



SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

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- Geo-Economic Condition of a Village District Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir
Dr. M. H. Bukhari
And
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- The Role of Press as A Pressure Group and the Place of Islam in the Constitution of Pakistan (1947-54)
Abdul Rauf

January 2006

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Culture as a Factor in the Development of South Asia

PROF. DR. SADIQ A. GILL

The term South Asia implicitly recognizes that this part of the world comprising India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Maldives, known as the South Asia has a distinctive character, which separates it from the other regions of the world. Culture has been the most important element among the countries of South Asia, all of them are inheritors of common cultural traditions. The heartland of South Asian countries covering the bulk of the territory of the present-day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh historically have a centuries old common culture and civilization. Smaller countries on the periphery like Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives have a slightly different heritage. Remote and protected in the pre-modern era from the influence of the mainland by the sea and the mountains, they had a more individual development and therefore more distinctive cultures. But even these states had a considerable interaction with the mainland and occasionally had a similiar history with the subcontinent. Taking Sri Lanka as an example: the ethnic, linguistic and religious links of Sri Lanka with India have always been strong, the Sinhalese and the Tamils migrated from the mainland, centuries ago. Sri Lanka figures in the Hindu epic Ramayana; Buddhism came to Sri Lanka from the mainland. Thus it is natural that the Sri Lankan way of life should have many common mainland's cultural and religious aspects.

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IMPACT OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON SOUTH ASIAN CULTURE

Unlike China, India was not a completely isolated country. Foreign influence played a significant role in the development of the culture and life of the people of the Indian subcontinent, which was subject to many waves of invasions and foreign occupation in the past. Most foreigners came by the land whereas some like the French, Portuguese, British, and the Arab traders came by the sea. It is remarkable that despite repeated foreign invasions and occupation, the indigenous culture and way of life of Indian peoples was not absorbed by alien cultures as was the case with many ancient civilizations. Although elements of foreign culture did have an impact on people's lives; but it did not lead to a break with the past; but only a metamorphosis took place as foreign cultures were ultimately absorbed and assimilated creating a richer, composite and more enduring culture. Furthermore the influence of the foreign cultures was confined to regions of India where the contact was direct. Thus the impact of Islam and Central Asian traditions were far greater than north of Vindhya. French and Portuguese cultures remained confined to their respective small colonial enclaves. Initially, British influence was limited to Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies, spreading to the rest of India only in the second half of the 19th century, when whole of India came under direct British rule. Regional variations in the traditional culture did develop under the stimulus of foreign cultures, for example in the emergence of the Sikh religion, the Urdu language in the Indo-Gangetic plains, Arya Samaj movement in Punjab and the Brahma Samaj movement in the Bengal. Notwithstanding all this, the essential culture and civilization of the majority of the people remained unchanged.¹

A COMMON SOUTH ASIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

For any society the most defining aspect of culture is religion, more so in the case of South Asia where religion is the key element of personality and daily life. It is well-known that the word 'Hindu' derives

from the word Hind or Sindh. Hindu being the appellation given by outsiders who came from the northwest via the Khyber Pass to those living beyond the river Sind or Indus.²

In South Asia there are many religions; but they possess many common features. Buddhism was an offshoot of Hinduism, rejecting the evils of the Hindu caste system, but retaining its moral and ethical codes as well as basic philosophy. Buddha is revered among Hindus as an avatar of Vishnu. Islam as practiced in South Asia has a distinct sub-continental character and is different from what is practiced in the Arab world, South East Asia and Africa. It has not been able to transcend many Hindu traditions including the caste system. This is only natural because the overwhelming majority of the Muslims in the Indian subcontinent are converts from Hinduism. Similarity caste system has carried over into Sikh traditions, even though this negates the fundamental anti-caste character of Sikhism. The dividing line between Hinduism and Sikhism, atleast in popular perceptions is not clear. Hindus and Sikhs freely visit temples and gurdwaras and intermarry. There is even a tradition in some Punjabi Hindu families that one son becomes a Sikh while others remain Hindus. Christians too have a distinct south Asian character, because mostly they are converts from Hinduism. Perhaps it is this common strand running through all the religious communities in South Asia that accounts for the long traditions of communal harmony and peaceful coexistence through the centuries upto the colonial era on the mainland and in Sri Lanka.³

It is not possible to find out any large-scale racial purity, which is the basis of developing a unique national identity, among the South Asian nations. There are three broad ethnic groups in South Asia :

- (i) The Aryans (mostly in the north)
- (ii) The Dravidians (mostly in the South),
- (iii) The Mongoloids (mostly in the mountains and forests in the north and east)

The ethnic stock of present day inhabitants of Pakistan and northern India are the same as between the inhabitants of Bangladesh and West Bengal. In Sri Lanka, while the Sinhala are supposed to be descendants of the Indo-Aryans from the North of mainland and Tamils from the Dravidians in the south of mainland. There is considerable ethno – cultural intermingling between them. The Madhesias in Nepal's Terai belt are ethnic Indians, living in Bihar and UP, similarly the Paaharis in the hill districts of Nepal; are the same as the Nepali's in the Darjeling districts of West Bengal.⁴

The same argument holds true for languages. Urdu is widely spoken in both Pakistan and India. Tamil straddles across the Palk Straits, Bengali between Bangladesh and the west Bengal, Punjabi in the Pakistani and Indian parts of the Punjab, Bhojpuri, Awadhi and Nepali in the Indo-Nepal border areas.⁵

There is also a commonality in dress, food habits, marriages and social customs and in the way of thinking of the South Asian people, regardless of religion. This can be explained only, if we accept that there is a cultural bond between the various countries and peoples, and the South Asia is a distinct civilization as is Europe.

RECONCILIATION OF MODERN IDENTITIES WITH ANCIENT TRADITIONS

The emerging modern nations of South Asia as separate entities since a little over last half a century, which is a very short period in the history of this ancient land. Since then, they have developed along different lines. While India developed as a secular democracy, Nepal and Bhutan developed as Hindu and Buddhist monarchies respectively, Pakistan and Bangladesh as Islamic republics. The later half of 20th century is a witness to the development of the independence of the countries in South Asian region which modified their common inherited traditions. There is no doubt that the most recent experience and

traditions have created a different attitude of mind in some respects, and play an important role in defining the character of the people. The important question is the relative impact of the different strands of a country's heritage. Do we regard the culture, and traditions that go back to many centuries and those that go back a few centuries, or those that are only half a century old as similar.

As more important than religion and language, when we look back in history, the common factors we find in the culture and heritage of the countries of South Asia. The ancient and medieval inheritance or the modern experience and traditions can be reconciled or harmonized. It is understandable that independent countries or even regions within a country seek to project a distinct cultural traditions as an expression of their nationalism and separate identity. But if this is done artificially, while selectively emphasizing some and playing down, or even denying, other aspects of the accumulated cultural heritage over millennia it can result in considerable confusion among people. The cultural inheritance cannot be uprooted or wisked away. The nations of the South Asian region are fortunate that they are the inheritors of such a rich culture, the resultant advantages of which cannot be ignored or done away.⁶

Any modern South Asian Nation that tries to deny its roots of religious and cultural heritage beyond its national frontiers is faced with many contradictions. If we take the Hindus who are the majority community in India, we find that it was in Pakistan's Punjab that the Holy Vedas were composed. The sub-continental Muslim culture and the Urdu language, which, Pakistan claims as its cultural heritage, have their roots in Delhi and western U.P. The holy places of Buddhism, the dominant religion in Bhutan, Sri Lanka and northern Nepal are in India and the Terai belt of Nepal where Buddhism does not have any strong roots or a large following. For the Sikhs, one of their holiest places "Nankana Sahib", is in Pakistan. It is true that the word "Hindustan" or "India" has its roots in the present day territory of Pakistan.

