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Contents

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Contents

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People's Perception of the NGO, Public, and Private Schools

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Abstract

The study was designed to investigate public perception of the NGO schools compared to the public & the private schools. Data for the study was collected from seven villages. The respondents were divided into educated, uneducated and religious groups. Interview schedule was administered to 105 respondents, i.e. 15 from each village and five from each category. Interviews of the respondents were conducted on the spot. The data collected was statistically analyzed. The study found that majority of the respondents supported the NGO schools and appreciated their role in providing education.

Introduction

Education broadens knowledge, develops attitude, inculcates values and teaches skills for success in life. It also serves as a vehicle for socio-economic development of a country. Human Rights (1999) has declared education as a basic human right of every individual. Unfortunately, the present education system in developing countries cannot cope with the demand of education for all (Rashid, 1999).

Education for all (2003) summit declared that successive governments have announced various programs to promote literacy, especially among women. However, they have not been able to translate their words into action because of various political, social and cultural obstacles. In view of poor enrollment in schools in Pakistan, the private sector was encouraged in 1979 to share the burden of the government in providing education. Institutions working in the private sector were given tax relief so they could establish themselves. The private sector responded positively. According to the Government of Pakistan 2003 survey, there were 36,096 private schools across the country, 12.3 percent of which were in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then known as the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Of these 39 percent were in the rural areas and 61 percent in the urban areas. There were 4,076 primary schools established by the private sector with an enrollment of 18,903,460 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Despite all these efforts, neither the public nor the private sector could meet the growing demand of the mass literacy.

According to the Federal Bureau of Statistics (1998-99) the gross participation rate in Pakistan was 71 percent in 1999; for male it was 89 percent and for female it was 61 percent. There are millions of people in Pakistan who have no access to formal education system at present. It is not possible for the formal system to meet the educational needs of the rapidly growing population of the country and of the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Non-formal schools are opened in those areas where formal schools are not available. There are 7000 NFBE schools functioning in the country.

In 2004, 77 percent of children, aged 5-9 years, were enrolled in school. Of the four provinces in the country, the enrollment rate was the highest in the Punjab, i.e. 79 percent and the lowest in Balochistan i.e. 66 percent. Out of all 5 to 9-year old children, 43 percent were enrolled in the government schools; 30 percent in the private schools; 3 percent in the Madaris (religious schools), and 1 percent in the non-formal schools or schools run by the non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Shahrukh (2005) concludes that the NGO sector failed because it caters to the needs of the families that are well-off and more educated. Tandon (1988) does not support the NGO's performance in the fields of education either. He suggests that the NGOs have to overcome the shortcomings that were there in the government schools. Moreover, the NGOs' should expand their mandate and explore their potential responsibilities. The need for improvement in education sector should be regarded as a responsibility, which needs to be shouldered by the public sector, the private sector, and the NGOs together.

Objectives of the Study
Our study had the following objectives:
  i.   To compare the contribution of the public sector, the private sector and the NGO schools to the promotion of basic education.
  ii.   To determine how the schools operated by the NGO sector can improve themselves.

Method and Material
The problem was tested through hypotheses by comparing public perception about the NGO's contribution to providing basic education opportunities in Peshawar. Data for the study were collected from seven randomly selected villages. The male members of these villages were categorized into educated, uneducated, and religious groups. Interviews were held with 105 respondents, i.e., fifteen from each village and five from each category. Interviews of the respondents were conducted and recorded at the venue of the interview. The collected data were statistically analyzed and the relationship among the three groups was calculated.

Results and Discussion
The collected data were arranged in tabular form as follows below. Our study explored the respondent's attitude towards the selection of school for their children.

There are three types of schools viz the public, the private, and the ones run by the NGOs. Though respondents did not find it easy to choose one and reject the other school, they had to elect one of these three types of schools for their children. Information regarding the selection of schools is shown in the following tables.

Table 1 Respondents' Category and Preference for the Type of School

Types of Schools	Categories of Respondents						Total		
	Religious		Educated		Uneducated		Total		
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	All
NGO School	5 (14.28)	7 (20.00)	3 (8.57)	7 (20.00)	9 (25.71)	21 (60.00)	17 (16.19)	35 (33.33)	52 (24.76)
Private	12 (34.18)	12 (34.18)	17 (48.57)	11 (31.42)	8 (22.85)	5 (14.28)	37 (35.23)	28 (26.66)	65 (30.95)
Public	18 (51.42)	16 (45.71)	15 (42.85)	17 (48.57)	18 (51.42)	9 (25.71)	51 (48.57)	42 (40.00)	93 (44.28)
Total	35 (100.00)	35 (100.00)	35 (100.00)	35 (100.00)	35 (100.00)	35 (100.00)	105 (100.00)	105 (100.00)	210 (100.00)

Source: Field survey
Note: Figures in parentheses show the percentage.

Table 1 indicates that majority of the respondents i.e. 44.28% send their children to the public schools while 24.76 percent send theirs to the schools run by the NGOs. Public schools are selected with the equal distribution of respondents. It is interesting to see that equal number of respondents, i.e., 51.42 percent selected form the religious and the uneducated groups selected publich schools for their boys. Majority of the un-educated respondents i.e. 60.00 percent selected the NGO schools for their girls, but preferred the public schools for their boys. Given the perception of the NGOs and the schools they run, the uneducated class is least concerned with the educations of girls. The educated group, on the other hand, trusts the private sector schools more. 48.57% respondents selected private schools for their boys and 31.42% for their girls. That means the educated group trusts the private sector education more than the institutes of the other two sectors. Thus a total of 30.95 percent of the respondents chose private sector schools and 44.28 percent opted for public sector schools. The results of our survey are close to a survey the daily, *The News* (2005) conducted in the Punjab, i.e., 43% enrollment in government schools and 30% in private schools of the children who come from different backgrounds.

However, the calculated value of the chi-square was greater than the theoretical value (i.e. 12.54 > 8.99); hence, the null hypothesis of no association between type of school and category of respondents was rejected. It was concluded that there was a significant association between the selection of school (type) and category of general public.

Table 2 Reasons for Selecting the NGO Schools

Reasons	Categories of Respondents			All
	Religious	Educated	Uneducated	
Poverty	4 (7.69)	7 (13.46)	18 (34.61)	29 (55.76)
Quality of Education	6 (11.53)	2 (3.84)	4 (76.70)	12 (23.07)
Non-availability of desired schools	2 (3.84)	01 (1.92)	8 (15.38)	11 (21.15)
Total	12 (23.07)	10 (19.23)	30 (57.69)	52 (100.00)

Source: Field survey
Note: Figures in parentheses show the percentages

The number of the respondents who selected the NGO schools for their children is relatively lower i.e. 24.76% as compared to the other types of schools. The reason is that more than 50% of them sent their children to the NGO schools due to poverty. Majority of the uneducated respondents 34.61% opted for the NGO schools due to their low financial condition. The distribution of respondents on the basis of quality of education and non-availability of other schools is nearly equal.

Involvement of the NGO in the Education Sector
The activities of the NGOs have been controversial. People's perception varies about the NGO's role in education. The following table shows the respondents' responses.

Table 3 Respondents views above NGOs Involvement in Education

Involvement	Categories of Respondents			All
	Religious	Educated	Un-educated	
Yes	5	10	20	35
No	30	25	15	70
Total	30	25	15	70

Source: Field survey
Note: Figures in parentheses show the percentage
Chi square is = 15.00> 8.99 (S) DF = 2 Level of significance = 0.05 P. value = 0.001

The table shows that two-third of the respondents do not support NGO schools. More than 85% religious respondents are against the NGO schools. And more than 70% educated respondents also oppose the NGO schools. The respondents think that NGOs have their own hidden agenda. The results are in conformity with Looqman (1999), Jalazai (1998) and *The News* (2005). The above table supports the hypothesis that there is no association between religious point of view and the NGO's contribution to the education.

Table 4 Reasons for Supporting the NGO Schools

Reasons	Categories of Respondents			All
	Religious	Educated	Un-educated	
Relatively	1	3	5	9
Free Education	1	3	10	14 (40.00)
The Nearest Station	3 (8.57)	4 (11.42)	5 (14.28)	12 (34.28)
Total	5	10	20`	35

Source: Field survey
Note: Figures in parentheses show the percentages

Table 4 shows that majority of the respondents supports the NGO schools because they provide free education i.e. 40% while 34%/ support them due to close location. Our findings are in accordance with the findings of Brown (1989) and (1999).

Table 5 Respondents Views about Quality of Schools

Types of Schools	Categories of Respondents			All
	Religious	Educated	Un-educated	
NGO	11 (31.42)	3 (8.57)	15 (42.85)	29 (27.61)
Private	7 (20.00)	15 (42.85)	8 (22.85)	30 (28.57)
Public	17 (48.57)	17 (48.57)	12 (34.28)	46 (43.80)
Total	35 (100.00)	35 (100.00)	35 (100.00)	105 (100.00)

Source: Field survey
Note: Figures in parentheses shows the percentage
Chi square = 12.61> 8.99 (S) DF = 4 Level of significance = 0.05 P. value = 0.03

Table 5 shows that (43.80) of the respondents opt for public schools, whereas almost an equal percentage of the respondents, 28.57% and 27.61% selected private and NGO schools respectively. The uneducated group mostly opted for the NGO schools i.e. (42.85%) followed by religious group (31.42%) and only 8.57% of educated group selected the NGO schools. The above table indicates that the educated and religious people showed confidence in the public schools. A large number of educated people opted for the private sector. However, the poor and uneducated group selected the NGO schools. The above table supported the hypothesis that public perception regarding the NGO's contribution to basic education was negative. The result is in conformity with the survey *The News* conducted (2005).

Conclusion
Education plays a pivotal role in the development of a county. Policy makers in Pakistan are putting all their efforts to make education accessible for all. However, due to limited resources, the government alone cannot achieve the target. The private sector contributes a great deal but the low income class cannot afford to send their children to the private schools. The government encouraged the NGOs to contribute in education sector, at present public, private & NGOs runs schools in the research area.

This study was an attempt to gather information about public perception regarding NGOs schools. The study concludes that public is satisfied with the NGO schools. However, the only concern is that the government monitors these schools to ensure effective and efficient performance.

Recommendations

i. The private sector and the NGOs may be encouraged and facilitated in providing basic education.

ii. The government should monitor the NGO schools, and the NGOs activities should be restricted only to quality education.

iii. Co-education should be encouraged in all type of schools to overcome space and faculty problems.

iv. Boys and girls should have equal opportunities to join any school of their choice.

v. Basic education should be free and compulsory for all.

vi. The NGOs should involve the local communities so they see what service the NGO schools provide.

vii. The three sectors working in the filed of education should coordinate among themselves so they learn from the experiences of one another.

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Echo of Women Voices in Emily Dickinson: A Vacillating Voice

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My hair is bold like the chestnut burr; and my eyes, like the sherry in the glass that the guest leaves.

Emily Dickinson[1]

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to show how Emily Dickinson is double-minded about the values of the male-dominated society. Her poesm show her awareness of the issues facing woman of her age but at the same time she shows cautious acceptance of the institution of marriage. There is a gradual evolution of her gender consciousness which subsequently leads to her self-assertion. The later half of the paper focuses on her "Marriage Poems" and shows how instead of helping woman establish her identity, marriage jeopardizes it. Even though Dickinson criticizes her society and its intittions, there is also a cautious acceptance of some of those institutions.

Keywords: Dickinson, "Marriage Poems," gender consciousness, identity, self-assertion.

Despite her Puritan background and strict Victorian moral standards, Emily Dickinson voices her mind against the patriarchal society and the strangulating environment she has around her. Caught between the real world that she has around her and the one that she would want to have, her voice cautiously records its protest about her society that does not allow woman to be herself. In this, she is ahead of her times. This paper is an attempt to show Dickinson's gender consciousness in her poems and argue that she was significantly aware of the male dominated and patriarchal society of her times. We have selected her poems in their chrological order to trace the evolution of her gender consciousness and identity crisis among married women.

Emily Dickinson is a poet ahead of her time. Gender consciousness and antipathy for the male-dominated society are some of the dominant themes in her poetry. Her inclination towards accepting the institution of marriage, despite its negative impact on woman, is perhaps due to the influence her father had on her. It may not be inapprprriateto say that the cautious criticism and sceptism of man's role in woman's life is precisely due to that. Paul J. Ferlazzo says that the effect of Dickinson's father

> upon his daughter…was enormous.… 'His gods were her gods.' She stood in awe of him as a child, and she anticipated his will as a grown woman. His death in June, 1874, sealed her seclusion. In July, she wrote to Higginson: 'His heart was pure and terrible, and I think no other like it exists.' [2]

This biographic detail sounds more important in the light of Dickinson's relation with her mother whom she did not like a lot. Ferlazzo says, "As for Emily's mother, she did not have as much importance for her. In rather a cruel way, Dickinson told Colonel Higginson, "I never had a mother. I suppose a mother is one to whom you hurry when you are troubled."[3] Therefore, it is perhaps not very difficult to see why Emily Dickinson felt the power of male dominance so strongly. Her apathy towards her mother is evident in her poem, "Mama Never Forgets Her Birds." Emily Dickinson sees her father behind the indifference of her mother towards her and her siblings:

> Mama never forgets her birds,
> Though in another tree—
> She looks down just as tenderly
> As when her little mortal nest
> With cunning care she wove—
> If either of her "sparrows fall,"
> She notices above (164, 1860).

Emily Dickinson's indignation towards her mother is evident in the above passage. Even though the mother has her way of showing her concern for the children, she is never really there because she is "in another tree." Though the mother looks at them "tenderly," she has made that nest with "cunning care." If either of her "sparrows fall[s]," she "notices" it from the "above."[4] The mother maintains a status quo of sorts due to the domineering attitude of the father. That is why if something happens to any of her children she will only look "above" towards that higher authority. A later poem records a voice that points to the journey towards self-realization or consciousness. The following lines from "They Shut Me up in Prose" deserve attention.

> They shut me up in Prose—
> As when a little Girl
> They put me in the Closet—
> Because they liked me "still"—
> Still! Could themself have peeped—
> And seen my Brain—go round—
> They might as wise have lodged a Bird
> For Treason—in the Pound—
> Himself has but to will
> And easy as a Star
> Abolish his Captivity—
> And laugh—No more have I—

(613, 1862)

This poem shows the restrictions imposed upon her both as a woman and as a poet. Her "Shutting up in Prose" is the indication of curbing her potential and thus render

her voiceless. Here "they" shut her up because "they" want her to be "still." Joyce Carol Oates comments:

> Prose it might be speculated—is discourse; poetry ellipsis. Prose is spoken aloud; poetry overheard. The one is presumably articulate and social, a shared language, the voice of "communication"; the other is private, allusive, teasing, sly, idiosyncratic as the spider's delicate web, a kind of witchcraft unfathomable to ordinary minds. Poetry, paraphrased, is something other than poetry, while prose *is* paraphrase. Consequently the difficulty of much of Dickinson's poetry, its necessary strategies, for the act of writing is invariably an act of rebellion, a way of (secretly, subversively) "abolishing" captivity.[5]

Expressing herself through poetry is a means to vent her frustration—just like a bird that is locked or caged and aspires to fly—perhaps poetry for Dickinson is as natural a way of expression as flying is for a bird. A similar idea can be seen in "*I Dwell In Possibility…*" where possibility can be interpreted in different ways:

> I dwell in Possibility—
> A fairer House than Prose—
> More numerous of Windows—
> Superior—for Doors—
> Of Chambers as the Cedars—
> Impregnable of Eye—
> And for an Everlasting Roof
> The Gambrels of the Sky—
> Of Visitors—the fairest—
> For Occupation—This—
> The spreading wide my narrow Hands
> To gather Paradise—
>
> (657, 1862)

Here "possibility" may mean an opportunity for woman, the option for woman to rise up and come on an equal level with man: intellectually and socially. This is why Kathi M. Taliercio says:

> This of course raised the question: through what channel or opportunity were women of this era able to seek their own identity or connection to community?…More specifically, Dickinson suggests in the poem that the closed space of the private room will allow a freedom that fosters the creation of poetry….Writing Poetry, which occurs through the use of Reason, provides a door to freedom and creation, while writing Prose, which occurs through understanding alone, provides a limitation to the restricted public realm that is governed by social convention. Poetry is a "fairer house" than prose because of this freedom.[6]

The house of poetry offers more space, due to numerous windows and superior doors. It is strong as the chambers are made of "cedar" and are "impregnable" for an unwanted eye and covered by an everlasting roof. This imagery suggests that the realm of poetry is Dickinson's forte for expression: it has a lot of capacity and is strong enough for unwanted intrusion. The last line, "The <u>spreading wide my narrow Hands</u> / To gather Paradise—" is a very fascinating line when interpreted from the transcendental perspective. Dickinson feels that through poetry she can "gather paradise", that is, reach the Over-Soul and thus achieve an individuality of her own. Kathi M. Taliercio is of the opinion that Dickinson suggests, then, that the oversoul becomes the only channel in which the women of this restricted era may seek their own identity and find a connection with the whole of humanity. Dickinson illustrates this quite well throughout "I dwell in Possibility."[7]

The journey towards self-realization emphatically continues. Ellen Moers, in "Women's Literary Traditions, and the Individual Talent" is of the opinion that "Emily Dickinson was self-consciously female in poetic voice, and more boldly so than is often recognized."[8] A very dominating and dictating Emily Dickinson is heard in "Mine—By the Right of the White Election!" This poem shows the intense belief that though a woman she has the "right" to everything in life. It is consciousness to the fact that being a woman in the 19th century was not easy and if one wanted recognition and an identity it had to be taken by force—only if one had the mettle and individuality to be forceful enough. Emily Dickinson, eloquently says:

> Mine—by the Right of the White Election!
> Mine—by the Royal Seal!
> Mine—by the Sign in the Scarlet prison—
> Bars—cannot conceal!
> Mine—by the Right of the White Election!
> Mine—by the Royal Seal!
> Mine—by the Sign in the Scarlet prison—
> Bars—cannot conceal!
> Mine—here—in Vision—and in Veto!
> Mine—by the Grave's Repeal—
> Tilted—Confirmed—
> Delirious Charter!
> Mine—long as Ages steal!

(528, 1862)

These lines do not portray the dilemma faced by Dickinson due to the patriarchal society only but also due to the Puritan concept of the Elect and damned. Here, the poem can be interpreted at two levels: the religious and the social. If the poem is examined from the religious perspective Emily Dickinson is challenging the Puritan belief of the Elect, therefore she strongly says that she is qualified and independent to express herself even if judged by the standards of the "White Election". Socially, she has the right to speak up because she is licensed and has the right by the "Royal Seal"

as well. She goes on to suggest that that is her personal revolt against religion and society and that is why it is hers by the "Scarlet prison." Her rationale for the eligibility continues: she has the right to self-assertion whether its through "Vision" or poetry, "Veto" or "Delirious Charter", and even if its through the "Grave's Repeal"—she will continue to struggle for Self-Realization and assertion in the male dominated society to ascertain her individuality and identity as a woman.

In the poem "Mine—by the Right of the White Election" Emily Dickinson emerges as a very strong, dominating, and a rebellious feminist, who is ready to challenge religion, society, man, and gender inequality head-on. However, when the "Marriage Poems" of Emily Dickinson are taken into account a tough but a helpless picture of woman is painted. In these poems, she portrays the typical 19th century dilemma of woman. No doubt, Dickinson even questions the woman's vulnerability, tries to encourage her towards self-realization, persuades her to assert, but ultimately succumbs to societal pressures and gives in to the usual compromise as expected of a traditional 19th century woman. Although Emily Dickinson never married but she visualized marriage through what she experienced from others' marriages and her own imagination. Initially she wrote a few marriage poems describing young, unmarried girl's desire for an ideal marriage. Poems such as, "Forever at his side to walk…"(246), " Although I put away his life" (366), and "The World—stands—solemner—to me" (493).[9] But another group of her Marriage poems shows the significant and obligatory value associated with marriage. In the poem, "I'm Ceded—I've Stopped Being Theirs—" shows that after marriage there is an apparent transition from girlhood to womanhood, with particular reference to a change in role and duties. That is all the society apprehends but deep down a great evolution takes place in a woman's life—it's a change of identity, not only social but psychological as well:

> I'm ceded - I've stopped being Theirs—
> The name They dropped upon my face
> With water, in the country church
> Is finished using, now,
> And They can put it with my Dolls,
> My childhood, and the string of spools,
> I've finished threading—too—
> Baptized, before, without the choice,
> But this time, consciously, of Grace—
> Unto supremest name—
> Called to my Full—The Crescent dropped—
> Existence's whole Arc, filled up,
> With one - small Diadem—
> My second Rank—too small the first—
> Crowned—whimpering—on my Father's breast—
> A too unconscious Queen—
> But this time—Adequate—Erect,

> With power to choose,
> Or to reject,
> And I choose, just a Crown—

(508, 1862)

Paul J. Ferlazzo says about "I'm ceded—I've stooped being Theirs—":

> The poet contrasts baptism and marriage while emphasizing the transfiguring effects of both rituals upon the developing individual….Baptism which gave her a name and placed her officially in her parents' keeping, is identified with the time of her youth,…"she has stopped being Their's…." Another ritual, one associated with images of royalty, "Diadem," "Rank," and "Crown," is about to mark her maturity and bestow upon her another name, her "supremest name."[10]

Ironically, in both the roles, before and after marriage, the identity of woman remains secondary or male dependant: first, it's "on my Father's breast" and then with the so called "Will to choose, or reject" a "Crown," bestowed by another man, yet the woman feels contented as she becomes socially recognized and accepted. On the contrary, the marriage theme is expressed in a different way in the following poem:

> I'm "wife"—I've finished that—
> That other state—
> I'm Czar—I'm "Woman" now—
> It's safer so—
> How odd the Girl's life looks
> Behind this soft Eclipse -
> I think that Earth feels so
> To folks in Heaven—now—
> This being comfort—then
> That other kind—was pain—
> But why compare?
> I'm "Wife"! Stop there!

(199, 1861)

No doubt, marriage provides a firmer platform for the woman to step into the world but Dickinson shows that this stability is only achieved by woman's indifference to the stark reality of this new status. Ferlazzo says:

> Dickinson's poetic portrait of this woman who is so content to be a wife ironically reveals that the woman has a degree of self-assurance about herself and her condition that she really has not earned. Status has been conferred upon her, and she is unable to reflect upon it or understand its real sources…. And the poem ends with a determined reluctance to think ever about her marital station. It is this blind, unthinking acceptance of role and value conferred upon it by society that Dickinson questions. Her irony, then, is not

aimed at marriage so much as at the narrow complacency it creates in some women. [11]

As expected of a self-conscious woman, Emily Dickinson once again comes across very decisively:

> Title divine—is mine!
> The wife—without the Sign!
> Acute Degree—conferred on me—
> Empress of Calvary!
> Royal—all but the Crown!
> Bthrothed—without the swoon
> God sends us Women—
> When you—hold—Garnet to Garnet—
> Gold—to Gold—
> Born—Bridalled—Shrouded—
> In a day—
> "My Husband"—women say
> Stroking the Melody—
> Is *this*—the way?

<div align="right">(1072, 1862)</div>

A year later, she once again eloquently expresses the secondary or the dependent role of woman in "My Life had stood—a Loaded Gun—" where Dickinson presents woman not as she is expected to be: docile, calm and weak; she is a "Loaded Gun," full of energy, strength and power. She roams and hunts in the woods, she speaks the language of "Mountains," her smile is as forceful as the "Vesuvian Face" when it erupts lava, she's a protector, a "deadly foe," has a "Yellow Eye" and an "emphatic Thumb." bIn short, this woman is the one whom Jung would refer to as the one with an over-developed *animus*. Being a woman, she is like a loaded gun—all powerful and emotionally forceful, but she needs an "identified" "Owner" who while passing carries her away and thus help to bring out the hidden force within her. That is why, in spite of being an *animus* dominated woman she yearns:

> Though I than He - may longer live
> He longer must - than I -
> For I have but the power to kill,
> Without - the power to die –

<div align="right">(754, 1863)</div>

The last stanza of the poem re-affirms the thesis stated in the opening stanza. The woman, despite her vigour wants man to be there for her because, ironically, it is he who gives her that vitality of being. Due to him she has "the power to kill," but unfortunately is "Without – the power to die—." This can also mean that woman may rejoice playing a second fiddle to man but she is not alive per se—she is the instrument of her master. She is what she is due to his presence and patronage. Through death, she

may achieve immortality and thus a spiritual identity. But on the contrary, if he dies before him she will once again be abandoned, lifeless and inert. So, in away, she does not have a right to immortality as a woman. Albert Gelpi is also of the opinion that

> the poet lives on past moment in which she is a vessel or instrument in the hands of the creative animus for two reasons—first, because her temporal life resumes when she is returned to one of life's corners, a waiting but loaded gun again, but also because on another level she surpasses momentary possession by the animus in the poem she has created under his inspiration. At the same time, he *must* transcend her temporal life and even its artifacts because, as the archetypal source of inspiration, the animus is, relative to the individual, transpersonal and so in a sense "immortal."[12]

In the poem "She rose to his Requirement—" Emily Dickinson very clearly shows the psychological evolution of a woman after marriage, the paradox of female identity, the role of constant submission and self-negation:

> She rose to His Requirement—dropt
> The Playthings of Her Life
> To take the honorable Work
> Of Woman, and of Wife—
> If ought She missed in Her new Day,
> Of Amplitude, or Awe—
> Or first Prospective—Or the Gold
> In using, wear away,
> It lay unmentioned—as the Sea
> Develop Pearl, and Weed,
> But only to Himself—be known
> The Fathoms they abide—

                                                                                        (732, 1864)

Emily Dickinson takes a feminist stance here, where a woman curtails her natural talents and aspirations in order to fit into the role demanded by either one man in particular or (even) Man in general. She does not only have to rise up to "His Requirements" but also drop the "Playthings" of her life to do her "honourable Work" of "Woman" and "Wife". But the question arises that who decides what the "Playthings" and sober things in woman's life are. While serving her man, woman has to forsake her own wishes completely but the irony is, that all her sacrifices "lay unmentioned." She accepts the ups and downs of her relationship just "…as the Sea/Develop Pearl, and Weed." He is aware of her feminine strength but does not feel the need to acknowledge or please her.

Dickinson is clearly contemptuous of the enforced inferiority of women and of the fact that their value and individuality are recognized only in terms of the men they marry.[13]

Another poem that depicts Emily Dickinson's female consciousnesses along with the limitations of *Self-Realization* imposed by the institution of marriage is:

> Rearrange a "Wife's" affection!
> When they dislocate my Brain!
> Amputate my freckled Bosom!
> Make me bearded like a man!
>
> Blush, my spirit, in thy Fastness—
> Blush, my unacknowledged clay—
> Seven years of troth have taught thee
> For I wear the "Thorns" till Sunset—
> Then—my Diadem put on.
> More than Wifehood every may!
>
> Love that never leaped its socket—
> Trust entrenched in narrow pain—
> Constancy thro' fire–-awarded—
> Anguish—bare of anodyne!
>
> Burden—borne so far triumphant—
> None suspect me of the crown,
>
> Big my Secret but it's bandaged—
> It will never get away
> Till the Day its Weary Keeper
> Leads it through the Grave to thee.

(1737, date of publication unknown)

This poem, very dramatically, conveys Emily Dickinson's indignant repudiation for the state of "Wifehood." Like, "She Rose to His Requirement…" even here Dickinson is challenging man, particularly husband, stating that a woman is only a woman because of her biological difference; otherwise she should not be underestimated in any way. As a wife, woman spends her entire life faithfully serving man. In return, his love and consequently hers too "…never leaped its socket." In spite of her sacrifice and submission, man never treats her pain and anguish with any "anodyne." However, no one can even suspect the hidden strength of woman because this "Secret" is heavily "bandaged;" it will not be discovered until its "Weary Keeper" leads it to the grave.[14] Therefore, Death is a recurring theme in Dickinson's works. Death, for her, is a means to self-realization and identity. That is why, in a number of poems, Death is personified as a suitor, who ultimately individuates her through immortality.

Robert E. Spiller believes, 'She [Emily Dickinson] knew better than any of her "tutors" what she wished to say and she was exacting in her ways of saying it.'[15] No doubt,

Emily Dickinson is a poet of great insight, particularly when analyzed against the Victorian and Puritan background. She is very conscious of the male dominance and patriarchal authority. Marriage for a woman, therefore, is very important—it gives her an identity of sorts. But Emily Dickinson believes that marriage leads to a personal identity crisis, though it is the only way for societal recognition. So, she believes in woman's strength but at the same time is conscious of woman's limitations, enforced by the male dominated society. As a result, Dickinson's indecisiveness seems a fundamental personality trait and she vacillates between the recognition for female identity and the inevitable, vulnerable, secondary role of wifehood. That is why she herself says:

> I took my Power in my Hand—
> And went against the World—
> 'Twas not so much as David—had—
> But I—was twice as bold—
>
> I aimed by Pebble—but Myself
> Was all the one that fell—
> Was it Goliath—was too large—
> Or was myself—too small?

(540, 1863)

Notes

[1]Here taken from http://www.bartleby.com/113.

[2]Ferlazzo, "Legend and Life", p. 24.

[3]Ferlazzo, "Legend and Life", p. 24.

[4]Emphasis mine.

[5]Joyce Carol Oates. Originally published in Critical Inquiry Summer 1987. (The Ontario Review, Inc., 1988). Reprinted in (Woman Writer) : Occasions and Opportunities. http://www.usfca.edu/~southerr/woman.html Retrieved June 19, 2004.

[6]Kathi M. Taliercio, *Public vs. Private: Opportunity and Gender in Emily Dickinson's "I dwell in Possibility*, http://itech.fgcu.edu/faculty/wohlpart/alra/#Contents June 18, 2004.

[6]Taliercio, http://itech.fgcu.edu/faculty/wohlpart/alra/#Contents. Retrieved June 18, 2004.

[7]Taliercio, http://itech.fgcu.edu/faculty/wohlpart/alra/#Contents. Retrieved June 18, 2004.

[8]Ellen Moers, *Literary Women*, "Women's Literary Traditions, and the Individual Talent.'' (London: Howard & Wyndham Company, 1977), p. 61.

[9]Ferlazzo, "Versions of Love"—Marriage Poems, p. 72.

[10]Ferlazzo, p. 73.

[11]Ferlazzo, p. 74 -5.

