiul Haq ruled out Osama's involvement in the attacks, and expressed his fear that the US would use Pakistan's soil as a base to target Afghanistan. He warned that the people of Pakistan would not tolerate the use of its soil, airspace, or intelligence of Pakistan against the neighbouring country.<sup>19</sup>

Soon after 9/11, the US administration concluded that Osama Bin Ladin and the *Al-Qaida*, operating from Afghanistan, were behind the attacks, and that any successful counter strikes would not be possible without the support of Pakistan. Addressing the American nation, President George W. Bush plainly declared "we will make no distinctions between those who planned these acts and those who harbour [the ones responsible]." Colin Powell, the US Secretary of State, addressing the national security meeting at the White House, asserted 'We have to make it clear to Pakistan and Afghanistan [that] this is show time' (Abbas, 2005:217). Consequently, Pakistan joined the US-led coalition against war on terror in Afghanistan. The immediate entry of Pakistan into the alliance and the subsequent heavy bombardments and air strikes on the people of Afghanistan, aroused public opinion against both the US and the military regime in Pakistan. This played the role of catalyst in the wining of the MMA in the October polls.

Prior to the 9/11 events, Pakistan pursued a *pro-Taliban* policy, recognised *Taliban* government in Afghanistan followed by Unites Arab Emirate and Saudi Arabia. *Taliban* had its roots in the religious madrasas in the NWFP. Two of the important religious parties of Pakistan JUI-S and JUI-F had very close relations with *Taliban* government. These parties in their propaganda machinery successfully glorified some aspects of *Taliban* government such as simple life of government officials, peace and speedy justice in society. These were at the lowest ebb in the pre-Taliban governments in Afghanistan. The citizens of Pakistan were not required to have a passport or visa while travelling to Afghanistan. This provided an opportunity for outsiders to get a look at the socio-economic and political conditions of the Afghans, and above all, the *Taliban* brand of Islamic government. During the last days of the *Taliban* regime, the trade activities between Afghanistan and Pakistan increased to a considerable level which was satisfactory for the Islamabad. Pakistan military establishment was also satisfied with a decreased role of the Indian lobby in Kabul. However the post 9/11 US policy threatened the Taliban government in Afghanistan of dire consequences if it did not fulfil US demand of handing over Usama Bin Laiden the US, the main accuser for 9/11 incident in New York.



Around the same time, Pak-Afghan Defence Council (PADC), carrying 35 religious parties under the chairmanship of Mawlana Sami ul Haq, declared that if the US attack Afghanistan, the religious parties would wage *jihad* against the US; and the whole Islamic Community would be bound to support the religious decree of *jihad*. Musharraf was characterised as traitor of the Muslim Nation and Taliban were termed as 'a symbol of Islam'. Mufti Nizamudin Shamzai, the chief Mufti of a Ja'amiat-ul-Islamia seminary in Karachi and leader of JUI declared as "Musharraf openly supported the US and its allies against Taliban. And under the Islamic law if any Muslim cooperate with infidel against Muslims, he must be ex-communicated from religion" (Zaman, 2002:24). The presence of FBI agents in Pakistan's soil was propagated as being a serious threat to the sovereignty of the country.

MMA exploited the impacts of the on-going war in Afghanistan, and termed it a crusade war against the Muslims. They held public rallies throughout the country, and went to the roads and streets in protest, describing the crises as 'Islam in danger.' According to the PEW survey, 81 per cent of Pakistanis opposed the anti-terrorism move in Afghanistan (PEW, 2002:53-63). In the 9/11 context, Islamabad's U-turn policy disgruntled many stakeholders in Pakistan. With the sudden changes in Pakistan's foreign policy, without a concurrent change in mass opinion or interest, alienated *pro-Taliban* religious hard liners in Pakistan. The anger of these well-organised groups and clerics excited the sentiments of the Pakhtun and turned a broad spectrum of interests into a religio-political matter in public debate. The government used force to prevent anti-US rally and arrested many of the activists.<sup>20</sup>

The MMA's political strategy and public popularity increased even more when the US unseated President Saddam Hussain, on the pretext of WMDs, ensuring public freedom and promoting democracy. After the rise of the religious right in Pakistan in the October elections, Juan Cole of Michigan University criticised the foreign policy of the US aimed at curbing extremism, promoting democracy, beating the drums of war, and supporting dictatorial regimes friendly to the United States. After commenting on the American policies in the Middle East he reverberate that the same policy is counterproductive in Pakistan (Cole, 2002).

However, all the other factors related to the rise of the MMA have had precedents in Pakistan's history, perhaps not all at once. In all previous circumstances, religious parties gained only a marginal role in positions of real power. What was different this time? First, it is fact that all these events took place at once, a coincidence of history. And secondly, it is the events of

September 11 and the subsequent highly aggressive change in American foreign policy especially towards the Muslim world, caused anger among the people. It roused anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism and thus swung the political pendulum to right in Pakistan. The MMA exploited these sentiments against Musharraf regime and its pro-government candidates and political parties in October 2002 Elections and successfully converted it into political victory for the religio-political parties never happened in the history of Pakistan.

## Conclusion

The NWFP, a volatile region lying between the Central Asia and the South Asia, remained a hub for the activities of international actors since the Great Game of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and thus affected the society and the culture of the Pakhtun. The Afghan internal affairs also influenced the trajectory of politics as people of the NWFP are having ethnic affinity with the people of Afghanistan. Till 1970s, the Afghan affairs manipulated Pakhtun nationalist slogans. But the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 liquefied Pakhtun nationalists' euphoria and caused rise of Islamic jihadi culture in the province of course with the overt and covert support of some vested international actors. In the final analysis the American intervention in Afghanistan in 2001 drastically affected the economic, social and political landscape of the province. In such a situation 2002 general elections were held in Pakistan. Pakhtuns, unlike the past, expressed their support to religious political parties. This decision was mainly based on the feelings of hatred against the American policies in the Middle East in general and in Afghanistan in particular. Convergence of interests with the military junta also made it possible for the MMA to encounter the main political parties in a befitting manner. However, unity of religious parties under the banner of the MMA and the capabilities of the religious demagogues to muster the entire situation into an electoral victory played decisive role in the success of the MMA in the NWFP and in the Pakhtun-dominated areas in Baluchistan. For the first time in Pakistan, the international scenario, the military will, and the unity of the religious parties together made the entrance possible of the MMA into the power echelon. On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it may be reminded that the mobilisation of people and the articulation of their interests on religious grounds are still relevant in political studies. It should not be dealt as an obsolete idea and it should be taken as an integral part of the policy making process at least in some parts of the Third World.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The MMA was a conglomerate of Six religio-political; Jamat-i-Islami, Jamiatul Ulama-i-Islam (F), Jamiatul Ulama-i-Islam (S), Jamiatul Ulama-i-Pakistan, Jamiat Ahl-i-Hadith and the only Shia party, Islami Tehrik Pakistan (ITP), formerly known as Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqh-i-Ja'faria Pakistan (TNFJ).
- <sup>2</sup> Makhdum Amin Fahim of the PPPP blamed the government for favouritism to the MMA as he was leader of the largest opposition party in the parliament.
- <sup>3</sup> In the provincial Assembly of Baluchistan the MMA won 15 seats while Muslim League-Q won 19 seats. As no party had a clear majority, hence the MMA-Muslim League coalition government came into existence.
- <sup>4</sup> In this scheme the NWFP was merged in West Pakistan and thus lost its separate entity.
- <sup>5</sup> Interview with Ms Bagam Nasim Wali Khan, leader of Awami National Party, November 12, 2004.
- <sup>6</sup> Though early in 1970s Mawlana Mufti Mehmud, father of Mawlana Fazlur Rahman, headed the provincial government but that was equally shared by NAP (National Awami Party) a non-religious political party.
- <sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that the NWFP chapter of the Jamiat-ul-ulama-i-Hind was the only organisation in pre-partition India which hosted the 8<sup>th</sup> annual conference of JUH in Peshawar in 1927. None of the political organisations including INC and AIML could do that in the entire period of freedom struggle.
- <sup>8</sup> *Dawn*, Karachi, 17 Oct. 2002. "the MMA to Enforce Shariat Laws" online: [www.dawn.com/2002/10/17/nat8.htm](http://www.dawn.com/2002/10/17/nat8.htm)
- <sup>9</sup> *The News*, Islamabad, November 29, 2002.
- <sup>10</sup> Field observation.
- <sup>11</sup> "The MMA Using Religion to Woo Voters." *The News*, Islamabad, October 01, 2002.
- <sup>12</sup> *Dawn*, Karachi, August 16, 2002.
- <sup>13</sup> "John Cashnahan Rejects EU Media Report", *The News* October 01, 2002. See also "Pakistan Rejects EU Poll Criticism" on [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/2322745.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2322745.stm). Accessed March 3, 2007.
- <sup>14</sup> After the bomb explosion in the Indian parliament in December 2001, India put pressure on Pakistan and brought its army close to the border of Pakistan. It withdrew her army back in December 2002.
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Rahimullah Yousafzai, an expert on the region, February 15, 2005.
- <sup>16</sup> Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan scornfully commented that if a member of the parliament was required to be a graduate degree holder then the president of the state must have a PhD. (most of the military officers who were the then rulers of Pakistan were even not graduates).