The other noteworthy feature of South Asia is that ethnic religious and linguistic groups invariably spill over from one country to another,

and there are many family links. For example India and Pakistan both have Kashmiris, Punjabis and Mohajirs. Nor is Urdu exclusive to Pakistan. Similarly, Bengali language and culture unite India and Bangladesh, while Tamils are to be found in both India and Sri Lanka. The inhabitants in Nepal's Terai are indistinguishable from the population across the border in UP and Bihar, just as the Nepalis have close links with Nepalis in Darjeeling and Assam. It is therefore natural for such groups to be concerned about their brethren across international borders. Hence where a divided community feels that its culture or identity is being threatened the problem no longer remains confined to one country. The absence of natural geographical border and lack of policing of the international frontiers aggravates the problem.⁷

Frankly, it is doubtful if one can even speak of an "Indian" culture a "Pakistani" culture, a "Bangladeshi" culture, and so forth? If we do so, logically we must look for the distinctive and exclusive elements of that culture. To outsiders, there is however, a concept known as Indian culture. What is this Indian culture, since the various elements which constitute culture, such as religion, music, dance, theatre, language, customs, foods, rituals, and so on, are different from one part of India to another? It is possible to argue that the people of India do not have a common culture and that what they have are only the respective sub-cultures of the different regions and communities of India. Yet the fact that, despite the various differences, India is perceived as having a common culture showing that there is a cultural unity in India and perhaps among all the South Asian countries. A minor example, would illustrate the point. Indian food, or more accurately, the north Indian style of cooking, has become extremely popular in certain western countries, and it is the immigrant from South Asian community that by and large run these restaurants. Where an Indian owner of the restaurant is described as "Indian", where it is a Pakistani, the cuisine is described as "Indian and Pakistani, and when it is Bangladeshi or Sri Lankan owner, the word "Indian" always forms part of the advertisement! In every case,

the food is by and large the same. As economics, not politics, is the dominant consideration for the restaurant owners, they have regardless of their nationality, no hesitation in using the word "Pakistan/India" to get more business!⁸

Generally, culture is the most important component of an individual's personality. It is also, for most countries around the world, the prime component of national identity. This is even true for the people steeped in culture and tradition as South Asia, home of the ancient civilization, which is still a living civilization. South Asia cannot be like the United States of America, where the factor that has most motivated its people is the acquisition of wealth. The separate development of the personality of the modern nations and regions within the countries of South Asia has no doubt to be respected. The common cultural heritage has to be used as a factor of development for mutual benefit and not let it become a decisive factor among the countries of South Asia.

IMPACT OF SOUTH ASIAN IDENTITY

To what extent is the identity of the people of South Asia, as Indians, Pakistanis or Bangladeshis etc. influencing the behavior and affecting development of this region? Development policies and decisions, necessarily have to be within the framework of the modern nation states as constituted within the existing geographical boundaries, which frequently do not coincide with the cultural boundaries. Is our development process suffering because we are over-emphasizing people's identity as citizens of a particular country, while under-emphasizing the shared cultural heritage and tradition? How far is our culture responsible for the manner in which the nations of South Asia have developed? Does our culture has something to do with the cause of South Asian region remaining one of the poorest in the world?⁹

The question of cultural identity is not merely theoretical. It has practical relevance to the development process. The main argument for

the creation of Pakistan was that the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations, with their distinctive cultures, and could not fulfill their aspirations within the framework of one country. The creation of Pakistan was a manifestation of cultural separatism. The fundamental dilemma facing Pakistan is its sense of identity. This and not the Kashmir question, is the key problem confronting Pakistan in its relations with India. Pakistan is one of the few countries in the world that is an ideological state. The essence of its ideology is a denial of its common cultural roots with India, Its deleterious consequences give way to creation of barriers, and the spending of tremendous resources in time and energy to sustaining Indo-Pakistan confrontation and vitiating the overall atmosphere in South Asia. Instead of working together and collectively playing rightful role in the world, these two countries are working at cross purposes, instead of using their common traditions as a factor that could increase their collective strength. Within Pakistan itself, the attempts to find a new identity for Pakistan, by linkages with the Middle East and Central Asia, and denying its historical, cultural and other links with the Indian subcontinent are promulgated.

Cultural identity lies at the core of the identity of other South Asian countries too. For Bangladesh, its war of independence in 1971 was also about preserving its cultural identity against West Pakistani's political and economic domination. Nepal retains its sense of identity by emphasizing the role of the Hindu monarch as a factor of unity and by small; but telling practices like a unique time zone, a unique flag shape, and a unique official dress. Bhutan's deliberate policy of remaining in isolation is intended to preserve its cultural identity. Sri Lanka has evolved its Sinhali Buddhist cultural identity, while Maldives has its distinct national identity created out of the interplay of influences from India, Sri Lanka, as well as the Persian and Arab worlds. There is little doubt that culture motivates collective behavior and decision-making. Within the respective South Asian countries, most of the controversies, agitations, violence, disorder and killings have been over cultural identity rather than over economic issues. For example, some of the key factor

that have shaped India's political life in recent years have been the communal problem involving Hindus and Muslim (and lately Christians too), the issue of "secular" vs. Communal parties, the controversy over "Hindutva" and the rejection by the Dalits and the OBCs of a common cultural legacy with the upper-caste Hindus. In Pakistan, Punjabi and Mahajir (Urdu speaking) to safeguard its political, economic and cultural identity has provoked regional (Sindhi and Baluchi) nationalist movements. Sri Lanka is wracked by ethnic violence over the Tamil issue. So much energy has been spent on such issues, instead of giving greater attention to the more real and pressing issues of poverty, unemployment and development.¹⁰

Does religion, the most important component of culture, play any role in shaping popular and elite attitudes? It would be useful to take India as an example, since it is the largest and culturally the most diverse South Asian country. India is overwhelmingly Hindu and other religions have heavily imbibed the Hindu traditions, the "Hindu mentality" greatly influences the way Indian in general conduct themselves, individually and collectively, in public as well as in private. In short, the Hindu religion may account for what may be called the Hindu or Indian way of life and thinking.¹¹

One could argue that Hindus lay greater stress on spirituality rather than materialism, on the individual rather than the community, the flexibility, tolerance and lack of pressure to conform to the religion gets translated into Indian attitudes to the community and country. The positive elements of such an attitude are that it promotes understanding and stimulates individual brilliance and creativity. This has been one of the main reason for the growth of a rich and vibrant culture in India. Indians are proud to protect their traditions and culture, purely in Hindutva values.