[12]Albert Gelpi, from "Breaking the Eschatological Frame: Dickinson's Narrative Acts." *Emily Dickinson Journal* Vol. 1, No. 1 1992. Online   source: http://www.colorado.edu/EDIS/journal/articles/I.1.Yukman.html.

[13]Ferlazzo, p. 75.

[14]"Big my Secret but it's bandaged –" is comparable to Sylvia Plath's lines in *Daddy*:

> But they pulled me out of the sack,
> And they stuck me together with glue,
> And then I knew what to do.
> I made a model of you,

[15]Robert E. Spiller, *The Cycle of American Literature*, " Art and the Inner Life: Dickinson, James. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p.168.

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Exploring During-Activity of Newspaper Readers in Pakistan

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Abstract

This study explores newspaper readers' during-activity in their newspaper-use behaviour. The study presumed that newspaper-related instrumental and ritualized needs, social integration, interest in politics, attitude towards newspaper, age, gender, level of income, occupation, and education would predict during-activity of the readers of daily newspapers. The data were collected from newspaper readers in Islamabad through a self-administered questionnaire. The data were analysed through simple linear regression and means procedure with the help of SPSS. The results found that respondents were significantly active in their selection of newspaper contents and were using the selected contents attentively. The results also showed that newspaper-related instrumental needs, interest in politics, attitude towards newspaper, age, and occupation were predictors of the criterion variable (during-activity). Newspaper-related ritualized needs exhibited significant negative correlation with during-activity while gender, level of education and level of income were proved to be non-significant predictors of the dependent variable during-activity.

Keywords: Newspaper readers, during-activity, newspaper-related instrumental needs, ritualized needs, social integration, interest in politics, attitude towards newspaper, age, gender, level of income, occupation, education.

Introduction

The concept of audience activity into media research has resulted into a great number of research studies. Such studies draw their theoretical roots from the uses and gratifications approach. The earlier studies conducted found that audiences were active; they were choosing certain contents and were ignoring others. In fact, such a view of active audience gave a universal view of 'activity'. In other words, every media user was exhibited equally active in his/ her media-use behavior. However, research studies (for example Levy & Windahl, 1984) did not support this across the board view of audience activity. Scholars also urged for distinguishing between the various stages of audience activity in their media-use behavior. For example, Blumer expressed the need to distinguish and dimensionalise some of the different senses in which audience members could be active. One approach to the task might differentiate forms of 'active-ness' likely to manifest themselves at different moments in a temporally ordered sequence: before exposure; during consumption and exposure. Levy and Windhal also see audience activity in three different stages: before, during

and after. They viewed that each stage involves selectivity, involvement, and utility orientation (Power, Kubey, and Kiousis, 2002).

Literature shows that audience activity has been widely investigated but unfortunately, the researcher could not find any worth mentioning study conducted in Pakistan on audience activity. There is dearth of research studies that look into relationships of various social and cultural factors with media users' activity in their media-use behavior. The present study has been planned to investigate during-activity of newspaper readers in Islamabad, Pakistan. The objectives of the present study are to investigate: (i) whether newspaper readers in Islamabad, Pakistan actively or passively consume newspaper contents, and (ii) to find out correlations of some personal and social variables such as attitude towards newspaper, nature of newspaper-related needs, interest in politics, social integration, attitude towards newspaper, gender, age, occupation, education, and income with the activity or passivity of newspaper readers in consuming the newspaper contents (during activity). In fact, during-activity is considered to be a key in media effects. By during-activity the researcher means: (i) selection of contents within the newspaper, and (ii) attention paid to the contents that the readers consume.

During-activity and its Presumed Determinants

Keeping in view the past research work in this area the researcher assumes that:

H1: Newspaper readers exhibit different levels of during-activity

Needs

The proponents of uses and gratifications theory view that media use is guided by media-related needs of the users which they want to gratify by media consumption. The concept "need" implies a state of deprivation (Lull, 2000). And by "needs" the uses and gratifications theorists did not mean the more basic needs in the Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs but the higher level needs such as the need for company, love, acceptance and self-actualisation (McQuail & Windahl, 1979). These needs become important and motivate the person for gratification when the lower level needs are gratified (Maslow & Lowery, 1998). Furthermore, there are some wants which people want media use fulfill. Wants are momentary and less central to the well-being of the person (Lull 2000). Researchers have identified different categories of needs of the media users.

Herta Herzog (1944) found that the women listeners of the radio soap operas had special reasons for listening to the daytime radio drama serials like, emotional release, wishful thinking and for valuable advice for handling their own lives. Berelson (1965) studied newspaper readers during a two-week strike by newspaper deliverymen. His respondents mentioned various reasons for reading newspapers. For example, some termed their newspaper reading as a socially acceptable thing to do; others considered newspaper as indispensable for information on world affairs and helpful in

conversation; some used it for escape, relaxation, entertainment, and social prestige; some read it for guidance in their daily living like fashion, weather forecast, recipes, etc., (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Mendelsohn (1964) also found that radio listeners select different radio stations for different purposes like: (1) Utilitarian information and news, (2) active mood accompaniment, (3) release from psychological tension and pressure, and (4) friendly companionship.

McQuail, Blumer, and Brown put forward their typology of media-use needs: diversion (including escape from the constraints of routine and the burdens of problems, and emotional release); personal relationship (including substitute companionship as well as social utility); personal identity (including personal reference, reality extraction, and value reinforcement), and surveillance (Katz et al, 1974). McCombs (1977) found three primary psychological motivations (needs) for reading newspapers: (1) the need to keep up to date, (2) the need for information, and (3) the need for fun. According to Weaver, Wilhoit and Reide the three motivations most common in explaining general media use are the need to keep tabs on what in going on around one, the need to be entertained, and the need to kill time (Gunter, 2000).

Blumer and Katz suggested a four-fold category of needs that television fulfill for its viewers: (i) diversion (a form of escape or release from everyday pressures), (ii) personal relationship (companionship through identification with television characters and sociability through discussion about television with other people), (iii) personal identity (the ability to compare one's own life with the characters and situations portrayed and explore individual problems and perspectives, and (iv) surveillance (information about what's going on in the world) (Rayner, Wall & Kruger (2001). McQuail (1987) has categorized media related needs into information, personal identity, integration and social interaction, and entertainment. Rosengren and Windhal (1972) also considered that media could be used for such reasons as: compensation, change, escape, or vicarious experience. Rubin (1979) identified six reasons why children and adolescents watched television in the United States: for learning, habit/ pass time, companionship, escape, arousal, and relaxation, writes Leung (2001). Sparks (2002) claimed that Rubin's (1979) list of television viewing reason was a replicated version of Bradely Greenberg's (1974) study. Katz, Gurevitch and Hass (1973) forwarded a five-fold classification of media needs i.e. cognitive needs, affective needs, personal integrative needs, social integrative needs and tension release needs. Folkert, Lacy, and Davenport (1998) claimed that a more recent classification says that people use media for surveillance of the environment, for making decisions, for entertainment and diversion, and for social and cultural interaction. Lin (2001) found three main needs i.e., escape/interaction, information learning, and entertainment for online services adoption. Haridakis and Rubin (2003) in their study "motivation for watching television violence and viewer aggression" used Rubin's (1983) 27-item television viewing motives scale and found six factors responsible for

respondents' television viewing: (i) pass time, (ii)unwinding, (iii)entertainment, (iv) information, (v) social interaction, and (vi)arousal.

According to Berger (2005) mass media may be used : to be amused, to see authority figures exalted or deflated, to experience the beautiful, to share experiences with others, to satisfy curiosity and to be informed, to identify with the deity and the divine plan, to find distraction and diversion, to experience empathy, to experience, in a guilt-free situation, extreme emotions, to find out models to imitate, to gain identity, to gain information about the world, to reinforce belief in injustice, to reinforce belief in romantic love, to reinforce belief in magic, the marvelous, and the miraculous, to see others make mistakes, to see order imposed on the world, to participate vicariously in history, to be purged of unpleasant emotions, to obtain outlets for sexual drives in a guilt-free context, to explore taboo subjects with impunity, to experience the ugly, to affirm moral, spiritual, and cultural values, and to see villains in action.

As evident from the above listed categories of media-related needs identified in different seminal studies, most of the major categories of needs or gratifications sought are the same. The differences may be due "to different levels of study (e.g. medium or content) and different materials (e.g. different programmes or programme types on say television) in different cultures" Katz, Blumer, and Gurevitch (1974).

Rubin (1984) has termed the kind of needs which are divisionary in nature as ritualized while those which are more utilitarian in character are instrumental needs. As evident from the above mentioned categories media related needs are ritualized or instrumental. Livaditi, Vassilopoulou, Lougos, and Chorianopoulos (2002) did also use the instrumental-ritualized needs categorization.

The present study conceptualizes ritualized needs as companionship, entertainment, escape or passing time, whereas by instrumental needs the researcher means the more goal-directed needs like surveillance, personal understanding, social prestige, and personal relationship. Researchers have found that Instrumental needs exhibit positive correlation while the ritualized needs show negative correlation with audience activity in their media-use behavior. In other words audience activity varies according to the nature of needs they want to gratify from the media (Rubin, 1979; Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1982, Levy & Windahl (1984); Rubin & Perse, 1987b; Swanson & Babrow, 1989, Conway & Rubin, 1991; Livaditi, Vassilopoulou, Lougos, and Chorianopoulos, 2002; Rawan, 2008). The researcher therefore, assumes that:

H2:   *Newspaper-related instrumental needs will be a positive predictor of readers'*
         during-activity while ritualized needs will be a negative predictor of
         newspaper readers' during-activity in their newspaper uses.

Interest in Politics
Scholars are of the opinion that audience's interest in politics makes them selective of news sources (Culbertson & Stempel, 1986; Tan, 1980). As compared to broadcast

media newspapers cover issues with more details (Pinkleton, 1999), and therefore, people who are more interested in politics seek political information in newspapers (Miller & Asp (1985).

There exists greater discrepancy between freedom available to national electronic media and print media. Pakistan Television (PTV) is covering 87% of the population (Pakistan Fact File, 2004) whereas Radio Pakistan reaches to almost 100% population of the country (Hijazi, 2005) but television and radio broadcasting, especially PTV and Radio Pakistan are state-controlled. Private television and radios are also operating in the country, however, private radio stations are mainly focusing on entertainment fares, whereas majority of the population does not have access to private television transmissions. Due to freak financial position a big chunk of the Pakistani population even in urban areas can not afford subscription to such private channels. Another reason of low accessibility to these private channels is that they are young and therefore they have yet to reach to greater parts of the country. Zuberi also views that in Pakistan the print media as compared to broadcast enjoy greater freedom (Khan, Abbasi, Mahsud, Zafar, & Kattikhel, 1999). Rawan (2008) through focus group discussions found that although interest in party politics/ affiliation with some political party was not an important factor for selection of a particular paper but it was mentioned as a decisive cause in selection of contents within the newspaper. The present investigation therefore, hypothesizes that:

H3:   *Interest in politics will be a positive predictor of during-activity of the newspaper readers in their newspaper consumption.*

Social Integration
Grunig views that people at times look for media contents that have some practical relationship with their social environment (Ruggeiro, 2000). Research studies (Moody, 2001; Perse & Rubin, 1990) show positive correlations between level of social isolation and respondents' media consumption. These studies have found that people who are more socially isolated tend to use mass media more than those whose social networks are richer. Besides other variables such as aggression and sensation seeking (dispositional characteristics) Slater (2003) found relationship between adolescents' exposure to violent media and alienation from school, family and peers (sociological variable). Caplin (2003) used loneliness and depression (psychological health) as the independent variables for the online social interaction (media use) of the subjects. He found that together both loneliness and depression accounted for 19 percent of the variance in the preference of for online social interaction. Some of the studies did not trace relationship between the two i.e, loneliness and media uses (for instance, Canary & Spitzberg, 1993). The social structure of Pakistani society is different from the Western society where the above-mentioned studies have taken place. The joint and extended family and close social networks amongst the populace is supposed to be one of the factors which can make people more selective of certain contents, and in turn help them more socially integrated. Rawan (2008) also found that newspaper readers

were very keenly reading those materials in their respective newspaper which they were thought to be of some use to their family member and other relatives, colleagues, friends and other acquaintances. The present study therefore, assumed that:

H4:   *Higher the level of social integration of newspaper readers, greater will be the during-activity in newspaper-use behavior.*

Social integration here refers to the extent of self-reported intimate social relationships of the readers with their family, friends, relatives, workmates, and others whom one can interact socially.

Attitude towards Newspaper
The researcher has conceptualized 'attitude towards newspaper' as reader's mental evaluation of the paper based on affinity with the paper and perceived realism of its contents, specifically its suitability for his own purposes. Literature shows that scholars consider attitude towards a mass medium as one of the important determinants of their activity in media uses. It is defined as "primarily a way of being 'set' toward or against certain thing" (Murphy, Murphy, & Newcomb, 1937, p. 889). The uses and gratifications theory assumes that these are the expectations of people from mass media or other sources, which led people to differential patterns of media uses (Katz et al., 1974). In other words this is their positive or negative evaluation (attitude) which makes them opt for their uses for gratifications of their needs. Similarly, Palmgreen et al. (1985, p. 22), Rubin, Perse, and Taylor (1988) found that attitude towards medium directly relates to its use. Results of Rubin and Perse (1987) indicated that attitude towards soap opera content was one of the significant correlates of involvement.

As far as news and current affairs are concerned in Pakistan print media, particularly daily newspapers are enjoying more credibility than the state-controlled electronic media i.e., Radio Pakistan and Pakistan Television. Of course there are some very good and vocal private news television channels like Geo, ARY, and Aaj but these channels still are largely limited to urban areas and affluent families. In view of the foregoing discussion the researcher hypothesized that:

H5:   *Positive attitude towards newspaper will positively predict during-activity of newspaper readers' in their newspaper-use behaviour.*

Demographic Characteristics
Generally demographic characteristics are supposed to influence audiences' styles and choices in media consumption. Such views are also supported by various research studies. Even the studies of Herta Herzog (1944), Riley and Riley (1951), and Bernard Berelson (1959), which played a significant role in the existence of the uses and gratifications theory, also confirm that demographic characteristics affect media users' activity. Moore (2000) in his study on consumption of satellite television through ethnographic analysis found that gender and age are the key variables in selection and

consumption of televised contents. Kuo (1999) also found positive correlations of age and gender with media consumption styles. The study of Peiser (2000) also lends support to the view that age influences audiences' media consumption behavior. Chan and Goldthorpe (2006) found that social stratification of newspaper readers play an important role in their activity (selectivity of newspaper). Lazarsfeld and Kendall (1960) found that level of education was positively related to reading magazines and books, and negatively related to radio listening and movie going. The researcher also found in group discussions that occupation was one of the determining factors of respondents' activity in their newspaper-use behaviour. Rawan (2008) also found that gender, age, education, income level and occupation bear correlation with different stages of newspapers readers' activity. This study therefore, hypothesizes that:

H6:	*Male and female newspaper readers will exhibit different degrees of during-activity in their newspaper use-behaviour.*
H7:	*Newspaper readers having different occupations will have different levels of during-activity in their newspaper uses.*
H8:	*Age will be positively correlated with readers' during-activity in their newspaper-use behaviour.*
H9:	*The higher the level of education, the greater will be during-activity in newspaper uses.*
H10:	*Income will be positively correlated with during-activity of the readers.*

Methodology

The data were collected through a questionnaire survey of newspaper readers based in Islamabad. The questionnaire was not mailed rather it was self-distributed and collected A hybrid sampling technique, consisting of multistage cluster technique, stratified technique and random technique was employed in this study. Voters' list with some necessary amendments was used as the sampling frame for the study. Final data were collected from a sub-sector (G-9/3) of Islamabad**.** A sample size of 200 was selected for the study. Keeping in view the time and financial constraints, and the purpose of the project, and also the nature of the survey (analytical) the sample size of 200 was used for the study. The strategy of self-distribution and collection of the data gathering instrument worked very well for the researcher. A mail survey achieves a return rate of as low as 20%-40% (Wimmer and Dominick, 1995). However, in this study the researcher attained an aggregate response rate of more than 62 per cent. A total of 124 questionnaires out of 200 were collected by the researcher and his team. Fifteen questionnaires out of 124 were discarded due to lack of face validity. Data of the present study were collected in December 2006 and January 2007.

The data collection tool was comprised of multi-item Likert scales. Seven indicators were selected for measurement of the concept of during-activity. In fact four indicators were selected for Selection of the Contents, and three indicators were used for measuring 'attention given to the selected contents'. These indicators were put together

in the form of statements in a Likert scale. The respondents' were asked to rate their agreement with the seven statements (scale items) on the five-point Likert scale running from 'strongly agree' to 'agree', 'uncertain', 'disagree', and 'strongly disagree'. These five options were given simple weights of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 for favourable statements. For unfavourable statements these weights were reversed to 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Content selectivity and attention given to the selected contents were the two dimensions of during-activity in the present study. Hence, a new index of during-activity was created by combining scores on contents selectivity and attention. Total maximum possible score on the scale was 35. The questionnaire also contained questions regarding education, gender, age, income level and occupation of the respondents.

The researcher has used a 10-item scale for measuring newspaper-related instrumental and ritualized needs. The Likert scale rated respondents' agreement with five given options running from 'strongly agree' to 'agree', 'uncertain', 'disagree', and 'strongly disagree'. The concept of 'interest in politics' in the present study was operationalized through a 7-item scale. High scores on the scale meant greater interest in politics and low score meant negative lower interest politics. The five response categories of the Likert scale used for measurement of this variable was therefore coded as 5 for 'strongly agree', 4 for 'agree', 3 for 'uncertain', 2 for 'disagree' and 1 for 'strongly disagree'. For measurement of respondents' social integration an 8-item scale has been used in this study. These statements were aimed at measuring how the respondent consider himself/ herself integrated to his/ her family and friends. Like most of the above mentioned scales here too favourable statements were scored high whereas the negative options carried lesser scores. Attitude towards the paper was measured through a ten-item scale that contained statements regarding affinity and realism. Respondents expressed their agreement with these statements across five response options i.e., (i) strongly agree, (ii) agree, (iii) uncertain, (iv) disagree and (v) strongly disagree.

Results and Discussions
Results of the data set on respondents' contents selectivity are given in Table 1. The table summarizes data of the four-point scale on respondents' selectivity of content within newspaper, which is a dimension of the during-activity. Mean score of 14.60 (M = 14.60) in a total possible score of 20 (4×5), and the negative skewness of the distribution suggest that the majority of respondents had greater levels of contents' selectivity. While the value of standard deviation (SD= 2.725) of the data set indicates that there were respondents who had higher selectivity levels as well as lower ones. In other words this value indicates the variable nature of the during-activity of the readers. The Chronbach alpha of .80 for the scale signifies that the scale had high internal reliability.

The mean value of the distribution of scores on contents selectivity (M = 14.60) implies that the respondents were not reading newspaper at random; rather they had their own individual preferences for the contents and were selecting only the contents of their own choices. The standard deviation of the data on content selection here confirms that different individuals had different preferences for different contents. Such findings confirm the notion of active media audiences in their media-use behavior. Furthermore, it supports the idea of variation in audience selection of contents within newspaper (or some other mass medium).

Table 1. Summary Statistics of Content Selectivity

Mean	median	range	St. Deviation	Skewness
14.60	15	13	2.725	-.685
Cronbach's alpha = .80			(N=109)	

Respondents' attention to the selected contents within newspaper was measured through a three-point scale. Table 2 shows results of the collected data on respondents' attention.

Table 2 shows the mean value of the collected data on attention given to contents as 9.15 and standard deviation as 2.853. The mean score of 9.15 in a total possible score of 15 (3×5) signifies that on average the respondents were attentive in their newspaper reading. However, the observed score of standard deviation (2.853) suggests that there were also some respondents who scored more than the mean score as well others who scored less. In other words there were some respondents who were more attentively consuming than the average respondent and at the same time there were others who were comparatively passive in attentively consuming the contents.

Like elsewhere in the world, Pakistani newspapers have also greater contents plurality and are trying to gratify the newspaper-related needs of their readers. The results point out that although in general the respondents exhibited greater attention but all respondents had not reported the same level of attention (Sd = 2.85) rather some had reported consumption of newspaper contents with more attention and some with lesser attention. These finding reject the notion of passive audience as well as that of absolute active audience. Rather they support the idea of variable activity of media consumers during their media consumption. The Cronbach's alpha of .84 implies that the 3-point scale of measuring attention given to newspaper contents was internally reliable.

Table 2 Summary Statistics of Data on Attention

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Attention given to newspaper contents	109	3	15	9,22	2,853
Valid N (listwise)	109				

Results of collected data on during-reading activity (selectivity of contents and attention) are given in Table 3. A new index of during-activity was created by combining scores on contents selectivity and attention given to the contents. Total maximum possible score on the scale was 35. Table 3 gives combined scores of content selectivity and attention given to newspaper contents. The table shows that mean score of the data set was 23.81 and standard deviation 4.871. (M = 23.81, Sd = 4.871, N = 109). We know that the total maximum possible score on the during-activity scale was 35 [(4×5) + (3×5)] and the minimum possible score was 7 [(4×1) + (3×1)]. The mean score of the data and its negative skewness indicate that generally the respondents had greater during-activity in their newspaper use-behavior. The score of standard deviation (4.871) suggests greater variation in during-activity of the readers. Some readers were more active than the average respondent in their content selection and attentively reading these contents while others were less active than the average respondent of the study in his/ her content selection and attention given to these contents while reading them. The results are in the hypothesized direction.

Table 3 Summary statistics of data on During-activity

Mean	range	St. Deviation	Skewness
23.81	21 (33-12)	4.871	-.291
(N=109)			

Relationships between pairs of independent and dependent variables were examined through simple linear regression technique and Means procedure with the help of SPSS. Results and discussions on the results have been given the following.

N*ewspaper-related instrumental* and *ritualized needs* were regressed against during-activity. It was found that Newspaper-related instrumental needs was a significant predictor of during-activity (ß = .61, ρ = .000) while newspaper-related ritualized needs proved to be a significant negative predictor of the criterion variable ((ß = -.76, ρ = .000). This means that newspaper readers who wanted to gratify instrumental needs by newspaper exposure were choosier in content selection and were also reading the selected contents attentively. The negative correlation of *ritualized needs* with *during activity* means that those who have greater diversionary needs are less selective in newspaper contents and they also give lesser attention to the contents they read. In other words, ritualized needs lead to lesser during activity. The findings are in the hypothesized direction. The results substantiate the claim of the proponents of uses and gratification theory that media audience are active, their media use is goal oriented, and that audience have their own felt needs that motivate them for consumption of some particular mass medium and contents (Katz, Blumer & Gurevitch, 1974).

The Beta value of *interest in politics* for relationships with during-activity (ß = .48) and that the observed significance level (ρ =.000) imply that interest in politics had a significant positive correlation with during activity. In other words, those interested in

politics were actively selecting contents of their interest and they were also found attentively reading such contents. These results substantiate the findings of Miller and Asp (1985), and confirm the views of Culbertson and Stempel (1986), Tan (1980), Pinkleton (1999), and McCombs (1972) regarding relationship between media, especially newspaper and people interest in politics.

It was found that *social integration* accounted for only seven percent variance in during-activity (ß=0.075) while the computed significance level was .474, which suggests that social integration was a non-significant positive predictor of respondents' during-activity (ß=0.075, ρ=.474). The findings are contrary to expectations. This means that those who are more socially integrated are less selective in content selection, and reading newspaper contents with lesser attention. The results did not support that of Leung (2001), Caplin (2003) and Slater (2003) rather it was more supportive of the results of Canary and Spitzberg (1993).

The study hypothesized that positive *attitude towards newspaper* will predict during-activity of newspaper readers positively in their newspaper use behaviour. The results of simple linear regression analyses of bivariate relationships between *attitude towards newspaper* and *during-activity* showed that attitude towards newspaper explained almost 30 percent of the variance in during-activity (R^2 = .298). It also reveals that *attitude towards newspaper* positively predicted during-activity of the newspaper readers (ß = .41, ρ = .000). Hence, the results support hypotheses number 5. This means that newspaper readers select the contents and consume them attentively which they view are more realistic and which are compatible to their psychological structure. The findings support the views of Katz et al (1974) and Palmgreen and associates (1985) regarding the role of attitude in media consumption behavior. The results also confirm the findings of Rubin, Perse and Taylor (1988), and Rubin and Perse (1987a).

The relationships between gender and during-activity were examined through means procedure. Results of the analyses indicated that the means of male group (M = 24.30) and that of female group (M = 23.28) are almost the same. Similarly, the computed value of Eta squared and significance value (Eta squared = .011, ρ = .274) suggest that gender accounted for only one percent variation in during-activity. These values indicate that gender was not a very significant predictor of respondents' during-activity in their newspaper consumption. The results are not in the hypothesized direction. It shows that keeping irrespective of other variables both male and female readers were equally selective in contents of their own choice, and gender also did not affect their attention given to the selected contents.

Analysis of the collected data on occupation and during-activity illustrates that the four occupation groups had different mean scores on during-activity (M1 = 23.81, M2 = 22.13, M3 = 24.02, M4 = 20.89). The results suggest that occupation predict during-activity of newspaper readers in their newspaper consumption. This means that people select media contents which are more functional in terms of their occupation they

belong to. These findings support the basic philosophy of the uses and gratifications theory. The results also confirm the findings of Chan and Goldthorpe (2006) on relationship between occupation and activity. These results are also in the hypothesized direction.

It was conjectured (H8) that *age* will be positively correlated with newspaper readers' during-activity in their newspaper-use behavior. The gathered data were analyzed for investigation of relationship between *age* and during-activity. The computed values of R^2 (.04), ß (.73) and ρ (.03) indicated that respondents' age had a positive significant correlation with during-activity. This means that comparatively older people were more selective of content within newspaper and they were also reading the selected contents with more attention. These results substantiate the findings of Peiser (2000), Moore (2000) and Kuo (1999).

Analysis of correlation between *education* and during-activity indicates that education was a non-significant positive predictor of during-activity. These results are not in the hypothesized direction. In other words, there is the possibility that respondents selected their newspaper as per their educational levels. For example, a person having lesser education would not be able to read and/ or understand an English language newspaper; therefore he/she selected the newspaper which he /she can better comprehend. But after selection of newspaper, education did not show any significant relationship with readers' content selection, attention and utility of the contents. These results are in line with the findings of Lazarsfeld and Kendall (1960).

Hypothesis number 10 assumed that *income* will be a positively correlated with newspaper readers' during activity. Analysis of the collected data showed that *income* was not a significant predictor (R^2 = .004, ß = .24, ρ = .50) of during activity of the readers. It means that income level did not affect content selectivity and attention of the readers.

Conclusion
The results indicate that the newspaper readers in Islamabad, Pakistan are not passively consumed newspaper contents. Rather they are active in selection of the contents which they deem helpful in gratification of their newspaper-related needs. However, readers' during-activity changes with the nature of needs. Instrumental needs or the more goal-directed needs such as surveillance, personal understanding, social prestige and personal relationship make the readers active in selection of contents, and also go a long way in attentively consuming these contents. On the other hand newspaper-related ritualized needs like companionship, entertainment, escape or passing time make the readers passive in their content selection and involvement during newspaper reading. Similarly, interest in politics, attitude towards newspaper, age and occupation also proved to be predictors of audiences' during-activity in newspaper reading. Hence we conclude that Pakistani society like elsewhere in the world are using mass media contents as per their own needs, and as per the whims and will of the communicator.

We can also conclude that during-activity of the audiences is not uniform and universal rather it varies in relation to different variables. These findings support the uses and gratifications theory therefore; we can claim that the uses and gratifications theory also holds ground in a society like that of Pakistan which bears lesser similarities with the West in terms of media system, media-government relationships, and social and cultural perspectives.

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The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations in Rural Development and Village Electrification:

A Case Study of District Chitral, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

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Abstract

Rural development in Pakistan is a highly politicised and inconsistent process. Literature on local government and rural development reveals that almost all programmes have been initiated by state authorities following a top-down approach. The local communities have not been integrated in this process properly. The provision of basic facilities and infrastructure has remained one of the major components of rural development strategies. The elected representatives at various levels have been concerned with the provision of drinking water, electricity and natural gas etc. to their respective constituencies. However, in the 1980s non-governmental organisations (NGOs) also became active in the provision of basic facilities to the rural areas. They have followed participatory approaches for project identification; priority has been given to the felt needs of the communities. In this paper an attempt is made to look into the role of NGOs in rural development and the provision of basic facilities. To highlight the success of the bottom-up approach village electrification in a peripheral district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been selected. Relevant data has been collected from the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) office at Chitral and other sources as well as by means of own surveys. The research reveals that micro-hydels have been one of the most successful productive physical infrastructures in Chitral district. The sustainable management of these projects highlights the managerial capacity of the inhabitants in the remote and marginalized localities.

1.   Introduction

The history of rural development in Pakistan is characterised by inconsistency and highly politicised short-term projects without any proper appraisal and feedback. There is no tradition of research for necessary improvements of the planning process.

Reviews of available literature reveal many drawbacks and limitations at various levels in the planning process (cf. Bokhari 1981, Ali 1984, Beg 1986, Gill & Mohy-Ud-Din 1988, Zaman 1989 and Khan 1995). To streamline rural development and decentralization of power, a new local government system was introduced in 2001 through a devolution plan formulated by the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB). Similar to the previous experiences, there were many drawbacks in the newly introduced system and no corrective measures were adopted to remove these deficiencies. Though the inherent deficiencies were elaborately pointed out by the state authorities (cf. GoP 2005), and before the adoption of remedial mechanisms, this system also reached its logical end following the change of government in 2008. Consequently, the administrative structure of 2000 was restored and the apprehension of the researchers became a reality. According to Wood (2006: 25f.) "Given the history of government in Pakistan, there can be no guarantees that the present arrangements will survive a change of regime. At the same time, it is hard to imagine that this current experience of representative local government will be easy to dismiss by any future regime, unless it is done so by starving local authorities of budgets."

Political instability, rivalries among the various government departments and tag of war among the representatives of the local government and members of national and provincial assemblies have been considered to be some of the major factors for the failure of different projects initiated by different institutions for rural development. According to Zaman (1989: 27), "At its heart, therefore, local and rural development is a political enterprise, not a social and/or economic one. The first requirement for failing at local development is to be unwilling to transfer power to the local or rural population − whether the approach is of community development, cooperatives or extension; whether the members of local development institutions (the agents of change) are outsiders or insiders (elected, nominated or both), or whether they are part of administration or government." Moreover, with regard to development of the mountainous region the state authorities neither considered the mountain specificities (cf. Jodha 1992, 1997) nor the indigenous mechanisms of collective survival, reciprocal activities and resource utilisation strategies were incorporated in the plans (cf. Fazlur-Rahman 2005, 2007b).