- <sup>17</sup> Leading up to Election Day, the news bulletin devoted six hours and twenty minutes to the elections. The MMA was given 36 minutes, following the highest, 44 minutes, received by PML-Q; while the PPP hardly got 29 minutes. See Pakistan Liberal Forum. *Media Monitoring Elections October 2002*, Islamabad.
- <sup>18</sup> *The News*, Lahore, September 12, 2001.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid. September 13, 2002.
- <sup>20</sup> On 20<sup>th</sup> September the government used force to prevent people from participating in an anti-US rally, and arrested around 100 students from colleges and universities (*Dawn*, Karachi, September 21, 2001).

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## Postcolonial Loss of Identity and the Food Metaphor: Contemporary Indo-Pak Women Writers

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### Abstract

Most postcolonial texts document a loss of identity, and a struggle to regain a lost self. Of all the devices used to explore this personal domain, the metaphor of food is the most potent and intimate. This paper aims to examine four books written by authors from the Indian Sub-continent that centre on identity issues in the wake of colonisation on various levels. In particular, it traces the food metaphor throughout the texts, looking for parallels in thought and expression. The striking similarity of a culinary vocabulary across these writings is a revelation in the understanding of the postcolonial predicament.

*Keywords:* Postcolonial; Loss of identity; food metaphor; culinary vocabulary; double colonisation; Anita Desai; Kiran Desai; Madhur Jaffrey; Sara Suleri

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### Introduction

In no sphere of human life has there been a more poignant reflection of identity loss than in the contortion of a relationship with food resulting from colonisation across culinary terrains. Gloria Naylor, in *Linden Hills*, uses the metaphor of food to comment on the problematic issue of African-American identity (Toombs, 1993). Bilbija (1996) examines the issue of Latin-American identity through the

use of kitchen metaphor in two Spanish American women writers, Laura Esquivel and Silvia Plager. Reluctant cultivation of a palate for alien foods at the cost of a suppression of the native taste has resulted in painful narratives of loss centred on a gastronomic vocabulary.<sup>1</sup> For example, Jhumpa Lahiri, in her book, *Interpreter of Maladies*, deals with the questions of identity in exile and shows that for the Indian immigrants and expatriates food serves as an important part of their identity (Choubey, n.d.). Food, and the guilt attached to perverse yearnings for what are considered 'inferior' dietary choices, provides another dimension to this postcolonial metaphor. Schoenberg & Trudeau (2006), while examining the works of Toni Morrison and Gloria Naylor, maintain that "food metaphors are often used to characterize people and their status in society." In this paper, we aim to examine four books, *Fasting, Feasting* (FF) by Anita Desai, *The Inheritance of Loss* (IL) by Kiran Desai, *Climbing the Mango Trees* (CMT) by Madhur Jaffrey, and *Meatless Days* (MT) by Sara Suleri that centre on identity issues in the wake of colonisation on various levels. In particular, it traces the food metaphor, a pertinent metaphor for double or gender colonisation,<sup>2</sup> throughout the texts, looking for parallels in thought and expression. The striking similarity of a culinary vocabulary across these writings is a revelation in the understanding of the postcolonial predicament.

### Loss of Identity and the Food Metaphor

The title of Anita Desai's novel *Fasting, Feasting* is the most potent expression of food as a colonial metaphor. In his introduction to the book, Dasgupta says, "The novel, as the title suggests, is about practices of the body. It enters households from their refrigerators, dining tables and kitchens, and it recounts human relationships in the language not only of fasting and feasting but of greed, craving, taboo, denial and disgust."

In such writings, food becomes a pertinent metaphor for double colonisation (also termed gender colonisation) as female characters strive for recognition through the provision of appropriate nutrition to the male characters to validate their female identity.<sup>3</sup> Without such defining roles, they fear becoming nameless shadows. In *Fasting, Feasting*, Uma's mother enacts the female role for her daughter to observe and follow:

'Uma, pass your father the fruit.'

Uma picks up the fruit bowl with both hands and puts it down with a thump before her father. Bananas, oranges, apples — there they are, for him.

Blinking, he ignores them. Folding his hands on the table, he gazes over them with the sphinx-like expression of the blind.

Mama knows what is wrong. She taps Uma on the elbow. 'Orange,' she instructs her. Uma can no longer pretend to be ignorant of Papa's needs, Papa's ways. After all, she has been serving them for some twenty years. She picks out the largest orange in the bowl and hands it to Mama who peels it in strips, then divides it into separate segments. Each segment is then peeled and freed of pips and threads till only the perfect globules of juice are left, and then passed, one by one, to the edge of Papa's plate. One by one, he lifts them with the tips of his fingers and places them in his mouth. Everyone waits while he repeats the gesture, over and over. Mama's lips are pursed with the care she gives her actions, and their importance.

When she has done, and only pith and peel and pips lie on her plate, and nothing at all on Papa's except for the merest smear of juice, she glances over at Uma. Her dark eyes flash with the brightness of her achievement and pride. (FF; 23)

When this ritual ends, we are told 'Mama sits back. The ceremony is over. She has performed it. Everyone is satisfied.' This unquestioned play of servility by a woman, and an almost indifferent acceptance of his social superiority by the male, is centred on a fruit. Its nutritive juicy globules are for the male; its pith, pips and peel, leftover consolations for the female.<sup>4</sup>

This female dance of attendance extends to the son as well. At mealtimes, we are told, Uma's Mama 'watched over him [her son] like a dragon' because 'when Papa returned from the office, he would demand to know how much his son had consumed and an answer had to be given; it had to be precise and it had to be one that pleased.'<sup>5</sup> (FF, 30)

Mira-Masi, the widowed relative who sometimes comes to stay and is so loved by Uma for making the best *ladoo*s, is not particularly welcomed by her mother. Mama is coloured by her husband's preference for western food and complains that Mira-Masi 'won't eat what the cook makes — she is so old-fashioned.' *Ladoo*s, even if they are 'round and big and sweet' as Uma insists, are only considered good enough for inferior native tastes. (FF; 38)

The metaphor of eating is a deeply personal one. It reflects the hunger for an alternative, more fulfilling identity. In *Fasting, Feasting*, Arun becomes the



scapegoat in just such a hide-and-seek game for identities. Papa insists that Arun should eat meat,<sup>6</sup> and Mama is the agency that enforces the rule. It is a cause of great mortification for Papa to find out that Arun is a vegetarian. This is an embarrassing weakness that Papa attaches only to the inferior 'native'.<sup>7</sup>

Papa was confounded. A meat diet had been one of the revolutionary changes brought about in his life, and his brother's, by education. Raised amongst traditional vegetarians, their eyes had been opened to the benefits of meat along with that of cricket and the English Language: the three were linked inextricably in their minds... Now his own son, his one son, displayed this completely baffling desire to return to the ways of his forefathers, meek and puny men who had got nowhere in life. (*FF*; 32-33)

Meat is therefore forced down Arun's throat to make him become English, just like he is forced to play cricket. Later, in America, caught between two identities neither of which he completely owns, Arun is an uneasy vegetarian. Every meal becomes a battle in irony: 'Arun has made the mistake of telling the Pattons that his name means 'red' in Hindi, and Mr Patton has seized upon this as a good joke, particularly in conjunction with his son's name, Rod' (*FF*; p.169). Red, Rod ... Red hates meat, Rod eats only meat. Red is reduced to just a sad distortion of Rod and has lost the Arun along the way. As a result, 'sadly, he resigns himself to the despised foods, wondering once again how he has let himself be drawn into this repetitious farce — the ceremonies of other tribes...' (p.171). Arun later recognizes the dual pressure he has been facing. Colonisation was twice removed in India. It was administered by his father and that is retrospectively easier. The pressure here was more direct and much more sharply felt. When Mrs Patton tries to tempt his palate by trailing him through supermarket aisles, he muses:

How was he to tell Mrs Patton that these were not the foods that figured in his culture? That his digestive system did not know how to turn them into nourishment? For the first time in his existence, he found he craved what he had taken for granted before...that duty to consume what others thought he must consume...No, he had not escaped. He had travelled and he had stumbled into what was like a plastic representation of what he had known at home; not the real thing — which was plain, unbeautiful, misshapen, fraught and compromised — but the unreal thing — clean, bright, gleaming, without taste, savour or nourishment.' (*FF*; 188-189)<sup>8</sup>

Still, Arun cannot overcome his long-bred inferiority and thinks that ‘there is no way that a small, underdeveloped and asthmatic boy from the Gangetic plains, nourished on curried vegetables and stewed lentils, could compete with, or even keep up with this [Rod’s] gladiatorial species of northern power.’ (*FF*; 195) It is a strange irony that Arun starves himself at home with disgust for the foods that were fed him forcefully, and Melanie stuffs herself with sweets and plenty to purge herself clean by being sick. Eating disorders and food aversions become strong metaphors for lost identities.<sup>9</sup>

Suleri’s *Meatless Days* is another title speaking of loss, with a beautifully complex vocabulary of food, or the lack of. Born to a Welsh mother and a Pakistani father, Suleri probes her Pakistani-Welsh identity with intense scrutiny through her relationship with food. She then turns to her life outside Pakistan and examines her Janus-like identity.