— On the other hand, Indians in general and Hindus in particular, are a divided people, and find it difficult to act collectively and are weak at

setting up systems, where individual preferences have to be given up for the common good. The chaos and disorder in Indian society and the overall lack of discipline seems to reflect the luxury that Hindus have of doing without an imposed discipline in religion. The caste system as it has evolved is an evil that applies to all section of the Hindu religion and has created a hierarchical, status-conscious feudal mindset in majority of South Asian societies. That explains why it is widely accepted that there should be different set of rules or standards, depending on where a person stands in the hierarchical order. The emphasis on gradualism, and the propensity for toleration, inherent in the "Indian way of thinking" has made it very difficult for India to make a decisive break with the bureaucratic structure, system and culture that the British evolved and left behind. The Indians therefore give too much importance to rules, procedures and precedents, with no accountability or responsibility. It is true that the thinking of the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis is somewhat different and they are more well-knit communities, but their numbers are relatively small to influence the overall development of the "Indian personality". While it would not be fair to generalize, it does make one wonder whether religion has something to do with how a group or nation conducts itself.¹²

ROLE OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH ASIAN DEVELOPMENT

The democratic framework is necessary to facilitate development and the preservation of the rich and varied culture of the people of South Asia, due to which the region may become an area of peace, prosperity and stability. Taking India as an example, which is a microcosm of the whole South Asia. It is impossible to govern a large and diverse state like India outside a democratic framework. For India, democracy is a necessity and not a luxury and therefore the other South Asian countries do not have a democratic tradition as India's. The history of military rule in Pakistan and Bangladesh, and of monarchical rule in Nepal shows that such regimes face problems in the long term. The democratic India, the largest state in South Asia has revolutionized its transport,

communications and information technology which ensures that there is heightened consciousness among ordinary people of their identity, and their rights. Ideas cannot be kept away from people and regimes that try to swim against the tide are likely to be swept away.

Just as it is essential for India's survival to have democracy and greater cultural and political autonomy for its various regions same is also required for the other South Asian countries, if they are to live in harmony and peace, both internally and externally. Without democracy, cultures may be discriminated against, or not allowed to develop and flourish, giving rise to antagonisms and resentments. Democracy is the only effective guarantee against secularism and conflict. The problems that have erupted in Bosnia and Kosovo following the break-up of the former Yugoslavia should serve as a warning that attempts at ethnic or any other kind of domination create problems rather than solve the same. The Soviet Union broke-up largely because its rigid authoritarian structure proved incapable of meeting the aspirations of its diverse multi-national population. Yet, the continuation of a non-democratic approach, manifested in artificially projecting cultural and ethnic exclusivity and privileges, by many of its former units while ignoring their common legacy have left them weaker than before.

China is facing growing tensions in its outlying areas of Xingjian and Tibet because it attempts to rule over them in an authoritarian manner. Many other parts of the world have a history of tolerance and peaceful co-existence in the pre-colonial era. Yet the irony and tragedy is that in the second half of the 20th century this region has been beset with violence and killings. The underlying cause is that the nations of South Asia, have borders that are artificial and not natural. They are often attempting to create an exclusive identity and culture, where none exists, within these borders.

The process of building a consensus in a democratic framework requires a lot of effort, patience, sacrifice and compromises. This

inevitably means that decision-making and development slows down. But a democratic structure is more enduring, stable and flexible. As an example India can be seen continuing its spectacular pace of development despite the frequent political, social, economic, separatist and other crises it has had since independence. Democracy may not be perfect; but it is the most practicable form of government in the modern globalized interdependent world, where people are far more conscious of their rights. Democracy's main virtue is that it lays down the rules of the game. While the reality may be different. In a democracy there is at least the perception among people that they are deciding their own matters. It also offers hope to the smaller and weaker parties that their rights will be better protected than in a non-democratic system.

CONCLUSION

Culture, it has been argued, plays a key role in the lives of the inhabitants of the South Asian subcontinent, who are the inheritors of a common culture and civilization. Historically, the dividing lines between different religious, linguistic, ethnic and other communities were never sharp or clear-cut. Even today, all South Asian countries are to some extent, multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies. Against this background, a current major dilemma before South Asian countries is how to reconcile the common cultural heritage of the subcontinent with the preservation of their separate modern identities. Regretably, the way it has been handled in South Asia, culture has been a decisive and debilitating factor which need not necessarily be so. The people of South Asia are divided on the basis of ethnicity, caste and religion, first by their colonial masters and later by their own political elites, to serve their own interests. The challenge is to see how culture can once again be made a factor for unity and harmony.

This can happen only if South Asian countries develop the institutions and spirit of democracy. One of the essential aspects of democracy is a respectful and tolerant attitude towards all religions and cultures. There is much talk of "secularism" but unfortunately, it means different things to different people. Inheritors of deep-rooted religious traditions, the people of South Asia may find it difficult to be indifferent to religion. Governments have to treat all religions equally, and be sincere in educating the people in the essential tenets of religions other than their own. It is because the governments have abdicated this responsibility that the field has been left clear for obscurantist and extremist followers of religion. A greater move towards democracy and tolerance is the only way that the enormously talented people of this rich and variegated land can play their rightful role in the world.

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Geo-Economic Condition of a Village District Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir

DR. M. H. BUKHARI
And
ALI IQTADAR MIRZA

Location

Geographical factors have always affected human beings and influenced their mode of life and choice for the site of settlement. In the past mostly a good site concerned the need for defence, water supply, food supplies and the means of communications and transportations. The last one is facility for exchanging surplus products with neighbours and in case of town the command of routeway is of great value. Langerpura – a classic example of a Kashmiri village – is not very old settled. It is located in Garrhi Dopatta district Muzaffarabad, This Village is situated in the Pir Punjal range of the right bank of the river Jhelum. Some 15 kilometers from Muzaffarabad City. On the map Langerpura lies between $34^{\circ} 9' 20''$ and $34^{\circ} 20' 40''$ east latitude, $73^{\circ} 33' 20''$ north longitude. The contour of 2700' passes near it. Further down River Jhelum is a mean stream. Another stream called Schil Kalta flows in the north west of this village. 'Mairi Bandi' is a village situated west of Langerpura, another village 'Daban' lies to the east. The name of the village which is in the north of Langerpura is 'Sarian' and in the south is 'Maira'

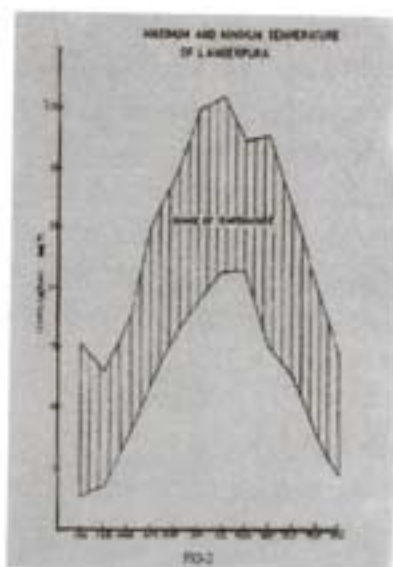
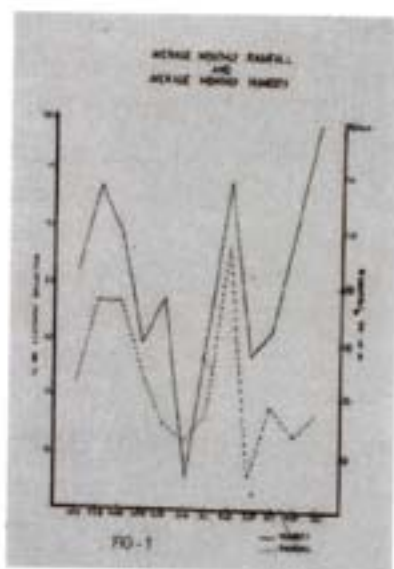
Dr. M.H. Bukhari, South Asian Studies Center, Punjab University Lahore and
Ali Iqtadar Mirza, Geography Department, Government College University
Lahore.