One of the major considerations of political governments and local leaders in rural development is the provision and extension of basic services and amenities to rural areas. Therefore, rural electrification has been one of the main subjects of development for political representatives. At national level there are contradictory figures on the number of villages currently having electricity and need to be connected with this facility in the future. According to Frings et al. (2005: 1) the total number villages in the country having no access to electricity were 170,000 and out of this about 40,000 were planned to be connected to the national grid within the next decade. However, the government is planning to integrate local governments for the extension of this facility and according to GoP (2005: 420) "During the Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) period, [2005-2010] 12,285 villages/*Abadies* would be

electrified." Moreover, as to the Water and Power Development Authority (GOP 2005-06: 37) it was planned to electrify 103,253 villages in the country. Out of this 57,280 villages are in Punjab, 18,914 villages in Sindh. In Baluchistan 5,873 villages and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa/FATA 21,186 localities will be connected with electricity. This situation is further confused when the abovementioned village numbers are compared with the last official census conducted in 1998 (GoP 2001: 103). According to these figures there were only 48,000 villages in the six administrative units of Pakistan.

In Chitral district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa the situation of energy supply is quite critical. Despite the high potential of hydroelectricity generation capacity that is estimated to be more than 190 MW (cf. Israr-Ud-Din 2008: 182) only 22.5% of the rural households were connected with electricity in 1998 (GoP 1999: 54). However, with the passage of time the situation has improved and according to GoNWFP & IUCN (2004: 68) the number of household connected to electricity has increased to 67%. AKRSP is the major provider through its micro-hydel schemes spread throughout the district. The major source of energy for cooking and space heating is still fuel wood. Except few households in the Chitral town area almost all the villagers are dependent on fuel wood - according to official figures these are more than 96% (GoP 1999: 54). Due to its limited availability and high cost electricity cannot replace the traditional fuels. However, the provision of electricity in the remote villages of the district will play a major role in human resource development; increase working hours in winter months, enhance access to information and diversify entertainment opportunities.

The establishment of mini and micro hydroelectricity at village/union council levels through the integration of local people is one step in the proper direction to achieve the abovementioned goals. This initiative would also mitigate the problem of energy supply, provide employment to the local inhabitants and increase local saving. According to Wood & Malik (2006: 88) "electricity… [generated from the micro-hydels] can have a crucially positive impact upon livelihoods and gender relations, improving the quality of life and well-being. It also crucially contributes to the longer term development of human capital by enabling extended studying time and eventually accessing electronic communication (television and information technology)." The provision of electricity from these micro-hydels has multiple impacts on the individual households (see also Maier 2007: 24f.). It is not only the cheapest means for lighting but it also enhances human capacity building. According to Malik et al. (2006: 218) "The greatest impact of power generation project was noticed in the form or reduced expenditure on kerosene oil and batteries. Apart from these direct effects, reduction in the workloads of women, increase in the study time for children, and increase productive activities like embroidery work during the nights were among other visible changes. The reports from the selected villages showed that the average savings on kerosene oil were in the range of Rs. 58,000 to Rs. 210,000 per village per annum. Similarly the savings on batteries were reported in the range of Rs. 19,000 to Rs. 80,000 per village per annum." However, the impact of electricity on the consumption of fuel wood is yet to be

ascertained (Clemens 2001), because it has totally changed the time use and management of the household of the area.

Keeping the significance of micro hydroelectricity as a potential source for decentralised energy supply in the northern mountainous belt of Pakistan in mind an attempt is made to study the AKRSP contribution in rural electrification. This study is focused on Chitral district and based on the primary data collected from AKRSP office Chitral as well as own investigations (cf., Chapter 3). The main objective of this study is to find out the spatial distribution, electricity generation capacity and temporal development of micro-hydel projects in the district. Moreover, the local management system is also explored to highlight the managerial capacity of the villagers as development partners. Before going into the detail a brief analysis of the existing energy situation in the study area is given below.

2.   Study Area

Chitral is the northernmost and area-wise largest district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Geographically this district lies between ca. 35° to 37° North latitude and ca. 71° to 74° East longitude. This district has a common boundary with Afghanistan on the north and west. The Northern Areas of Pakistan are located on the east and Dir and Swat districts are situated towards the south (Fig. 1). The district is surrounded by highest ranges of the Hindu Kush mountain systems ranging in height from 6,000 to 7,000 meters. The whole district is mountainous with steep slopes, deep valleys and interlocking spurs. It is separated from the rest of the country by the Hindu Raj range and is accessible through passes of more than 3,000 meters. Therefore, this area is always cut off from the country for more than six months of the year due to heavy snow over the passes. The Lawari tunnels project is expected to be completed in about two year time. The first phase, i.e. digging of the tunnel, is completed now (spring 2009). The area is deficient in natural resources. Especially cultivated land is very limited because of topography and water availability. Only 2% of the total geographical area is under plough. Both terrain condition and aridity effect natural vegetation (cf. Nüsser & Dickoré 2002). Forest resources are mainly located in the lower parts of the districts. These are under huge pressure due to increasing population, mismanagement and overexploitation (Israr-Ud-Din & Fazlur-Rahman 2003). Almost half of the villages (40%) are located at high altitude above 2,700 meters (Israr-Ud-Din 2008: 178) where long winters not only restrict vegetation growth but also increase the demand of fuel wood for cooking and space heating. The inhabitants of the high altitude villages also heavily depend on the vegetation resources of the southern district both for timber and fuel wood.

Figure 1: Location of Chitral district
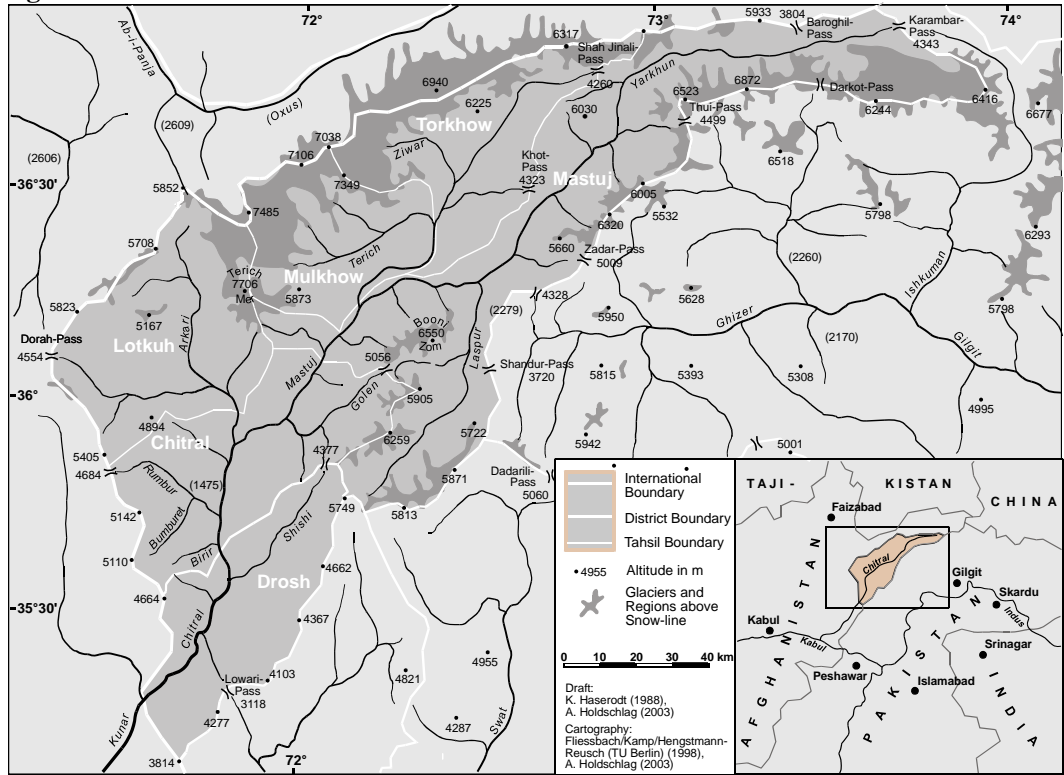
Chitral district has a wide potential of hydrological resources which are not properly developed. Currently only 15.6 MW of electricity is generated in the district. Out of this more than 6 MW is generated by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme through micro-hydel schemes. It is followed by the Sarhad Hydel Development Organisation (SHYDO) with an installed capacity of 4.4 MW. The Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) has only generated 1 MW of electricity. It is planned to establish a big powerhouse in Koghozi at Golen Gole with the designed capacity of 107 MW. At present, Chitral is deficient of only 10 MW and the rest will be supplied to the down country by the generating authority (WAPDA or SHYDO). The main features of electricity supply in the district are as follows:

- 2.8 MW hydropower station at Reshun about 60 km north of Chitral town
- 1 MW hydropower station in Chital town
- 300 kW Shishi hydropower station near Drosh in lower Chitral
- 100 kW Garam Chashma hydropower station
- 33 kV transmission line connecting Chitral town to the national grid via Lawari pass over the Hindu Raj range.

- Additionally, a number of community and private based hydropower stations have been installed.

3. Material and Methods

For this study data has been collected from a variety of primary and secondary sources. Detailed data was provided by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme Office, Chitral. It includes the name of the village organisation, date of initiation of the micro-hydel project, cost, capacity, numbers of beneficiary households etc. The data was analysed at both tehsil and union council levels, however, the former unit was used throughout this study for comparison. Information from other sources was also consulted based on their availability for substantiation. In the 1998 census village electrification data is available for all the listed villages. This provided a reliable source for the number of electrified households at villages. Moreover, published and unpublished data was also collected from reports of AKRSP. This data has been substantiated from the authors' own empirical research and focused group interviews from the stakeholders. This provided a good insight into the mechanisms whereby the local community has been integrated in the process from initiation of the project to the commissioning, practical operation and maintenance.

4. Non-Governmental Organisations' Role in Development

Since the 1980s many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are also actively engaged in rural development activities in the mountainous region of Pakistan. Among others the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) has become quite successful in the Northern Areas and Chitral. The AKRSP followed participatory development approach from the identification of problems to the implementation of plans. The necessary maintenance responsibilities were also entrusted to the beneficiary households. The contemporary research on the Northern Areas and Chitral reveals that AKRSP has achieved a high level of success in most of its projects (cf. Buzdar 1988: 16, Kreutzmann 1989, 1993, Husain 1992, World Bank 1995, 2002, Pilardeaux 1998: 380f., Clemens 2000, Khan & Hunzai 2000, Zia 2000: 231f., Fazlur-Rahman 2007b and Holdschlag 2009). Out of the total projects initiated through village organisations in the whole region the success of irrigation and transport related projects is highest and more than 80% of the projects were completed (World Bank 2002). AKRSP also integrated womenfolk in the development process with the establishment of women's organisation (Noor Shahidin 2008). This process was not easy and according to Wood & Shakil (2006: 386f.) "In the conservative parts of Baltistan, Chitral and even Gilgit, the spirit of women's participation through WOs suffered from setbacks as AKRSP female staff were having to attend to mainstream VOs as well as WOs." Consequently, projects completed by women's organisations reveal disparity in the whole program area and not a single project has been successfully completed in Chitral (Table 1). Moreover, other researchers also reached the same conclusion with regard to women's participation in the development activities (cf. Ives 1997: 80).[1]

**Table   1: Productive Physical Infrastructures (PPI) in the Program Area of
            AKRSP (2000)**

Type of Productive Physical Infrastructure (PPI)	Projects (total number)			Completed (in Percent)		
	Baltistan	**Chitral**	**Gilgit**	**Baltistan**	**Chitral**	**Gilgit**
Irrigation	436	315	368	85	95	85
Transport	143	213	131	83	94	82
Others	209	246	65	89	90	88
Total Village Organisation	**788**	**774**	**564**	**85**	**93**	**85**
Women Organisation	*14*	*5*	*74*	*71*	*0*	*51*
Grand Total	**802**	**779**	**638**	**85**	**92**	**81**

Source: Modified from World Bank 2002.

All the productive physical infrastructure projects of AKRSP have been channelled
through village and women organisations. According to GoNWFP & IUCN (2004: 42)
"By December 2000, the AKRSP had formed 758 village organisations and 382
women's organisations, with 29,116 and 13,590 members, respectively, and combined
savings of Rs 95 million. The AKRSP has also created 79 cluster organisations."
Through these organisation projects related to agriculture, animal husbandry as well as
human resource development were executed. In addition, resource management and
micro-hydel development was also undertaken at village levels and AKRSP became
the second-largest contributor to Chitral's power supply after WAPDA. To facilitate
operation and maintenance, the AKRSP has trained 254 plant operators (ibid: 43).

In the early 1990s, the "Chitral Area Development Project" (CADP) was introduced in
the district. Unlike AKRSP this programme was financed by the International Fund for
Agricultural Development (IFAD), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the
Government of Pakistan. CADP followed the same general principles as AKRSP and
established some new village organisations in the whole district for the provision of
basic facilities and infrastructures. According to GoNWFP & IUCN (2004: 45) "The
CADP established 681 male community-based organisations (CBOs), 508 with
productive physical infrastructure. Their performance has been satisfactory, with
combined savings of Rs 19 million. The CADP also set up 229 women's organisations
with savings of Rs 2 million." The CADP also established 37 micro-hydel power
plants, which generate 1.33 MW of electricity and about 3% of households in the
district benefited from these micro-hydels. Moreover, the CADP constructed 222 km
of farm-to-market roads, besides providing funds to widen and blacktop the 76 km
Chitral–Booni road (ibid: 27). Both AKRSP and CADP given highest priority to
agricultural development and have invested more than Rs. 139.30 million in the
irrigation sector (Fazlur-Rahman 2007b). Since AKRSP is single important producer
of hydroelectricity in the district through its micro-hydel projects therefore, in the
following the discussion is focused on rural electrification to look into the
development and geographical distribution of these plants.

5.   Results and Discussion

From 1983 to 2002 AKRSP has initiated a total of 205 micro-hydel projects in Chitral district. Compared to other regions in the program area of AKRSP highest numbers of micro-hydel projects have been reported from Chitral. These projects were given to bothvillage organisations (VOs) as well as to cluster organisation. In Lotkuh and Mastuj tehsils most of the micro-hydel projects were given to cluster organisations, i.e. 63% and 60% respectively. These tehsils were followed by Torkhow tehsil where only eight out of 31 projects were given to cluster organisations. Out of this at the time of data collection 151 (73.7%) units were properly functioning. In this district 183 were new projects, 22 projects were initiated for the improvement of the existing one. Only 17 projects were totally failed because of physical problems, i.e. unavailability of sufficient amount water for running the machine, and disunity among the villagers. Maximum numbers of failed projects have been reported from Mastuj tehsil, followed by Chitral tehsil. In Mulkhow tehsil out of ten projects three failed (Fig. 2). The union council-wise distribution of failed micro-hydel also reveals an interesting picture. In Charun union council, Mastuj tehsil, almost all the seven initiated projects failed. It was followed by union council of Koh, in Chitral tehsil, where out of twelve units five failed. In Kosht union council more than 42% of the initiated micro-hydel projects failed. In Garam Chashma and Ayun union councils only a single project failed. In the remaining union councils almost all the initiated projects were successfully completed and were also functioning properly.

Fig. 2:   Chitral: Characteristics and Distribution of Micro-hydel Projects 2005
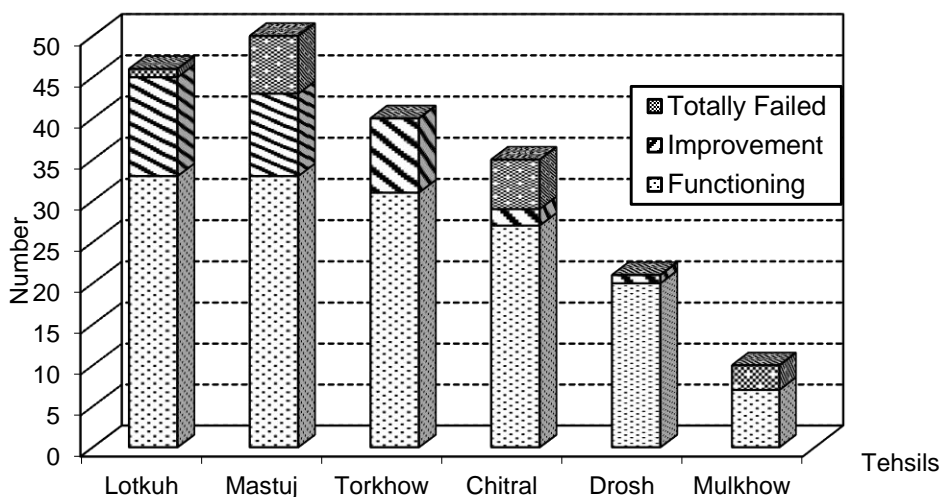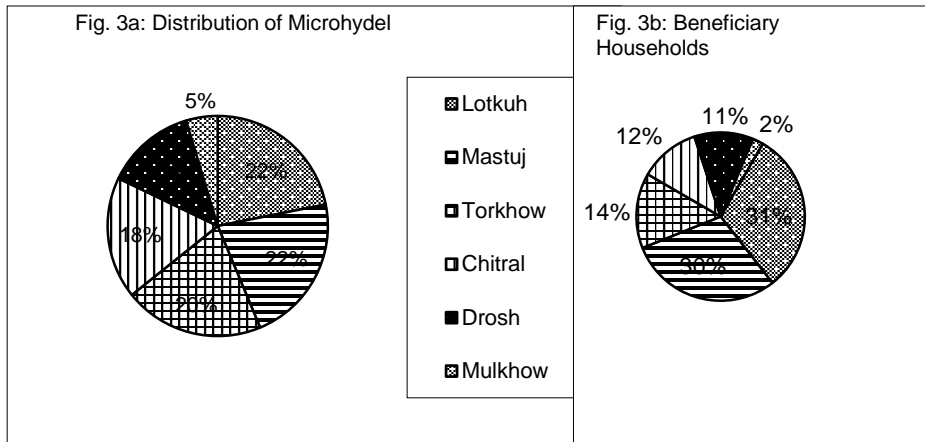

Source: Data AKRSP office Chitral. (Authors' own calculation)

The spatial distribution of micro hydroelectricity projects in the district reveals an uneven pattern. It mainly results from the physical environmental settings (availability of sufficient amount of water) and willingness of the local people to accept the AKRSP program. Moreover, consensus among the households of the village as for the establishment of a micro-hydel unit was another important factor for the success. The data reveals that both Lotkuh and Mastuj tehsils have equal numbers of micro-hydel units (33) that makes 22% of the total functioning units in the district. It was followed by Torkhow tehsil with 31 units. Minimum numbers of micro-hydels have been reported from Mulkhow tehsil that are only seven (4.6%).

From these micro-hydel units the number of beneficiary households is more than 15,000. It is mostly used for lighting purposes. The majority of the powerhouses are operated during nighttime from sun set to the early dawn (Fazlur-Rahman 2007b). However, light electric appliances such as transistors, mobile phones, televisions and computers etc. are also used. Moreover, where the power is suitable electric irons and geysers are also used for heating water. Due to the problem of capacity it cannot be used for cooking and heating. As it is evident from the distribution of micro-hydels the number of beneficiary households are maximum in Lotkuh where more than 4,600 households are connected with these micro-hydels. It is followed by Tehsil Mastuj where more than 4,000 households are taking benefit from this facility. Lowest numbers of beneficiary households have been reported from Mulkhow tehsil (Fig. 3a & 3b).

Fig. 3: Chitral District: Tehsil-wise Distribution of Micro-hydel Units and Beneficiary Households 2002

Fig. 3a: Distribution of Microhydel

Fig. 3b: Beneficiary Households

Legend: Lotkuh, Mastuj, Torkhow, Chitral, Drosh, Mulkhow

Source: Data AKRSP office Chitral. (Authors' own calculation)

These micro-hydel projects were not included in the initial framework of the AKRSP. Later on these became part of the productive physical infrastructure (PPI). The first micro-hydel was established in Lotkuh tehsil in August 1983. Since then this project was offered

to the village organisations. The available data reveals that most of these projects (58.3%) were constructed during 1996-2000-time period. From 1983 to 1995 the total number was 48 (31.8%). Less than 10% of the micro-hydels were constructed after the year 2001 and onward. Tehsil-wise temporal development of the micro-hydel units shows that in Chitral and Torkhow tehsil the number of units constructed in both time periods (before 1995 and 1996-2000) is equal. However, in other tehsil such as Lotkuh, Drosh and Mastuj most of the units were constructed between 1996-2000 periods (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4:   Chitral District: Tehsil-wise Development of Micro-hydel Projects 1983-2003
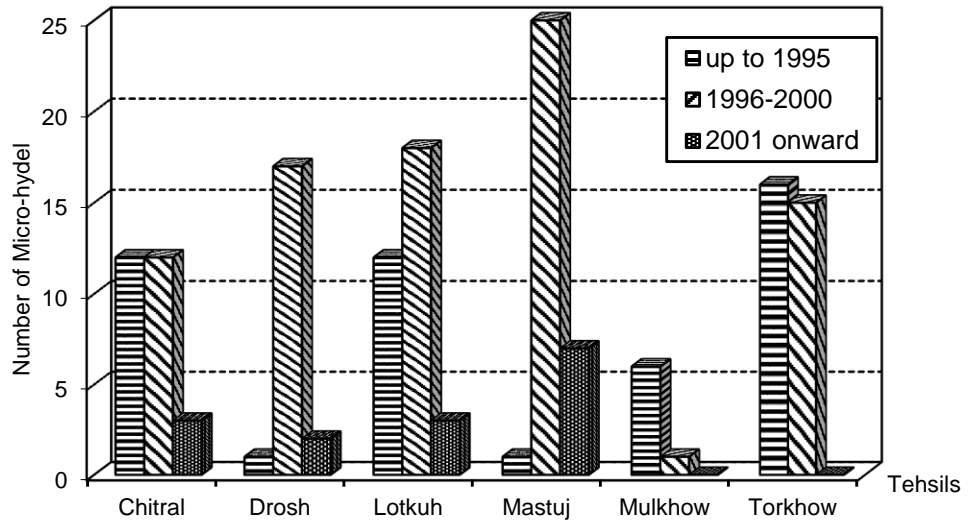
Source: Data AKRSP office Chitral. (Authors' own calculations)

Capacity-wise distribution of the micro-hydels in the district is also interesting[2]. The lowest capacity micro-hydels (up to 10 kW) were mostly concentrated in Torkhow tehsil. They constitute 37.5% of the total unit in that category and 19% of the total number of micro-hydels in the tehsil. It was followed by Chitral tehsil where the number of up to 10 kW units was four. In the second category (11-20 kW) the number of units was the same in Chitral and Torkhow tehsil and both had twelve units each. The concentration of highest capacity of micro-hydels (>41 kW) was found in the Lotkuh tehsil. They constitute more than 42% of the total unit and more than 69% of units present in this tehsil. It was followed by Mastuj tehsil where the numbers of these units were 16. They constitute more than 48% of the total micro-hydel projects of the tehsil (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5:   Chitral District: Power Generation Capacity of Micro-hydels 2002
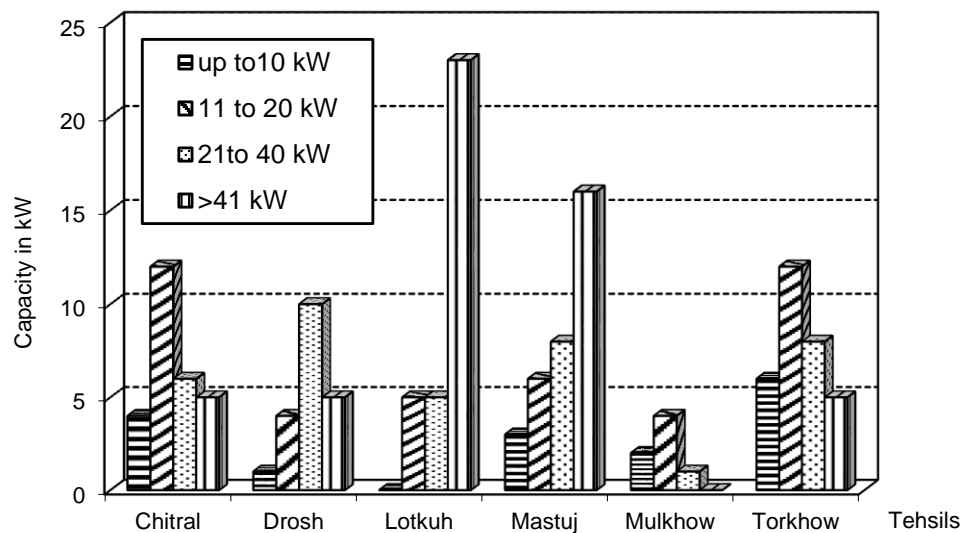
Source: Data AKRSP office Chitral. (Authors' own calculations)

Like other projects of AKRSP these micro-hydel were also handed over to the respective village/cluster Organisations for operation and maintenance. AKRSP also trained one person from each village/cluster Organisation for the smooth running of the powerhouses. Usually two to three persons were needed to keep the system running depending on the physical condition and length of the channel. Moreover, the village organisation has to establish a committee for running the day-to-day affairs of micro-hydels including operation, maintenance of the machines as well as of the power channel and collection of monthly bills from the beneficiary households (see also Maier 2007: 35ff.). At the beginning it was quite a difficult job, however, with the passage of time the managerial capacity of the communities enhanced. The actors integrated this task as part of their traditional cooperative activity. In majority of the cases the communities have decentralised the management system. The monthly bill collection is done at a neighbourhood level and a member of the management committee is responsible for that. Likewise the channel of the powerhouse has been divided amongst the beneficiary household on equal share basis. The members of the management committees are usually nominated for one-year tenure.

The billing system varies from place to place. Generally three different types of system are followed in the study area. The common practice is to fix a minimum amount of Rs. 30 on every household on monthly basis for a maximum three small-sized florescent tube lights. However, Rs. 10 is charged on the additional number of tube lights. In some cases meters are installed on every household and the consumers are charged according to the

energy consumption. In few localities the user households are charged based on their monthly income. Bill paid by a household is entered in a register on his name and after the payment of the salaries of the workers the rest is treated as his personal saving. The total amount of money is also treated as a saving of the whole village/cluster organisation. Most of the village/cluster organisations have kept this money in the bank, however, few village organisation are keeping it with the trusted persons of the village committee. In the latter case the income and expenditure accounts are updated on monthly basis and the yearly balance sheet is always presented to the newly nominated members of the management committee. Despite its numerous benefits discussed elsewhere (Fazlur-Rahman 2005, 2007a, b) the money paid as bill for electricity consumption becomes a saving for the households. They are using it as collateral for getting loan or sometimes they are also giving interest free loans to other needy people of the village. Contrary to the findings of Maier (2007: 55f.) in Torkhow few village organisations collected enough money both from bill payment and other sources. They have reinvested parts of this money and purchased an extra machine for their micro-hydel to be on the safe side in case of any problem in the generator.

It has been reported by other researchers (Maier 2007: 68ff.) that 20% of the functioning micro-hydels were abandoned in few villages of the district. Three reasons have been given for the abandonment, i.e. conflict amongst the users, non-repairable damage to the infrastructure due to natural hazards and availability of alternative electricity provider. Out of these causes the latter plays a major role in the abandonment of the properly functioning micro-hydels. Our research supports this finding. Actually, the problem lies in the energy generation capacity of the micro-hydels and more than 60% of the total units have the capacity of up to 40 kW. Therefore, the beneficiary households cannot use any electric appliances other than lighting, cassette players and television. At the same time electricity provided by other sources (in this case Sarhad Hydel Development Organisation, SHYDO) have more capacity and can also run other domestic appliances such as washing machine, refrigerator, iron, geysers etc. Thus the villagers opted for it subject to the availability and thus the micro-hydels were abandoned. However, in the remote and peripheral localities of the district the micro-hydels are still successfully operated by the beneficiary households.

6.   Conclusion

The study on rural development in one of the peripheral and mountainous district of northern Pakistan reveals that the bottom-up approach followed by the non-governmental organisations in the provision of basic facilities and infrastructure remained cost effective and successful. Most of the projects were the felt need of the communities and initiated through mutual understanding and consensus. After the completion these projects were handed over to the concerned members of the village organisations. For maintenance and operation the beneficiary households have adopted their indigenous management system based on their local knowledge and personal experience. Based on this study it can be concluded that the integration of local

inhabitants in the planning process is essential not only for the successful completion of the project but it is also a prerequisite for the future sustainability of rural development as a whole. The failure of few projects can be attributed to natural constraints and external interventions. Moreover, it is also evident from the study that if the local communities are taken into confidence they can be a dependable development partner for implementation and maintenance of the completed projects. Thus for the future sustainability of rural development in Pakistan the attitude of the line agencies need to be changed towards the rural communities and the latter should be positively represented.

Notes

[1]The employment opportunities in the various branches of Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) have drastically changed the traditional social hierarchy and socio-economic structure of the villagers, and at the same time created frustration amongst the people on the distribution of employment (Marsden 2005: 44).

[2]The capacity of a project is usually determined by water availability during the long winter season, number of beneficiary households and topography of the site. Moreover, there are some problems associated with the design of the turbine and generator etc. as well.

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The Islamic Perspective on Environmental Issues:
Key Insights and Points of Departure from Other Religious Doctrines

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Abstract

In this paper we consider the important relationship between religion and the environment by focusing on the unique perspective offered by Islam, a topic that has received little attention in the scholarly literature. Our analysis is based on examination of Qur'anic text, the Hadith, and a number of additional primary and secondary sources. We discuss several key issues that include the general environmental orientation of Islam, as well as its view of stewardship, sustainability, the role of the state in protecting the environment, and the treatment of animals. Conclusions are drawn that make comparisons to other religions highlighting areas of overlap and departure. We find that on the whole, Islam offers a rather strong environmental ethic of justice that has received scant attention.