Unlike *Fasting, Feasting*, Suleri’s *Meatless Days* takes a step further, and compares physical nourishment and emotional fulfilment through the food metaphor.<sup>10</sup> In this way she tries to resolve the issues of emptiness and loss in her life. Her love, and an ultimate sense of betrayal about Pakistani food, is an echo of her identity crisis. The ‘kidney’ tale and ‘*kapura* parable’ are both wonderful examples of mistaken identity. The connection between *kapura* and testicles, and kidneys and urine speak of loss of faith. Suleri recounts having been given a plate of kidneys to eat when she was a child.

Wicked Ifat came into the room and waited till I had started eating; then she intervened. “Sara,” said Ifat, her eyes brimming over with wonderful malice, “Do you know what kidneys do?” I aged, and my meal regressed, back to its vital belonging in the world of function. “Kidneys make pee, Sara,” Ifat told me, “That’s what they do, make pee.”... Betrayed by food, I let her go... (*MD*; 26)

This causes an uneasy relationship with Pakistani food and breeds a sense of insecurity and suspicion. Suleri’s mother would make sure that water, milk and every liquid was ‘boiled ten times over’ for Irfani, her brother. Local shops would be scoured for imported baby foods. All this resulted in Irfani’s ‘violent rebellion against the idea of food’ very much Like Arun in *Fasting, Feasting*.

... [A]ll of us were equally watchful for hidden trickeries in the scheme of nourishment, for the way in which things would always be missing or out of place in Pakistan's erratic emotional market. Items of security — such as flour or butter or cigarettes or tea — were always vanishing, or returning in such dubiously shiny attire that we could barely stand to look at them. We lived in expectation of threatening surprise...the milkman had accidentally diluted our supply of milk with paraffin instead of water; and those were not pistachios, at all, in a tub of Hico's green ice cream...I can understand it, *the fear that food will not stay discrete*, but will instead defy our categories of expectation in what can only be described as a manner of extreme belligerence...We in Pakistan were *bedmates with betrayal*...There were both *lean and meaty times*... (Italics mine. (MD; 28-29)

The surprise element of known foods 'turning against' you, speaks of familiar identities turning their backs on you just as one gets comfortable with them. Suleri herself says, 'Am I wrong...to say that my parable has to do with nothing less than the imaginative extravagance of food and all the transmogrifications of which it is capable?' (p.34)

In Kiran Desai's *The Inheritance of Loss*, the food metaphor is more direct. It is a legacy of a colonial past and food aversion represents shame and loss.<sup>11</sup> One of the main characters, the Judge, is shown to be ashamed of his colour, his native food, his wife — everything to do with his land of birth. On his way to England to seek higher education, he is disgusted with the food his mother has packed for him to eat during his journey.

Jemu picked up the package, fled to the deck, and threw it overboard. Didn't his mother think of the inappropriateness of her gesture? Undignified love, Indian love, stinking unaesthetic love...The smell of dying bananas retreated, oh, but now that just left the stink of fear and loneliness perfectly exposed. (IL; 38)

The Judge forces his wife to eat western food and scolds her when she cannot pronounce the correct words for the unfamiliar foods. Dual colonialism is at work here, since the wife is colonized both by her husband, as well as a literal colonial past which is constantly reinforced by the Judge.

"What is this?" he asked holding up the bread roll.

Silence.

"If you can't say the word, you can't eat it."

More silence.

He removed it from her plate.

Later that evening, he snatched the Ovaltine from her tentative sipping:

"And if you don't like it, don't drink it." (IL; 171)

Much later in his life, as an old man back in India, the Judge still eats western food. His cook is instructed to make only '*Angrezi khana*'. The cook thinks that 'cooking English food, he had a higher position than if he were cooking Indian' (p. 17). His son, Biju, has been sent to America to carve a better future. It is a matter of great pride for the cook that his son was 'growing fat there' which was common knowledge: "Are you growing fat, *beta*, like everyone in America?" he writes to his son. His son answers that he is growing fat, 'ten times myself' (p. 233). That is the image of well-fed superiority which is sought by the cook.

Sai, the Judge's granddaughter has also been brought up with the same hatred for local foods. Not only that, she hates eating with hands. Gyan, a boy that Sai likes, is a nationalist who tries to make Sai understand her loss: "Don't you have any pride? Trying to be so Westernized" (p. 174). The incongruity of eating Indian food with a knife and fork reflects the comic pathos of the postcolonial predicament.

She who could not eat with her hands; could not squat down on the ground on her haunches to wait for the bus...who had never chewed a *paan* and had not tried most sweets in the *mithaishop*, for they made her retch...she who thought it vulgar to put oil in your hair and used paper to clean her bottom; felt happier with so-called English vegetables, snap peas, French beans, spring onions, and feared — *feared* — *loki*, *tinda*, *kathal*, *kaddu*, *patrel* and the local *saag* in the market...she [was] revolted by his [Gyan's] energy and his fingers working the dal, his slurps and smacks. The Judge ate even his chapattis, his puris and *parathas*, with knife and fork. Insisted that Sai, in his presence, do the same. (IL; 176)

In *Climbing the Mango Trees*, a memoir by Madhur Jaffery who is a well-known actress and food writer, the author understandably projects her identity through her relationship with food. Hers is a gastronomic narrative and Jaffery's taste memories give us a good perspective on the effect of a colonial past on middle-class kitchens. Writing about her childhood, she says:

Breakfast was, except on special weekends, Western, with jams in proper silver-lidded cut-glass jam jars, toast in silver toast-racks, Kraft cheese straight out of a tin — tins were considered modern and exotic — Marmite housed in its traditional dark brown bottle, and, every now and then, ham or sausages bought from Valerio's, a speciality bakery and meat shop owned by a Goan couple, Mr. and Mrs. Noronha. (CMT; 43)

Madhur Jaffery's parents, like many affluent middle class Indian families, sent their daughters to a Christian Convent school, where everything 'English' was promoted to a higher status. That is why children craved foods they had never even had.

At school we recited "Half a pound of tuppenny rice, half a pound of treacle" and "four and twenty blackbirds, baked in a pie" as if to the manor born, even though we had never eaten a pie in our lives and had no real sense of what treacle was. (CMT; 50)

It was also at school that kitchen-colonialism came into effect. One of the subjects at Jaffery's school was domestic science. This included a cookery class. She writes: "The textbooks had not changed suddenly after independence. We were still being asked to prepare British invalid foods from circa 1930 and not much else. Blancmange still loomed large." (CMT; 203-4)

All of these dual influences that shaped the culinary and everyday social life of Madhur Jaffery made her see herself as a hybrid. She saw two kinds of Indians, and recognised herself as belonging to the former division and not the latter. She, nonetheless, questioned who were the real Indians?

What had been becoming clearer to me as I was getting older was that there were two distinct types of Indians. There was my kind of Indian — a privileged product of British colonial India, who spoke English fluently but also spoke Hindi. We ate at a table with napkins, knives and forks, but would eat with our hands when we wished... We could talk about Tudor England just as easily as about Moghul India. One part of us was completely Indian, but there was this sophisticated Western overlay, a familiarity and ease with the West, that set us apart... Most of India consisted of this second kind of Indian, whose mastery of English was nil or limited; who, like my mother and her relatives in the Old City... lived much more traditional, unbifurcated lives. *Were they real Indians and we just hybrids created by a particular time and*

*place, and would we now, after Independence, just be plowed under or left with no standing in our new society?* (Emphasis mine). (CMT; 202)

It is interesting that Jaffery carves this division not only through language differences, but differences in mannerisms around the table. However, it is clear that doubts about identity rose around these issues. Even after independence, it seems that it was difficult to reassess where one's real self resided. Postcolonial uncertainties about identity seem just as confusing as the fork and knife custom vis-à-vis finger-eating divide.

The post-independence scenario witnessed a quest for reclaiming native identity, and as a result western food was rejected by many. Jaffery writes of her uncle who worked in England for the BBC. He returned to India after independence having put all his savings into buying a doughnut machine that he was convinced would make him rich. But 'post-independence India, however sweet-toothed, did not take kindly to doughnuts, and his venture proved quite ruinous' (p. 69).

## Conclusion

This culinary arena where battles for identities have been won and lost is a post-colonial metaphor with a unique flavour. It spans the most intimate grounds of nourishment, growth, and pleasure. Identity is closely connected with how we feed ourselves and what is allowed access into our bodies. It is not surprising that food vocabulary has played a central role in the writings of authors with a colonial past. In following the tracks of kitchens, tables and market habits, one can easily trace the most personal metaphors of loss and ultimate regain of a Self.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Mannur (2009) shows that native food may not only make one to affirm but also resist one's notion of identity.

<sup>2</sup> A catchphrase in feminist and postcolonial criticism in the 1980s, double colonisation refers to the fact that third-world women are twice oppressed, first by their men as patriarchal colonisers and then by white (see Peterson & Rutherford, 1986).

<sup>3</sup> Sceats (2000), while drawing a connection between mothers, food and love, contends that "Food is a currency of love and desire, a medium of expression and communication.

<sup>4</sup> A similar event is narrated by Kate Grenville in *Lilian's Story*. Lilian's father demands meat at every meal and takes more than anybody else. Standing at the head of the table, he rips the meat off the bone with his teeth or slashes at it with his sharp knife.

<sup>5</sup> "Margaret Atwood uses food and eating in *The Edible Woman* (1969) to symbolise the differential power relation that exists between men and women (Piper, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> Adams (1990) considers meat to be the king of all foods; a symbol of the patriarchy. In Margaret Atwood's, *The Edible Woman* (1980), Marion's rejection of meat may be interpreted as the rejection of patriarchy by Marion.