Historical Background

This small Village Langerpura, under study has an historical significance. In the past it was on the margin of the two states ruled by Sultans, it was the border place. It was included in the territory of Raja Muzaffar. Who once occupied Dopatta. Being a border place it was unhabited. At the time of settlement it was called by some other name, in the past a pious man Walijankaz along with his followers stayed here. He arranged system of langer (the distribution of food for everyone without any distinction). Since then it has been named as Langerpura. Whatever the fact, Langerpura is an old settlement, but it lacks any clear evidence of historical imprints.

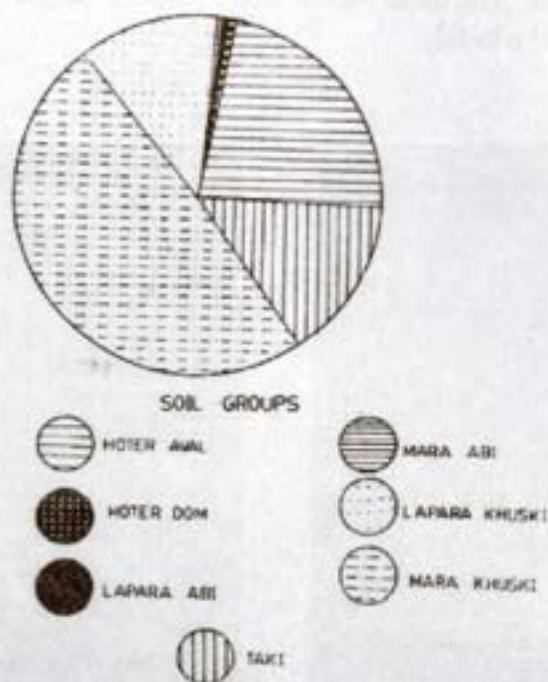
Climatic Condition

Climate is the principal aspect of physical environment. It also effects human behaviour. Climate limits the choice of crops and therefore. The local Production of food. The study of climate is essential for determining the characteristics of land use and social patterns. The climate of the studied area Garrhi Dopatta, District Muzaffarabad falls in the humid to sub-humid to tropical type. Summers are hot and humid and winters are cold and bitter. The minimum temperature is in January and maximum temperature during June. The rainy season is from July to September in which it receives maximum rainfall, whereas minimum rainfall is recorded during October to December. Maximum average humidity is 87%. Maximum rainfall is recorded during the monsoon. Snowfall starts in December on higher peaks and melts after March to feed the streams. The mean maximum temperature ranges from 13°c in February to 36°c in July.



Soil and Vegetation

Soil is the essential material on which agriculture is based. Growth of different plants, production and yield depend upon the quality of soil. Soil differs in physical and chemical properties of its constituent i.e. inorganic particles, organic material, water and air. On the whole the soils of the village comprise of clay which is soft. The soil is mainly loam and silty loam, and the colour ranges from brown to redish brown and also brownish-red. The major source of soils is the erosive rock material. The soil is not very fertile, but cultivation is possible. The soil of Langerpura are Hottar Awal, Hottat Doam, Lapara Abi, Maira Abi etc.



(Cultivated land on different soil groups)

The differences are physiographic, climatic conditions, soil qualities and vegetation varies a good deal from place to place. The natural vegetation of the village Langerpura is grass, which predominates over the major area. The grass is locally called "Ross". Basically the area has mixed coniferous and deciduous trees. But now most of the area has been cleared because of human interference for cultivation. Trees are scattered thinly all over the area, mostly along the edges of fields. Bushes are also found in this area. Other trees are occacia, zizphus, sangluva, guldera and bildi. The economy of Azad Kashmir is largely dependent on these forests.

Socio-Economic Condition

Geographical location and related factors have great effects on man and his socio-economic conditions. Langerpura village has emerged without any conscious planning. As agriculture is the main activity of the people and the economic conditions of this village is dependent upon it. The standard of living is not so high. This is due to improper arrangement of irrigation and old methods of cultivation and use of local or desi varieties of seed. The degree of use of machinery in agriculture is very low due to the relief and physiography of the area. Majority of the people of Langerpura village are Muslims. The people do not educate their children in the proper religious sense. Most of the people can only read the Holy Quran without understanding it. The people of Langerpura Village belong to different castes. Majority of them belongs to Qazi and Syed families.

This village lacks many social facilities i.e. education, health and recreation etc. There is only one high school for boys and one middle school for girls. Fifteen teachers are employed for 150 boys of different classes while there are five lady teachers in the girls school. The condition of this school is not very good. There is no furniture for students so they have to sit on the ground. For further education, students have to go to Muzaffarabad. The people of this area have no interest in

the education of girls. Health facilities are totally unsatisfactory in this village. There is no hospital but a small dispensary, no Doctor is available in the dispensary, neither is there any private doctor in this village. Those seriously ill are carried to the Combined Military Hospital Muzaffarabad.

There is no proper market place in the Village Langerpura. Only a few general stores and small shops are found near the bridge. People go to the market at Garhhi Doppata and Muzaffarabad. As the majority of people are illiterate in this Village, they do not get newspapers regularly. Radio is the only means of mass media used by the villagers. There are few televisions sets in the village. On the whole the people have little concern with mass media.

Water Supply

Water has been given a high value on account of traditional importance. In the past the water supply has been considered most valuable for the choice of the location of settlement. The availability of water in an area is related to its climatic conditions, relief and water table. In hilly areas like Langerpura the availability of water depends on streams. The people of the village are in much more adverse conditions for water supply. The only source yielding water in the village is the Sohali Nala, which flows on the west side of village. A small Nala comes from Jhandgaran. Water for irrigation is almost dependent upon the Sohali Nala. The village is mostly dependent on rainfall for agricultural activities. It also fulfills the requirements for drinking water for the community. This village has enjoyed the facility of electricity. More than 75% of the houses have electricity.

Economic activities and development is supported by communication links. Langerpura village is connected by metalled road by the bridge which was opened on 5th September 1981, by Brigadier M. Hayat Khan, Ex-President of Azad Jamu and Kashmir. This metalled

road connects it with the towns of Garrhi Dopatta, Domel and Bhatia etc. The bridge of Langerpura has an important role in the development of Langerpura village.

Housing Conditions

This village emerged without any conscious planning. The houses are scattered here and there. There are no streets because of the hilly area. Houses are built of stones and mud, as this type of material is easily available for building in the environment. The settlement pattern differs according to site and relief. The houses of Langserpura village are built on slopes and terraces. All houses are built of kacha material, which can easily be damage due to a medium range earthquake. These are single storey houses and do not have more than two or three rooms.

Occupational Structure

Every individual is engaged in various occupation for the provision of necessities of life for himself and his family. Occupation involves the way a person's work role affects other life roles. It is also interaction of an individual and the society and indicates the standard of life.

Agriculture is the main occupation of our studied area i.e.Langerpura Village. Every single person has his own land and he also cultivates it. Agriculture of Langerpura is of typical barani nature. Mode of agricultural activities in Kashmir is quite primitive. More than 55% of the land is uncultivated in Langerpura. The proportion of irrigated land is too small, even negligible, Majority of the villagers have their own land i.e.97.8% are total farmers. Although the whole population of this village are cultivators but they have to do part time jobs. Some of them are teachers in the high school for boys. Many persons work out side the village in Muzaffarabad. The population of village Langerjpura is also engaged in business, services and government jobs but the cultivators are at the top of the occupation.