Much attention in environmental sociology is focused on the material basis of degradation, or what Buttel (1987) would refer to as "core" environmental sociology. This approach has mainly drawn from the political economy perspective (cf. Foster 1997; Jorgenson and Kick 2006) and its application to explain a host of environmental problems such as climate change (c.f., Roberts and Parks 2006), biodiversity loss (c.f., Hoffman 2004), and deforestation (c.f., Rudel 1989). In comparison, less attention has been devoted to the cultural study of the environment. However, as Bell (2004) notes, the material use and degradation of the environment is informed heavily by cultural ideas. For instance, Weber (1996 [1930]) illustrated how cultural ideas were important for giving rise to capitalism in his classic work on the Protestant Ethic.

Just as culture informs economic systems, it likewise informs how people relate to and use the environment. Thus, in the tradition of Weber, we focus on the important cultural significance of religion in our analysis of the environment. Surprisingly, within the modest sociological literature examining religion and the environment we find little discussion of the Islamic perspective, and no discussion of how it departs from the Judeo-Christian religious tradition. In addressing this gap in the literature, we begin with a brief consideration of analyses of other religions and their views of the

environment. From here, we identify key themes in the literature which we use as points of departure in our evaluation of the Islamic perspective.

Religion and the Environment

The relationship between religious views and the environment has long interested scholars. For instance, it was the focus of international conferences such as that held by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in Assisi, Italy in 1986. The WWF invited representatives of the world's major faiths to share their vision of nature, responsibility, and the place of human's within the natural world. The meeting resulted in initiating a conversation between conservationists and religionists based on an important idea:

> Conservationists need to recognize their cultural roots and learn that many of their analyses and perceptions uncritically accept Western, utilitarian, anthropocentric norms. Likewise, the great faiths and their cultures need to realize how urgent the environmental crisis is, and learn how to express to this generation the eternal trusts they bear regarding our relationship with nature (Palmer qouted in Soubra 1993:52).

Similarly, the International Society for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture is a society that has been organized in the last three years and is devoted to analysis of these issues. Scholars in this society seek to outline the moral values affecting the method and degree to which nature is used for human benefit. This is borne out of a desire for a morally informed discourse that is socially responsible for environmental problems. Mangun and Henning (1999) propose that environmental initiatives always involve values, whether they are there to exploit the environment or protect it. For this reason, a focus on how values are formed is highly important for understanding how we think about and use our natural environment.

Past analyses of religion and the environment include consideration of the so-called "old religions" as well as those found outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition. For instance, Merchant (1992) discusses Wicca—the ancient Celtic religion—and the way that it encourages an admiration of nature and a deep ecological ethic that emphasizes the healing qualities of nature. Similarly, ancient Native American religions urge a high level of respect for nature that—like Wicca—rejects the dualism of animate and inanimate nature that she claims is found in Judeo-Christian tradition (though we will argue it is absent in the Islamic faith). Merchant also discusses Buddhist, Taoist, Hindu, and other forms of eastern philosophy or religious environmental ethics as being pro-ecological. Like the old religions of the West, these doctrines emphasize a non-transcendent view of humans and nature that promotes harmony and oneness. For instance, Taoism values working *with* rather than *against* nature through its wu-wei doctrine (Bell 2004).

In contrast to old Western religions and Eastern thought, is the anthropocentric ethic of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Lynn White (1967) was one of the first to link

Christianity to the destructive ecological practices of the West by focusing on the influence of the church on science and technology, and particularly the spread of the plow in agriculture.   White noted that when European cultures eschewed pagan religions for Christianity, they likewise altered their ethic from one in which people are viewed as being a part of nature to one in which people stand above nature and dominate it.   While pagan religions emphasize oneness with nature, Christianity promotes a dualism between humans and nature.   Finally, the old religious view that a spirit lives in nature is replaced with the Christian view of nature as dead or inanimate.   These notions of a dualistic ethic of domination and anthropocentrism can be found in the book of Genesis (cited in Bell 2004: 132):

> And God said: Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let him have dominion of the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. (Genesis 1:26)

However, there is a lack of consensus over whether White offers a fair characterization of the influence of the Christian church. Bell's (2004) examination reveals a more ecologically benevolent dimension to Christian doctrine. For instance, the book of Genesis emphasizes that all creatures—not just humans— have the right to "be fruitful and multiply upon the earth" (Genesis 8:15-17). In addition, this book discusses God's "covenant between Me [God] and the earth" (Genesis 9:12-13). Generally, a debate on how to construe the ecological value of Christianity continues. Recently, Nash (2009) took the position that arguments for the ecological value of Christianity have been unconvincing, and like White views the doctrine as one that promotes several anti-ecological themes, especially with regard to wilderness biodiversity. Nash makes an important distinction between the pastoral/agricultural environment and the wilderness environment, arguing that the images of the former are represented in a much more benign light than the latter, consistent with Bell's interpretation.

From a social scientific perspective, Hand and Van Liere (1984) found empirical support for placing blame on Judeo-Christian doctrines in their analysis of survey data. They conclude that the non-Judeo-Christian population of Washington State was slightly more concerned about environmental issues than their Christian counterparts. However, they note differences in the "mastery-over-nature" orientation between different denominations of Christianity. They find that more conservative denominations—Baptists and Mormons—express less concern than the more progressive Episcopalians and Methodists. However, in contrast to Hand and Van Liere, Hunter and Toney (2005) find that Mormons are more concerned about the environment than the general U.S. population. Other analyses of individuals who believe in biblical literalism (Greely 1993; Schultz et al. 2000) reveal that they maintain a lower level of environmental concern and higher level of anthropocentrism. We conclude from these findings and the general literature that there is enough diversity within the Christian doctrine to make it difficult to paint as simply either for

or against the environment with one broad brush stroke. This echoes Nash's (2009) argument against ethical claims based on appeals to biblical text. Like Kanagy and Nelson (1995), we conclude that is not fair to state that those in the Judeo-Christian tradition are necessarily less concerned about environmental issues, and we agree with Nash that the problem is often in the authorities who interpret biblical text more than the with the text itself.

Moreover, in the above analyses, there is a general failure to control for other cultural influences, making the causal connection between Christian beliefs and harmful ecological practices weak (Brehm and Eisenhauer 2006). This is problematic, for instance, as when considering White's initial study, Bell (2004) explains that the Christian church was itself not wedded to scientific advancement, since this actually threatened the church's authority through the encouragement of a secular worldview. Also, since the Old Testament is likewise part of the Jewish and Muslim traditions, there is no explanation for why neither of these cultures developed the same level of ecological destruction as that seen in the Christian West. Thus, not only is more research needed to sort out all of the nuances in the relationship between Christian beliefs and environmental concern, but it is precarious to lump together Christian with Jewish and Islamic beliefs, as each provides unique cultural angles and ethical considerations.

While we cannot address all of these issues here, we do attempt to explore elements of the Islamic perspective in a hope of identifying key points related to environmental concern and protection. In the following analysis of Qur'anic doctrine, we consider the ethical, religious, and legal bases for environmental protection and conservation. We argue that Islamic beliefs have generated a unique perception of the natural world, and that these in turn have had a positive effect on policies and attitudes towards the environment. The so-called progress of the West which was at the expense of the natural world may thus be re-evaluated from an Islamic perspective, which provides an attitude that may restore intrinsic value to nature and convince people of all faiths to re-assess their priorities and attitudes in order to reverse environmental degradation.

The Islamic Perspective
This analysis will present the relevance of Islamic teachings to the management of environmental issues. By providing insight into values, policies, and regulations, a better understanding of the Islamic principles could potentially lead to an improvement in the cooperation between Islamic and non-Islamic countries in managing and preserving nature through treaties and other forms of environmental reform. Our primary focus will be aimed at the Islamic position on (a) the dualism between humans and nature, (b) personal stewardship, (c) anthropocentrism, (d) the domination of nature, (e) sustainability, and (f) human relationships with animals.

The Basic Principles of Islam and Promotion of Non-Dualistic Beliefs

To begin to understand how Islam departs from the Judeo-Christian doctrine with respect to the dualism between humans and nature, it is important to consider its principle of *Tawhid* (Unity of God, on the one hand, and unity of creation, on the other). In the *Tawhidi* worldview there is no compartmentalization of life, and no dualism between humans and nature. Islam sees humans as an honored creature in the scheme of creation. This does not, however, make them the dictators over the rest of the natural world as may be the case in the broader Judeo-Christian doctrine. The world is viewed as a trust from God and has to be utilized according to universal moral guidelines. Islamic polity is an ideological entity guided by the principles embodied in the Holy Qur'an and the teaching of the Prophet Mohammad—captured primarily through the Hadith[1]. According to Hussain (in Soubra 1993), those fundamental rules are the following:

1) Human beings are vicegerent of God on the earth
2) All are equal before the law.
3) Power has to be exercised according to the commandments of Allah and his name
4) Everyone with the vested power is accountable for his or her actions.
5) No one is above the law. No one, not even the *khalifa* (the Head of State) enjoy any immunity.

Thus the goal of the state is to protect the religion, state of mind, lives, wealth, and property of the people in its territory. Hussain believes that from a philosophical and religious point of view, the state has four foundations regarding the implementation of a planning and developmental policy. These are (in Soubra 1993:46):

1) *Tawhid* (God's unity and sovereignty).
2) *Rububiyyah* (divine arrangement for nourishment, sustenance and directing things towards their perfection). This is the fundamental law of the universe which throws light on the divine model for the useful development of resources and their mutual support and sharing.
3) *Khalifa* (human's role as God's vicegerent on earth). This defines human's status and role, specifying the responsibilities of man (and woman) as such of a Muslim, and of the Muslim *Ummhah* (the universal Islamic state) as the repository of the *khalifa*. From this follow the unique Islamic concept of human's trusteeship, moral, political and economic, and the principles of social organization.
4) *Tazkiyah* (purification plus growth). The mission of all prophets of God was to perform the *Tazkiyah* of human beings in all their relationships-with God, with human, with the natural environment.

According to Eaton (1985), in Islam the contingency of the world coheres in the Oneness of God, which is why the whole world is the Muslims' 'mosque' or place of prayer. In other words, Oneness—the logical opposite of a dualism—is the substratum

of existence and the reason that there is no church or theocracy in Islam. Every place is thus the place of worship, and this point should be noted as a radical departure from the Christian dualism of people and nature.

Tawhid denies any hierarchical compartmentalization of life, and thus affirms the interdependence of a variety of manifestations of this single Creation. The notion of the equality of existence in Islam equally applies to animate as well as inanimate nature. The basic theme of *tawhid* is the belief which defines the purpose of all creation—the seen and the unseen—in relation to Allah. This relationship is one which exists between the Creator and the creation. *Tawhid* also affirms the symbiotic nature of the relationship between humans and nature. Thus, the Qu'ran exhorts the believers to:

ادْعُواْ رَبَّكُمْ تَضَرُّعًا وَخُفْيَةً إِنَّهُ لاَ يُحِبُّ الْمُعْتَدِينَ (7:55) وَلاَ تُفْسِدُواْ فِي الأَرْضِ بَعْدَ إِصْلاَحِهَا وَادْعُوهُ خَوْفًا وَطَمَعًا إِنَّ رَحْمَتَ اللّهِ قَرِيبٌ مِّنَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ (7:56)

> Call on your Lord with humility and in private: for Allah loveth not those who trespass beyond bounds. Do no mischief on the earth, after it hath been set in order, but call on Him with fear and longing (in your hearts): for the Mercy of Allah is (always) near to those who do good.
> (Yusuf Ali Translation, Qur'an, 7:55-6)[2]

Thus, there appears to be no hierarchical or dualistic notion of nature in Islam. The popular notion of the so-called "holiest place" or "holy places" is a reflection of a hierarchical order which is part of our real existence, and is an alien concept to the Islamic creed as such. Every member of the *Ummah* (the community of the believers) by definition must deny the possibility of any inequalities or hierarchies, and the systems which generate such obvious and/or invidious distinctions. What matters in Islam is the activity of humans, which is in pursuit of equality in the cosmic sense. Therefore, it requires a believer, among other obligations, to be a guardian of the environment with which he/she has a symbiotic relationship.

Islam and Personal Stewardship

At the heart of understanding the Islamic perspective on the environment is the many ways in which it espouses responsible stewardship, not only with respect to the natural world, but in all aspects of life—the unity of the world. In other words, Islam requires of its followers an active involvement or *Jehad*[3] in their social and natural environment. The Qur'an does not forbid humans from maintaining a utilitarian relationship with the environment. However, it strongly forbids light, careless, wasteful, or abusive uses of the environment. Thus the Qur'an (Mohammad Asad translation, 7:31) explicitly says:

يَا بَنِي آدَمَ خُذُواْ زِينَتَكُمْ عِندَ كُلِّ مَسْجِدٍ وكُلُواْ وَاشْرَبُواْ وَلاَ تُسْرِفُواْ إِنَّهُ لاَ يُحِبُّ الْمُسْرِفِينَ (7:31)

> O CHILDREN of Adam! Beautify yourselves for every act of worship, and
> eat and drink [freely], but do not waste: verily, He does not love the wasteful
> (Mohammad Asad translation, 7:31)!

According to Islam, the Natural world does not have any conscious will or volition, though it is understood ecologically, as harmoniously organized and interdependent. Disruption in one area may have ripple effects in other areas. Because of such interrelatedness, Islam encourages people to be very careful with the natural world, as nothing is created without purpose, though at a given stage of knowledge the purpose may yet to be discovered. The whole existence according to Islam is teleological, to everything there is a goal and that goal is God Himself.[4]

Islam believes in human stewardship because of intellectual capacity and the ability to discover knowledge and act on that knowledge to protect the environment. Consequently, humans are not like other animals that act mainly out of instinct. Rather, humans adapt the environment to their own needs (Cornforth, 1972) through knowledge, reflection, and understanding. Friere (1970:91) expresses a similar view: "in contrast to animals, men can tri-dimensionalize time into the past, the present, and the future. Their history is a function of their own creations; it develops as a constant process of transformation within which epochal units materialize." Friere (1970: 119) continues:

> Men are beings of praxis which differentiate them from animals which are
> beings of pure activity. Animals do not consider the world; they are immersed
> in it. In contrast, men emerge from the world, objectify it, and in so doing can
> understand it and transform it.

Islamic Justice and Cosmology: View on the Domination of Nature and Anthropocentrism

The Islamic worldview is grounded in transcendental values or ideals. As discussed above, in Islam men and women are charged with stewardship. Moreover, if we consider the notion of justice, at its core Islam demands responsibility from the individual for their own deeds: "Then, on that day (Day of Judgment in hereafter), not a soul shall be wronged in the least, and you shall be repaid what your deeds have earned" (Qur'an, 36, 56). Islam is a religion of justice and balance. Everything in this world is viewed as a trust from God *(A''ana)*. As a trustee (i.e., steward) a person is not supposed to transgress the prescription of God; he or she has to abide by the term of the contract. History in the Islamic sense is a struggle to achieve balance.

In the contemporary sense the word justice has a very narrow meaning, e.g., legal, social, and economic. Islamic justice is comprehensive and unified; it covers all aspects of life. Islam does not believe that nature should be abused for the amusement of human beings, as nature bears the signs of God. In Islam if nature is abused, it will

resist and fight back thus restoring balance. This is more absolute and complete than a narrow legalistic interpretation of justice.

If we consider dominion over nature, in Islam, human beings are stewards; they are not masters of the Earth. When this balance is respected prosperity will ensue, and when this balance is disrupted destruction will follow. Nasr (in Soubra 1993) in his lectures on the spiritual crisis of modern man, states:

> Man is given the right to dominate over nature only by virtue of theomorphic make-up, not as a rebel against heaven. In fact man is the channel of grace for nature; through his active participation in the spiritual world he casts light into the world of nature. He is the mouth through which nature breathes and lives. Because of the intimate connections between man and nature, the inner state of man is reflected in the external order.

If human dominates, it is not a ticket to use the environment in whatever manner one sees fit. Islam teaches that the universe was created by God and that He alone has dominion over it. Islam makes it clear that all the functions of nature are controlled by God (Nasif in Soubra 1993:4): "Allah makes the water flow upon the earth, upholds the heavens, makes the rainfall and keeps the boundaries between day and night. The whole of the rich and wonderful universe belongs to God." This control over nature is characterized by supreme balance between all creations. Humans can own property, but their rights of proprietorships are not absolute. To reiterate, the status of a human is like that of a trustee and his or her relation to his or her property are conditional and contractual. A Muslim is a vicegerent of God and his or her rights of use are regulated by God.

Far from depicting humans as dominant over other life forms, the Qur'an conveys a physical and spiritual vision of the ideal harmony of humans with nature. A man or woman is to respect nature as he or she respects him or herself:

The greatest sin in the eyes of Muslims is to rebel against God, which includes violating God's pact with humanity to serve as His stewards of the earth. To be God fearing, the Qur'an forbids humans from wasting the precious resources of the Earth:

وَهُوَ الَّذِي أَنْشَأَ جَنَّاتٍ مَّعْرُوشَاتٍ وَغَيْرَ مَعْرُوشَاتٍ وَالنَّخْلَ وَالزَّرْعَ مُخْتَلِفًا أَكْلُهُ وَالزَّيْتُونَ وَالرُّمَّانَ مُتَشَابِهًا وَغَيْرَ

مُتَشَابِهٍ كُلُواْ مِن ثَمَرِهِ إِذَا أَثْمَرَ وَآتُواْ حَقَّهُ يَوْمَ حَصَادِهِ وَلاَ تُسْرِفُواْ إِنَّهُ لاَ يُحِبُّ الْمُسْرِفِينَ (6:141)

> For it is He who has brought into being gardens-[both] the cultivated ones and those growing wild-and the date-palm, and fields bearing multiform produce, and the olive tree, and the pomegranate: [all] resembling one another and yet so different! Eat of their fruit when it comes to fruition, and give [unto the poor] their due on harvest day. And do not waste [God's bounties]: verily, He does not love the wasteful (Asad trans., Qur'an, 6:141)!

The "most contentious" of God's enemies the Qur'an describes as those

وَإِذِ اسْتَسْقَى مُوسَى لِقَوْمِهِ فَقُلْنَا اضْرِب بِّعَصَاكَ الْحَجَرَ فَانفَجَرَتْ مِنْهُ اثْنَتَا عَشْرَةَ عَيْناً قَدْ عَلِمَ كُلُّ أُنَاسٍ مَّشْرَبَهُمْ كُلُواْ وَاشْرَبُواْ مِن رِّزْقِ اللهِ وَلاَ تَعْثَوْاْ فِي الأَرْضِ مُفْسِدِينَ (2:60)

> And [remember] when Moses prayed for water for his people and We replied, "Strike the rock with thy staff!"—whereupon twelve springs gushed forth from it, so that all the people knew whence to drink. [And Moses said:] "Eat and drink the sustenance provided by God, and do not act wickedly on earth by spreading corruption" (2:60).

وَأَنفِقُواْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ وَلاَ تُلْقُواْ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ إِلَى التَّهْلُكَةِ وَأَحْسِنُوَاْ إِنَّ اللهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْسِنِينَ (2:195)

> And spend [freely] in God's cause, and let not your own hands throw you into destruction; and persevere in doing good: behold, God loves the doers of good (Asad trans. Qur'an 2:60 and 2:195).

The Arabic word *"fasaad"* translated here as "mischief" has many social, ethical and political meanings, but its ecological significance is clear. Islam allows people to enjoy the bounties provided by nature, but denounces the destruction of wildlife and nature.

The Qur'an describes the stories of conflict between believers on the one hand and rebels or unbelievers on the other. The notion that war would be waged against birds, beasts, gardens and the earth itself is anathema. Whatever the military rationales desecration in the Gulf war—whether the oil adrift on the sea or the bombs devastating the Earth—it constitutes a violation in the eyes of Islam.

A final aspect of the Islamic religion pertaining to justice is its view of time. Islam holds a belief in the linearity of time. Life is looked upon as an arena where human beings are constantly tested by blessings as well as hardships. After this period of testing, which may be ended any time by death, all creatures will be resurrected by God for judgment:

> On that Day will all men come forward, cut off from one another, to be shown their [past] deeds. And so, he who shall have done an atom's weight of good, shall behold it; and he who shall have done an atom's weight of evil, shall behold it. (Asad trans., Qur'an, 99:6-8).

This belief in life after death puts the life of a Muslim on earth in proper perspective. This perspective encourages them to act according to the Islamic teaching in order to get the benefits in the afterlife (Soubra 1993:35). Death according to Islam is not the end of life; death is the continuation of life in another form. Human beings will be held accountable for their deeds on the Day of Judgment. This much is consistent with

the Judeo-Christian tradition, but the notion that Judgment may consider harms committed towards the wilderness is uniquely Islamic.

Islamic Law and State and Implications for Sustainability
The notion of sustainability—though a complex term—involves consideration for the well-being of the environment, community, and society in the present as well as for future generations. It is in this respect that the Islamic state is held accountable for overseeing the responsible and sustainable use of the environment and its resources. According to Hussain (in Soubra 1993:14-15) the following are legal codes related to environmental protection that the Islamic state must follow:

> 1) To develop all resources of energy and wealth and to put them to optimum use, and to ensure that they are not hoarded, wasted, or kept idle.
> 2) As all the natural resources belong originally to God and then to the society as trustees, while various enterprises and institutions are established through the public exchequer, it has to harness those resources for the welfare of people.

In essence, this means that the entire society is the beneficiary of natural resources, but must likewise be a responsible steward for those resources. According to Hussain (in Soubra 1993:17), individuals possess the right to own property, but the ownership of property is bounded by the fact that the owner is actually holding the property as a trust for God. In turn, the state does not allow property owners to do whatever they wish with the property, including degrading the environment. Such actions would necessitate action from the state in order to restore balance.

The role of the state is not limited to overseeing responsible property ownership, it is also generally charged—along with the nation as a whole—to promote goodness and eliminate evil. Along these lines, in times of conflict the state may intervene, but is itself faced with several limitations. As noted by Abu Alla (in Soubra 1993), even in a state of war, people are not allowed to cut trees and destroy orchards and crops for the sake of just winning the war. One is not allowed to kill the animals of the enemy's side or destroy property wantonly. Poisoning of food and water during war is strictly forbidden.

According to these rules the state has the right to (Soubra 1993:21):

> 1) hold individual accountable for the elimination and removal of damage resulting from their activity,
> 2) impose moratoria on certain projects if such projects will cause damage in excess of the expected limit,
> 3) hold individual accountable for the cost of eliminating the damage resulting from unlawful activities,
> 4) claim damages for indemnity from individuals for avoidable damage to the environment resulting from unlawful activities, and

5) blame individuals for intentionally violating the terms of licenses, charters, permits or contracts or through evident negligence or violation of the general policies.

Islam and the Place of Humans and Animals

The Quran is replete with passages that invoke Muslim reverence for the environment, both pastoral and wild, as well as respect for animals. Thus:

<div dir="rtl">

أَوَلَمْ يَرَوْا إِلَى الطَّيْرِ فَوْقَهُمْ صَافَّاتٍ وَيَقْبِضْنَ مَا يُمْسِكُهُنَّ إِلَّا الرَّحْمَنُ إِنَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ بَصِيرٌ **(67:19)**

</div>

Have they, then, never beheld the birds above them, spreading their wings and drawing them in? None but the Most Gracious upholds them: for, verily, He keeps all things in His sight. (Asad Trans., 67:19).

Many of the images put forth in the Qu'ran, suggest concern for and protection of wildlife as well as the responsible stewardship for domesticated animals. The role of human beings and animals in the Islamic tradition relates to the belief in the purpose of life itself. The purpose of creating man and woman is to submit to the Will of God. To achieve this objective, humans were commanded by God to use their mental abilities to reflect on the creation of the universe. "Say: travel through the Earth And see how Allah did originate creation: So will Allah produce a later creation: for Allah has power over all things" (Qur'an, 29:20). The Qu'ran says, "on the Earth are signs for those Of assured faith" (Qur'an, 51:20-1).

Islam gives great significance and respect to all creatures, who are considered distinct beings living in families and communities much the same as human beings. The Qur'an (Asad tran. Qur'an, 6:38) says:

although there is no beast that walks on earth and no bird that flies on its two wings which is not [God's] creature like yourselves: no single thing have We neglected in Our decree. And once again: Unto their Sustainer shall they [all] be gathered.[6]

It is related by Abdullah Ibn Ami that Prophet Mohammad (Hadith) said: "A cruel hard-hearted woman was cast into hell simply because of her cruelty to a cat that she held in captivity until it died of starvation." The respect for the rights of animals to live and grow independent of humans is manifested in the laws which prohibit the killing of animals for pleasure and restricting their freedom. Islam allows people to hunt animals to meet their needs for food and shelter. However, humans are prohibited from hunting animals for pleasure and keeping all or parts of their bodies as trophies. The law which guards the freedom of all animals, prohibits humans from using cages, or other restricting means, in order to have them as pets (Soubra 1993:35): "to catch birds and imprison them without a special purpose is considered abominable".

Even in slaughtering animals the Islamic rules are that they should be killed quickly and the animal should not be subjected to extra pain. It is also advisable that the animal should not be killed in front of other animals, as this can generate fear in them. Islam is strictly against cruelty to animals—whether wild or domesticated. In the life hereafter they will testify against their abusers in the court of God. This is illustrated by Tawfiq Tabib (personal interview):

> Once the Prophet Mohammad saw a camel who was looking very weak, he went to the owner and told him to properly feed his camel and do not overload him with goods. Islam also forbids the production of those luxury goods which result in the destruction of the natural world.

Conclusion

In this paper several themes were investigated that reveal an ideology of humans as responsible stewards, bound by a cosmic justice, who are strictly exhorted to respect nature through moderation and care. Humans are not given free dominion to use the environment however they wish, as in hunting for recreation or leisure. Instead, the ideology projected through Islam commands a strong sense of justice in life and in the afterlife, placing a heavy expectation on individuals to treat the world around them with the same adoration as one might have for a holy church. As noted, in Islam the world is not separate from a place of worship; it is to be worshipped itself as a creation of Allah. Throughout the Qur'an we find support for such sustainable beliefs that promote the responsible treatment of animals as well as that of natural resources, such as water.

Unlike some Eastern philosophies and religions, Islam does not take the position of deep ecology, which relegates humans to the same status as animals, thus forbidding their killing under any circumstance—as in the Buddhist tradition for instance. Rather, it takes a social ecological view that privileges humans as separate from animals, making it an anthropocentric worldview. At the same time, this position of privilege does not entail an inherent superiority in terms of internal value or worth over and above animals. Humans are given the important role and responsibility for caring for the environment and for overseeing the protection of the land, the water, and of all life as viceregents or—in the parlance of modern environmentalism—as environmental stewards. Failure to adhere to this responsibility is viewed as grounds for being banished to hell. In comparison to the broader Judeo-Christian doctrine, discussed earlier, this strikes us as a stronger exhortation towards environmental stewardship. Finally, referring to Nash's (2009) recent discussion, we would note a stronger appeal to protect the wild environment, in addition to the pastoral/agricultural environment, in comparison to Christianity.

In sum, Islam is a faith that promotes a deep concern for the individual, society, and to their relation to the natural environment. Islam is not a life negating faith as many have unfortunately come to view it through irresponsible journalism and

sensationalism as is made particularly evident in the misuse of the notion of *jehad*; rather, a careful analysis of Qur'anic scripture as well as the Hadith reveals a focus on the affirmation of existence. It blends the norms of human society with the natural world in a harmonious manner leading to a sustainable relationship with the environment. It abhors defilement of the world around us in the strongest possible terms.

Notes

[1]The Hadith refers to the teachings of the words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad (PBBUH) passed down through generations through an oral tradition, rather than from the Qur'an itself.

[2]Both Arabic and English text of Quran are cited from http://www.islamicity.com/quranSearch/

[3]Jehad in Arabic means struggling and striving for excellence. Jehad does not mean holy war.

[4]This is not teleological in the Hegelian sense where everything unfolds according to a preconceived design.

[5]We wish to remind the reader that general reflections on the teachings of the prophet Mohammad are collectively referred to as the Hadith, mentioned earlier in the paper.

[6]Asad commented in these words: Lit., "but they are [God's] creatures (umam)". The word ummah (of which umam is the plural) primarily denotes a group of living beings having certain characteristics or circumstances in common. Thus, it is often synonymous with "community", "people", "nation", "genus", "generation", and so forth. Inasmuch as every such grouping is characterized by the basic fact that its constituents (whether human or animal) are endowed with life, the term ummah sometimes signifies "[God's] creatures"). Thus, the meaning of the above passage is this: Man can detect God's "signs" or "miracles" in all the life-phenomena that surround him, and should, therefore, try to observe them with a view to better understanding "God's way" (sunnat Allah)-which is the Qur'anic term for what we call "laws of nature".

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Quality Assurance in Higher Education:
Issues and Problems from Pakistan's Perspective

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Abstract

Higher education plays a pivotal role in a nation building through flourishing trained human capital to the economy. This paper provides a snapshot of the quality assurance measures being taken in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Agricultural University Peshawar. The paper also analyses the major issues and problems affecting the pace of quality assurance processes. The paper exemplifies Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Agricultural University Peshawar, however, in principle; the findings could be generalized to all higher education institutions in Pakistan. Agricultural University Peshawar has initiated Quality Assurance Programme (QAP) in all departments and institutes to improve and streamline academics. The findings of the paper reveal that the problems related to administration, faculty, students, and alumni are few hurdles that hinder the implementation of the quality assurance measures. However, the paper concludes that despite the existence of these problems, the measures being taken for quality assurance will further improve the educational system in the university which will lead to better performance and outcomes in the near future.

Keywords: quality assurance, higher education, faculty, standards, Pakistan

Introduction

The socio-political and economic development of a country is closely linked to its higher education. The agricultural, industrial, manufacturing, and all other sectors of an economy, especially in the developing countries, are in increasing demand for potential and enthusiastic graduates so that to hand them over key positions in different organizations. It is universally understood and recognized fact that higher education plays an important role in building a nation through flourishing trained human capital to the economy. It raises productivity and efficiency of individuals and thus produces skilled manpower capable of leading the economy towards the path of sustainable economic development (Memon, 2007).

Nonetheless, higher education cannot improve and promote the economic, social, political, and cultural life of a nation unless it meets good quality standards. Undoubtedly, it is the quality of higher education that exhibits any country's status in the world (Gupta, 2002 in Rizwan and Akbar, 2006). The market demand for quality

graduates is increasing rapidly. The emergence of new science and technology based livelihoods, and the development of the concept of global village has expanded the boundaries of the global job markets; thereby increasing employment opportunities for highly qualified professionals. At present, the existence of all trades of human life is based on performance and outcomes and only those organizations having highly skilled human resource base will sustain and grow.