<sup>7</sup> "Food and culinary items define social hierarchies, and serve as a driving force behind people actions. Food delineates privilege, economic class, and social position" Choubey, n.d.).

<sup>8</sup> "Not only food but the eating habits also become dear as it induces a sense of belonging. Eating with hands gives pleasure as no spoon or fork does" (Choubey, n.d.).

<sup>9</sup> "Food and its related concerns with feminine identity and domesticity have been given a central place in many works of women's literature. For example, authors such as Margaret Atwood have used food and eating disorders to address issues of gender, language, and sexual politics, as well as social dislocation" (Schoenberg & Trudeau, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Ernest Hemingway often had his expatriate characters eat native foods, allowing them emotional access to the world they were living.

<sup>11</sup> A similar situation is depicted in *Silent Dancing* by Ortiz-Cofer in which she characterises her father as someone eager to assimilate to American culture whereas her mother is a loyal Puerto Rican, firmly rooted in her native culture.

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## Images of Horror in the Plays of Tennessee Williams

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### Abstract

The world portrayed by Tennessee Williams is replete with hectic hysteria, repression, deception, sickness, sterility, insanity, castration, cannibalism and lynching. The forces of sterility dominate and castrate the forces of vitality and life. Ethnic intolerance can also be observed in some of his plays. The brutes hold their sway by bullying and beguiling methods, and they do not let love, affection and personal freedom take their roots. Here, life becomes a struggle for survival and longing for domesticity leads to despondency. The recurrent themes of mental instability, insanity, asylum and suicide are a direct comment on the horrors and anarchy of the age, maimed and mutilated by selfishness and brutality. Williams' plays deal with the spiritual anarchy resulting from the social anarchy. He portrays a dark and barren world where every effort to beautify and humanize it turns into a nightmare. He portrays an irredeemable world with its dying and disintegrating civilization. His threatened figures find themselves in a brutal society. They try their best to sustain themselves with the power of their will and imagination but fail in their efforts.

Keywords: Tennessee Williams; plays; horror; American Literature

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## Introduction

Man is pitted against the terrifying realities of life in the dramatic world of Tennessee Williams. This sense of reality shapes and colours the images of his plays. It is a world replete with an atmosphere of hectic hysteria, sickness, a sense which comes from his personal experiences of life, but the desire for the freshness and coolness is also present and the sense of sanity and wholeness is not altogether missing. In spite of all the adversities Amanda and Laura, in *The Glass Menagerie* (1945), try to stand on their feet but are made a horrible example before the realities of life. Their close relatives leave them on the mercy of circumstances. But these relatives end up as lonely as both the women are. Jim brings some hope with him but breaks all their dreams as indifferently as he breaks the unicorn. The irony of the situation becomes all the more mocking when one observes Jim's dreams of progress end in regression. The homeless, jobless and companionless Blanche, in *The Streetcar Named Desire* (1947), dreams of starting her life anew with Mitch but Stanley thwarts all her plans. He makes her such a horrible example that she ends up in an asylum. The horrible act of raping the sister-in-law, however, dislodges the sanity and bliss of Stanley's marital life. So he is deprived of the warmth and love of his wife.

## Analysis & Discussion

The destruction of the aesthetes and the dreamers at the hands of the ferocious forces is not restricted to *A Streetcar Named Desire* only. The brutes hold sway in almost every play of Williams. It is all because of the fact that Williams was writing in an age when the soul and psyche of the individual was badly injured by the brute forces. In an interview, Williams once remarked: "We are living in some terrible times...we live in some frightening times" (Devlin 1986: 152). The world was physically, mentally and emotionally crippled after the violent catastrophe of World War II. America had lost its innocence by killing the innocent people by dropping atomic bombs, giving way to the moral collapse of its own people. Williams himself was well aware of such a collapse. Commenting upon the awful effects of atom bomb, Williams once pointed out: "Civilization, at least as a long-term prospect, ceased to exist with the first nuclear blast at Hiroshima and Nagasaki" (1978:170). These colossal events of horror disturbed him so deeply that their effects can be observed in his various plays in various ways. Williams has portrayed a brutish post-atomic world in his *Camino Real* (1953). Albert J. Devlin calls *Camino Real* as "World War II graffiti" (1997:99). The world presented in this play is so horrible that love, affection and personal freedom are the prohibited commodities. In the foreword of this play, Williams comments

that: "I have represented my conception of the time and world that I live in" (1978: 63). Many Romantics, including Kilroy – "who represents the archetypal, innocent, trusting, good-natured American soldier in World War II" (Balakian 1997:76) – are trapped on the repressive Camino Real. Their helplessness is evident from the fact that they have no way out of escape. The horror is maintained by autocratic Gutman whom Jan Balakian calls as "Hitler" (1997:90). The inhabitants of the Camino Real are caught in such a cynical and bleak situation that it becomes almost impossible for them to come out of the pit. The lives of these marginalized and emotionally disturbed people, consisting of outcasts, rebels, homosexuals, prostitutes, panderers, thieves, starving peasants, dreamers, writers have become a hell because they are living in a police state under the "fear of nuclear war" (Balakian 1997:89). The misery of these skinny shabby inanities is evident from the appallingly idiotic movements of some of them. Horror is writ large on their faces. There is no escape from the horrible dominion of Gutman who mutilates their bodies as indifferently as their self-respect. Those who try to assert their individuality are made a horrible example for others. They are first mocked, then humiliated and finally dispatched to deadly arms of the Street Cleaners. Here the free soul of Kilroy is pitted against the tyrannical Gutman and his Street Cleaners who maintain their ruthless authority by spreading a reign of terror. Their aversion for humanity and despotic rule can be associated with the imperialistic forces of the world. Whosoever tries to defy them, faces a humiliating death. Kilroy may venture to challenge them but he ends up as a worthless clown. He becomes a prime target of vengeance for showing some spark of valour, honour and sympathy. But his audacity proves counterproductive when Gutman humiliates him and forces him to play the role of a clown. Kilroy asserts his individuality and throws the clown's dress into Gutman's face and leaps into the aisle of the theatre, exclaiming, "Kilroy is a free man with equal rights in this world" (*Camino*, 51). His rebellion against the oppression brings a ray of hope for all those enslaved by Gutman and his protégés. That is why Esmeralda fails to suppress her over excited ness and gives him a hearty cheer at his act of defiance. But his romanticized attitude towards personal freedom is negated when he is captured, beaten up and then handed over to the killing hands of the Street Cleaners. Kilroy's humiliation and death represents "the fate of the romantic in the repressive world of fifties" (Murphy 1992:74), while his resurrection and escape from the bruit forces represents imagination as a source of salvation.

Williams exposes the horrible social and moral perversity of the society in *A Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955). The play brims with the inner as well as the outer

sickness. The mendacity of the Pollitts reflects the social scenario of the age. The Pollitts may seem to be the victim of a world of contemptible motives but at the same time they are the part of it as well. They may dislike mendacity and deception but resort to it for the sake of their survival. By portraying sickness in this play Williams, in fact, tries to penetrate into the incurably diseased moral fabric of his society as Bigsby observes:

Big Daddy's cancer stands as an image of that of his society. It has destroyed his kidneys and he has developed uremia, which is a poisoning of the whole body system due to the failure of the body to eliminate its poison.... Clearly this is essentially the disease from which the whole culture suffers. Its lies, its injustices, its evasions, its cruelties, have infected the body politic (1984:87).

The members of the family, who are either physically or morally sick, constantly devise various ways of grabbing power, property and authority ignoring the looming shadows of death and disease. They rely on lies to face the facts of their lives. *Cat* is, in fact, Williams' reaction to the post-war culture of deceit and deception. Devlin's arguments in this regard are worth quoting: "Lawrence wrote especially in his later years in bitter protest of the mendacity of postwar culture, as did Williams in the aftermath of the next Great War" (1986: 107). The very existence of childless Maggie is threatened by the plotting of her brother-in-law and his wife. She tries to sustain herself with the claim of pregnancy but this affirmation is precarious and is based on a lie. The rivalry between Brick and his brother for Big Daddy's estate shows the economic fight for authority of the modern age. Both the brothers try to adopt or help adopt deceptive methods for their material gains. The possessive and authoritative Big Daddy with his "twenty eight thousand acres of the richest land this side of the valley Nile" (*Cat*, II, 60) symbolizes hunger for power and materialism of the age. He represents American mind ready to get an inexhaustible power and possess all that is valuable in the world. This domestic tragedy, in fact, reveals man as an animal struggling for survival in a world where survival is meant for the fittest.

The social decadence of the age is also reflected in *Sweet Bird of Youth* (1959). On the one hand it betrays social corruption and on the other it portrays the individual will to survive in the corrupt and fiercely competing capitalist society. Here mendacity is in league with violence. Castration and sterility are the dominating images of the play. Chance faces a literal castration and Heavenly is left sterile after she is operated upon. So, both of them are left with no hope of regenerating life. Chance may accuse Boss Finley of hating love but his thoughtless

love making brings horrible consequences for himself and Heavenly. Heckler becomes cruel when he tries to punish the daughter for the faults of her father. He publicly exposes and taunts Heavenly of her sterility to draw attention to the evils of her father. When he tries to become a threat to the authority and power of Boss Finley, he is left speechless by Finley's fellows. His denial of voice symbolizes a kind of castration as he fails to attack the opponent with the power of tongue. Heckler's beating and choking may represent the intolerance of the powerful of the age but he is not altogether innocent. He breaks all the norms of morality and becomes blind in his desire for vengeance. He becomes merciless and madly hurts Heavenly just to teach a lesson to her father. This is what makes Bigsby claim that the play is a "response to a cultural neurosis, a sense of lost values and high hopes, which [Williams] witnessed in America in the 1950s" (1984: 104).