Problems and Limitations

Although the people of the village Langerpura were co-operative there are certain limitations of different natures, which may effect on analysis. The main problem is the illiteracy of the people which is very common in our rural community. The people spoke openly about their problems which are lack of education, medical facilities, irrigation, better facility for buying and using fertilizers, seeds and unemployment. The most important problem of this surveyed area is the rapid soil erosion due to land sliding. Large areas have been removed by the overflow of the river Jhelum. This study was conducted before 8th October 2005 earth quake, so study may helpful for habilitation and reconstruction of earthquake effected areas.

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Contractualisation of Formal Labour in South Asia : A Case Study of Pakistan

MUHAMMAD JAVAID IQBAL

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Globalization by creating openness in the global commodities market has resulted in developing cut-throat competition amongst the international investors. Profit margins are squeezed and various parastatals and mega organizations have been vanished from the surface of the earth. In their efforts to survive, some of them, have been merged into others whereas the rest, in order to remain in the market, trying their utmost to minimize their production cost, labour being abundant and cheap has been commonly used as an option for cost minimization strategy. On the other hand, advance technologies coupled with modern management techniques by changing labour-management relations have enabled decentralized production which is ultimately reflected in the process of "Flexibilization of Labour". Likewise, The Structural Adjustment Programme of the IMF; in most of the developing countries prompted labour market deregulations which through privatization, retrenchment, golden hand shake and allied policies have resulted in an influx of experienced labour-force in the already flooded labour market. Now when the Governments of the developing countries are facing scarcity of capital and trying to attract Foreign as well domestic investment by all means, the investors in a wave to utilize available resources optimally opted for extraction of maximum labour value from the already abundant labour, through contracting and

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sub-contracting. Contract labour has become an important feature of modern industry. To Henk Thomas "all large firms use substantial number of workers who are not employees. Supplied by labour contractors these workers work alongside regular employees but at a fraction of their pay (Thomas 1995: 58).

Pakistan being part of the global village is no exception. International trends no doubt are motivating factors, militant trade unions and evasion from Labour Laws in case of Pakistan have been amongst gearing forces for shifting from formal permanent labour to contracting and sub-contracting. Inspired by labour movement and developments at the international arena, the Government in the 1960's and 1970's initiated various labour welfare schemes and pro-labour legislations like Punjab Employees Social Security Ordinance, 1965², Employees Old Age Benefits Act (EOBI), 1976³, Companies Profits (Workers' Participation) Act, 1968⁴, Workers Welfare Fund Ordinance, 1971⁵ and Workers Children Education Cess Ordinance, 1972⁶. The employer under these Enactments was made liable to contribute to various funds and schemes for the general welfare of the working class, which no doubt raised "Labour Bills" substantially. Promulgation of Standing Orders Ordinance in 1968 which along side improving terms of employment of the workers also introduced Bonus, Gratuity and other monetary benefits for the working class. Similarly promulgation of Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969 regulating industrial relations and providing a framework for trade unionism, posed great threat to the interests of the private investors. Finally, the attitude of Trade Union during post-nationalization in the major industrial units, number of strikes and man hour lost during mid and late 70's have also been a deciding factor for shifting from formal permanent labour to contracting and sub-contracting.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Contracts are broadly categorized as formal and informal. Informal contracts are target-oriented or piece rated. In those contracts workers

may either be occupied by the contractor or the owner. The work-place is either the premises of the factory or the house of the contract labour. Such type of contracts are common in export sector like soccer ball surgical goods, garments etc. If undertaken in factory premises it is usually male dominated. If the work is out sourced, families, children and women are found involved working in their homes or neighbourhood. Some worst forms of such contracts are bonded labour and forced labour found in the traditional sectors like; Agriculture, Brick kilns, Mining etc.

Formal contracts, on the other hand, involve Contractors who through agreements are authorized to provide labour to major national and multi-national firms. Workplace is the factory premises and the workers, who actually are contractor's employee, work for and under the control of factory management. The managements hire contract workers from outside contractors under legal agreement. It is the responsibility of the contractor to abide by all legal formalities in respect of contract labour force occupied by the multinationals. Wages of contract employees are adjusted at the minimum rate fixed by the government. They have to perform tough jobs under exploitative conditions. The paper explores and high lights the problems of those contract workers. The state of Contract Workers, their working conditions, work hazards, terms of employment, physical and financial exploitation at the work place have been analyzed in the light of existing legal provisions and in comparison with the facilities available to the regular employees. Effort in the end has been made to propose ways and means to provide contract workers their basic legal rights as provided under the existing labour laws.

METHODOLOGY

The nature of contract labour and complexity of the issue required a thorough and comprehensive approach. Contract deeds from 30 major companies from all over the Punjab were collected and examined in the light of legal provision under various labour enhancements applicable to

those industrial establishments. With a view to evaluate the problem at workplace level 20 industrial units in Lahore, Sheikhpura and Kasur were surveyed and interview of employer, contractors, trade union leaders and that of contract workers were conducted⁷

The questionnaire devised for the purpose contained basic information regarding company workers, contract workers, wages, social security, Employees Old Age, working hours and other labour welfare measures etc. The questionnaire provides a comparison between the company employees and contract workers, both performing similar job.

ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION

The Contract Deeds:

Appraisal of thirty agreements of major National and International companies in the Province has indicated that the employer through these contracts attempts to fix responsibility of abiding by all labour Laws on a third party, a contractor. Some salient features of a contract deed are reproduced as under :

WHEREAS d-ue to the intermittent nature of the work required to be done, the Company is desirous of appointing the contractor to provide Labour Services for odd jobs at various areas at the Company's PLANT.

And whereas the Contractor is desirous of and has offered Labour Services. Now this agreement witness that: :

1. (a) The Contractor shall supply to the Company at the Plant as and when required, by the Company from time to time the services of labourers to do odd jobs at various areas at Plant site, labour requirements will be made on day to day basis. Labour requirement and work will be determined for every shift by the Company.

- (b) If because of the lack of the business or any other reason contract labour is not required by the Company, the company will inform the contractor that labour will not be required. The Contractor will not be entitled to any fee payable under the terms of this Agreement and until such time the Company requests contract labour once again.

2. The Contractor shall pay its Labour on man hour basis @ Rs. 7.93 per man hour⁸. (Inclusive of all allowances)

- (a) The Contractor shall be responsible for adequate administrative supervision of the Contract Labour. The Contractor will ensure that his supervision is capable of handling the labour effectively during the shift. A responsible supervisor of the Contractor will be available to exert direct control over his labourer at the plant.
- (b) The Contractor will submit his bills for payment on or by the 1st day of each month for services, provided during previous month, to the Company's Accounts Department, duly verified by the Company's Personnel & Admin Manager.

3. The Contractor will ensure that his labourers confine themselves to the area of the work assigned to them.

4. The Company shall not be liable to entertain any claim from the Contractor's personnel including claim for unpaid wages and claims arising from any other terms and conditions of employment in connection with the work of contractor's personnel under this Agreement and the contractor shall be liable to indemnify and keep harmless the Company in this regard.

5. (a) The Contractor shall properly and faithfully observe and adhere to all the Labour Laws of Pakistan including but not limited to the West Pakistan Industrial and Commercial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance 1968, the Workers Children (Education) Ordinance 1972, the Employment Old-Age Benefit Act, 1976, The West Pakistan Minimum Wages for unskilled Workers Ordinance, 1969, as amended from time to time, The Payment of Wages Act, 1936 and the Provincial Employees Social Security Ordinance, 1965.