The concern of an organization's self-recognition and growth in the modern competitive world has increased demand for qualified manpower. This has mounted tremendous pressure on higher education institutions throughout the world for emphasis on quality education. Higher education institutions are supposed to be providers of skilled manpower to the global job market. Failure to meet the market demand for quality graduates is, by itself, a concern of educational institutions own existence. The institutions that seek sustainability must deliver tangible value to all the stakeholders. The stakeholders include students, alumni, faculty, government, employers, students' families, society etc. This has led universities thorough out the world to establish a quality assurance mechanism as an integral part of their educational system.

Quality assurance is used as a common denomination for a variety of mechanisms intended to control, guarantee, and promote quality in higher education (Maria, 2006). It is an important and organized discipline for academia and government to ensure appropriate outcome of the educational institutions. Quality assurance may be carried out both externally or internally. The external quality assurance which is also called as accreditation is carried out by professional bodies at national or provincial levels to ensure the minimum performance level of the educational programmes and institutions. The internal quality assurance is carried out by the concerned institutions itself. This must be an integral part of the institution's administration and management systems. It implements a set of policies, programs, and procedures set-up by an institution to provide confidence and transparency in their outcomes related to their graduates, teachers, and infrastructure. Quality assurance in education does not focus just on the academic performance, but also on the social and national outcomes. In many countries, especially the developing ones, the issues pertaining to quality of education are not being addressed properly (Kamran, 2006). This is primarily because of reluctance of a few stakeholders coupled by weak enforcement mechanisms.

Quality assurance starts from the requirements of the customer, it incorporates the voice of the customer in the process. Customers can be internal customers and external customers. The internal customers in an educational system are the students and the faculty, whereas the external customers are employers, accreditation agencies, alumni, donors, legislators, and community (Lewis and Smith, 1998). The voice of the customer is incorporated in designing the service to meet the requirements of the customer and the feedback is used to improve the process. It assures good quality of final services to the customer. An effective Quality Assurance System ensures that a

product or service shall conform to the highest quality through the provision of a reliable system. That is why the Quality Assurance in the most popular concept in services (education) sector.

Quality Assurance in Higher Education in Pakistan
The situation of higher education in Pakistan, like many developing countries, is not encouraging. Although the quality of teaching and learning environment on university campuses has always been a continuous national concern, but no significant improvement could be achieved without proper and effective monitoring body or organization. This led to the establishment of Higher Education Commission (HEC) in 2002 to restructure the higher education system in Pakistan. Higher Education Commission is putting all its efforts to provide access to quality education through expanding human and financial resources. Quality in higher education is a dynamic entity which is the outcome of interaction among many factors including inter alia, leadership, quality of faculty and students, infrastructure facilities, research and learning environment, governance, strategic planning, assessment procedures, and market force (http://hec.gov.pk).
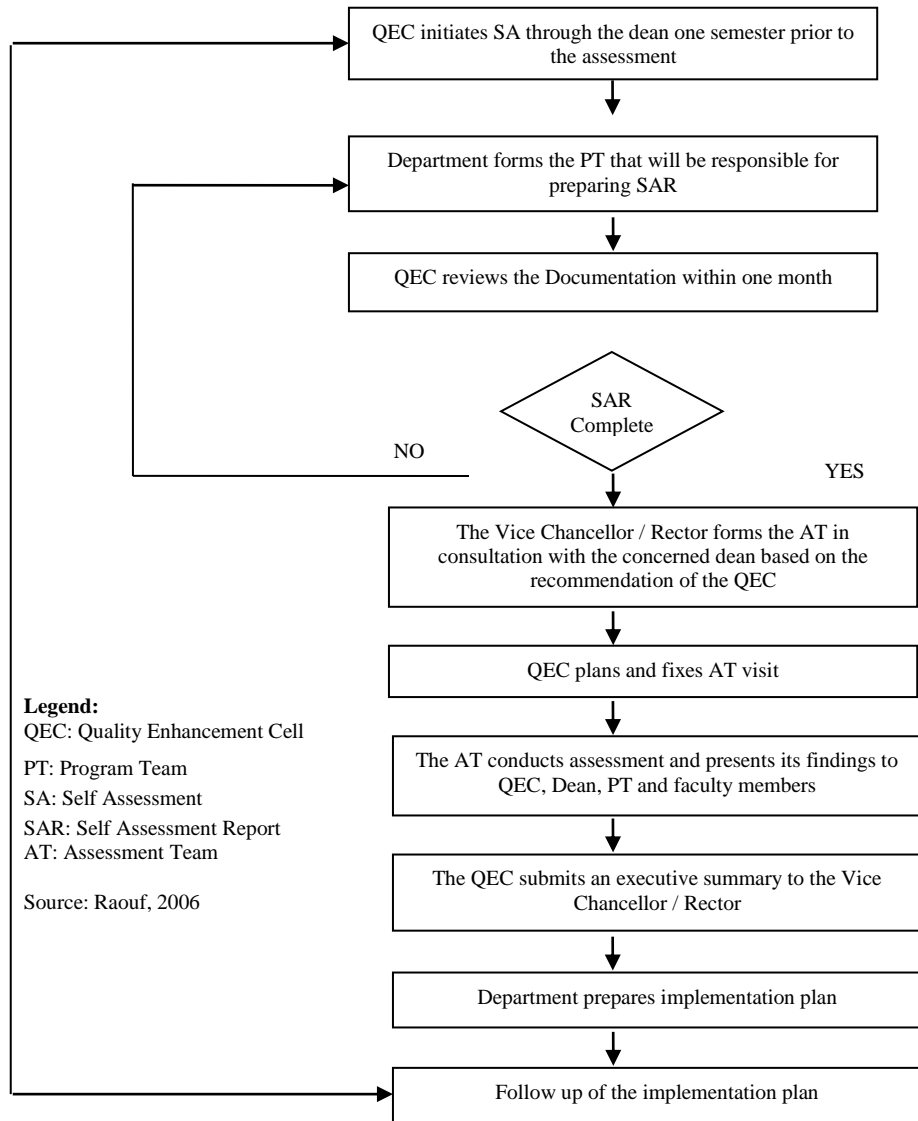
Quality assurance has been on the main agenda of HEC since its inception. In October 2003, the chairman of HEC constituted a Quality Assurance Committee (QAC) with the mandate to develop a framework to ensure quality in higher education. A major step towards the achievement of quality assurance in higher learning taken by the HEC is the establishment of the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) that regulates and facilitates the Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs) to be established in all universities of Pakistan in a phased manner (http://hec.gov.pk). So for, 30 QECs have been established in different public sector universities of Pakistan.

Conceptual Model of the Self Assessment Procedure
The HEC model for self assessment procedure of academic programmes in public or private sector universities in Pakistan is presented in Figure 1. According to this model, each academic programme in a university has to adopt a self assessment procedure after every two years. The Quality Enhancement Cell in the university will be responsible for over all supervision and monitoring of the self assessment procedure. The process initiates through dean of the faculty one semester prior to the end of assessment cycle. Each department formulates a Programme Team (PT) which is responsible for overall activities of the self assessment in that department and preparation of Self Assessment Report (SAR) when the process is complete. The Programme Team submits SAR to QEC for review. On the recommendations of the QEC, the Vice Chancellor constitutes an Assessment Team (AT) for further assessment of the academic programme. Based on the findings of the Assessment Team, QEC submits an executive summary to the Vice Chancellor who advises the concerned department to prepare an implementation plan. The QEC follows up the implementation plan (Raouf, 2006). The cycle re-commences after two years.

In the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Agricultural University Peshawar, the Quality Enhancement Cell was established in October 2006 and the university initiated Quality Assurance Programme (QAP) to improve the quality of academics. In first phase, the Department of Plant Breeding and Genetics (PBG) was selected as model department for self-assessment of its academic programme. Presently, the Self Assessment Process (SAP) has been adopted in all departments and institutes of the university. Each department has to follow the procedure outlined in Figure 1 in a sequential manner.

Figure 1   Conceptual Model of the Self Assessment Procedure

Legend:
QEC: Quality Enhancement Cell

PT: Program Team

SA: Self Assessment

SAR: Self Assessment Report

AT: Assessment Team

Source: Raouf, 2006

Quality Assurance Programme (QAP) being a new concept introduced in Pakistan was not an easy task to implement. Many factors were identified in the beginning that hinders the pace of enforcing quality assurance measures in the university system. This paper is primarily based on the problems identified by the model department (PBG department). The main objective of this paper is to identify those problems and issues and to chalk out solutions to tackle them so that to make the QAP more effective in the future.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is supported by the contemporary literature on the quality assurance in higher education. The evidences demonstrate that though, several steps have been taken for quality assurance in higher education at national and international levels, still some problems hinders the implementation of the quality assurance measures.

In most of the universities these days, the system of internal evaluation is adopted where students evaluate performance of their teachers. Many studies (Simpson and Siguaw, 2000; Eiszler, 2002; Centra, 2003; Olds and Crumbley, 2003) found significant relationship between the evaluation of university teachers by their students and inflated grades awarded to students by such teachers (Shaukat, et al. 2006).

In Pakistan, the quality of education has a declining trend. Particularly, science education has reached the lowest ebb and needs immediate improvement. Poor quality of teachers, poorly equipped labs and little relevance of the curriculum to the present day needs are amongst few factors responsible for low quality education (Economic Survey of Pakistan, 2002).

Iqbal (2004) identified the most prominent issues affecting quality of higher education in Pakistan as: ineffective governance and management structures and practices, inefficient use of available resources, poor recruitment practices and inadequate development of faculty and staff, inadequate support for research, and politicization of faculty, staff, and students.

The study by Memon (2007) on the main issues, problems, and new challenges has linked the quality of education in Pakistan with efficiency and quality of teaching staff, relevance of education to the society demand and availability of the adequate research activities.

A number of factors, such as the internationalization of higher education, marketing of higher education by foreign universities, proliferation of higher education institutions, competition from the private sector institutions, diminishing financial public resources, expanding size of middle class population, and the greater accountability have brought out the concern of quality of higher education at the forefront of national debate (Hamid, 2005).

First National Educational Conference on Quality Assurance in Education, held in May 2003 at PCSIR Auditorium, Lahore, focused on re-engineering of education policies and institutions. After extensive deliberations, the conference recommended framing reliable quality performance measures by ministry of education, HEC, as well as the universities (PIQC, 2003).

Malik (2002) conducted a study on factors affecting the development of female higher education in Pakistan and found that majority of students, teachers, families of students and other stakeholders were not satisfied with the teaching standard of higher education, availability of physical and research facilities due to lack of professional trainings, inadequate funds, latest reading materials, and ill-equipped laboratories etc. Recommendations of the study were to improve the teaching standards, revise curricula to make it at far with the international standards, quality research, and to improve the physical infrastructure.

It is commonly believed that the quality of education in our universities is not according to the international standards. Although efforts are being made to ensure quality in education, the problems such as the level of competence and dedication of the teachers, poor standards of students' intake, outdated curricula and library resources, ill-equipped laboratories, poor teaching methods and lack of teaching aids are main hindrances that effect the pace of quality assurance in higher education (Hamid, 2005).

Methodological Consideration
This paper is based on the findings of the model department selected by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Agricultural University Peshawar for assessment of its academic programme. The self-assessment of the academic programme was carried out in 2007-08. The instruments used for assessing quality of the academic programme were questionnaires already developed and approved by the Quality Assurance Committee of the Higher Education Commission, Pakistan. The following questionnaires were used as data collection tools.

1. Student Course Evaluation Questionnaire.
2. Faculty Course Review Report.
3. Survey of Graduating Students.
4. Research Student Progress Review Form.
5. Faculty Survey.
6. Survey of the Department Offering Ph. D Programme.
7. Alumni Survey.
8. Employer Survey.
9. Faculty Resume.
10. Teacher Evaluation Form.

The questionnaires contain structured questions with a five point Likert scale. Most of the information regarding students learning is provided by the students and the faculty themselves. The students learning outcomes are ultimately used as a means of improving the academic programmes. This method ensures collection of unbiased and reliable information.

Discussion

As mentioned earlier, the paper is based on the findings of the Department of Plant Breeding and Genetics at Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Agricultural University Peshawar. Although the process of self-assessment was carried out successfully in the department, even then there existed some factors that hinder the pace of the self-assessment process. The problems identified during the process are elaborated in the following section. It is worth mentioning that problems identified are based on the findings of the model department in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Agricultural University Peshawar; however, these could be generalized to any (agricultural) higher education institution in Pakistan in particular and in developing countries in general.

Problems Related to Students

Students themselves are the main actors by furnishing primary information for assessing academic programme of their respective departments. However, as a new concept, students perceive assessment of their own teachers as threat to their final grades. The fear is more critical in the semester system where grading of students is done by the same teachers. This temporary problem can, however, be resolved by inculcating the sense of honesty and confidentiality of the assessment process in mind of the students.

Problems Related to Faculty

Problems related to the faculty are the most important ones that affect the pace of implementing Quality Assurance Programmes. The major problem in this context is the size of the faculty. The size and even quality of the faculty should be in accordance with the students' ratio and with the programme mission. The faculty is over burdened when some of its members go abroad on study leave in pursuance of higher education or trainings. The existing faculty comes across problems in dealing with students of the teachers who are abroad. To handle large number of students is, no doubt, a quality concern for the faculty.

Problems Related to Infrastructure

Quality in any sector, whether services or manufacturing, cannot be attained until quality infrastructure is provided. Education is no exception. In education sector, where methods of teaching and learning are changing rapidly, the updated infrastructure is of paramount importance to achieve quality outcomes. Although transparency projectors, multimedia etc. are available in most of the departments, but its use is still restricted due to electric power shut down. The problem of infrastructure

is more severe in case of laboratories and equipments. The laboratories are not only insufficient, but are also not properly equipped and maintained.

Problems Related to Research
Research is an integral part of higher education and the performance of a graduate in the professional life depends on the quality of research conducted during university life. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to mention that the quality in higher education cannot be attained without adequate research facilities. The size of the faculty has a direct link with the quality of research. It has been commonly observed that the research supervisors who guide a large number of research students are unable to give full time and attention to the students, especially, in resolving complicated issues arising during the experimental stages of their research. Similarly, shortage of latest equipment or in some cases, lack of knowledge of proper use of the sophisticated equipments, space problem in laboratories for each student, chemicals shortage, and low funds availability for scientific research are among a few major problems affecting quality of research at universities level.

Problems Related to Administration
Like any other system, the role of administration in educational system is quite important in running the whole system effectively. Problems related to administration have adverse effects on the quality of education. Misuse of the administrative power and political influence sometimes discourage the competent faculty and ultimately, the students. Similarly, time consuming administrative procedures are also threats to the quality assurance in higher education. To meet finance and audit related lengthy procedural requirements not only wastes time of the faculty but also decreases their interest in projects, trainings, professional courses, and other output generating activities.

Problems Related to Employers
The major problem related to majority of employers is their unfairness and dishonesty in the fresh induction process. The political or bureaucratic influence cause many deserving graduates to lose an appropriate opportunity. Similarly, lack of internship opportunities for outstanding graduates, are another problem that discourage potential graduates, which ultimately affects the quality outcomes of educational institutions.
Similarly, other problems like library and scientific resources, relevance of the courses with societal needs and markets demand, poor financial conditions of the students, and weakness of the examination system have also effects on implementing quality assurance programme in the early stages. Likewise problems were identified by different researchers. Isani and Virk (2003) and Nisar (2003) identified problems such as classroom problems, administrative problems, economic, and social problems as the major issues that students come across at higher learning institutions.

Conclusion

Quality principles intended to make educational institutions more effective and efficient, were enunciated and documented by authorities of international repute such as Deming, Juran and Crosby. However, their implementation, in countries like Pakistan, where the concept is a new phenomenon, is confronted with a number of problems. In the recent past, higher education in Pakistan has attained special focus as an essential part of the national development. For this purpose, the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan established Quality Assurance Agency with the aim to develop new policies to maintain and improve academic standards.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Agricultural University Peshawar has launched the model of quality assurance developed by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. The model is based on the self-assessment of the academic programmes in the university. Although the quality assurance programme is functioning quite smoothly in the university, some impediments have been identified which retards the pace of the quality assurance process in the early stages. The problems related to the students, faculty, research, administration, and infrastructure are the main issues which still need corrective measures so that to effectively implement the quality measures.

Nevertheless, the overall process is quite effective and all the departments and institutes of the university are actively participating in activities related to the quality assurance. Although the process is at the infancy stage and the programme outcomes have not been yet quantified; still efforts are being made to achieve maximum benefits of all the quality related exercises and practices.

It is recommended that to make the quality assurance programmes fully functional, the heads of the higher education institutions must play their proactive role in implementing the quality measures rather than just focusing on theoretical exercises.

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Leadership Styles: Predictors of Conflict Management Styles

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Abstract

The present study aimed to examine the relationship between leadership styles and conflict management styles among managers while handling interpersonal conflict (Mana gers and Subordinates). Managers occupy the key leading positions in most of the organizations. It is primary responsibility of managers to effectively deal with conflicts. The preference for choice of a specific conflict management mode is argued to be associated with a particular leadership style. The ability to creatively manage conflict situations, towards constructive outcomes is obsequious standard requirement. Middle level managers (N=150) from different private sector manufacturing industries were included in the study to seek responses by using a three-part questionnaire: Organizational Conflict Management Inventory, Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) and demographic data. Managers who perceived to exhibit more on transformational leadership style adopted integrating and obliging style of conflict management. Those who perceived to exhibit more on transactional style opted for compromising style of conflict management. Whereas, managers perceived to exhibit Laissez-faire leadership style adopted avoiding style to manage conflicts with subordinates. Leadership styles show predicted relationship with conflict management styles. Transformational leadership style exhibited positive relationship with constructive style of conflict management i.e. integrating and obliging; transactional leadership style was related to compromising, whereas, Laissez-faire leadership style showed relationship with destructive style of conflict management i.e. avoiding style.

Keywords: conflict, conflict management, conflict mode, leadership style

Introduction

 For an organization to be successful the employees are required to work with harmony to achieving its goals. Since leadership involves the exhibition of style or behavior by managers or supervisors while dealing with subordinates; leadership is a critical determinant of the employees' actions towards the achievement of the organizational goals. The presence of emotional tensions and conflicts in the organization is one dimension of organizational environment. The leaders may help to release tensions, harmonize misunderstanding and deals with disruptive behaviors (Fisher, 2000). Leaders also react to problems, resolve crises, reward and punish followers, provide encouragement and support to followers. Leaders are also concerned about

organizational innovation; seek to foster organizational cultures that are conductive to creativity, innovation, conflict free and challenging environment. In this ideal and conducive environment leaders tend to influence strategies in conflict management and enhance people to work together effectively. It becomes imperative for a manager or as a leader, to achieve organizational objectives, accomplished by focusing on both the rational and emotional aspects of conflicting issues while resolving disputes or conflicts that occur at any level in the organizational hierarchy.

Leadership theories are classified as trait, behavioral, contingency, and transformational (Northouse, 2007). Earliest theories assumed that the primary source of leadership effectiveness lay in the personal traits of the leaders themselves. Later behavioral theories of leadership sought to explain the relationship between what the leaders did and how the employees reacted, both emotionally and behaviorally. Afterwards, the contingency theory of leadership studied leadership style in different environments (Northouse, 2007). Although, these theories clarify role and task requirements for employees yet can't cope with the inspiration and innovation that leaders need to compete in today's global marketplace.

Over the last 20 years, there has been considerable interest in testing new paradigms of leadership. Previous leadership models have been criticized for failing to explain the full range of existing leadership styles and behaviors (Avolio and Bass, 1991; Northouse, 2007). In response to such criticism, the concepts of transformational and transactional leadership emerged. As organizations are forced to transform and expand traditional management practices; identifying high performance and transformational characteristics of leaders is becoming critical. Bass (1985) proposed three dimensional model of leadership styles; transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership. In research literature Bass model has been examined in different perspectives, like job involvement in group cohesion and performance (Bass, Avolio, Jung & Berson, 2003), managerial performance (Lowe, Kroeck, and Sivasubramaniam, 1996), potency, and performance (Kark & Shamir, 2002), employees' job satisfaction (Bass & Avolio, 1994) organizational commitment (Bycio et al., 1995), satisfaction with supervision (Podsakoff et al., 1990), extra effort (Seltzer & Bass, 1990), turnover intention (Bycio et al., 1995). The model is also studied with reference to organizational citizenship behavior (Podsakoff et al., 2000), supervisory evaluations of recommendations for promotion (Waldman, Bass, & Yammarino, 1990), research and development project team innovations (Keller, 1992), and percentage of financial goals achieved in strategic business units (Howell & Avolio, 1993). Given the dominant role of leadership in work place (Shin & Zhou, 2003) and complexity in understanding human resource management in complex organizations, the effects of leaders requires attention to the other organization issues like conflict handling (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhart, 2002; Smith & Tonidandel, 2003). It is logically argued that the employees' perception of leadership styles has relationship with conflict management (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Ekvall, 1996). Up till now studies lack to examine the role of Bass leadership model in association with conflict handling styles. The present study is an effort to examine

the relationship that may exist between leadership styles and conflict management styles. Despite the universal acceptance of the importance of leadership in corporate settings, research on leadership styles as determinant of conflict management style is lacking. Many researches studied the leadership styles and conflict management styles separately among different professionals including health professionals, teachers, managers and executives etc, but a few studies examined the relationship between these two in a single model. So for studies which investigated leadership styles as determinants of conflict management styles are population specific including, nursing managers (Hendel, 2005) and university academic staff (Pauls, 2006). Furthermore, the findings in the referred studies are not consistent and this issue seems to be at an exploratory phase, require further investigation to establish the relationship. Therefore, the present study intends to further explore and investigate the relationship that may exist between these two models.

Literature Review
The strength of social systems lies partly in how these prevent serious conflicts and, when conflicts do arise, how they address them so as to maintain system integrity and preserve the wellbeing of their members. Organizations adapt to changes in their environment by facing major conflicts, addressing them and reorganizing the necessity to deal with them. **Conflict management** is the practice of identifying and handling conflict in a sensible, fair, and efficient manner. Conflict management requires such skills as effective communication, problem solving, and negotiating with a focus on interests.

Conflict is a pervasive phenomenon in both social circles and professional interactions. It is put aptly by Landau and Landau (2001) that "Conflict exists in all human relationships: it always has and probably always will", or according to Boohar, (2001), "individuals who never experience conflict at the workplace are living in a dream world, blind to their surroundings or are confined to solitary confinement". Various definitions of conflict have been provided by many researchers from multiple disciplines; psychology, behavioral sciences, sociology, communication and anthropology. Rahim (1983) looked conflict as "an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities (individual, group, organization, etc.)". Marquis and Huston (1996) define conflict as: "The internal discord that results from differences in ideas, values or feelings between two or more people". The definitions suggested by the scholars of different disciplines are looking at conflict from different angles. However, the common theme seems dominant in all these definitions is the aspects of differing needs, goals or interests and the perceived or real interference from one party to the other party to achieve these needs, goals or interests.

Organizational conflict appears to be associated with organizational characteristics, such as goals, values and norms or related to structural aspects such as decentralization, heterogeneity or ambiguity of tasks (Van de Vliert 1998). Conflicts in

groups and organizations may also be related to power differentials, to competition over scarce resources, to tendencies to differentiate rather than converge, to negative interdependence between work units, to ambiguity over responsibility or jurisdiction, or to a denial of one's self-image or characteristic identifications. Conflict in groups and organizations is often avoided and suppressed because of its negative consequences and to seek to preserve consistency, stability and harmony within the organization (De Dreu & Van de Vliert 1997, Nadler & Tushman1999). The researches have shown the deleterious effects of conflicts but at the same time some researches argue that conflict also have beneficial effects on group identity, development and function (Jones 1993, De Dreu 1997). Such situations necessitate conflict to be studied empirically focusing on its appearance, causes, consequences, emotional, cognitive, motivational and behavioral aspects (Nauta & Kluwer, 2004).

Being aware of the extent of conflict at various levels of an organization and of the conflict handling styles of interpersonal conflict is crucial for understanding the management of organizations (Rahim, 1986). In order to function effectively at any level within organizations conflict management skills are important prerequisites. Too little conflict results in organizational stasis, while too much conflict reduces the organization's effectiveness and eventually immobilizes its employees (Marquis &Huston 1996).

Conflict management has grown into a major subfield of organizational behavior. Conflict resolution is prescribed not simply as a mechanism for dealing with differences within an existing social system but also as an approach that can facilitate constructive social change towards a responsive and equitable system (Fisher 2000). The ability to creatively manage internal conflict in the organization is becoming a standard requirement. Today, successful organizations need to develop the processes, cultures and behaviors capable of accommodating and resolving conflicts in ways that benefit the consumers and employees (Nadler & Tushman 1999).

A number of scholars have developed typologies of conflict management styles using the conceptual model provided by Blake and Mouton's managerial grid. The two dimensions have been variously labeled "desire to satisfy one's own concern" and "desire to satisfy other's concern" (Thomas, 1976), or "concern for self" and "concern for other" (Rahim & Bonoma, 1979). Typologies presented by Rahim are integrating, obliging, compromising, dominating and avoiding

Integrating or collaborating style involves openness, exchange of information, and examination of differences to reach an effective solution acceptable to both parties. It is associated with problem solving, which may lead to creative solutions. When people use the integrating or collaborating style, they have dual concerns for themselves and for others; are problem solving and solution oriented (Rahim, 1986; Sillars, 1980). Studies have shown that supervisors who use an integrating style achieved more behavioral compliance with their requests (Rahim & Buntzman, 1990), reducing

conflict levels for these supervisors. As a result, those who tend to approach conflicts with a more integrative style are likely to experience less persistent conflict at work, making future disputes less likely.

Obliging or accommodating style is associated with attempting to play down the differences and emphasizing commonalities to satisfy the concerns of the other party (Kilmann & Thomas, 1977). Like the collaborating style the accommodating style is cooperative, but unlike the collaborating style the accommodating style is indirect and passive (Blake & Mouton, 1964). Accommodating is also an appropriate strategy when two people cannot agree but a decision needs to be made.

In Dominating or competing people are more concerned with their own interests than their partner's interests (Kilmann & Thomas, 1977). The competing style is assertive and uncooperative (Blake & Mouton, 1964). This style has also been called distributive (Sillars, 1980), dominating (Rahim, 1986) or controlling (Putnam & Wilson, 1982). Managers who use the competing style typically are ineffective in meeting their goals and inappropriate in their treatment of their subordinates and escalation of conflict (Hocker & Wilmot, 1991). When a supervisor uses a more dominating style, subordinates are less likely to want to communicate with that supervisor (Richmond, Wagner, & McCroskey, 1983) or to comply with his or her directives (Rahim & Buntzman, 1990).

Avoiding style has been associated with withdrawal, or sidestepping situations, based on having little or no concern for oneself or others (Kilmann & Thomas, 1977). As such, it is uncooperative and indirect (Blake & Mouton, 1964). This style has also been called nonconfrontation (Putnam & Wilson, 1982), inaction (Klein & Johnson, 1997; Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993), and withdrawal (Hocker & Wilmot, 1998; Gottman, 1994). Studies have shown that the avoiding style is inappropriate and ineffective (Canary & Spitzberg, 1990; Gross & Guerrero, 2000).

Compromising style involves give-and-take whereby both parties give up something to make a mutually acceptable decision, somewhat focused on the self and somewhat focused on others (Kilmann & Thomas, 1977; Rahim, 1986), characterized by moderate levels of both cooperation and assertiveness (Blake & Mouton, 1964). The available research suggests that the compromising style is generally perceived to be moderately appropriate and effective (Gross & Guerrero, 2000).

Constructive conflict management requires considerable social skills. Managers must be able to adapt their conflict management behaviors to a given situation. In some cases it may be best to confront conflict, and in other cases it may be better to avoid conflict or accommodate. Conflict management research focus is centered primarily on the conflict situation and the person situation interaction (Knapp, 1988). However, there is a reason to believe that conflict behavior is determined by both situational and dispositional influences (Sandy, 2000). Markus & Kitayama, (1991), examined

possible links between individualistic and collectivistic cultural values and preferred conflict styles and found that are a numbers of similarities and difference among both these cultures. Other Studies have examined the most frequently used style by both public and private sector managers in conflict management (Haque, 2004). Studies also report a connection between attachment styles and problem solving (Cowan & Cowan, 2005), providing the base to argue that leadership styles may influences conflict negotiation strategies.

Leadership

One of the current approaches to leadership that has been the focus of much research since the early 1980s is the Bass Model approach. In fact this model is part of the new leadership paradigm (Bryman, 1992), which gives more attetion to the transformational element of leadership. Bass and Riggio (2006) suggested that its popularity may be due to its emphasis on intrisic motivation and follower development**.**

Transformational leaders rather than focusing solely on current needs of their employees or themselves, they also focus on future needs; rather than being concerned only with short-term problems and opportunities facing the organization, they also concern with long-term issues; rather than viewing intra-and extra-organizational factors as discrete, they view them from a holistic perspective. Transformational leadership is not a substitute for transactional leadership; rather a complement to it. Previous research has found that transformational leadership augments the effects of transactional leadership (Avolio, Waldman, & Einstein 1988; Bass, 1990). These components of transformational and transactional leadership should predict organizational outcomes, followers satisfaction and leader performance. Bass (1985) observed that a leader will exhibit both styles, generally with one being more predominant. In an attempt to identify the behaviors underling these leadership styles, he developed the Multi-factor Leadership Theory. The model has been generalized across a wide variety of organizations, cultures and different hierarchical levels of management (Bass & Avolio 1993).

Transformational leadership has consistently been linked to high levels of effort (Bass, 1990), performance (Yammarino and Bass, 1990), and satisfaction with the leader. Epitropaki and Martin (2005) has examined the impact of transformational and transactional leadership perceptions as important predictors of employees' reported organizational identification, performance, affective organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behaviors. Rafferty and Griffin, (2004) develop a series of hypotheses suggesting that certain sub dimensions of transformational leadership are uniquely associated with a number of outcomes including affective and continuance commitment, role breadth self-efficacy, interpersonal helping behaviors, and intentions to turnover. In a study of 78 managers, Avolio (1993) found that transformational leadership directly and positively predicted unit level performance. Transformational leaders portray vivid representations of a future vision for followers. Transformational

leaders motivate subordinates to perform beyond expectations (Bass, 1985). They are able both to unite followers 'resolve conflicts and change followers' goals and beliefs (Lewis, 2003).