Boss Finley's lust for power, his racism, his cunningness and his anti-human behaviour tells the story of a horrible age. He wins power and authority by using deceptive methods. He skilfully hides his hypocrisy, greed, racial hatred and exploitation from the public under the garb of nobility and demagoguery. His lust for power is so great that any resistance is crushed ruthlessly. In his blind pursuit of power, he tries to play god, a god full of hatred for humanity. "Finley presents himself as a new god of his society — violent, vengeful, anti-human, and apocalyptic. This is the god envisaged by Sebastian Venable in *Suddenly Last Summer*, a god whose consuming hatred for his creation leaves no space for life" (Bigsby 1984: 105). He lacks sexual drive, as his mistress asserts, but he hurts her severely to show his power and manliness. The impotence of Boss, the sterility of Heavenly, the castration of Chance, the choking of Heckler and addiction of the Princess are the indicators of a culture "dissipated through fear and misuse" (Adler 1977: 46).

The same barbarity and racial hatred can be observed in *Orpheus Descending*. The whole play resounds with barbaric acts like castration and blowtorching. The forces of sterility dominate and castrate the forces of regeneration and productivity. Here Jabe Torrance, the impotent owner of the confectionary shop, is presented as life-denier and life destroyer. "He is death's self and malignant" (*Five Plays*, 372). His racial intolerance knows no bounds. He becomes violent even with those who show some act of mercy for the black people. He, along with his men, burns alive the father of Lady Torrance for the same reason. "The grapevines, fruit trees and little white wooden arbors on the shore of the lake" (*Five Plays*, 296) maintained by Lady's father represent the force of regeneration; and the young couples sitting and enjoying under the

blossoming trees of the orchard in the spring and the summer symbolize love, life and hopefulness. But soon death and destruction outdo and wipe out every semblance of hope springing from the orchard when "The Mystic Crew" (*Five Plays*, 297) flares up at Lady's father for selling wine to the black people. Lady's attachment with the orchard reflects her desire for life and regeneration. This attachment is so deep that she sets up the wine-garden in miniature in her confectionary shop. She wants to make the shop look like an orchard in the spring and redecorates it with "artificial branches of fruit trees in flower on the walls and ceiling" (*Five Plays*, 328). Jabe once again becomes the mercenary of a violent world. He kills Lady and blames Val for the crime. His Klan-group once again plays the game of death and destruction. Val is burnt alive with a blowtorch and his screams remind us of the killing of Lady's father by fire. The shouting men at the end of the play look like the hunters of humanity holding blowtorches in their hands as their weapons and searching for a hunt and Vale Xavier with his wild cries represents the hunted humanity struggling to escape from the clutches of cruelty. So the fire and fury of Jabe reflect him to be the destroyer of vitality and life in the war-torn age.

Williams always believed in the mutual understanding and respect in the multi-ethnic America. His comments in this regard are the proof of his belief: "I think that ultimately when the two races, the white and the black, when their blood is mingled, through the passage of time as has already been accomplished to some extent, I think it would produce the handsomest race on earth, and perhaps the strongest" (Rasky 1986: 70). This fondness for the blacks is perhaps, as the last page of *Memoirs* suggests, because of his devotion to his beautiful black nurse Ozzie when he was a child in Mississippi. This is the reason one can observe an atmosphere of mutual coexistence in *A Streetcar Named Desire*. There "is a relatively warm and easy intermingling of races" (*Streetcar*, i, 115) in the apartments of Elysian Fields. However, Williams could not remain oblivious to the negative effects of the racial violence in his days and its repercussions can be observed in his plays. Seen from a socialist point of view, racial hatred in Williams' days represents a social phenomenon which has its roots in economic oppression and imperialism. It serves the specific sexual, political and economic interests of dominant social groups. Racial prejudice usually serves the individuals, but it takes its form from the inherited structure of the social world. Racism is inherent in the way society is organized and it is one of the threatening aspects of such a society. Williams could observe the exploitation of the dominant class as the blacks were treated so badly in the South. They were segregated, humiliated and kicked about very often. Slavery was officially

abolished in America by Abraham Lincoln in the 1860s. The black Americans, however, were not truly free till the 1960s. As a result:

A very unpleasant secret society grew up in the South—Ku Klux Klan. Only whites could join [it].... Their main aim was to make people think that blacks were evil, and to make Negroes so frightened that they would not dare to challenge what the white state governments were doing. Many blacks were beaten up or even killed by members of the Klan (Richardson 1983: 15-16).

Williams portrays this intolerance in his *Sweet Bird of Youth* and *Orpheus Descending*. Both Boss Finley and Jabe Torrance represent the racial disharmony and intolerance of Williams' days. Jabe is presented as the head of the Klan group who kills the blacks with impunity. Boss's men castrate a black man, whose only fault is to be found on the streets of the state capital at night. They act brutally as a warning against those who try to break the boundaries of apartheid. This is what Jabe's men do with the father of Lady Torrance. Thus, "violence and hatred, popular pastimes in American way of life," (Richardson 1983: 49) are presented through the characters of Boss and Jabe.

Williams exposes the exploitive nature of a rapacious world in *Suddenly Last Summer*. The play arouses "an epic vision of savagery of the spiritually starving Western civilization" (Thompson 2002: 111). Here, the predatory birds in "the Encantadas Islands" (*Five Plays*, 242) pouncing upon the defenceless and newly hatched sea turtles suggests the exploitation and annihilation of the weaker by the powerful. The cannibalism of Sebastian and the disembowelling of the innocent young turtles suggest the fall of humanity from its grace to animalism. Here both the victims are presented too weak to offer any resistance, symbolizing the passivity of the helpless before the volatile power of violence. Commenting upon the bestiality of man, Williams argues:

Man devours man in a metaphorical sense. He feeds upon his fellow creatures, without the excuse of animals. Animals actually do it for survival, out of hunger. Man, however, is doing it out of, I think, a religious capacity. I use that metaphor to express my repulsion with this characteristic of man, the way people use each other without conscience (Devlin 1986: 274).

The play also exposes how the powerful exploit the powerless. Sebastian tries to buy the boys to satisfy his sexual desires while his mother tries to bribe the doctor for the lobotomy of Catherine, just to wipe out her memories blemishing the repute of Sebastian. Both of them adopt selfish and greedy methods to realize their



wishes, representing the moral decay of their society. Sebastian is torn to pieces and then eaten up by a group of village boys whom he tries to utilize for his own sexual purpose. Violet Venable insists on cutting out of Catherine's brain the vicious memories of her dead son because Catherine is the witness of the whole incident. She has no qualms of conscience and is ready to pay any price to tear away the memories of cannibalistic death of her son from the mind of her poor relative, Catherine. Violet Venable adopts both bullying and beguiling methods to achieve her aims. She attempts to protect her late son's reputation by hushing his murder. She is bent upon deifying her sullied son. She is just like the hawkish birds swooping on the weak new-born sea turtles, tearing them into pieces. The animal imagery and their struggle for survival in *Suddenly Last Summer*, and the beating, lynching and the torturing of the "runaway convicts torn to pieces by hounds" (*Five Plays*, 338) in *Orpheus Descending*, reflect the primitive animalism in man. The darkness of human heart is evident from the reactions of a group of German fascist tourists in *The Night of the Iguana*. They celebrate when they come to know that England is burning in the flames of war: "These Nazis epitomize the cruelty and violence of the Western world" (Embry 1977:333).

When Williams was writing, the world was at a crossroad. On one hand there was the destruction caused by the nuclear war which was threatening civilization. On the other, there was an intellectual pursuit to find some dignified ways for survival. It was an age when the destruction resulting from the war and the desire to survive ran side by side. M. Berman aptly remarks in this regard: "To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves in the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we are" (1982: 15). The atomic war had badly shaken the whole world. However, there were people, at the same time, who believed that life has to continue no matter what volcanoes erupt. In the decade after the World War II, American society was anxious to return to a traditional social order and normalcy. R.A.C. Parker comments: "The horrors of war, with its separation and instabilities brought longings for domesticity, marriage, and parenthood" (1989: 285). This longing can also be observed in the plays of Williams. But this longing remains unrealized, heightens the gravity of the situation and leads to further despondency. The appearance of Jim, in *Menagerie*, may be hopeful for the marriage of Laura but his departure plunges her into infinite hopelessness. Stella's home may look a safe haven for the homeless Blanche, and Mitch's expression of love may promise her some domesticity. But the safe haven turns out to be a trap for her where she has to undergo unbearable physical and

mental trauma. Stella's child may symbolize hope but an unbridgeable gulf has been created between his parents soon after his birth. Similarly, Maggie may wish for pregnancy but has to rely on an unwilling husband. The child in the womb of Lady Torrance may promise bright future, but he is crushed in the womb without bringing new life into existence. Val Xavier may have brought new life into a sterile and insipid community but the same community burns him alive.