The Contractor shall be responsible to make all payments of contributions etc. under the above labour laws and any other law in respect of Contractor's bill and deposited by the Company to the Government on behalf of the Contractor. The Contractor shall make payment of monthly wages to their personnel by 7th of each month.

- (b) If the company determine that the Contractor is not complying with the Labour Law, the Contractor will, within a week's notice from the Company, change his policies to bring them in line with the Labour Laws of Pakistan.
- (c) Should the Company suffer any losses or incur any liability for any costs charges, claims, damages, causes of action, expenses of litigation, including lawyer's fees, penalties and fines because of the Contractor's non-compliance with the Labour Laws of Pakistan, the Contractor will reimburse the Company for such costs, charges and claims, damages, causes of action, expenses of litigation, penalties and fines etc.

6. Any damage cost, charges, penalties expenses etc. borne or disbursed by the Company which under the terms of this Agreement are properly a charge on and are to be borne by the contractor and as such

are to be reimbursed by him to the Company to be deducted by the Company from the amounts payable to the Contractor in relation to any current or future bills for services rendered by him to the Company under this Agreement.

7. This Agreement will be for a period of one year commencing from 01-01-1997. This agreement will expire/terminate on 31-12-1997 without any notice from either side and shall be extendable for another period by mutual consent of both the parties on the same terms & conditions as mentioned in the Agreement.

8. Any dispute or difference which may arise between the Company and the Contractor as to any matter relating to or arising out of this Agreement shall be referred to the sole arbitration of the Managing Director of the Company. The decision of the Managing Director shall be final and binding on both the parties and shall not be open to challenge or review.

An eye view of the above reveals that the Contractor keeps the Owner fully harmless and indemnified against any violation or non observance of the provisions of Labour Laws. The Contractor are made responsible to pay wages to his employees, maintain record of pay and other dues including levies payable to the Government i.e. Social Security Contribution, EOBI and Education Cess. He is liable to pay all legal benefits including Cost of Living, Special Allowances, Leave, Gratuity, Bonus, Medical Treatment etc; to his employees. The Contractor is fully liable to pay unpaid wages⁹ to his employees, workmen Compensation¹⁰ claim or any other grievances arised thereto with respect of his workers. The Contractor shall be responsible to adequately insure his employees. In certain agreements observance of health and safety standards under Factories Act, 1934 is also the responsibility of the Contractor.

Some of the agreements bound the contractor to abide by the minimum wage standards and made him responsible for providing meal, transport and accommodation to his workers. One underlining element of most of the agreements is that contractor shall keep the company fully indemnified against any claim or losses due to the operation of Standing Order 20 of the West Pakistan Industrial & Commercial Employment (Standing Order) Ordinance, 1968. Secondly, through contracts, the ultimate employer fixes his responsibility of abiding by all labour laws on contractor and thus feels free and secure. How far these deeds are practised and implemented on ground is reflected from the discussion in the proceeding section.

Imperial Evidence

In order to assess the situation survey of 20 industrial units was carried out. It came out during the survey that no formal office of the contractor in the factory premises was present. None of the establishments was able to show adequate record required under various labour laws. The management rather tried to conceal information regarding contract workers. For example, a reputed national tractor manufacturing company denied of employing any contract labour. The management pleaded that they were daily wagers and whosoever report at the gate of the factory in the morning is employed for the day in accordance with the requirement of work.

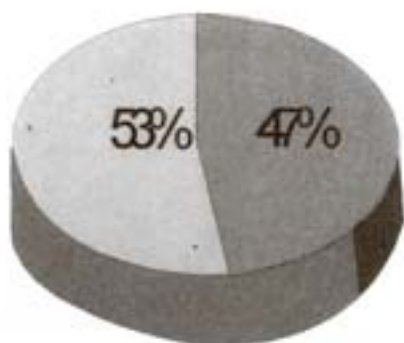
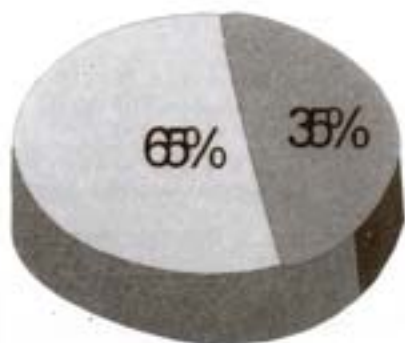
National labour leadership on the other hand criticized the company on employing around 300 workers for the last three to four years on daily wages. They have neither been regularized nor been owned by the company. CBA Union, being part and parcel of the management, strongly favours the view point of the management.

Apart from those difficulties, imperial evidence from a selected sample of twenty factories near Lahore reveals that out of 6893 workers engaged in these factories 4465 are contract workers which constituted a sizable proportion i.e. 65% of the total. Similarly company workers constituted 35% of the total labour force.



An interesting feature of the survey is that 35% of company workers are eating away 53% of wage bill of the companies whereas 65% contract workers are getting just 47% of the total wages.

S. No.	Worker's Category	Share in total Labour Force	Share in total wage Bill
1.	<i>Company workers.</i>	35%	53%
2.	<i>Contract workers</i>	65%	47%

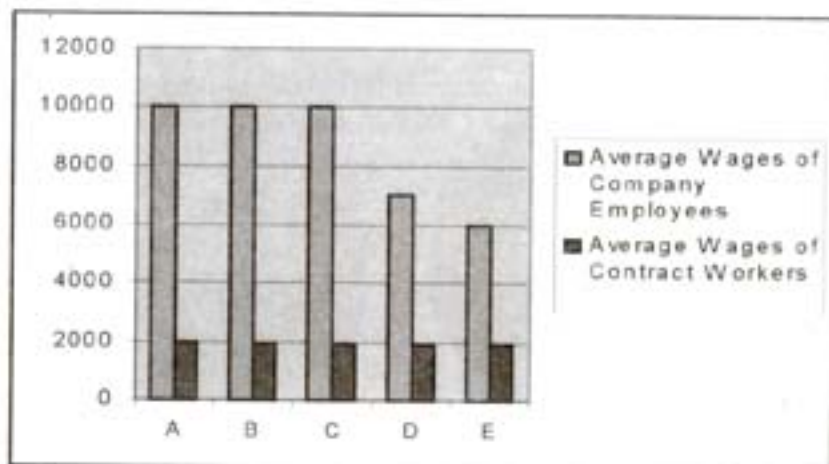


This implies that large number of contract workers are getting less money by contributing comparatively more work.

The average monthly wage of company employees is calculated as Rs.4232.5 and that of contract workers is Rs.2071.5. Meaning thereby the company workers are getting more than the double of the wages of the contract workers. The gap widens in case of multi nationals

WAGE DEFFERENTIAL OF 5 MULTINATIONALS

Name of Factory ⁿ	Average Wages of Company Employees (Rs.)	Wages of Contract Workers. (Rs.)
(A)	10,000/-	2,000/-
(B)	10,000/-	1,950/-
(C)	10,000/-	1,950/-
(D)	7,000/-	1,950/-
(E)	6,000/-	1,950/-



An insight into the wage structure of company workers and that of contract workers reveals that the company workers are paid progressive wages. They have enough chance for upward mobility. They receive high wages on promotion. They are paid on the basis of performance and experience. Contract workers have no wage structure, they are paid at the rate of minimum wage as prescribed by the Govt. the chances of their upward mobility are also rare.