Transactional leaders identify and clarify for subordinates their job tasks and communicate to them how successful execution of those tasks will lead to receipt of desirable job rewards (Avolio & Bass, 1988; Bass, 1985, 1990). Transactional managers determine and define goals for their subordinates, suggest how to execute tasks, and provide feedback. Previous investigations suggest that transactional leadership can have a favorable influence on attitudinal and behavioral responses of employees (Bass, 1990).

Laissez-faire leaders abdicate their responsibility and avoid making decisions (Bass, 1990). Subordinates working under this kind of supervisor basically are left to their own devices to execute their job responsibilities. Although laissez-faire leadership is observed infrequently, managers still exhibit it in varying amounts (Bass, 1990). Prior research has found that laissez-faire leadership has an adverse effect on work-related outcomes of employees (Bass, 1990; Yammarino & Bass, 1990).

Blake and Mouton (1964), Thomas (1976), and Rahim (1992) tried to measure the strategies in which individuals typically deal with the conflicts they face. This approach treated conflict styles as individual disposition, stable over time and across situations. It is argued and supported by literature that leadership styles or behaviors remain stable over time are expected significantly related to conflict management styles (Hendel, 2005). A schematic model can be sketched to explain the overlapping role of both models of leadership and conflict management.

Proposed Model*; Correspondence of Leadership Styles with Conflict Management Styles*

		CONCERN FOR SELF (Working Model Of Self)	
		High (Positive)	Low (Negative)
Concern For Others (Working Model Of Others)	High (Positive)	Integrating (Transformational)	Obliging (Transformational)
		Compromising	
	Low (Negative)	Dominating (Transactional)	Avoiding (laissez-faire)

(Conflict style constructs are shown in the top row of each entry whereas leadership constructs are shown in parentheses on the bottom row).
Keeping in view the above literature following hypotheses are formulated:

H: 1. Transformational leadership style is predicted to exhibit positive relationship with integrating and obliging style of conflict management.
H: 2. Transactional leadership style predicts positive relationship with compromising style.
H: 3. Laissez-faire leadership style predicts positive relationship with dominating and avoiding style.

Method
Participants
The sample of present study consisted of 150 managers (34 women and 116 men) from different private sector manufacturing industries. The sample was selected by using simple random sampling technique. The participants were informed about the purpose of the study and assured to secure the confidentiality of the information provided. A total 180 questionnaires were distributed and 150 were received back completed in all respects, with 80 % response rate.

Measures
Organizational Conflict Management Inventory (Anis, 2003) consisted of 37 items including five dimensions; integrating, obliging, compromising, dominating and avoiding were used to assess conflict management styles of managers. Internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient), based on sample of present study was .91.

Fulfilling the basic requirements, Urdu version of (MLQ) Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Almas, 2007) originally developed by Bass (1985) was used to assess leadership styles of managers. MLQ consisted of 36 items has three dimensions including, transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership. Transformational leadership includes five sub dimensions: attributed charisma, idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration. Transactional leadership style include: contingent reward, management-by-exception (Active), management-by-exception (Passive). Laissez faire leadership style had no sub dimension. Each sub-dimension was divided into 4 items with five choices ranging from "not at all" to "frequently if not always". Internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient), based on sample of present study was .83.

Data Analysis
Data collected on OCMI and MLQ were scored and sorted in accordance to the directions of the instrument developers. Intercorrelation table of all variables along with reliability coefficients of all scales and inferential statistics were calculated. Multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine the relationship between leadership and conflict management styles.

RESULTS
Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for All Variables (N=150)

Study variables	*M*	*SD*	Minimum	Maximum
Organizational Conflict-Management Inventory				
1. Integrating	42.41	5.97	28	52
2 .Obliging	29.93	4.86	21	51
3. Compromising	5.00	1.74	1	10
4. Dominating	11.84	3.01	8	17
5. Avoiding	27.12	6.03	11	35
Multi factor Leadership-Questionnaire				
1. Transformational	26.05	4.18	14	36
2. Transactional	22.97	5.40	13	35
3. Laissez-faire	6.62	1.87	4	19

Table 2:
Inter-scale correlation matrix of all variables (N=150)
*p<.05, **p<.01 (Boldface Shows Alpha Reliability Values of Variables)

Variables	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*
Transformational	**.92**							
Transactional	.40***	**.84**						
Laissez-faire	.18*	.11	**.71**					
Obliging	.08**	.12	.02	**.81**				
Integrating	.23**	.07	.19*	.06	**.93**			
Compromising	.01	-.21**	.06	.06	-.06	**.72**		
Dominating	.08	-.16*	.05	-.13*	.17*	.02	**.81**	
Avoiding	-.11	-.06	-.22**	-.03	-.27**	.02	-.16*	**.75**

Table 3
Regression Analysis for Leadership styles and Integrating style of conflict management (N =150)

Model	*B*	*SE*	*β*	*t*	*P*
Transformational	.421	.195	.356	5.118	.003
Transactional	.371	.281	.108	1.320	.189
Laissez-faire	-.035	.096	-.032	.367	.714

R^2= .153, ΔR^2= .144, *F*=4.01, *p*<.001

The results of the multiple regression analysis show that transformational style has significant relationship with integrating style of conflict management, whereas, transactional and laissez-faire do not show significant relationship. The value of R^2 =

.153 shows that 15.3 % of variance is explained by independent variables (Leadership styles) in dependent variable (Conflict management) with ($F = 4.01$, $p<.001$). Beta values of .35 ($p<.003$) shows that transformational style contributes more among these variables to effect the integrating style.

Table 4
Regression Analysis for Leadership styles and Obliging style of conflict management (N =150)

Model	B	SE	B	t	P
Transformational	.321	.127	.225	2.518	.013
Transactional	.371	.281	.108	1.320	.189
Laissez-faire	-.035	.096	-.032	.367	.714

$R^2= .065$, $\Delta R^2= .059$, $F =12.01$, $p<.05$

The results show that only transformational style is significantly affecting obliging style. The results also show that 6.5 % of variance has been explained by leadership styles in obliging style ($F=12.01$, $p<.05$). Beta value .22 ($p<.01$) for transformational style depicts magnitude of contribution in the model.

Table 5
Regression Analysis for Leadership styles and Compromising style of conflict management (N =150)

Model	B	SE	β	t	P
Transformational	.042	.037	.102	1.144	.255
Transactional	.083	.028	.259	2.944	.031
Laissez-faire	.015	.076	.016	.194	.846

$R^2= .056$, $\Delta R^2= .037$, $F = 12.01$, $p<. 05$

The results in above table show that only transactional style has significant relationship with compromising style. Variance of 5.6 % has been explained by transformational style in compromising strategy. Corresponding Beta value .25 for transactional ($F = 12.01$, $p<.05$) shows the strength of contribution in the model.

Table 6
Regression Analysis for Leadership styles and Dominating Style of Conflict Management (N =150)

Model	B	SE	β	t	P
Transformational	-.143	.064	-.199	-2.232	-.027
Transactional	-.143	.049	-.260	-2.945	-.004
Laissez-faire	-.025	.131	.016	-.193	.847

$R^2= .064$, $\Delta R^2= .047$, $F = 12.14$, $p<.05$

Results show beta value -.26 ($p<.05$) for transactional and -.19 ($p<.01$) for transformational styles of leadership have significant negative impact on dominating

style of conflict management. Model explains 6.4 % variance in dominating style (F=12.14, $p<.05$).

Table 7

Regression Analysis for Leadership styles and Avoiding Style of Conflict Management (N =150)

Model	B	SE	β	t	P
Transformational	-.148	.129	-.103	-1.145	.254
Transactional	.069	.098	.063	.712	.478
Laissez-faire	.686	.000	.260	3.611	.001

R^2= .131, ΔR^2= .112, F =3.14, $p<.01$

Table 7 shows that only laissez-faire leadership style significantly impacts avoiding style; whereas, transformational and transactional leadership do not show significant effect. The value of R^2 = .13 shows that 13.1 % of variance is explained by leadership styles in avoiding (F = 3.14, $p<.01$).   Beta value .26, ($p<.01$) for laissez-faire leadership shows the level of contribution in the model.

Discussion

Negotiation and dispute resolution are among the core tasks of management and dispute generation and dispute resolution are central to strategic decision-making and operation of organizations (Eisenhardt, 1997). The presence of personal and emotional tensions, conflicts in the organization is one dimension of organizational culture. Conflict management style does not determine who is the instigator of conflict. Rather, given ongoing tensions and conflicts which occur naturally in organizations, some people may act in ways that resolve these conflicts and stimulate cooperative behavior, while others may act in ways that leave conflicts unresolved and stimulate antagonistic behavior (Fisher & Ury, 1991).

Among five conflict management styles, integrating is the most constructive style of conflict management (Rahim, 1996). People who adopt this style solve a problem and seek a practical solution so everyone gains as a result. Everyone works through their disagreement to find a solution that will satisfy their basic concerns. This style requires openness, exchange of information, and examination of differences between the parties. Research showed that collaborative style tends to work better than others do because it yields win-win situation (Bushyacharu, 1996).

In addition, how leaders react to problems, resolve crises, reward and punish followers is all relevant to an organization's culture. Leaders who are concerned about organizational renewal will seek to foster organizational cultures that are hospitable and conductive to creativity, problem solving, risk taking and experimentation. A facilitative leader has the capacity to help the antagonistic groups work together towards their shared goals. He/she also provides encouragement and support, releases tensions, harmonizes misunderstanding and deals with disruptive or aggressive

behavior (O'Hearn Woodlti 1987; Fisher 2000). Transformational leaders are effective for several reasons. They are able to unite followers, resolve conflicts and change followers' goals and beliefs. Keeping this in view it was hypothesized that transformational leadership style would predict integrating style of conflict management. The results of the study supported this hypothesis. Regression analysis was computed with transformational leadership style as a predictor and integrating style of conflict management as outcome variable (see table 6). Standardized beta weights revealed that transformational leadership style created a positive effect on integrating style of conflict management (β=.356, p<.01). These findings are in accordance with the results of prior research that demonstrate that transformational leadership has significant influence on integrating style of conflict management (Hendel, 2005). Transformational leadership is effective and facilitative leadership style and is positively related to subordinate satisfaction, motivation, and performance (Gaspar, 1992). In turbulent environments and conflicting situations transformational leaders are likely to be more effective because they seek new ways of working, positively managing conflicts, seek opportunities in the face of risk, prefer effective answers to efficient answers, and are less likely to support the status quo.

Obliging is another style of conflict management which creates a sense of harmony. A person with this style neglects his or her own concern to satisfy the concern of the other party (Bushy, 1996). Research supports that obliging is a behavior that is similar to ingratiation one of the social influence tactics identified by Yukl and Tracey (1992). Ingratiation tactics are meant to convince the recipient that you think favorably of them and their ideas. Doing whatever others want would be one way to show that you think favorably of their ideas. While this type of obsequious behavior is likely to produce positive affect in others (Ferris, Judge, Rowland, & Fitzgibbons, 1994). In addition, subordinates under transformational leaders are not hesitant to offer their ideas (even ones that are seemingly silly), become critical in their problem solving, and tend to have enhanced thought processes (Bass, 1990). Such supervisors are attentive to the unique concerns of subordinates, and consider their individual development and growth needs. Keeping this in view, it was hypothesized that transformational leadership style predicts obliging style of conflict management. The results of the study supported this hypothesis. Regression analysis was computed with transformational leadership style as a predictor and obliging style of conflict management as outcome variable (see table7). Standardized beta weights revealed that transformational leadership style created a positive effect on obliging style of conflict management (β= .225, p<.05). These findings are in accordance with the results of prior research that demonstrate transformational leadership occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group (Bass, 1990). They may also motivate followers to transcend their own interests for some other collective purpose. The findings are further supported that transformational leadership has significant positive influence on obliging style of conflict management (Hendel, 2005).

Previous research revealed that compromising style of managing conflict in the organizations involves give-and-take whereby both parties give up something to attain a mutually acceptable agreement. Solutions bring some degrees of satisfaction to the conflicting parties so that no one totally wins or loses (Bushyacharu, 1996). In addition, research has indicated that transactional leaders identify and clarify for subordinates their job tasks and communicate to them how successful execution of those tasks will lead to receipt of desirable job rewards (Avolio & Bass, 1988; Bass, 1985, 1990). Keeping this in view it was hypothesized that transactional leadership style would predict compromising style of conflict management. The study findings supported the hypothesis. Regression analysis was computed with transactional leadership style as a predictor and compromising style of conflict management as outcome variable (see table 8). Standardized beta weights revealed that transformational leadership style created a positive effect on obliging style of conflict management ($\beta=.259$, $p<.05$). These findings are in accordance with the results of prior research that demonstrate that transactional leadership is an exchange process based on the fulfillment of contractual obligations and transactional leaders make subordinate rewards conditional upon their behaviors (Avolio & Bass, 1991; Avolio, Waldman, & Yammarino, 1991; Bass, 1998; Bass & Avolio, 1994; Hater & Bass, 1988).

Among five styles of conflict management assessed in this study another style was dominating. This style has been identified with forcing behavior to win one's position. A dominating person goes all out to win his or her objectives and often ignores the needs of others, and is undesirable style of conflict management (Bushyacharu, 1996). In addition, transformational leadership is typically represented as setting objectives and monitoring and controlling outcomes, (Bass & Avolio, 1994), Keeping this in view it was hypothesized that transactional leadership style would predict dominating style of conflict management. The study findings supported the hypothesis. Regression analysis was computed with transactional leadership style as a predictor and dominating style of conflict management as outcome variable (see table 9). Standardized beta weights revealed that transformational leadership style created a significant negative effect on dominating style of conflict management ($\beta= -.260$, $p<.05$). These findings are in accordance with the results of previous research (Hendel, 2005) that transactional leadership style negatively influences competing (dominating) mode of conflict management.

Previous research supports that avoiding style of conflict management involves low concern for self as well as for the other party. It can also be seen as inaction, withdrawal or the ignoring style and is indirect and uncooperative. This style is low in both effectiveness and appropriateness. In addition, laissez faire leadership style; research supports that laissez-faire leaders abdicate their responsibility and avoid making decisions (Bass, 1990). Although laissez-faire leadership is observed infrequently in businesses (Bass & Avolio, 1989), managers still exhibit it in varying

amounts (Bass, 1990). Keeping this in view it was hypothesized that Laissez-fair leadership style would predict avoiding style of conflict management. The results of the study supported this hypothesis. Regression analysis was computed with transformational leadership style as a predictor and avoiding style of conflict management as outcome variable (see table10). Standardized beta weights revealed that laissez-faire leadership style created a significant positive effect on avoiding style of conflict management (β=.260, p< .01). These findings are in accordance with the results of prior research (Rahim, 1992 & Bushyacharu, 1996) that avoidance style may take form in postponing an issue until a better time or withdrawing from a threatening situation. Avoiders usually refuse to acknowledge that a conflict exists and prefer to retreat from potential conflicts. In addition research (Bass, 1990) also support that laissez faire leaders are also avoiders and withdrawn in dealing with issues related to their subordinates. Prior research has also found that laissez-faire leadership has an adverse effect on work-related outcomes of employees (Bass, 1990; Yammarino & Bass, 1990).

This research reveals that mangers who adopt effective leadership styles, e.g. transformational leadership style are more likely to adopt constructive styles of conflict management like integrating and obligating. The study also reveals that managers who adopt less effective style of leadership, e.g. transactional leadership style; they adopt destructive style of conflict management like dominating. The study also indicates that transactional leadership style plays a role in prediction of compromising style of conflict management, which is in the medium of destructive and constructive styles of conflict management. The non-leadership style i.e. laissez-faire leadership style is associated with avoiding style of conflict management.

Practical Implications of the Study
Managing conflict effectively requires many professional qualities and skills, and changing organizations to be conflict-positive require on-going, persistent action. To become effectively and for appropriately managing conflicts, managers who are in the position of leading the subordinates must understand the causes, theories, approaches and strategies of conflict management. The question is when, and what kind of experiences in conflict management, is adequate in preparing for conflict situations facing today's managers? We believe that preparation in conflict management should start early and body of knowledge should be included along the professional socialization process from the beginning. It should include, in the first stage, the knowledge of the causes of conflicts, the conflict process and the skills required. Teaching, problem-solving and decision-making approaches and leadership styles to cooperative conflict resolution should be together in an integrated fashion.

Graduate students should, through planned exercises, be able to negotiate and analyze strategies and tactics for effectively implementing their available power in conflicts. Skill and comfort in using a variety of conflict-handling modes may help to develop a repertoire of conflict resolutions skills that is essential in effectively managing the

variety of conflict situations (O'Hearn Woodlti 1987). Learning in the work environment can also be done through observations. Superiors may serve as role models. Role modeling can be an effective teaching–learning strategy, providing managers have the skills and abilities required. In addition to the importance of education and skill training when conflict occurs in the organization between manager and subordinates, managers must deal appropriately with that conflict. Consistently using strategies with Win–Lose or Lose– Lose outcomes will create disharmony within the unit so as the laissez faire leadership (Bass, 1990).

The skills desired in enacting the facilitation role in resolving intergroup conflict includes counselling, crosscultural communication, human relations and giving and receiving feedback on behavior. We feel that only a small percentage of time is spent in true collaboration in the work environment, especially when there is a wide difference in power between individuals or groups involved. Managing effectively conflicts in an organization requires using strategies as urging confrontation to encourage subordinates to attempt to handle their own problems, communicating honestly and openly, ensuring clarity of responsibility of roles, creating policies and changing if needed, and being sensitive to others and offer support.

Limitations
The following limitations however should also be noted while evaluating the study findings.

In assessing managers' conflict management and leadership styles, it was not possible to control all the factors, which could influence individual's mode. The influence of factors such as the characteristics of the organizational climate and organizational structure were not examined in this study. These characteristics include relations with peers and subordinates, level of authority, and opportunities for continuous professional development.

Furthermore, the results consist of subjects' self-reports on what they would be inclined to do. There is some evidence to suggest that when examining differences in preferred styles; it is important to take into account rating source. Eagley and Johnson (1990) noted that self-ratings were significantly more stereotypical for interpersonal style and task style than subordinate ratings. Podsakoff and Organ (1986) also stated that when measures are collected from a single source, any defect in that source will contaminate measures, presumably in the same manner and context. Therefore, the probability of variance and aspect of social desirability in selection of responses on the scales of conflict management and leadership could not be minimized through method variance.

Despite from these limitations, study findings provide important insight into the predictive role leadership styles in conflict management styles. For example, the

results of the study suggest that leadership styles are predictors of both constructive and destructive dimensions based conflict management styles.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research on individual's and environment characteristics could contribute significantly to our understanding of how conflict management strategies are determined. Other variables rather than leadership style may influence choice of conflict-handling mode. More research is needed on the effects of personality and characteristics of the organizational environment on conflict management. Another important question that should be explored is: Are conflict management abilities and skills developed during undergraduate and graduate education?

The generalizability of the findings should be tested in future research in public sector organizations and other than manufacturing sector e.g. profit and non-profit organizations of corporate sectors, banking, telecommunication, education etc.

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Symbolism in the Official Court Robes of the Ch'ing[1] Dynasty (1644–1911)

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Abstract

The Ch'ing dynasty represents the last stages in a long evolution of techniques and decorative themes of the Chinese imperial wardrobes (Myers, 1989:126). It was further asserted in the decree of 1759 which standardized the style, accessories, and motifs for the court vestment. This paper demonstrates the function and parables of the 'twelve imperial symbols'; also known as 'Twelve Ornaments', along with allied motifs on the court robes, in the light of Chinese philosophies, myths, and legends, as well as examples found in contemporaneous civilizations of the ancient world. Some of these symbols, like dragon, are very popular in modern fashion industry, for both fabric, and tattoo.

Keywords: Chinese dress, court robe, textile motifs, twelve ornaments, myths, symbolism.

THE MANCHUS conquered China in 1644 and declared their ascendancy to the fabled 'Dragon Throne'. Their dynastic period is known as "Ch'ing," meaning "pure," who successfully established a foreign leadership. They remained, however, a clear minority; ethnically and culturally different from indigenous Chinese. The only way to maintain their national identity was to impose traditional costume while shunning[2] the dress of earlier dynasties worn by emperors since the Han period (206 BCE-220 CE) due to an association with the Chinese culture and national discrimination[3] of the Manchus. The new dress, however, was the combination of the Han-Chinese silk robes and the close-cut skin coat of the Manchus, best fit for horse-riding and hunting. They retailored the voluminous court robes but at the same time adopted the basic motifs and decoration of the preceding Ming Dynasty (1364-1644). Thus, in the early phase until the mid of eighteenth century, Ch'ing court robes were adorned with a large dragon on the front twisting over one shoulder and another on the back to the opposite shoulder. Moreover, the Manchurian leaders were already clued-up with dragon robes, and before the conquest they had acquired several robes from the Ming emperors. Evidences show that Ming emperors used to give gifts, bribes, and presentations to deflect northern barbarians as well as to the rulers of more civilized nations to develop good relations, and to stimulate the overseas trade (Cammann 191-4).

The dress of courtiers comprised robes, outer garments, surcoats, hats, belts, shirts, and trousers; among which robes and jackets were major ceremonial garments. Robes were obligatory dress for all men inside the court. The jackets were also popular in court; particularly the "Yellow Mandarin Jackets" which were a highest reward from the emperor, granted only to four types of people: loyal subordinates, ministers who

presented rare birds or beasts to the emperor, senior officials with great contribution to war, and court envoys. The identical style of the Ch'ing court robes was long tapered sleeves ending with tight horse-hoof cuffs, narrow neck opening, side closures with a flap, attached collar, and slits in the lower portion.

The official court robes were divided into three basic categories: formal *(Ch'ao-fu),* semi-formal *(Ch'i-fu),* and informal *(Ch'ang-fu).* Formal robes were worn during the most important observances such as accession to the throne, imperial wedding, birthdays, and sacrifices to heaven and earth as well as to the ancestors. Semi-formal robe, the classic "DRAGON ROBE", has a considerable importance of all types of court costume. These richly embroidered robes were worn by all those who attended the court or served in the imperial government, in every semi-formal court occasion and official businesses. It was consisted a full-length robe with side fastening flap, tapered sleeves, and a hat with a simple apex. Unlike formal robe, it was completely covered with traditional motifs, particularly the dragon. Informal dress was used during some court entertainment or domestic events, or when traveling on official business. It was cut in the same style as the dragon robe, and was designed particularly for horse-riding with long sleeves and horse-hoof cuffs to cover hands. The new added slits on the four sides, loops, and buttons were specific features of the Manchu nomadic dress. Furthermore, court garments were divided into summer and winter robes which were treated according to the demands of weather.

Women had separate dress for formal, casual, and other occasions. Formal clothes were worn during weddings and funerals. Casual clothes were varied depending upon their function. The women's informal dress comprised two styles of long robe known as *Changyi* and *Chenyi*. The former featured a round neck and a panel crossing from left to right and, had relatively straight body with full sleeves while *Chenyi* was differed in that it had splits on each side, allowing the facility of movement. These splits were often highlighted with decorative borders. The basic elements of women's dress, however, were the same as their male, yet the formal robe was more sophisticated than their men.

Robe-making was a painstaking process and professionals used to spend up to thirty months to produce an intricate robe. Whenever a new robe was needed, it was commissioned by the mandarins at the Board of Rites[4] in Peking. The design was sent to experts at Nanking[5] if it was to be woven or was sent to Soochow for embroidery. After the required measurements, the basic motifs were traced through precut stencils. Then it was stretched onto a long embroidery frame or hoop. The designs were embroidered with floss or twist silk, gold or silver wrapped threads on silk fabrics – plain, satin, damask or gauze. Peking knot and satin stitch for filling, counted thread for gauze fabrics, and split stitch for details, were common stitches in practice. The patterns were outlined in voiding techniques. Each of the colour area had to be woven or embroidered from a separate bobbin. When the robe was ready, it was sent to Peking with details of material and number of hours consumed. The mandarins were

responsible to approve the cuts and patterns as well as the finished robe whether it was fit for the emperor or not.

Symbolic motifs of Chinese textiles were more important than their skillful embroidery and rich material, since symbolism is a keynote to all Chinese decorative arts which reveals the essence of a particular culture. Likewise, these patterns were more than being ornamental, and memorize tales from history and legends, denote social contexts, and convey ethical messages. The dress also defined the imperial hierarchy in the court, and social status in the society. This stylization and distinction was more apparent in the Chou dynasty (1045?–256 BCE) where variety of clothing appeared for various occasions. There were army uniforms, ceremonial outfits, bereavement cloths, and sacrificial dresses.

The emperor's court robe was a symbol in itself and the significant motifs affirm it profoundly. Of these eminent symbols, the 'TWELVE ORNAMENTS' more precisely describe court robe as the most elaborate, and auspicious gown ever since. These ornaments were embroidered or printed exclusively on textile fabrics, and were the utmost means of distinction. Only emperor had the right to wear all the twelve. Officials and nobles had fewer according to their ranks (Hall 156-7), such as the first rank was restricted from the sun, moon, and stars; and further such restriction made five groups among the officials. The distinction was also evident in Chinese interiors where the privileged classes had specific motifs on table cloths, cushions, and other decorative fabrics inside their rooms.

The twelve symbols are referred to the Emperor Shun (late 3rd millennium BCE) as saying, "I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients: the sun, the moon, the stars, the dragon, and the flowery fowl, which are depicted on the upper garment; the temple-cup, the aquatic grass, the flames, the grain of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered on the lower garment" (Williams 409-11). Further he describes that these are symbols of the qualities required for a good ruler. The original meanings of these symbols, however, are unknown and they have been considered as sacrificial symbols, worn by the emperor during presenting his people before the heaven. This concept was vague among the Manchus. Ch'ing-lung (r. 1736-95) was the first sovereign to bring back these ornaments to the court garments. These motifs[6] were dispersed on the robe with great symmetry, a noteworthy element of Chinese art and architecture. They were composed in such a way that five of them were visible on the front and five were shown on the back, while two were depicted on both shoulders (Figure 1). They are deduced in succeeding lines.

A red disk, embroidered on the left shoulder is representing the SUN which encloses a distinctive RAVEN; more like a ROOSTER (Figure 2a). This typical sunbird was appeared in the legend of HOU YI[7], the divine archer who shot down nine of ten suns in the form of a three-legged[8] raven; that rebelled and risen from the tree of east horizon together against their routine, and scorched the earth (Cotterell & Storm 483,488ff esp.

488-9). In Japan, a three-legged crow is the messenger of sun-goddess Amaterasu; an influence of Taoist belief. In many other cultures, too, crow or raven emerged as a messenger such as Huginn and Muninn[9] of Odin, or in the MYTH OF FLOOD where a raven was sent after dove and swallow to ensure dry land (Cotterell & Storm 277, 327). However, the sunbird is less important rather than the sun itself, and it is remained only a commemorative element of the sun-disk. Inasmuch as sun is the main source of light and warmth, and being desplayed on the court robe, it symbolizes the emperor, his superamacy, enlightenment, and power.

The MOON-DISK, another celestial motif, embroidered on the right shoulder[10] by a white disk (Figure 2b). It symbolizes the light and wisdom of the emperor, shining upon the world. Like raven in the sun, the moon encloses a legendary HARE (f.n. 7), pounding the ELIXIR OF IMMORTALITY with pestle and mortar near a PEACH tree, a symbol of longevity. The association of moon and hare is evident in numerous cultures. In Egyptian myth, hare is associated with the cycle of moon. The large patches on the moon are considered to be resemble a hare, an Asian concept; particularly in India where it is associated with *Chandras* – the god of moon who often carries a hare *(sasa)* (Harley 60ff). Of the moon celebrations, the Festival of Moon is most important; celebrated by Chinese communities around the world on the 15th of eighth lunar month, where figures of white hare could be found. On this occasion, the legend of CH'ANG-E is told to children.

CONSTELLATION[11] (Figure 2c) and stars are the symbols of the cosmic universe. They are considered deities who influence affairs on earth as Willetts (269) quoted: "The destiny of the State is connected with the stars. Just as their constellations are propitious, the state is happy or unhappy. As the stars revolve and wander, men rise and fall". On the imperial robe, constellation is represented by three circles linked by lines above the facing Dragon on the chest. These are, probably, the 'THREE STAR GODS' also known as SAN HSING. They are FU-HSING, LU-HSING, and SHOU-HSING, associated with happiness, employee or salaries, and longevity, respectively (Cotterell & Storm 472; cf. Hall 108). Constellations are symbolizing an unending source of love and pardon of the emperor.

Above the principal dragon on the back, a stylized motif of MOUNTAIN or ROCK (Figure 4a) is depicted which symbolizing the stability, and constancy of the emperor. It is also the symbol of earth and provides links to the heaven. Like many other cultures, from Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greek to India, Japan, and China itself, Mountains have an association with gods and goddesses. The mountain-like ZIGGURATS and PYRAMIDS, the Mt. OLYMPUS, Mt. KAILASA, and Mt. FUJIYAMA, all have a connection in some way or other to the heaven and gods. In China, 'FIVE SACRED MOUNTAINS' are related to 'FIVE DIRECTIONS'. These sacred peaks are: TAI SHAN in the east, HUA SHAN in the west, northern HENG SHAN and, southern Heng Shan while SONG SHAN in the center. They are considered as the abode of immortals,

and worshipped as deities where pilgrims climbed to the summit to perform sacrifices (Cotterell & Storm 492).

In the lower portion of the garment on four slits; center front, back, and sides, triple-peaked mountains are emerging from foamy waves of water. Here it symbolizes the primordial world as well as protection of the emperor's regency from four directions. In addition, sun, moon, stars, and mountain represent earth and heaven where the emperor was ruling both on land and sky (Cammann 7).

To the right hand side near the large facing dragon on the back, is a small motif depicting a PAIR OF DRAGONS in ascending and descending position (Figure 3a). The imperial dragon had five claws[12] which distinguish it from those of the courtiers where four or three-clawed dragons were depicted. Besides this motif, the image of dragon was repeated nine times on the court robe –one large facing dragon on the chest and another on the back while two on either shoulder. Two dragons in profile view in lower portion, and two on the back in the same location. Another dragon was behind the flap on breast. In this way five dragons were visible to observe from front or behind; as the number five and nine were considered lucky, and associated with the dignity of throne. Dragon was often depicted with the FLAMING PEARL, the symbol of wisdom.