If there are wars and violence, there will be neurotics and if there are neurotics there should be asylums. Williams' plays are replete with violence, neurotics and asylums because the impact of aggressive and hostile situations on his hyper sensitive protagonists is usually destructive. The recurrent themes of mental instability, insanity, asylum and suicide in his plays are a direct comment on the horrors and anarchy of his age, maimed and mutilated by selfishness and brutality. The world found itself in a chaotic situation because of brutal violence and mass murder committed during the wars. In Williams' plays, "insanity and violence stand as appropriate images of moral anarchy" (Biggsby 1984: 104). The disastrous events of his age led millions of people to mental illness. Reuben Fine's research on the effects of the horrible events on the individual psychology reveals that: "In American army a large percentage of the draftees were rejected for mental reasons, and a considerable percentage of those discharged from the service as unable to meet the needs of war were neuropsychiatric cases" (1981: 229). We find many of the emotionally impaired individuals in the plays of Williams. Laura, in *Menagerie*, is verging on the brink of insanity and Amanda's life has been paranoia. Blanche, in *Streetcar*, is demented and led to asylum. Zelda, in *Clothes for a Summer Hotel*, is mentally imbalanced and is confined to an asylum. Clare's father, in *Outcry*, kills her mother because the latter wants to send him to an asylum. Clare herself is declared insane and is deserted by her companions. Catherine, in *Suddenly Last Summer*, is faced with the horrible act of lobotomy after spending some time in an asylum. By portraying such figures, Williams in fact estimates the degree of turmoil in American life resulting from the horrible events. The suicides and insanity in his plays show the social discords of his age because "suicide rates, like mental illness, are higher in periods of social distress than in periods of social cohesiveness" (Fine 1981: 234).

## Conclusion

Williams' plays delve deep into what we may call, in Jungian diction, "the collective unconsciousness" (Evans 1976: 33) of America, revealing not only the

racial memory but also the most distant places of its life. Williams once acknowledged:

The nervous system of any age or nation is its creative workers, its artists. And if that nervous system is profoundly disturbed by its environment, the work it produces will inescapably reflect the disturbance, sometimes obliquely and sometimes with violent directness, depending upon the nature and control of the artist (1978: 119-20).

His plays reflect the racial, social, cultural and political disturbance of American life. They may be regarded as the essence of the spirit of the time. They deal with the spiritual anarchy resulting from the social anarchy. He portrays a dark and barren world where every effort to beautify and humanize it turns into a nightmare. He portrays an irredeemable world with its dying and disintegrating civilization. Death, disease and threatening fire are the ruling symbols of his plays. His threatened figures find themselves in a brutal society. They try their best to sustain themselves with the power of their will and imagination but fail in their efforts. Williams' plays dissect the ugliness of a nightmarish world. Once he remarked in an interview that: "The shocking quality of his work reflects the shocking state of the world today" (Devlin 1986: 46). Various bizarre and brutal elements, like castration, cannibalism and exploitation are the main features of this awful world. Desertion and depression, envy and aggression, lobotomy and rape are accompanied with asylum and insanity. These things reflect Williams' belief that "we're threatened with world extinction through violence" (Devlin 1986: 77). Moreover, the good souls in his plays are badly entrapped in the clutches of bad souls and die out slowly but surely. The trouble is that the good souls are themselves incapable of self-protection and proliferation of their breed and become increasingly disheartened with life. Gradually they become a rarity in a society that grows callous to them. On the other hand the bad souls are united together by their common desire to destroy all that is beautiful and sensible. Blinded by their ruthless desire to dominate, they do not hesitate in using people as human barter. They progress and proliferate in the dehumanizing atmosphere. The weak and the vulnerable in his plays always yearn for some straw to clutch at but they are menaced and mutilated by the powerful storms surrounding them. Some of his protagonists get some moments of fulfilment but soon they find themselves in the deep quagmires.

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## **Pakistan's Stance on War on Terror and its Treatment in the National Press**

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### **Abstract**

After the 9/11 incident, the U.S declared war against terrorism under the umbrella of the U.N Security Council resolution. Almost the entire Western World and some Asian states militarily joined the war. Pakistan also joined the war, extending considerable military and non-military support to the U.S. At the beginning, there was a series of protests against the government decision but it could not change the direction of the government policy in this regard. The situation in the Pakistani print media was not so different. Both hard and soft news stories appeared in the press severely opposed the government stance. But when the Pakistani cities became the victim of acts of terrorism, a sharp shift in the press policy towards the government stance was observed. This study has examined the Pakistani press approach towards the government stance on war on terror. The positive, neutral and negatives frames were applied to analyse the content published in the two dailies — the Nation and the Business Recorder from 01 March 2008 to 28 February 2009. The content published in the two newspapers was categorized as hard news and soft news; the government and private source. Moreover, the study compared the coverage of the two selected dailies that which one is more supportive to the government stance. It was found that the press is overall supportive to the government stance and comparatively the Business Recorder has published more material in favour of the stance taken by Pakistan's the government.

*Keywords:* framing, war on terror, Pakistan's stance, support, oppose

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## Introduction

### The Rise and Fall of the Taliban

After the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Afghanistan in 1988 and the fall of the Najibullah regime in 1992, the Afghan political parties agreed on a peace and power-sharing formula. This Peshawar Accord created the Islamic State of Afghanistan (Human Rights Watch, 2005). But the accord could not work and a bloody civil war among Afghan resistance groups began (Neamatollah, 2002). Foreign involvement in Afghanistan's affairs and supporting different warring factions in the region provided more fuel to the civil war in the country. Saikal (2004) notes that Saudi Arabia and Iran supported Afghan militias hostile towards each other. He maintains that without, *"ISI's logistic support and supply of a large number of rockets, Hekmatyar's forces would not have been able to target and destroy half of Kabul."* Iran was assisting the Hezb-i Wahdat forces to maximize its influence in Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia supported the Wahhabite Abdul Rasul Sayyaf faction and Pakistan's support for Hikmatyar was not a hidden agenda (Gutman, 2008; and Human Rights Watch, 2005). Conflict among different militias groups soon escalated into a full-scale war and the capital city of Kabul saw extremely violent fighting during that period (Neamatollah, 2002).

Southern Afghanistan was neither under the control of foreign-backed militias nor the government in Kabul, but was ruled by local leaders. The Taliban, a movement of religious students from the Pashtun areas of eastern and southern Afghanistan, emerged in 1994 as a reaction to the failure of the other Afghan warring factions to establish a government and ensure stability in the country. When the Taliban took control of the city of Qandahar in 1994, they surrendered dozens of local Pashtun leaders who were responsible for the situation of lawlessness. That is one of the possible explanations that Taliban acquired a heavy support of the local people and swept into power. Their early victories in 1994 were followed by a series of defeats that resulted in heavy losses (Human Rights Watch, 1998). On September 26, 1996, the Taliban prepared a major offensive and consequently captured the capital Kabul (Coll, 2005) and got full control of Kabul on September 27, 1996. But their government received recognition only from Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and the United Arab Emirates.

## **War on Terror**

On September 11, 2001, nineteen men of Al-Qaeda organization, hijacked four U.S. commercial passenger airplanes and crashed two of them into the World Trade Center in New York City and one into the Pentagon, symbols of the U.S economic and military might. The World Trade Center's Twin Towers completely collapsed that killed approximately 3,000 people. The U.S. President, George Bush coined the term "war on terror" in response to 9/11 terrorist attacks, which according to him were planned in Afghanistan by the terrorist group, Al Qaeda. He declared that they will not end the war until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. So, the U.S launched military operations against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001. After capturing Kabul, a new government of Hamid Karzai was established in Afghanistan. However, the country is still under the war, and the coalition forces have not full control of the region. Even some regions in the southern and eastern Afghanistan went back into the hands of the Taliban.

## **The Emergence of Militancy in the Region**

After the 9/11 attacks on the twin towers, the U.S. declared a full scale war on Afghanistan under the umbrella of the U.N. Security Council Resolution. As a consequence of heavy bombing, the Taliban regime came to an end and thousands of Taliban and Al-Qaeda members infiltrated into Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Area of South and North Waziristan. This region became a safe haven for the foreign elements and provided a base for the attacks on coalition forces on the soil of Afghanistan. The U.S and its allies put pressure on Pakistan for a military operation in the region against these elements. This development led the situation towards the emergence of Tahrir-e-Taliban Pakistan with its leader Nek Muhammad. After he was killed in a missile attack, Baitullah Mahsud became its leader. He was also killed in a drone attack and Hakimullah Mahsud was chosen as its Amir. During this time, Pakistan had launched a vigorous military campaign against these militants in the South Waziristan.

As a reaction to military operation in the tribal area of Waziristan, the Taliban started a string of attacks in the form of bomb blasts and suicide attacks on security forces, people, and the government installations across the country. From 2002 onward, Pakistan suffered a total of 2,273 terrorist attacks and a large number of casualties besides affecting the economy of Pakistan. The goal of the attacks was to force the government via public pressure to halt a planned military operation in



South Waziristan and other tribal areas. But these heavy human and economic losses could not stop military operation against the militants in the region.