As far as terms of employment are concerned only 6 contractors issued appointment letters to half of their employees. Most of the contracts are one year, the appointment letter, if issued, are for appointment of 6 months or 9 months. The contract workers, even if fulfil all other conditions could not get gratuity¹². Reportedly 60% of the contract workers were working more than prescribed working hours and were not paid overtime at the legally prescribed rate. Two internationally reputed companies employing 150 and around 500 contract workers respectively did not show record of overtime. The contract workers enter the factory premises at 7.30 a.m. and leave at 20.00 hrs, meaning thereby they remained in the factory premises for more than 12 hours and are paid at the rate of Rs. 114 per day. No payment is made for weekly and other holidays. There simply has no concept of weekly holidays. Attendance Register showed that workers were performing duties from 1st May¹³ To 29th May, 2000 without any holiday which latter on was confirmed from the workers also.

Only 40% of the contractors showed Social Security Contribution slips whereas the Social Security Cards were found with 15% of the contract workers. The position regarding EOBI has deplorable. Only 5 contractors showed contribution slips but none of the workers had EOBI Cards. The workers told that if they get injured no treatment from Social Security Dispensary or from the contractor was provided. Further if they could not come on duty due to illness, they lost their job.

The survey reveals that the payment of labour levies regarding contract workers was negligible. Transport, accommodation, use of canteen, fair price shop, availability of uniform or other job related allowances usually admissible to all companies employees are out of reach of the contractual labour. The contract workers who were young, more educated and comparatively more efficient were deprived of even their legal rights. They were not covered under Welfare Schemes of Workers Welfare Board. They were also deprived of Education Cess, bonus and share in the profit as Worker's Participation Fund.

ATTITUDE OF TRADE UNIONS

The contract workers are neither organized nor joined hands with unionised labour. Plant level trade unions do not accept them as their membership might jeopardize their interest and they may lose in terms of facilities they are enjoying due to limited membership. Professional managements of multinationals and big national companies have also been found involved in restricting the role of unions. Most of the companies have dummy or pocket collective bargaining Agents which have no interest in the welfare of the workers.

Ironically one multinational engaging more than 500 workers has CBA Union with 30 members. When General Secretary of the Union was asked to advocate the cause of contract workers, he simply said:

“ He cannot do that by putting his own job at risk”.

A joint Secretary of CBA of another multi-national says that it is very difficult to include contract workers in their membership as they usually demand their jobs to be regularized which is beyond the jurisdiction of the unions now a days. Contrarily, Unions and Federations at provincial and National level always demand abolishing of contract labour and regularization of the services of contract labour.

LEGAL IMPLICATIONS

The law is very straight and simple "Workers" according to the Factories Act, 1934, means a person employed (directly or through an agency), whether for wages or not, in any manufacturing process, or in cleaning any part of the machinery or premises used for a manufacturing process, or in any other kind of work whatsoever, incidental to or connected with the subject of the manufacturing process. It is immaterial who employs him whether factory owner or a contractor or some one else. The observance of the Factories Act is the responsibility of the occupier. And occupier of factory (as defined in the Ibid Act) means a person who has ultimate control of the affairs of the factory. Provided that where the affairs of the factory are interested to a managing agent, he shall be deemed to be occupier of the factory. Meaning thereby every factory worker whether employee of the company or of a contractor is covered under the above definition and is the ultimate liability of the occupier, who is responsible to make possible the observance of all legal provisions of Factories Act, 1934 with respect to that worker.

The Industrial and Commercial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance, 1968 regulates terms of employment of the workers employed in the industrial and commercial establishments. It deals with appointment letters, Bonus, group insurance, gratuity etc; of all the workers employed in any industrial and commercial establishment. The application of Standing Orders on the contract workers is reflected in the Standing Order 20 of the Ordinance which categorically clarified all ambiguities :

"The employer of the industrial and commercial establishments shall personally be held responsible for the proper and faithful observance of the Standing Orders, whether or not the workmen of such establishments employed through contractors."

So, it is the ultimate employers (owners), not the manager, or Contractor, who has to ensure that the law is observed in letter and spirit and all the workers, whether regular or temporary, contract workers, are benefited equally. Similarly at the time of registration of trade unions contract labour are not given due *weight-age* whereas according to Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969, "Worker" and "workman" means any person not falling within the definition of employer who is employed (including employment as a supervisor or as an apprentice) in an establishment or industry for hire or reward either directly or through a contractor whether the terms of employment be expressed or implied.

The law therefore, has a wider scope; and by treating company as well as contract workers alike provides a supporting framework for regulating working conditions and terms of employment of the working class in general.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The foregoing analysis concludes that contractual labour in the formal sector is being exploited physically, economically, psychologically and legally. The extent and degree of exploitation can only be gauged through a comprehensive study. There is a dire need to devise strategy for adopting necessary policy measures for protecting economical and legal rights of contractual labour. The issue is also addressed in the new labour policy 2002 and the Government has been planning to introduce licensing system for contractors so that contract workers are covered by labour laws and qualify for welfare measures. But such steps may take years for realization. Efforts in the short run, therefore, should be to mitigate the worries of the contract workers by concentrating on following weak areas.

1. The law treat both contract and company workers alike and by signing a contract deed the employer cannot transfer his legal obligations regarding workers, who directly or indirectly are engaged in manufacturing process. The inspection machinery, therefore be educated

to implement the law in letter and spirit and by fixing the responsibility on the ultimate employer, as contained in Standing Orders 1968.

2. Keeping in view the nature of job, contract period, job insecurity and harsh working conditions of the contractual workers, special wage package be announced for the contract labourers of the formal sector.

3. The Punjab Employees Social Security Institution should register all contract workers employed in the major factories and issue medical cards to contract workers.

4. Registration of contract workers under EOBI is very poor. It is suggested that a crash programme to cover all the contract workers should be launched¹⁴.

5. Certain provisions of labour legislation are applicable if number of workers achieved at certain level. For example Standing Orders Ordinance, 1968 is applicable on employment of 20 workers, gratuity on 50 workers, Fair price shop on 100, Canteen on 250 workers. Workers without any distinction (both contract as well as company employees) be counted for the purpose of above provisions of the law.

6. Workers providing security services and engaged in canteen, gardening or loading / unloading are connected with the manufacturing process. To bring those workers under the coverage of Factories Act, 1934 is the during need of the time as all these activities involve contract labour and the workers are prone to exploitation of the employer as well as of the contractor.

7. Contribution with respect to other labour levies like Education Cess, Workers Welfare Fund and Workers Participation Fund are not extended to contractual workers. The concerned Government departments i.e. Punjab Employees Social Security Institutions, Workers welfare fund and Income Tax departments are needed to gear up their

efforts to stop the pilferage of funds so that the money collected can be utilized for the welfare of the contract workers.

8. Secured rights, such as Bonus, transportation, accommodation, meal, uniform, milk etc; are not available to the contract workers. Efforts

9. Atleast a formula be devised wherein a proportion of contract workers be absorbed, permanently, in the factory employment on the basis of their performance.

10. A full-fledged awareness campaign be launched to enlighten the employers, trade unions, and the Govt. functionaries about the problems of contract labourers.