Dragon is China's most celebrated symbol in traditional arts and costume of all times. It was quite popular motif on ritual bronze utensils in the Shang and Chou dynasties, where *K'uei*[13] dragon was depicted to restrain influences against the sin of greed. The earliest literary records describe this mythical animal as the greatest scaled animal, and visually a composite of parts from nine animals: the head of a camel, the horns of a deer, the eyes of a rabbit, neck like a snake, abdomen of a cockle, scales of a large carp, ears of an ox, the claws of an eagle, and the paws of a tiger. Moreover, there are nine classic types of Dragons[14], and nine dragon children[15]. It is associated with the watery realm and, according to Chinese myth; it covers itself in mud in the autumnal equinox, and emerges in the spring. Unlike the West, it is considered beneficent creature in China.

As an important element of Confucianism, the dragon was an emblem of emperor. Likewise, the dragon was national emblem of the Manchu state of the Ch'ing dynasty (Figure 3d & e). It also symbolizes the adoptability of emperor and his willingness to change laws to the needs of his people. Dragon and PHOENIX together are symbols of Emperor and Empress.

PHEASANT (Figure 3b) was the symbol of empress[16] as the dragon for the emperor. It was embroidered to the left side on the back, in profile view. This long-tailed bird was often depicted with flowers and CLOUDS. Pheasant depicts the meaning of beauty and good fortune. In the Chinese bird lore pheasant is associated with the 'RED BIRD' which, by the T'ang era, became the most auspicious animal (Paine 113). On the court

robe it symbolizes the cultural accomplishment of emperor and literary refinement. The dragon represents the animal while pheasant of the bird kingdom, and when together, they represent the entire natural world. In this case personifies emperor as the 'Lord of the World', also ruling over beast and birds.

AXE-HEAD, to the right hand side on chest (Figure 3c), represents imperial power to act decisively. Though it is a rare motif in textile but has a good number of religious, mythical, as well as protective associations since ancient times. Its concept can be traced back in the ancient cult of MOTHER GODDESS OF FERTILITY on the Minoan seals of 1700-1500 BCE, as Paine (69) illuistrated, identified by SWASTIKA[17] or double axe (c.f. Hall 55). In China, axe is the emblem of LU PAN, who lived in the Lu state about 500 BCE, and is now worshiped as the GOD OF CARPENTERS. In Taiwan, the cosmic creator, P'an-ku is represented with a chesel and axe (hammer), through which he formed heaven and earth (Cotterell & Storm 466f, esp. illus, p.467). On the emperor's robe, it symbolizes the instrument of punishment and is an emblem of justice. It also depicts the meaning of emperor's courage in difucult situations, such as of life and death, time of war, and famine.

An abstract symbol, known as FU, represented by two E-shaped signs which were arranged back to back (Figure 3d) to the right hand side, near the large facing dragon on the chest. It was embroidered in blue and black lines, and was considered as the symbol of judgment. On the court robe, it represents the ability and power of the emperor to discern the right from wrong, and good from evil. In this way it is the symbol of judgment, and together with the motif of axe-head it declares the emperor as the 'Chief Judge' (Cammann 7).

Above the waves of Deep Ocean on the lower skirt, is a pair of RITUAL GOBLETS, decorated with two kings of long-tailed animals: a TIGER that symbolizes physical strength and a clever MONKEY (Figure 4b). These animals denote the emperor's power to pacify any rebellion that may arise with courage, while the two bronze sacrificial goblets suggest filial piety, and respects for one's parents. It also means purity, impartiality, and imperial loyalty.

Opposite to the Ritual Goblets on the front, is an AQUATIC PLANT, adjoining the foamy water (Figure 4c), represents the spirit of water, and thus a symbol of purity. Moreover, the seaweed as water to make it grow, symbolizes the nourishment of intellect, hence a symbol of wisdom of emperor.

A tray of GRAIN (Figure 4d) was depicted in the lower right portion on the back. Hall (208-9) describes that it was thought to be RICE but probably MILLET. No doubt it is, because the integrated philosophy of grain and food regarding the 'FIVE ELEMENTS', Millet has a position in the central part; associated with the YELLOW COLOR and the earth element. In this way, the motif being displayed on the robe expresses the emperor

is the mainstay for the people to feed them. It also symbolizes the prosperity of the state.

The motif of FIRE (Figure 4e) was placed in symmetry of the Grain symbol, just above the bubbles of water in the lower portion. Despite its destructive aspect, in China, it is most often related with positive meaning such as speed and lust, and a symbol of zeal and intellectual brilliance. It was also depicted on the court robe along with dragon in the form of Flaming Pearl. On the court robe, it symbolizes the imperial power. In various religions and cults, since ancient times, it is manifesting gods (such as Hindu Agni, Iranian Atar; the son of Ahura Mazda etc.). Because of its warmth and light, in many rituals it often represents the sun or the sun-god.

Besides the 'Twelve Ornaments' imperial robes were also decorated with the motifs of suchlike creatures (Figure 6) as BAT[18] (symbolizing good luck, joy, and happiness), BUTTERFLY (long life and beauty), CRANE (longevity, and long marriage when tow), PEACOCK (beauty and dignity), and the PHOENIX which denotes the 'FIVE HUMAN QUALITIES'.[19] Birds were often depicted with flowers where four seasons represented through various flowers such as BAMBOO, PINE, and PLUM BLOSSOM for winter whereas PEONY or lotus for summer. Spring was represented thorough IRIS or MAGNOLIA, and CHRYSANTHEMUM stands for autumn. Some Chinese words were also embroidered on the imperial robe, such as JI, SHOU (longevity), SHUANGXI (double happiness), WAN (ten thousand, happiness), and XI (joy) (Figure 7).

Though not necessary to depict all on a single robe, there were symbols of the Attributes of EIGHT IMMORTALS (Figure 8) of Taoism, particularly on priests' robes, which include FAN of *Chung-li Ch'uan*, SWORD of *Lu ung-pin*, BAMBOO ROD of *Chang Kuo*, CASTANETS of *Ts'ao Kuo-chiu*, FLUTE of *Han Hsiang-tzu*, DOUBLE GOURD of *Li T'ieh-kuai*, BASKET of *Lan Ts'ai-ho*, and LOTUS of *Ho Hsien-ku*[20]. In addition, 'EIGHT LUCKY EMBLEMS' of Buddhism *(Figure 9)*, were also used in the decoration of robes, such as CANOPY (symbol of monarch), CONCH SHELL (wisdom), VASE (water of life and peace), ROYAL BANNER (charity), WHEEL OF LAW (Buddha, his teachings and doctrines), PAIR OF FISH (tenacity, domestic felicity, and fertility), LOTUS FLOWER (purity), and the ENDLESS KNOT (eternity).

Another important aspect of symbolism in the official robes was the badges of nine ranks; known as 'MANDARIN SQUARE',[21] which were awarded to officials after passing an intellectual examination for civil, and a physical test for military. The first civil examination was generally taken at the age of eighteen and mostly the wealthy families could prepare their boys for the examination. After completing the process the officer was highly honoured. However, poor boys have also the opportunity to become civil officials. On the other hand, military examination was based on physical test and the ability of swordsmanship, archery, and handling of horses that were important here. The civil ranks were distinguished by birds' motifs, while the military ranks officials were awarded with the symbols of animals. The symbols for civil ranks were: White

Crane, Golden Pheasant, Peacock, WILD GOOSE, Silver Pheasant, EGRET, MANDARIN DUCK, QUAIL, and Paradise FLYCATCHER, respectively. While nine military ranks were: UNICORN, LION, LEOPARD, Tiger, BEAR, PANTHER, RHINOCEROS (seventh and eighth), and SEA-HORSE.

The Chinese were also very conservative in colour, another sense of symbolism, and they used colours for indication and status of ranks. The philosophy of universe was ordered of 'Five Elements', 'FIVE DIRECTIONS' and 'FIVE COLOURS' were related to these elements and directions. Blue (East) associated with Wood, mostly used by the nobles. White (West) was associated with the Metal and was a traditional colour of mourning. Black (North) was associated with Water element and wore by those have lesser rank. Red[22] (South) has an association with Fire and was used during the rituals of marriage and birth. Yellow (Center) was associated with the Earth and was reserved for the emperor as he was considered the center of power. Other members of the imperial family wore various shades of yellow, how they were close to the center of power. The emperor's informal dress was often reddish brown, grey, or light blue. Green and pink were specific to women.

CONCLUSION

Symbolism that abounds Chinese decorative arts; the clothing, personal adornment, household artifacts, and various objects are full with rich meaning. However, the symbols in Chinese art are often in the form of *rebuses* – visual puns in which pictures represent words and messages. The punning of Chinese words is the essence of these symbols. By surrounding themselves with these symbols, many Chinese believe that their wishes can be fulfilled.

An overview of these symbols may implies for wisdom, wealth and prosperity, a harmonious marriage and fertility, long life, a distinctive status of one's ability – an emperor, an official, a military-man, a noble, and others. Also they have a strong connection with their religion, folklore, ethnicity, and tradition as well.
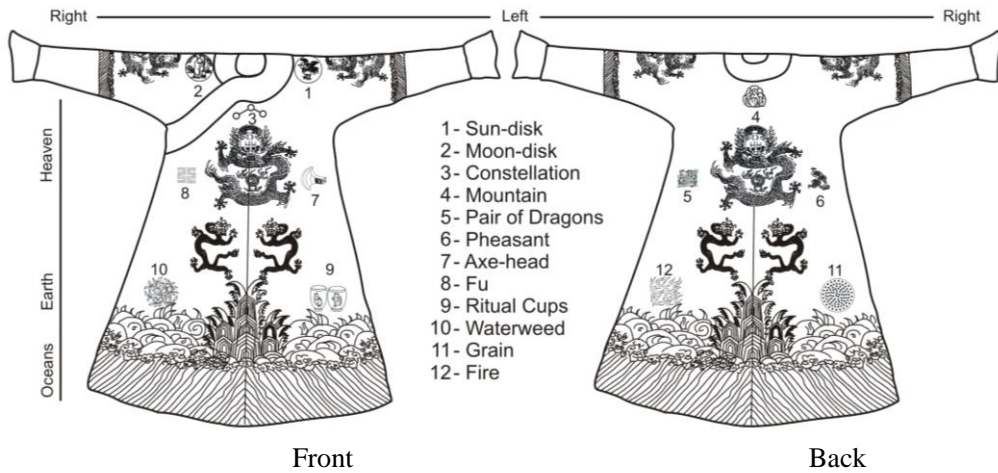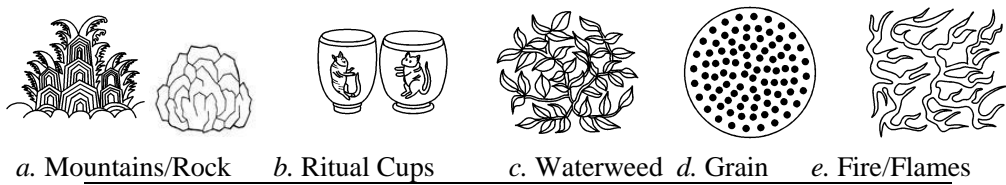
Right ———————— Left ———————— Right

Heaven   Earth   Oceans

1 - Sun-disk
2 - Moon-disk
3 - Constellation
4 - Mountain
5 - Pair of Dragons
6 - Pheasant
7 - Axe-head
8 - Fu
9 - Ritual Cups
10 - Waterweed
11 - Grain
12 - Fire

Front   Back

Figure 1. Scheme of *'Twelve Ornaments'* on Ch'ing court robe

Figure 2. *a.* Sun-disk   *b.* Moon-disk   *c.* Constellations

Figure 3. *a.* Pair of Dragons *b.* Pheasant   *c.* Axe-head   *d.* Symmetrical Fu

a. Mountains/Rock   *b.* Ritual Cups   *c.* Waterweed   *d.* Grain   *e.* Fire/Flames

Figure 4. *Five Elements*

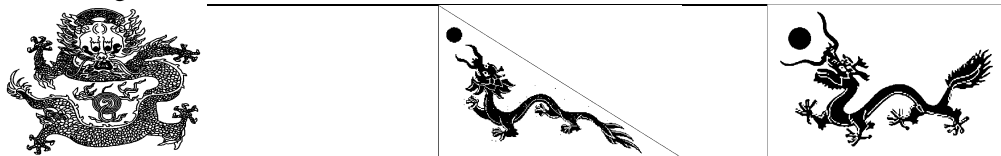Figure 5. *a.* Dragon with Flaming Pearl   *b.* Ch'ing Flag (1862-90)   *c.* (1890-1911)

Figure 6.   *a.* Bat   *b.* Butterfly   *c.* Crane   *d.* Peacock   *e.* Phoenix

Figure 7.   *a.* Ji   *b.* Shou   *c.* Shuangxi   *d.* Wan   *e.* Xi   *e.* Swastika

a. Fan   *b.* Sword   *c.* Bamboo Rod   *d.* Castanets

e. Flute   *f.* Double Gourd   *g.* Basket   *h.* Lotus

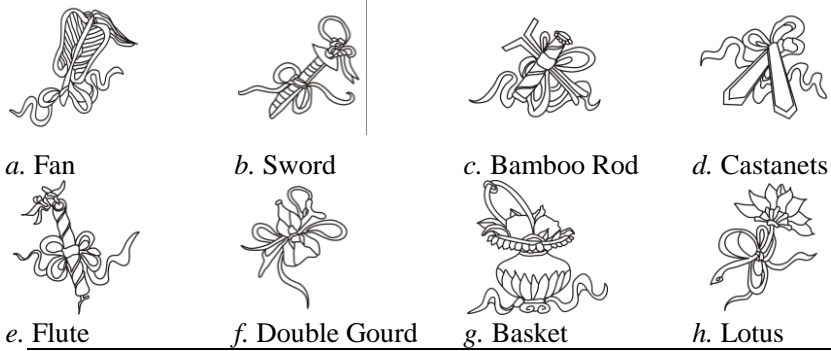Figure 8. *Attributes of Taoist Eight Immortals*

a. Wheel of Law   *b.* Conch Shell   *c.* Umbrella   *d.* Canopy

e. Lotus   *f.* Vase   *g.* Paired Fish   *h.* Endless Knot

Figure 9. *Eight (Buddhist) Lucky Emblems*

Notes

[1]Chinese words are romanized in Wade-Giles system, best known to English readers such as Ch'ing instead of Qing.

[2]Because they were mountainous, riding and hunting people and the costume they brought with them was entirely suited to their way of life (Cammann, Origin of the Official and Court Robes of the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1943:189).

[3]The Manchus warned their descendants that if they adopted Chinese tradition, they would lose their national identity and their dynasty would fall (Cammann, loc. cit.).

[4]They were responsible for all matters concerning the court, such as periodic worships, looking after the welfare of visitors of the tributary nations and other court affairs. Sometimes, they worked in collaboration with the "Board of Works" and the "Court Colonial Affairs".

[5]Nanking was the center of silk industry in east China, and in the seventeenth century there were 50,000 looms where thousands of workers were employed (MacKenzies,1968:16-7).

[6]Before Shang and Chou, these patterns were primitive and abstract, and their simplicity demonstrates an origin of ancient pottery patterns. Later on they became much neater and from the Ming and Ch'ing most of the patterns were realistic and true to life.

[7]According to one version of the legend, the archer Yi, and his wife Ch'ang-O, once lived in the heaven. After killing nine sons (suns) of Hsi Ho and Taiyang Dijun; lord of the heaven, they were expelled from there, because he was instructed to only frighten and control the rebelled suns. Yi was happy, hunting in the forests freely, but Ch'ang-O grew bored that now. Thus she persuaded Yi to obtain the elixir of immortality from Hsi Wang Mu, Queen Mother of the West. They were given the elixir enough for two to live but Ch'ang-O stole and swallowed it, and floated to the moon where she became an ugly three-legged toad. Later on, a hare joined her in the palace of moon.

[8]The sunbird (crow) is mentioned to be three-legged during and after the Han period.

[9]Huginn and Muninn were two faithful ravens flew through the nine worlds collecting information and whisper latest news into the ears of Odin, a Germanic chief god (Cotterell & Storm, 2003: 203, 210f, 216f).

[10]According to legend, when the corpse of P'AN-KU turned into elements, his left ear became the sun and the right ear became the moon. The placement of these motifs on both shoulders seems to be dedicatory symbols of that myth.

[11]Chinese recognized twenty eight constellations, seven in each of the four quadrants that comprised vault of the heaven (Hall, 1996:16).

[12]Chinese have five-clawed dragons, Korean four-clawed and Japanese have three-clawed dragons. According to legends, dragons were originated in China and went further, and if they traveled further they would have no toe to continue. For full description visit *http://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/dragon.shtml*

[13]*K'uei* was depicted with one or two legs, and was different from traditional dragon known as *Lung* (five-clawed) or *Mang* (four-clawed).

[14]*Tianlong* (Heaven or Celestial dragon), *Shenlong* (Spirit dragon), *Fucanglong* (Treasure dragon), *Dilong* (Earth dragon), *Yinglong* (Winged dragon), *Jiaolong* (Horned

dragon) *Panlong* (Coiling dragon), *Huanglong* (Yellow dragon), and *the Dragon King*. For detailed discussion visit *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_dragon*

[15]*bixi, chiwen, puao, bi'an, taotie, gongfu or baxia, yazi, suanni* and *jiaotu*, ibid.

[16]Another mythical bird, Phoenix is also considered as a symbol of empress and together with dragon it symbolizes marital harmony of the emperor and empress (Cotterell & Storm:435). For Chinese artists Phoenix is a composite of Pheasant and Peacock (Hall:38-9).

[17]The swastika is vastly used in various cultures and societies since ancient times, such as Neolithic 卐, the Greek 卐, Christians 卍, Nazis (Hitler) 卐 and others. For details see Liugman. In Chinese language a sign 卍, known as *wan* is a homophone of 10,000, and a symbol of happiness and good luck. It was often juxtaposed with lucky symbols in the scheme of women court robes.

[18]Two Bats together means double good fortune, five Bats means 'FIVE BLESSINGS': long life, wealth, health, virtue and a natural death.

[19]Virtue, Duty, Correct Behavior, Humanity, and Reliability.

[20]They were not deities but have became immortals following the Tao – Way.

[21]The badges of ranks were embroidered in the center of a simple dark coat, worn over a dragon robe.

[22]Saturated red was not utilized much because it had been predominant colour in the preceding dynasty; only shades of red were used by the Manchurians.

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Determinants of Exports in Pakistan: An Econometric Analysis (1970-2006)

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Abstract

The present study has been conducted in the year 2008 to assess the determinants of exports in Pakistan during 1970-2006 using econometric techniques. Time series data ranging from 1970 to 2006 on total exports, primary commodities exports, semi-manufactures and exports of manufactured goods has been taken from Economic Survey of Pakistan (Statistical Supplement, 2006-07). Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF) test has been used for checking the stationarity of the data. Furthermore, the Johenson Co-integration test (likelihood ratio statistic) has been used to detect the long-term relationship among the series. The method of ordinary least square has been used to assess the determinants of exports in Pakistan. The results indicate that 1% increase in the exports of primary commodities brings 0.97% increase in total exports in Pakistan. Similarly, 1% increase in the exports of semi-manufactures leads to increase total exports by 0.99%. On similar pattern, 1% increase in the exports of manufactured goods leads to increase total exports by 1%. The coefficients of all the explanatory variables are statistically significant at both 5% and 1% level of significance. It is recommended to increase the exports of primary goods, semi-manufactures and manufactured goods so as make balance of trade favorable.

Keywords: Determinants, exports, econometric analysis, co-integration test, primary goods

Introduction

The exports of Pakistan are based on primary commodities, semi-manufactures and manufactured goods. These include fish, rice, hides and skins, raw wool, raw cotton, cotton waste, leather, cotton yarn, cotton thread, cotton cloth, synthetic textile, foot wear, animal casings, cement, paints and varnishes, manufactured and raw tobacco, ready made garments and sports.

During the time period 1970-2006, significant fluctuations took place in exports products of Pakistan. In 1970-71, the total exports of Pakistan were Rs.1998 million which has been increased to Rs.1029312 million in 2006-07. In 1970-71, the share of primary commodities exports, semi-manufactures and manufactures goods exports were Rs.650 million, Rs.472 million, Rs.876 million and Rs.44 million respectively which have been increased to Rs.115219 million, Rs.110454 million and Rs.803639

million respectively in 2006-07 (Statistical Supplement, 2006-07). But trade deficit is alarming in the country. There needs effective policies so as to make terms of trade favorable.

Different studies conducted to highlight the issue using various approaches. According to Funke and Holly (1992) the most of the previous approaches have focused on demand factors but they remained unsuccessful in explaining the performance of exports in the long run. The research took into account quarterly time series data ranging from 1961.1 to 1987.4. The findings of the study recommended supply side factors for explaining export performance than demand side factors. Togan (1993) studied the export incentives in Turkey mainly export credits, tax rebate scheme, premium from the "Support and Price Stabilization Fund", duty free imports of intermediates and raw materials, and exemption from the value added tax, foreign exchange allocations, exemption from the corporate income tax and other subsidies. The study revealed that the Turkish export- and import-competing industries have benefited from the export incentives as compared to the other sectors. Riedel, Hall and Grawe (1984) studied the determinants of export performance in 1970s using Time-Series data ranging from 1968 to 1978. The study analyzes the effects of relative price of exports, relative domestic demand and domestic profitability on export performance. The findings revealed that export behaviour is most closely connected with domestic market conditions. Sharma (2001) conducted a study about exports determinant in India using the data ranging from 1970 to 1998. He applied simultaneous equation system. The findings revealed that demand for Indian exports increase when its export price falls in relation to world prices. Indian exports are mostly affected by the real appreciation of the rupee. There is a positive relationship between exports supply and domestic relative price of exports. The present study is different from all of the above studies as it assesses the determinants of export in Pakistan during 1970-2006 using econometric techniques. All the export items have been divided into three categories i.e. exports of primary goods, semi-manufactures and exports of manufactured goods.

Materials and Methods
The present study has been conducted in the year 2008 to assess the determinants of exports in Pakistan during 1970-2006 using econometric techniques. Time series data ranging from 1970 to 2006 on total exports, primary commodities exports, semi-manufactures and exports of manufactured goods has been taken from Economic Survey of Pakistan (Statistical Supplement, 2006-07). Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF) test has been used for checking the stationarity of the data. The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) has been used to select the optimum ADF lag. Variables which were non-stationary at level have been made stationary after taking first difference and second difference. Furthermore, the Johenson Co-integration test has been used to detect the long-term relationship among the series. To this end, the Likelihood Ratio (LR) statistic is used. To assess the determinants of exports in

Pakistan, the following model was estimated using the method of ordinary least square method.

$$TEX = b_o + b_1 PGEX + b_2 SMFX + b_3 MFX \qquad (1)$$

Where TEX = Total Exports (Rs. in million) in Pakistan

PGEX = Primary Good Exports (Rs. in million) in Pakistan

SMFX = Semi-Manufactures Exports (Rs. in million) in Pakistan

MFX   = Manufactures Exports (Rs. in million) in Pakistan

A statistical package Eview is used for deriving the results.

Results and Discussion

The ADF test results have been presented in Table I and II. In Table I, the stationarity of the data has been checked including intercept and not trend while both intercept and trend have been included in Table II. Variables which are not stationary at level have been made stationary after taking the first difference denoted by I(1) and then the second difference i.e. I(2) if needed. The values given in the brackets are the optimum lags selected on the basis of AIC criterion (i.e. the lag t which the AIC value is minimum). According to Table I, the variables PGEX and SMFX are not stationary at level, and therefore, have been made stationary after taking first difference. Including both intercept and trend, the variables TEX, PGEX and AMFX are not stationary at level and have been made stationary after taking first difference (Table II).

Table I: ADF Test Results for Stationarity (Including Intercept and not Trend)

Variable	I(0)		I(1)		Results
	Test Statistic	**Critical value**	**Test Statistic**	**Critical value**	
TEX	5.6591 [2][1]	-3.64			I(0)
PGEX	-3.5096 [2]	-3.64	-6.6066 [0]	-3.63	I(1)
SMFX	1.6775 [0]	-3.62	-5.7357 [0]	-3.63	I(1)
MFX	5.5445 [2]	-3.64			I(0)

[1]   Figures in square brackets besides each statistics represent optimum lags, selected using the minimum AIC value.

Table-II: ADF Test Results for Stationarity (Including both Intercept and Trend)

Variable	I(0)		I(1)		Results
	Test Statistic	**Critical value**	**Test Statistic**	**Critical value**	
TEX	4.2039 [2][2]	-4.25	-5.1120 [0]	-4.24	I(1)
PGEX	-1.6361[2]	-4.25	-7.7464 [0]	-4.24	I(1)
SMFX	-1.4032 [0]	-4.23	-6.6001 [0]	-4.24	I(1)
MFX	5.2119 [2]	-4.25			I(0)

[2]   Figures in square brackets besides each statistics represent optimum lags, selected using the minimum AIC value.

Furthermore, the regression results may be spurious due to no co-integration among the series. To this end the Johenson Co-integration test has been used. The likelihood ratios statistic values are given in Table III (including no trend and no intercept) and in Table IV (including both intercept and trend), which indicates the long-term relationship among the variables of the study and rejects the hypothesis of no co-

integration. Because most of the absolute values of the LR ratios are greater than their relevant critical values.

Table III Johansson Co-integration Test Results Including no Intercept and no Trend

Eigenvalue	Likelihood Ratio	5 Percent Critical Value	1 Percent Critical Value	Hypothesized No. of CE(s)
0.703741	68.27302	39.89	45.58	None **
0.415541	25.69476	24.31	29.75	At most 1 *
0.177912	6.897352	12.53	16.31	At most 2
0.001159	0.040593	3.84	6.51	At most 3

*(**) denotes rejection of the hypothesis at 5%(1%) significance level
L.R. test indicates 2 co-integrating equation(s) at 5% significance level

Table IV Johansson Co-integration Test Results Including Both Intercept and Trend

Eigenvalue	Likelihood Ratio	5 Percent Critical Value	1 Percent Critical Value	Hypothesized No. of CE(s)
0.765373	93.96282	62.99	70.05	None **
0.449030	43.22127	42.44	48.45	At most 1 *
0.383189	22.35862	25.32	30.45	At most 2
0.144120	5.446866	12.25	16.26	At most 3

*(**) denotes rejection of the hypothesis at 5%(1%) significance level
L.R. test indicates 2 co-integrating equation(s) at 5% significance level

Regression results with TEX as dependent variable while PGEX, SMFX and MFX are as independent variables are given in Table V. The results indicate that 1% increase in the exports of primary commodities brings 0.97% increase in total exports in Pakistan. Similarly, 1% increase in the exports of semi-manufactures leads to increase total exports by 0.99%. On similar pattern, 1% increase in the exports of manufactured goods leads to increase total exports by 1%. The coefficients of all the explanatory variables are statistically significant at both 5% and 1% level of significance. The model is also best fitted as indicated by the high value of R-squared (0.999) and adjusted R-squared (0.999), showing that the included explanatory variables are entirely responsible for changes in total exports in Pakistan. Durbin-Watson value (2.09) suggests that there is no problem of autocorrelation.

Table V Regression Results of Export Function

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	380.1805	482.6517	0.787691	0.4365
PGEX	0.967354	0.045156	21.42226	0.0000
SMFX	0.986507	0.020678	47.70881	0.0000
MFX	1.005095	0.005427	185.2053	0.0000
R-squared	0.999977	Adjusted R-squared		0.999975
Durbin-Watson stat	2.093590	Prob(F-statistic)		0.000000

Table VI and figure 1 depicts the values of variance decomposition of the four variables, showing how the variance of each one of the series is decomposed during a period of ten years. The first group of columns in table VI is referred to total exports (TEX). Those values of standard errors that total exports explain by itself lies between 83% to 100% with values declining slowly. PGEX is the second variable explaining most of the variation in TEX ranging from 9.3% to 13.1%. SMFX variation ranges from 0.24% to 0.18% and MFX explaining 3.78% to 3.10% variation in TEX.