### **Literature Review**

Journalism is the art of conveying news by using mass media, such as, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, internet and the mobile phone. Journalists of all categories for example writers, editors, anchor persons, photographers, broadcasters or producers are the chief source of information and opinion makers in the contemporary mass media society. They collect the newsworthy happenings across the world and media transmit these content to audience members apparently in an objective manner. However, it is now observed that subjective approach is going to be dominant in the field of journalism. Sometimes events are presented according the agenda set by the media on the issue. The concept of imbedded journalism was emerged in the first Gulf War that influenced a fair and objective flow of information to the media outlets. The anchocracy regime is another phenomenon that is frequently used by the electronic media across the world for transmitting the content frequently in a very subjective way. Majority of the anchor persons freely express their opinion during their programs. Columnists' writings reflect their personal biases regarding the issues and even hard stories are heavily opinionated.

### **Terrorism: Understanding the Definition**

The word "terrorism" is derived from Latin word terror, means "to frighten." It was included in English dictionaries in 1798 that communicates the meaning of a "systematic use of terror as a policy." In modern times, it refers to the killing of innocent people by a self-interested group to create a media spectacle. It is the act of violence against civilians to achieve some political goals. This tactic of violence is carried out to exert pressure on decision making bodies of the state. The term "terror" is largely used to indicate violence that targets civilians and generates public fear. Thus, it is distinct from conventional warfare, and violates common law of war in which civilian life is regarded. The U.N Security Council Resolution 1373 describes terrorism as "criminal acts, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons, intimidate a population or compel a the government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act," (UN, 2001). Terrorism has been practiced by political parties, nationalist, religious groups, revolutionaries,

and even the ruling the governments (Encyclopaedia, 2006). It is an indiscriminate use of violence against non-combatants for the purpose of gaining publicity for a group, cause, or individual (Charles, 2002).

Its definitions include acts of unlawful violence or unconventional warfare, but at present, there are no internationally agreed upon definition of terrorism. Hoffman (1998) suggests that the word "terrorism" is politically and emotionally charged, that creates complication in providing a precise definition of the term but he asserts that on one point everyone agrees that terrorism is a destructive term. It is a word with inherently negative connotations that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents, or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore. Hence the decision to label some organizations as "terrorists" becomes almost subjective. Studies conducted in this regard have found over 100 definitions of the word "terrorism" (Record, 2003). The concept of terrorism itself is controversial because it is often used by states to delegitimize political or foreign opponents, and potentially legitimize the state's own use of terror against them (Geoffrey, 2001). For example, the use of force of India against Kashmiri people, Israel against Palestinians, and Russia against Chechens. A less politically and emotionally charged term, allowing for more accurate analyses, is violent non-state actor.

But Scheuer (2005) believes that Al-Qaeda has focused on a number of U.S foreign policies in the Muslim states. The most damaging is the U.S support for police states and dictators across the Muslim world. In the presence of these policies, the U.S will have to face the acts of terrorism and there will be no impact of the U.S. diplomacy. Pape (2005) argues that terrorist organizations utilizing suicide attacks have driven a clear strategic objective to compel modern democracies to withdraw military forces from the territory they view as their homeland. Therefore, he prefers the term 'militancy'.

### **Media Coverage of the Conflict**

Media is a double-edged sword. When it is employed positively, it can become an instrument of conflict resolution and bring peaceful changes in the society. However, when it is employed as a mean to propagate intolerance and hatred, it becomes a negative force among efforts to cultivate peace. Media exercises a powerful influence on people and their perceptions of the world they live in. The primary role of media is to report and disseminate objective information. It has the unique ability to reach many and this ability makes it an unparalleled tool for

disseminating information. The very information given by media should be accurate and balanced, and should be a fair representation of the diverse views, so the public would be able to make well-informed choices.

It is assumed that journalists usually like to report on violent actions and military operations repeatedly provoked scepticism (Hanitzsch, 2004). But the interviews with foreign correspondents, conducted by Richter (1999), drew a different picture. According to him the journalists said that their primary concern was to report the miseries and suffering of civilians instead of covering military operations. But the media gives coverage only to a conflict when it manifests violence and its coverage is always biased with nationalistic and ideological tendencies (Jacobsen, 2000). Boutros-Ghali, the then U.N Secretary-General comments, "The media ignores most conflicts most of the time." Similarly, Gowing (1994; as cited in Hanitzsch, 2004) believes, "the coverage of the pre- and post-violence phase is negligible at best and only a few armed conflicts are covered in the violence phase." Examples of such conflicts are there on international level in the past and present such as, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Azerbaijan, East Timor, Kashmir, Liberia, Moldova, Nagorno Karabakh, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tajikistan, etc. Kellner (1992) conducted a study on the content broadcasted by ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN. He concludes that neutral reporting is not done by news media during the Gulf War and was influenced by national ideology or stands taken by their the governments.

Wolfsfeld (1997) examines the news media role in the Middle East and found that the media gave more coverage to the extremists and less coverage to the voices calling for peace and resolution. Carruthers (2000) explains that mass media, due to state restrictions and military censorship, follows the state policy in reporting conflict. Hence it accomplices state in its wartime propaganda, and plays significant role in instigating conflict. Wolfsfeld (2004) claims, "the default mode of operation for the press is to cover tension, conflict, and violence."

### **Role of the U.S. media**

American opinion of the war on terror is directly influenced by the mainstream news media reports on war on terror. Kuypers (2006) believes that the American press covered the events with great bias and could not appropriately inform its citizens. He maintains that the US news media played an anti-democratic role and misinformed the audience on war on terror. Cooper (2006) found that mainstream reporting of the war on terror has inaccurate details and

failed to check the credibility of information or visual images supplied by the local Iraqis hired to relay local news. They argue that story framing approach is often problematic and manipulated interviews have often been used in place of methodologically sound survey data. Moreover, reporting has tended to concentrate on the more violent areas of Iraq, with little or no reporting of the calm areas. Barstow (2009) writes that Department of Defence recruited over 75 retired army generals to sell the war to the American public. He discovered links between some retired generals and defence contractors and reported that the Bush administration controlled the access to information to generate reports and analysis of its choice for the American media.

### **Pakistan's Position on War on Terror**

During preparation of attack on Afghanistan, the U.S administration put extreme pressure on Pakistan for taking its support in the war. Resultantly, Pakistan revised its policy towards the Taliban the government and joined the U.S in the war against the Taliban the government. Pakistan provided air basis, logistic support and intelligence sharing as a coalition partner in the war against terror. Pervaiz Musharraf, the then president of Pakistan in his address to United Nations' General Assembly said, "The tragedy of 9/11 transformed security policies and changed geopolitical calculations. Pakistan took a strategic decision, based on the principles of humanity and our national interest, to support the war on terror." Resultantly Pakistan received about \$11 billion aid from the United States for the logistic support it provided for the counter-terrorism operations from 2001 to 2008, and for its own military operation mainly in Waziristan and other tribal areas along the Durand line (Wikipedia, 2011).

In 2009, President Barack Obama announced to continue supporting Pakistan in its war against terror and has pledged that U.S. would provide Pakistan an economic aid of \$1.5 billion each year for the next five years (Ali, 2010). War on terror greatly affected not only the people of Pakistan from social and psychological point of view but also have adverse effects on the economy of Pakistan. A lot of bomb blasts and suicide attacks took place in different parts of the country, resulting in loss of human lives, infrastructure, destruction of property, and curtailment of short and long term economic activities.

Institute for conflict management generated a table showing annual fatalities in terrorist's violence in Pakistan totalling of 25,329 people including military personnel and civilians. Terrorist attacks created uncertainty and reduced the rate

of investment and greatly influenced growth rate which came to halt at around 2.00 per cent in fiscal year 2009. According to Federal Bureau of Statistics, the contribution of agriculture and industrial sector to GDP saw significant decline from 2004 to 2009. The State Bank of Pakistan (2010) reports shows that foreign direct investment fell from \$1.116 billion to \$ 463 million due to war against terror (Ali, 2010).

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study was conducted within the framework of framing theory. The frames of “support and oppose” of the government stance were put to examine the content appeared in the two selected newspapers. Although a lot of framing definitions are available yet no definition of framing is universally accepted. Gamson (1992) identified four frames used in the news framing of the Arab-Israeli conflict: (a) strategic interests, (b) feuding neighbors, (c) Arab intransigence, (d) and Israeli expansionism. He found that ‘feuding neighbors’ to be the most consistent frame.

According to Tankard et. al. (1991), “framing stems from a process of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration,” (p.3). Entman (1993) standardized framing as, “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described,” (p. 52). In reality news framing refers to the way in which news media organize and present news to convey a specific message. The media framing makes certain aspects of an event or issue more salient than the others. It directs the audience to consider certain facts and ignore certain other facts. In this way it affects perceptions of people about an event or issue. In news writing, frames are manifested by the use of specific words and phrases that reinforce certain ideas at the cost of other ideas. Entman’s (1993) definition considers framing from both a media and consumer standpoints. The media is involved in the salience of issues. It not only includes and omits, but also put emphasis on particular aspects of the reality at the cost of others. That is why it resembles with second-level agenda setting in which media not only suggest what the public think about but also influence how people should think about the issue.

After reviewing relevant literature, the following hypotheses and sub hypotheses were formulated to investigate the treatment of the press regarding the stance taken by the government Pakistan on the issue of terrorism.

**Main Hypothesis:** Pakistani press supports the government stance on war against terrorism.

**Sub Hypothesis-1:** Hard news stories are more favourable towards the government stance on war on terror as compared to soft news stories.

**Sub Hypothesis-2:** Stories contributed by the government sources are more favourable towards the government stance as compared to stories contributed by the private sources.

**Sub Hypothesis-3:** The frequency of stories that support the government stance on war on terror is more than the stories that oppose.

**Sub Hypothesis-4:** The mean length of stories that oppose the government stance on war on terror is greater than the mean length of the stories that support the government stance on war on terror.

**Sub Hypothesis-5:** The slant of the daily Business Recorder is more favourable towards the government stance on war on terror as compared to the daily Nation.

## **Methodology**

This study is basically a content analysis of the Pakistani newspapers. It has examined the coverage of "War on Terror" in the two Pakistani newspapers – The daily Nation and The daily Business Recorder-- from 01 March 2008 to 28 February 2009 that makes the period of one year. The newspapers were selected on the basis of their circulation and reputation as the leading and influential newspapers in the country. Another factor for their selection is their availability on Lexis-Nexis. Population of the study is all news stories on war on terror published in both the newspapers during the specified period.

The content in these stories formed the unit of analysis. The units of analysis were determined according to the formula introduced by Twohey (1941). According to this formula, these contents were first classified as 'relevant or

irrelevant.' Relevancy was determined on basis of coverage given to the events of acts and issues of terrorism. The relevant contents were then classified in the following fashion: hard news and soft news stories; the government and private sources; supporting and opposing stories.

### **Coding Scheme**

For the determination of slant (supporting, opposing and neutral), each paragraph was the coding unit and the whole story the contextual unit. Thus story was the unit of statistical analysis. Comprehensive rules were developed for measuring each variable and its categories in this study. In order to test inter-coder reliability, a small separate study of 25 stories was conducted. The sample study yielded 90% agreement for topic, 88% for type of stories, and 81% for source and 89% for slant. Cross tabulation, frequency, and difference of proportion were used to analyse the data and chi-square and t-test were used to test the hypothesis and sub hypotheses.

### **Operationalization of the terms**

**Framing:** Framing means that how a news story was presented and organized in the context of war on terror. Three frames were used: support the government stance, oppose the government stance and neutral that neither support nor oppose the government stance.

**Slant:** The use of language that supports or opposes the government stance regarding war on terror.

**Hard news:** Stories that are based on facts and statistics, and are mostly published on the front and back pages of the two dailies selected for the study.

**Soft news:** Stories that tell background, draw conclusions, and also offer opinions. It includes columns, features and editorials.

**Government source:** Stories that are originated from the government source such as APP, press note, the government official press releases, and news conferences.

**Private source:** Sources other than the government for example, national and international private news agencies.

**The mean length of stories:** It was measured from counting the number of words in the relevant stories.

## FINDINGS

### Finding-1

The number of the stories in both dailies that support the government stance on war on terror is greater than the number of stories that oppose the government stance. The slant of both the newspapers is favourable towards the government, i.e. 422 (42.2%) news stories as compared to unfavourable slant i.e. 169 (17.0%) and the difference is statistically significant (chi square =30.984;  $p=0.000$ ).

**Table 1:**

Name of newspaper, slant in the story, cross tabulation

Name of newspaper	Slant in the story			Total
	support	oppose	neutral	
<b>The Nation</b>	195 35.1%	117 21.1%	243 43.8%	555 100 %
<b>The Business Recorder</b>	227 51.5%	52 11.8%	162 36.7%	441 100%
<b>Total</b>	422 42.4%	169 17.00%	405 40.7%	996 100%

### Finding-2

Both the genres of news stories, i.e., hard news and soft news have more favourable than unfavourable slant towards the government stance on war on terror. The number of favourable stories in hard news is 262 (62.1%) as compared to favourable stories in soft news i.e., 160 (37.9%). So hard news stories have more favourable slant than soft news stories and the difference is statistically significant (chi-square =53.262;  $p=0.000$ ).

### Finding-3

The the government source is more favourable towards the government stance on war on terror as compared to private source. The number of favourable stories in the government source is 62% as compared to favourable stories contributed by private source, i.e., 39.1% and difference is statistically significant (chi square =32.784;  $p=0.000$ ).



**Table 2:**

Slant in the story, story types, cross tabulation

Slant in the Story		Story types		Total
		Hard news	Soft news	
favourable	Count	262	160	422
	% of Slant in the story	62.1%	37.9%	100%
unfavourable	Count	58	111	169
	% of Slant in the story	34.3%	65.7%	100%
neutral	Count	167	238	405
	% of Slant in the story	41.2%	58.8%	100%
Total	Count	487	509	996
	% of Slant in the story	48.9%	51.1%	100%

**Table 3:**

Slant in the story, story source, cross tabulation

Source of the story		Slant in the story			Total
		support	oppose	neutral	
govt.	Count	88	6	48	142
	% within source	62.0%	4.2%	33.8%	100%
private	Count	334	163	357	854
	% within source	39.1%	19.1%	41.8%	100%
Total	Count	422	169	405	996
	% within source	42.4%	17.0%	40.7%	100%

**Finding-4**

The frequency of appearance of favourable stories towards the government stance on war on terror is higher than the frequency of appearance of unfavourable stories towards the government stance. The frequency of favourable stories is 42.4% as compared to unfavourable stories that is 17.0% and difference is statistically significant (chi square =120.476; p =0.000).

**Table 4:**

Frequency of the story, story nature, cross tabulation

Stories		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	favourable	422	42.3	42.4	42.4
	unfavourable	169	16.9	17.0	59.3
	neutral	405	40.6	40.7	100
	Total	996	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.2		
Total		998	100.0		

**Finding-5**

The mean length of unfavourable stories is greater than favourable stories. It is 567.16 as compared to mean length of unfavourable stories that is 665.01. The difference is statistically significant ( $t\text{-test} = 45.206$ ;  $p = .000$ ).

**Table 5:**

The mean length of stories--favourable vs. unfavourable

Slant in the story	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Favourable	567.16	422	418.847
Unfavourable	665.01	169	359.680
Neutral	608.76	405	440.406
Total	600.68	996	419.560

**Finding-6**

The Business Recorder slant towards the government stance on war on terror is more favourable as compared to the daily Nation. The number of favourable stories is 227 (53.8%) as compared to the Nation where the number of favourable stories is 195 (46.2%) and the difference is statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 30.984$ ;  $p = 0.000$ ).

**Table 6:**

Slant in the story, newspapers, cross tabulation

Slant in the story		Name of newspaper		Total
		The Nation	The Business Recorder	
favourable	Count	195	227	422
	% of Slant	46.2%	53.8%	100.0%
unfavourable	Count	117	52	169
	% of Slant	69.2%	30.8%	100.0%
neutral	Count	243	162	405
	% of Slant	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	555	441	996
	% of Slant	55.7%	44.3%	100.0%

**Discussion**

The analysis of 998 stories from two English newspapers suggests that overall stance of the government of Pakistan on war on terror is supported by the Pakistani press. Thus it supports the main hypothesis that the approach of the Pakistani press is more favourable than unfavourable towards the government stance on war on terror. The reason behind this support of the government is the menace of cumulative threat of Taliban in the form of religious fanaticism and extremism to the Pakistani society and challenge to the writ of Government. A lot of bomb blasts and suicide attacks were carried out by Taliban throughout the length and breadth of the country resulting in economy and human losses. Pakistan's economy suffered a lot because of this bloodshed and law and order situation prevailing in the country. So, Pakistani press supported the government in its war against terrorism. Due to the acts of terrorism in the region, there was a continuous drain of the capital from the country and this situation put very adverse effects on the economy and then on the newspapers' business industry of the country.

Government support was found in both hard and soft news stories. In hard news stories favourable slant is dominant as compared to the favourable slant in soft news stories and the difference is statistically significant. Hence the sub hypothesis-1 was statistically proved that hard news stories are more favourable

towards the government stance on war on terror as compared to soft news stories.

Both the government and private sources supported the government stance on war on terror. The most favourable response to the government stance on war on terror is contributed by stories from the government source as compared to stories by private source and the difference is statistically significant. Thus it supports the sub hypothesis-2 that stories contributed by the government sources are more favourable towards the government stance as compared to stories contributed by private sources.

The frequency of appearance of favourable news stories towards the government stance on war on terror is higher than the frequency of unfavourable news stories towards the government stance. The frequency of favourable stories is 42.4% as compared to unfavourable stories i.e., 17.0%. Thus, it supports the sub hypothesis-3 regarding the frequency of appearance of favourable and unfavourable stories.

Overall support to the government stance on war on terror is favourable in the news stories. As far as length of the story is concerned, the phenomenon moves in reverse order. The mean story length of unfavourable stories is greater than favourable stories and the difference is statistically significant. Thus it supports the sub hypothesis-4 that the mean length of unfavourable stories is greater than the mean length of favourable stories. The length is measured in words and the number of words contributed to unfavourable news stories is more than the words appeared in favourable news stories.

Both the newspapers supported the government policy on war on terror. As compared to the daily Nation, the daily Business Recorder provided more support to the government policy on war on terror. Thus it supports the sub hypothesis-5 that the slant of the daily Business Recorder is more favourable towards the government stance on war on terror as compared to the daily Nation. This difference is statistically significant. The reason behind this phenomenon seems that the daily Business Recorder has a major focus on economic and trade issues and these sectors suffered a lot due to attacks by Taliban on civil and strategic installation resulted in major fall in production. So, Business Recorder supported the Government stance on war on terror more favourably than the daily Nation.

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