On similar pattern, variances decomposition values of PGEX, SMFX and MFX are given in Table VI and Fig 1.
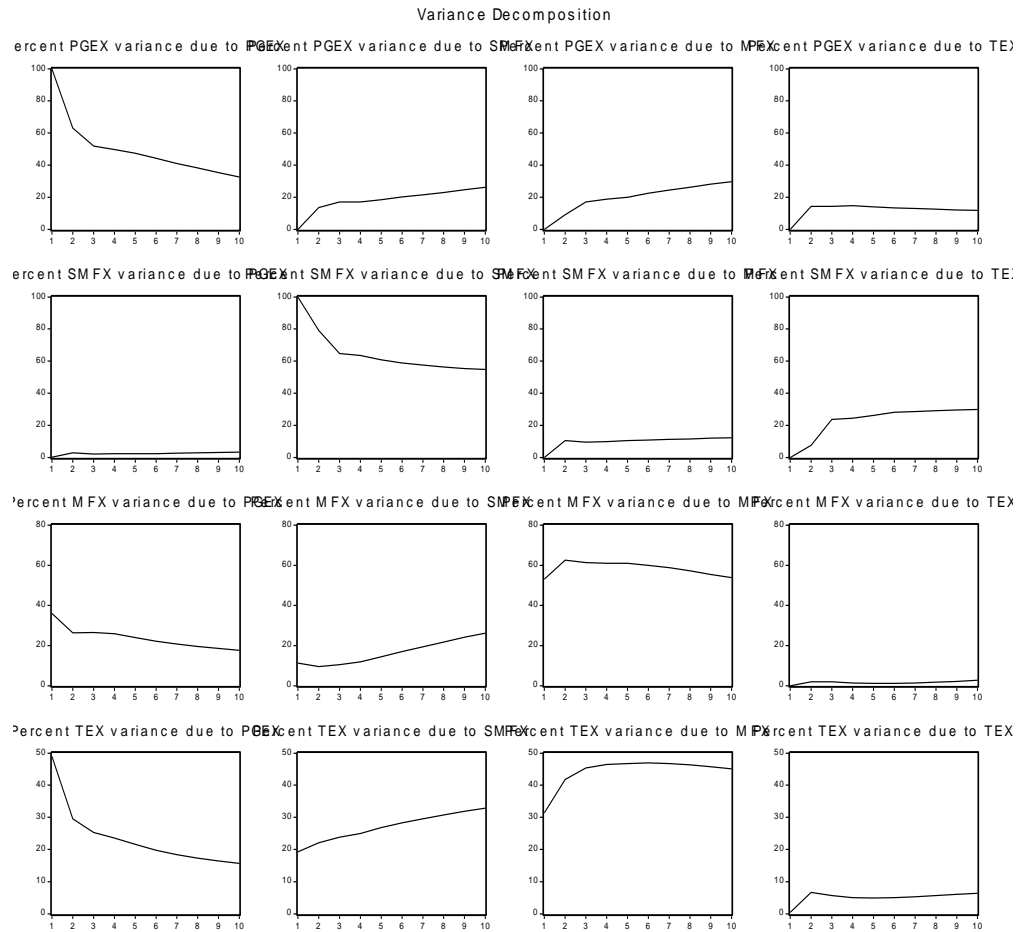

Fig. 1 Variance decomposition

Table VI Values of the variances decomposition

Period	S.E.	TEX	PGEX	SMFX	MFX
Variance Decomposition of TEX:					
1	18259.32	100.0000	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000
2	25094.85	86.68458	9.288366	0.245289	3.781761
3	30163.58	86.61341	10.27218	0.226542	2.887865
4	35227.97	87.23794	10.18558	0.179262	2.397220
5	41148.96	86.94966	10.67850	0.133095	2.238748
6	47717.18	86.28204	11.36530	0.105782	2.246884
7	54782.31	85.55978	11.95579	0.097166	2.387264
8	62652.44	84.91816	12.39766	0.112508	2.571674
9	71428.95	84.25025	12.79103	0.142011	2.816701
10	81144.54	83.57158	13.14184	0.182046	3.104535
Variance Decomposition of PGEX:					
1	4781.751	48.95997	51.04003	0.000000	0.000000
2	6433.748	57.38482	30.36011	0.639148	11.61593
3	7311.705	62.29014	26.31264	0.495457	10.90176
4	7576.001	63.15232	24.99675	0.531239	11.31970
5	7960.969	65.83491	23.01880	0.555187	10.59110
6	8452.606	68.07865	21.52463	0.517305	9.879414
7	8908.315	69.18505	20.79172	0.475893	9.547334
8	9425.898	70.59508	19.92864	0.465564	9.010717
9	10036.44	71.89468	19.14508	0.459903	8.500338
10	10735.14	72.91603	18.53249	0.461251	8.090222
Variance Decomposition of SMFX:					
1	3703.173	21.46555	16.22020	62.31425	0.000000
2	5944.012	43.74351	18.43376	32.21773	5.605004
3	7620.185	33.14018	23.28134	23.05716	20.52133
4	9135.734	36.68694	21.84490	20.49156	20.97660
5	10567.97	38.84114	20.85234	17.83043	22.47610
6	11892.07	39.58045	20.24935	16.13129	24.03891
7	13168.42	41.07721	19.51060	14.93964	24.47254
8	14382.38	42.16697	18.97908	13.94103	24.91292
9	15548.34	43.10910	18.55014	13.16266	25.17809
10	16685.29	44.05778	18.17979	12.51048	25.25195
Variance Decomposition of MFX:					
1	14121.80	94.79226	1.289024	3.228032	0.690685
2	16930.27	84.24164	7.896125	6.798940	1.063298

3	20235.84	85.38635	6.637798	5.736808	2.239047
4	24000.61	86.86299	6.404671	4.811484	1.920855
5	28116.36	87.23508	7.468538	3.888298	1.408082
6	32885.80	87.53913	8.412174	3.018421	1.030279
7	38221.99	87.55922	9.301531	2.315824	0.823430
8	44324.24	87.35849	10.11760	1.743282	0.780629
9	51276.40	86.96601	10.84904	1.304543	0.880402
10	59098.99	86.42316	11.49372	0.983442	1.099679
Ordering: TEX PGEX SMFX MFX					

The facts and figures indicate that the major determinants of exports of Pakistan are primary goods exports, semi-manufactures and manufactured goods' exports. The results indicate that 1% increase in the exports of primary commodities brings 0.97% increase in total exports in Pakistan. Similarly, 1% increase in the exports of semi-manufactures leads to increase total exports by 0.99%. On similar pattern, 1% increase in the exports of manufactured goods leads to increase total exports by 1%. The planners are recommended to make balance of trade favorable through increasing the exports of primary goods, semi-manufactures and manufactured goods.

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A Word about the Title of Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*

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Abstract

The title of this novel has often been seen to reflect a directional boat journey towards the island where a lighthouse is stationed. This is understood to represent the fulfillment of a childhood wish of James on both literal and metaphorical levels. There can, however, be other possible interpretations of the title. This paper aims to explore one such alternative look at the title which is more in sync with the recent readings of the novel.

Virginia Woolf's novel *To the Lighthouse* is literally about a short boat journey to the lighthouse. It has therefore seemed quite obvious to readers and critics alike that this journey must inform metaphorically into the underlying meaning of the novel. We are told that it is not too far a distance to the lighthouse, maybe an hour's ride across the water, yet the weather and other conditions control its reach. It takes ten years for James to finally get to the lighthouse. It takes ten years for his father to realize that the journey is important.

Yet it hardly takes a second for Mrs. Ramsay to see how needful it is for James to feel that the journey was within his reach. It is not so much the execution, but the possibility that expedition may be realized, which matters to James. The idea that the lighthouse is reachable is more important than accessing the physical reality of it. Mrs. Ramsay fulfills this need. The book opens with the embalming language that provides that necessary hope.

Lily Briscoe, the real painter in *To the Lighthouse*, is Virginia Woolf herself. The painting of Mrs. Ramsay and the novel about her character are created simultaneously. The difficulties of expression in both these mediums are overcome through the same process. The main challenges facing the artists, Lily and Woolf, are those of reflecting a subjective view: that of a person conveyed through paint on canvas, and the revelation of a character from words strung in an alternative narrative structure. The success of each lies more in the completion of the creators' personal vision rather than any larger acknowledgement of their innovative method. Lily thinks her painting might be 'rolled up and flung under a sofa' or 'hung in the attics' (305), but that does not stop her from completing it. Woolf's compulsion to write a novel in an unusual narrative stream seems to satisfy the same inner creative urge. Yet there must have been doubts during the process of creation. 'It was a miserable machine, an inefficient machine,' Lily thought, 'the human apparatus for painting or feeling; it always broke down at the

critical moment; heroically, one must force it on' (283). But like Woolf, Lily knows that there are 'other senses' in which one might paint a person. She thinks that 'a picture must be a tribute' to the complex nature of a personality (81).

So this novel is just that: a *tribute* to Mrs. Ramsay. It is dedicated *to the lighthouse* that Mrs. Ramsay personifies. (Italics important) Mrs. Ramsay is a finely tuned receptor to the needs of those around her. She perceives vacuums, and fills them. She is the light that falls into dark crevices and drives fear and insecurities out. Lily says that one needed 'fifty pairs of eyes' to see Mrs. Ramsay for who she really is. Lily is one of the 'fifty' lost souls whose eyes are guided by the light of her strong femininity. But that is only one side of the picture.

A consistent vocabulary of light is used for Mrs. Ramsay throughout the novel. She is 'burning and illuminating' (58) in her energy. She sets the rooms 'all aglow' in Tansley's view (59). Lily sees her as a person wearing 'her golden haze' (148) and when 'her face was all lit up…she looked radiant' (152). But there is also 'something frightening about her', Lily thinks. She attracts the moths of insecurities of everyone around her. She is 'irresistible' (159). This is the paradox of her personality. She illuminates others at the cost of scorching them. We are told through Mrs. Ramsay's internal thoughts that 'she praised herself in praising the light, without vanity, for she was stern, she was searching, she was beautiful like that light' (97). When people seek to be illuminated, the light can sometimes be 'stern' because all weaknesses come to light. Weaker personalities do not stand up well to an illumination of faults. Stronger ones do, like Lily who starts to question her insecurities as a woman and as a painter, aided by Mrs. Ramsay's study.

Mrs. Ramsay is an eye of light, an abstraction against the material presences around her. The physical shape of the lighthouse is straight and upright, a perfect phallic symbol, like the 'beak' the 'knife' and the 'scimitar', images that have been likened to Mr. Ramsay in the novel. This symbolic shape makes it an easy target for a Freudian interpretation. There is nothing wrong with identifying the oedipal triangle within this novel, leading the reader to a satisfying end with the alleviation of the anger and hatred felt by James for his father after the boat ride to the lighthouse. It is certainly convenient to see it this way. However, this greatly compromises the other aspect of this novel, one which seems to be the more important one. The novel works best when it is read in a perpetual comparative strain: the sea and the shore; the light and the lighthouse; Mr. Ramsay and Mrs. Ramsay; man and a woman; the objective and the subjective; the material and the ideal.

This duality is reflected in all the major symbols of the novel. The lighthouse represents not only Mr. Ramsay, but also Mrs. Ramsay. Its existence is material, yet idealistic. It has a solid presence, yet it is a source of non palpable light. It is reachable in space and time, but its emotional accessibility is just as important. The boat journey bridges the split. When James finally reaches the lighthouse, he first notices the

materiality of it. He sees 'the tower, stark and straight; he could see that it was barred in black and white; he could see windows in it; he could even see washing spread on the rocks to dry' (273). But that vision leaves him cold: 'So that was the Lighthouse, was it?' He quickly follows the question with an answer: 'No, the other was also the Lighthouse. For nothing was simply one thing. The other Lighthouse was true too'. So what is the other lighthouse? That, is the idealistic image of the lighthouse that he has carried with him since childhood. That lighthouse may not have a physical substance, but it is just as real in the idea, just as strong in its mental presence.

Lily is seeking to encompass this duality into one harmonious whole. *That* is her vision. This vision is hampered by the fact that her personality propagates the split in this duality. Her tensions with Mr. Tansley that make her mind reverberate with 'women can't paint; women can't write' cause resistance against any attempts of her artistic self to harmonize man and woman as parts of a whole. She rejects marriage and the role of women. Therefore she finds it impossible to complete her painting of Mrs. Ramsay. Even though she realizes that 'a light here required a shadow there' (p.82) on the canvas, she finds it a struggle to be 'under the power of that vision which she has seen clearly once and must now grope for among hedges and houses and mothers and children—her picture.' (82) Ten years later, when she picks up the unfinished painting again, she still feels that 'some common feeling held the whole' (282) in the general chaos of the world. She wants to be able 'to choose out of the elements of things and place them together', to form 'one of those globed compacted things over which thought lingers, and love plays' (282).

Throughout the novel, the reader is aware of the internal unease that Mrs. Ramsay feels, even though she has a serene façade that helps others find a stable point to measure their own feelings against. Within her mind one can see a paradoxical struggle for harmonizing the duality of life. She identifies herself with the lighthouse but she also admits that 'not as oneself did one find rest ever… but as a wedge of darkness' (96). The lighthouse sends out shafts of light but must be a wedge of darkness itself from within. It must not be accessed on the inside. Thus the implied insistence of Mrs. Ramsay 'that windows should be open, and doors shut'. The doors that allow internal access must always be closed, but the windows projecting light externally must be open for all to see.

She sees and hears the same duality in the waves, as 'the monotonous fall of waves on the beach …beat a soothing and measured tattoo to her thoughts and seemed consolingly to repeat over and over again as she sat with the children the words of some old cradle song… "I am guarding you—I am your support," but at other times suddenly and unexpectedly… had no such kindly meaning, but like a ghostly roll of drums remorselessly beat the measure of life, made one think of the destruction of the island and its engulfment in the sea'(27-28). The fact that she can realize the Janus face of all around her makes her unique. She is not seeing one side of the picture. She seeks to find the singularity beyond the duality. She seeks perfect harmony. Her almost

divine vision is what justifies Lily's comparison of her heart to 'tablets bearing sacred inscriptions' (79).

But Lily also feels that Mrs. Ramsay. 'somehow laughed, led her victims… to the altar' (153). This flash of double vision helps Lily see the 'wedge of darkness' that is inside Mrs. Ramsay. It is this artistic insight that allows her to paint the final picture. It is like understanding a malignant-benevolent god. She realizes at last that there is no 'great revelation' in understanding anything, 'instead there were daily miracles, illuminations, matches struck unexpectedly in the dark, (236). These daily illuminations are like the light strokes of the lighthouse over dark waters. They help light the surface of the water, but the depths stay dark and deep. She understands that 'a light there needed a shadow there' (258). It is a balance that is needed. Duality must be harmonized into one shape.

Mrs. Ramsay as a lighthouse circles around and helps other characters find themselves. The novel is an inverse reflection of those characters into the reality of the lighthouse itself. Lily paints out the final verdict and it is revealed as a dark wedge balancing the colours of light; a deep purple triangle: Mrs. Ramsay.

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The Rise of Sikhs' Nationalism in Punjab during the British Rule in India

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Abstract

Sikhism is one of the several religions the Indian Sub-continent houses. Though it bears remarkable resemblance to Hinduism, its followers believe it has separate identity. Some scholars assert that Sikhism is an offshoot of Hinduism. The idea of separate identity for Sikhism comes to the foreground in the late 19th century. This movement eventually led to the rise of Sikh nationalism.

Introduction

The Indian Sub-continent is home to several religions. Though Hindus are in majority, there are many other important religions too, like Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, *Sikhism*, etc. Among these *Sikhism* is considered closer to *Hinduism*. The followers of *Sikhism*, however, strongly believe in their separate identity and different set of beliefs. *Sikhism* is also considered the latest in India amongst the religions mentioned above. Some believe that it is an offshoot of *Hinduism*. This belief got its credit from the fact that till 19th Century the Sikhs places of worship, *Gurdwara*s, were manned by Hindus, and had Hindus deities. It was only in the late 19th century that the Sikhs started movements for their separate identity. They actually reacted to the *Arya Smaj*'s Movement of replacing Urdu with *Devanagri*. In response to this Movement the Sikhs rose in defense of Punjabi language and *Gurumukhi* script. Once they stood for their separate identity, they also started efforts for getting *Gurdwara*s in their own control and free these from the control of Hindu priests and Idols.

These movements also saw some violent reaction from Hindu extremists, which on the one hand, strengthened the Sikhs resolve and, on the other, gave an opportunity to the British authorities in India to interfere. They had their own interests in escalating the dispute between Sikhs and Hindus. Their main interest was the Sikh soldiers in the British Indian Army, whom they wanted to be free of the influence of Congress. In order to create a separate identity amongst the Sikhs, the British introduced legislation through the government and gave *Sikhism* a separate definition.

Singh Sabha Movement

In order to reinvigorate the identity of the Sikh community, the Sikhs launched *Singh Sabha* Movement in 1880s and tried to blend a pro-British approach with attempts to distinguish *Sikhism* from *Hinduism*. The Lahore branch of the *Singh Sabha* Movement came up with a rejuvenated Sikh tradition—*Tat Khalsa*, cleared of Hindu influence.[1] This tradition dominated the Sikh thinking for the next few decades. One of the offshoots of the *Singh Sabha* Movement was Chief *Khalsa Dewan*, founded in 1902, which furthered the cause of separate Sikh identity. Later on in 1919 Central Sikh League was founded to defend panthic interests and struggle for the attainment of *swaraj*.[2]

Arya Samaj's attempts to replace Urdu with Hindi as the official language of the Punjab provided Sikhs to rise for Punjabi language which indirectly also helped strengthen Sikh nationalism. The movement to replace Urdu soon turned into a three-way conflict with the Sikh's entry that started advocating the cause of Punjabi language written in *Gurumukhi* script. In the Punjab, the Hindus and the Muslims gave up their mother tongue for Hindi and Urdu respectively,[3] but the Sikhs, whose religious language was Punjabi, were not willing to follow suit of the other big communities of the province. They offered Hindus that if they accept Punjabi as the medium of instruction and examination up to the matriculation stage, in the province; they would agree to change the script of Punjabi to *Devanagri* along with *Gurumukhi*.[4] The Hindus did not accept the offer and the Sikh leader Master Tara Singh declared

> The demand for a linguistic state was just a cloak for an autonomous Sikh state which would safeguard the Sikhs' religion, their culture, traditions, history and the Punjabi language.[5]

In the Punjab the leading newspapers owned by Hindus, like *"Desh", "Pratap"* or *"Shanti"*, were in Urdu and still Hindu press insisted on using *Devanagri* script. The best illustration of this contradiction, as Paul Brass noted, was the case of Lajpat Rai, who did not know the Hindi alphabet but still insisted on using Hindi language.[6] This demand of Hindus could be attributed to narrow communalism only, as Hindi was not the native language of the Punjabi Hindus.

Language played an important role in strengthening communal identities, which was evident in the literary trends of the 1920's. The Punjabi literary tradition despite its rich common heritage was transforming on communal lines. A great Muslim poet from Punjab, Allama Iqbal though never wrote in his mother tongue, yet provided inspiration to a generation of the Muslim nationalists. He was not an advocate of competition among communities, but he was of the view that individual Muslims should be of an ideal nature. He said, "Our modern ulema do not see that the fate of the people does not epen so much on organization as on the worth of the individual man".[7]

Iqbal opposed tribalism and regionalism, and wanted Punjabi peasants to "break all the idols of tribe and caste".[8] He was neither the advocate of "oppositional communalism", in the apt phrase of David Gilmartin, nor a prophet of territorial nationalism.[9] Despite that, his Islamic message with Islamic ideals in multi-communal situation in the Punjab had a definite impact on shaping the Muslim consciousness.

A prominent Sikh writer Bhai Vir Singh was famous for his "preservation and propagation of the Sikh traditions and ideals".[10] He had deep understanding of all the religions embedded in the Punjab, still he was not advocating religious syncretism and insisted that, for grasping different religions, the points of uniqueness, not similarity, must be studied.[11] Vir Singh was not critical of other religions but his writings were instrumental in shaping separate Sikh consciousness as being an orthodox Sikh, his writings adhered strictly to Sikh religious views throughout his philosophy.[12]

Vir Singh's famous poem *Rana Surata Singha*, written shortly after Kahn Singh's essay, *"Hum Hindu Nahin Hain,"* (we are not Hindus) was an attempt to distinguish *Sikhism* from *Hinduism*. His writings, from narratives of gurus' lives to commentary on the *Granth*, and from epic to historical fiction were geared to propagate Sikh ideals. Vir Singh stressed on the originality of *Sikhism*, by presenting the "moral, social and martial traditions of the religion".[13]

The issue of language was segregating the communities of Punjab and Sikhs were the only group, which opted for their native language, but it was not only for ethnic reasons but it had also roots embedded in their religion. Muslims were supportive of Urdu, while interestingly Hindu writers wrote against Urdu in the very language they were opposed to. Although it would be unfair to term Iqbal or Vir Singh as communalists, yet their writings played important role in sharpening the communal identities in the province.

The biggest challenge, faced by the Sikh community, at that time was the control of *gurdwaras*. The Sikh holy places, *gurdwaras* were not governed by any set rules and were usually under the control of *mahants*. These *mahants* or the *udasis[14]* were "as much Hindus as they were the Sikhs",[15] and attracted the Hindu worshippers to *gurdwara* premises by installing images of the Hindu deities. The attempts to stop these practices by legislation seldom bore fruit and Sikh public opinion favoured a forceful occupation of the *gurdwara*s. Therefore in 1920, the Sikh groups took control of the Golden Temple, Akal Takht and a few other important *gurdwara*s. A *hukmnama[16]* was issued from Akal Takht for the summoning of a general assembly of all the Sikhs on November 15, 1920 to deliberate upon the formation of the central religious body for *gurdwara* management. The British government tried to intervene by forming a provisional committee for management, consisting of loyalist Sikhs, but it was not[17] acceptable to the Sikh community meeting at Akal Takhat and a new organization, with one hundred and seventy five members, named as *Shiromani*

Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee was formed, in 1920, to supervise *Gurdwara* management. But the radicals did not remain content with it and another Sikh body, *Shiromani Akali Dal* was formed with the objective of taking back the control of *gurdwara*s by force and a *Gurumukhi* newspaper *'Akali'* was started to propagate action plan. *Akalis* worked in collaboration with Shiromani *Gurdwara* Prabandhak Committee and organized *jathas* to occupy *gurdwara*s.[18]

In February 1921, the attempts by an *Akali jatha* to overtake Nankana Sahib resulted in a tragedy. A *mahant*, Narian Das and his mercenaries murdered one hundred and thirty two[19] members of the Sikh *jatha* and burnt them. This massacre of Sikhs shifted the control of *gurdwara* agitation from the hands of moderate Sikh leadership to the radicals, like Baba Kharak Singh, Mehtab Singh, Teja Singh and Master Tara Singh.[20] The government, on realizing the gravity of situation introduced a Bill to setup a Board of Commissioners to manage the *gurdwara*s in March 1921. Irrespective of the fact that the Sikh community largely ignored the Sikh *Gurdwara*s and the Shrines Act of 1922; the legislation itself evoked much heated debate on Hindu-Sikh relations. The argument on the basis of which the government interfered in the matter was that *Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak* Committee did not represent all the sects of the Sikhs. The members of the Sikh community countered this argument by arguing that there were no sects in *Sikhism* and even if there were any sects, *gurdwara*s were to be controlled by the community and not by the individual[21] sects. This was a great step towards asserting a separate Sikh identity by closing the doors for sectarian divide within the *panth*. This step also made it difficult for the Hindus to have any claim on the *gurdwara*s without formally converting to *Sikhism*.

The Hindus realized the dangers inherent in this position as a Hindu paper *'Brahaman Samachar'* noted: "*gurdwara* movement is intended, in the first place, to oust all *mahants* who do not wear long hair and are Brahmin or Khatri by caste and to replace them by Keshdharis".[22] The second objective, according to the paper, was to remove all images of Hindu gods from the *gurudwara s*". The paper lamented that "*gurudwara s*, regarded as the common sacred place of Hindus and Sikhs were now going to be imbued with the neo Sikh spirit".[23]

The Sikh position stated in the Gurmukhi language mouthpiece of the movement, '*Akali*,' that the Sikhs would not accept a managing committee not consisting of their co-religionists elected by the *panth*. It went on to say that Sikhs would never tolerate that these places should be "made over to non-Sikhs in accordance with the wishes of a Christian government".[24] Hindus obviously were greatly alarmed by this stance, as there was a feeling that since a *gurudwara* was not clearly defined in the Bill, the managing committee dominated by the Sikhs can declare any controversial temple to be a *gurudwa*.[25] The hard liner Hindus, however, proposed strict measures. One Hindu newspaper proposed boycott of the Sikh *gurdwara*s and establishment of new temples where scripture would be recited. It also proposed that legal action should be taken for the possession of *gurdwara*s, which were in possession of the Hindus and

were built by their money. The Congress tried to exploit the religious sentiment for its non-cooperation agenda, but the *Akali*s never allowed the leadership of the movement to pass in the hands of the Hindus. At the same time, they considered non-violence only as a tactic and considered that non-cooperation was limited in scope.[26]

The government was seriously perturbed by the sympathies for *Akali* cause in the armed forces; therefore it started negotiations with Sikhs in 1924. Consequently, the Sikh *Gurdwara* Act of 1925 was passed and all the *Akali* prisoners were released. The Hindu press was not particularly happy about the proposed bill. A Hindu paper *'Sanatan Dharam Parcharak'* remarked that it heralded the beginning of "*Akali* rule" in the province. The contributors to the paper termed it as a "cup of poison" for the *udasis*[27] and "suicidal" for the "Hindu Sikhs".[28] The Hindus reminded the government that *Akali*s had insulted the Hindu gods by forcibly taking possession of certain *gurdwara*s. It also warned that no law could end disputes until it satisfies all sects of the Sikhs and the Hindus as well.[29] The Hindu councilors were asked to safeguard the right of their community in the Bill.[30]

However, for the Sikhs, the Hindu sensitivities on the issue mattered the least but the major Sikh objection to the proposed Bill was the absence of a clear definition of Sikhs. The Sikh press expressed the fear that in absence of a clear definition "staunch *Arya* Hindus" may "rob a baptized Sikh of his rights".[31] However the final draft of the Bill defined a Sikh as a person "who believed in ten gurus and the *Granth Sahib* and was not a *patit* [apostate].[32]

The definition debate ended all chances of blurring the Sikh-Hindu theological differences. Hindu press considered it to be "very dangerous" for the Sikh sects and the Hindus.[33] The Hindus demanded to change the definition and the alternative suggestion was to have a general statement like: "I believe in ten gurus, *Granth Sahib* and its principles".[34] This was yet another attempt to blur the differences between the Hindu and Sikh theology, which could not achieve success. The *Gurdwara* Reforms Movement went a long way in establishing a separate Sikh communal identity and played a key role in isolating the Sikhs from the Hindus and in giving them a separate consciousness. Though the movement was ostensibly religious, it had political consequences as well. The local Hindu support for the *Udasis* widened the gulf between the Sikhs and the Hindus. Khushwant Singh has noted that it was the "most significant outcome of the four years of *gurdwara* agitation."[35]

British also helped Sikh consciousness to grow. The governor general, Lord Dalhousie visited the Punjab after annexation and noted that Sikhs were "gradually relapsing into *Hinduism*, and even when they continued to be Sikhs, they were yearly Hindufied more and more…".[36] Perceiving the threat for them, the British administration of the Punjab was directed to take steps to reverse the trend. "The British rulers were keenly interested in cultivating Sikh separatism specially to form a loyal army of the natives".[37]

The British used the Sikhs in army to incorporate the separate Sikh consciousness among the community. A secret memorandum prepared in 1911 by D. Petrie, Assistant Director Criminal Intelligence, regarding the program to forge the Sikhs as a separate nation, stated:

> At the present time one of the principal agencies for the preservation of Sikh religion has been the practice of military officers commanding Sikh regiments to send Sikh recruits to receive Sikh baptism according to the rites prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh. Soldiers too are required to adhere strictly to Sikh customs and ceremonies and every endeavour has been made to preserve them from the contagion of idolatry. Sikhs in the Indian Army have been studiously nationalized or encouraged to regard themselves as a totally distinct and separate nation [and] their national pride has been fostered by every available means….[38]

For the growth of Sikh consciousness, British took many other steps as well. They engaged Dr. Ernest Trump in 1869, to translate *Guru Granth* and to prove that the theology of *Sikhism* was different from that of *Hinduism*.[39] Max Arthur Macaliffe[40] not only drew a sharp distinction between *Sikhism* and *Hinduism* but also warned the Sikhs that *Hinduism* "was like a 'boa constrictor' of the Indian forests, which winds its opponents…and finally causes it to disappear in its capacious interior."[41] Joseph Devey Cunninghan also, through his work, *A history of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battle of Sutlej,* written in 1849, projected the idea of Sikh nationhood. Thus, it is evident that there were efforts by British to create a religious consciousness among the Sikhs and snap the unbiblical cord, which was binding the Sikhs and the Hindus.

Conclusion

Sikh nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries in British Punjab was a response to Hindu extremist movements. The Sikh community generally lived peacefully with Hindus since its inception and they even shared their worshiping places them. But when the *Arya Samaj* Movement tried to Hinduise the society in British Punjab, the Sikhs strongly reacted. Their movement for their separate identity started with Punjabi language protection and then spread to other aspects of life. Even in the initial stages the Sikhs were ready for compromise, but the extremist Hindus' non-compromising attitude pushed them towards complete breakup and extremism. It seems that had the Hindu extremists negotiated with Sikhs on the basis of "Live and let Live", the drastic division might had been averted for a while.

The British rulers in India also played their role in the final break up between Hindus and Sikhs. As part of their colonial policy of 'Divide and Rule' it was in their interest to divide the Indian communities on the basis of religion and anything else that could work towards this end. The Hindu-Sikh disputes provided them a good excuse for their interference and they played an important role in sharpening the division and in developing a sense of separate identity amongst the Sikhs.

Notes

[1]N. Gearld Barrier, "The Singh Sabha Movement 1875-1925" in Harish K. Puri & Paramjit S. Judge, *Social and Political Movements:Readings on Punjab* (Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Pubications, 2000), p.65.

[2](Sansk; Self-government) The Indian agitation movement under the British Raj led by Gandhi. Ref. Chris Cook, *Dictionary of Historical Terms* (London: Macmillan Press, 1983), 271.

[3]Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (Karachi: Forward Publications Trust, 1967), p.287-288.

[4]Anup Chand Kapur, *The Punjab Crisis* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1985), pp.217-218.

[5]Ibid.*,* p.218.

[6]Brass, p. 287.

[7]Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1971), p.151.

[8]David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam-Punjab and The Making of Pakistan* (London: I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1988), p.166.

[9]Ibid., p.116.

[10]Sant Singh Sekhon & Kartar Singh Duggal, *A History of Punjabi Literature* (New Dehli: Sahitya Akademi, 1992), p.109.

[11]Harbans Singh, *Makers of Indian Literature: Bahi Vir Singh* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1971), p.41.

[12]Sant Singh Sekhon & Kartar Singh Duggal*,* p.110.

[13]Denis Matringe, "Punjabi Lyricism and Sikh Reformism: Bahi Vir Singh" in 1920's in Gurharpal Singh and Ian Talbot, *Punjabi Identity: Contunity and Change* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1996), p.38.

[14]Anup Chand Kapur, p.18.

[15]Singh, *A History of The Sikhs*, p.195.

[16]It is a Punjabi word, which means, " order".

[17]Anup Chand Kapur, p.19.

[18]Ibid., p.19.

[19]Ibid., p.20.

[20]Ibid., p.20.

[21]*Sikh,* March 24, 1921, PPA.

[22]*Brahaman Samachar,* March 09, 1921, PPA.

[23]Ibid.

[24]*Akali,* April 04, 1921, PPA.

[25]*Tribune,* April 05, 1921, PPA.

[26]K.L Tuteja, "Akalis and Non-Cooperation Movement" in J.S Grewal & Indu Bangu, ed., History *of Idealogy: The Khalsa Over 300 Years* (New Delhi: Indian History Congress, 1999), pp.180-181.

[27]A sect of the Sikh religion.

[28]*Sanatan Dharam Parcharak,* Feb. 16, 1925, NPP.

[29]*The Hindu,* February 16-20, 1925, NPP.

[30]*Sudharshan,* March 11,1925, NPP.

[31]*Kirpan Bahadu,* April 29, 1925, NPP.
[32]Singh, p.212.
[33]*Sudharshan,* May 06, 1925, NPP.
[34]*Milap,* May 04, 1925, NPP.
[35]Singh, *A History of the Sikhs,* p. 212.
[36]Anup Chand Kapur, p. 207.
[37]Ibid., p.207.
[38]Ibid., p.208 Ibid. p.210.
[39]Ibid., p.209.
[40]Ibid.
[41]Ibid., p.210.

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