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3. Employees Old Age Benefit Act 1967 provides old age pension to the retired workers in lieu of 5% contribution of wages of the workers by the employer. The law is administered by the federal Govt.
4. Companies profit (workers participation) Act 1968 deals with share of the workers in the profit of the company. The undistributed profit is deposited to the Federal Govt. and is being utilized for the welfare of the working class.
5. Worker Welfare Fund ordinance 1971 deals with contribution of employers at the rate of 2% of net profit to the income tax deptt. The money is used for Workers Welfare Schemes.
6. Under the law handsome money is collected from the employer and is utilized for grant of scholarship and teaching aid to the children of workers. For the time being the contribution has been withheld in Punjab.
7. The study relied upon data collected in 2001 by a team of the Directorate of Labour Welfare Punjab.
8. The wages are adjusted in such a way that it is equal to Rs. 1950 or more per month. 1950 per month is minimum wage fixed by the Govt. for unskilled workers. It has now been raised to Rs. 4000/- per month.
9. The contractor indemnifies the owner by taking responsibility of all claims of wages being arised in respect of contract workers in the court of Authority Under the Payment of Wages Act 1936.
10. A workmen or his heir can lodge compensation claim in case of any injury or death in the court of compensation commissioner established under Workmen Compensation Act 1923.

11. The names of factories have not been shown due to legal reasons.
12. Gratuity is payment of one month pay in lieu of each year service. It is covered under Standing Orders Ordinance 1968.
13. 1st May is a gazetted holiday. Labour all over the world celebrate this day in commemoration of sacrifices of Chicago, some two hundred years back.
14. EOBI provides coverage to the workers having at least 5 years total service. If registered contract workers having 5 years service to his credit in any of the establishment he can be benefited from the scheme. Should be made to motivate the CBAs during negotiation with the management to fight for the rights/needs of their contract brothers.

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Religious Dynamics in Rural Politics of Bangladesh : A Case Study of Two Women Victims

TAREQUE M. TAUFIQUR RAHMAN

METHOD OF THE STUDY

There has been an elaborate research and study of the rural life in the Indian Sub-continent, highlighting its way of life in rural areas, the rural power structure and its economic transformation, party-factions and social development. These include, Peter J. Bertocci's *Elusive Villages* (1970), D N Banerjee's *East Pakistan* (1969) S A Free's *Factive leadership in an Indian village*, (1963) A K M Aminul, *Islam's 'A Bangladesh Village'* (1974), A B Sharfuddin Ahmed's *Bijna* (1973), Hafiz Zaidy's *The Village Culture in Transition* (1970) M N Srinivas's *Social Structure of Indian* (1965). These works presented in depth the social economic, power-politics and infightings in rural societies of this region.

There have been researches in to the societies which are transforming itself at a fast rate leaving behind elements for the researchers. One of such elements is the use of religion in the politics of rural Bangladesh. How and for what perspective religion is being used, how far religious injunctions are adhered to ensure social discipline, how religion is being used as a shield in favor of perverted personal interest-these are the points which should be investigated. Two incidents-the well published *Nurjahan suicide* and *Feroza suicide*-demand such investigation and analysis. An analysis of their origin-fruition will show that religion has been primarily

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used to ensure social control, power and self-interest to influence the rural politics. And the whole process was based on wrong assumption under the garb of religious sanction. The steps and actions taken by the influentials in these two incidents were only for their self-aggrandizement.

This analysis took various reports and information published in the media as the sources. The author believes that the validity and acceptability of this analysis would have been stronger, if there could have been first hand contact with the primary sources as done in the formal researches. But that involves elaborate and large program and arrangement. Because of existing limitations this analysis will concentrate on the secondary sources.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The definition and conceptual framework relating to society, economy, power structure, politics, party-infightings and such other elements of rural Bangladesh are already determined in previous research works.

The villages of Bangladesh are described as administrative units¹ No village is independent and self-reliant. In fact, the villages are a part of greater socio-economic and political arrangements.

Every village has more than one "*Samaj*"² sort of grouping). "*Sorder*" (Leader) gives the leadership and controls the *Samaj*³

Bertocci (1970) has shown in his research that these *sorders* are selected in basis of inheritance. But Zaman (1977) found that *sorders* are selected by the members of the *Samaj*⁴ Zaman (1977) has conducted his research in a village located, at the east, 8 miles from Rajshahi University and 12 miles from district headquarters of Rajshahi. And the village was given an imaginary name as *Namajgaon*. Islam (A K M Anninul Islam) has conducted his research (1974) at *Badarpur* village which is 16 miles from the capital Dhaka and 6 miles from the country's largest river port Narayanganj.

Let us look briefly what *rural politics* stands for. Harold Lasswell (1958) looked at *formal politics* as "Who gets, What, When, How" But David Easton said that *politics* is the 'authoritative allocation of values'. And Nicholas (1965:28) viewed the use of public power as "organized struggle".

Islam (1974:5) in his research has explained *rural politics* as a struggle for power. And Zaman (1977:8) wanted to show it as a *struggle oriented program* with the use of public and personal power.

The sorders of the *samaj* in rural politics exercise their power just as if the "Village Panchayet" had a definitive role in such activities. Till the first half of 1977 these "Village Panchayets" were empowered⁵ by the local self government to solve the problems, crises and controversies of villages. Union Parishads (UP) are the authority at the grassroot levels of local self government in this country. These Union Parishads are being made more effective and powerful under the proposal of Huda Commassion!⁶ The *Village Panchayets* could adjudicate complaints under the power given to the Union Parishads. But now it has no legal support.

The village structure is divided into two: the *power elite* and those following them. The *power elites* are divided again, among those who are landed gentry and those who have people support⁷. These two powerful groups are always locked in power struggle in the rural Bangladesh.

Zaman (1977) in his research showed how religion and religious groups are involved in the exercise of rural politics. He showed that these *sorders* always involve *Imam* or *Khatib* (who lead the local people in regular prayers in mosques) of the mosque in their exercise of power. What the *sorder* does in the exercise of his power to "maintain discipline" in the society is punish concerned people for involving in immoral or outrageous activities or for absence in the *Zuma*⁸ prayer. In these activities the *sorder* ask the *Imam* of local mosque to help him through religious injunctions⁹ These *Imams* are generally appointed by the *sorder*, who pays and controls them on behalf of the *samaj*.

This analysis will take up the next stage of development where Zaman (1977) ended his research on use of religion and religious groups in the exercise of power in *rural politics*. In Zaman's study, it was found that the *sorders* hardly faced any challenge in the exercise of their power involving religion and religious groups. They could order a punishment and executed and could "Atok," (Zaman 1977:61) or isolate-untouchable one, if any person refuses to obey their order. But under the changed circumstances the *samaj* and *Panchayet* face challenges from the greater society and the State. If they wanted to meet out social punishment as a consequence of complaints. They are being considered as 'outside jurisdiction' and allegation being brought that these punishment are but an attempt to fulfill revenge by the *sorders* WHO always use the religion and religious groups.

INCIDENT ONE

The Case of Nurjahan Suicide

There are two long reports of two renowned papers (first one is a *fortnightly* and second one is a *weekly*) are being presented here to have a clear idea about the incidents concerned.

Report One

The village Chhatakchhara situated in the remote hilly area of Kamalganj thana under Moulvibazar district. About 3-4 hundred people of 50 families live illegally in government forest area. A self proclaimed 'panchayet system' was developed by the influential people of the area in the name of justice and administration. Nurjahan was a member of one of these families. Nurjahan was the 7th among 9 daughters and 3 sons of her father Ashrafullah. Nurjahan was married to one Abdur Rabban of Moulvibazar sadar thana. The marriage lasted for a year. Nurjahan was sent back to Chhatakchhara by her husband who divorced her verbally. Husband Rabban never enquired about her in past 4 years. He divorced Nurjahan in writing on 28.5.92. Mutalib is a married young of Chhatakchhara village. He has a 6 years old child and a sick wife. He wanted to marry Nurjahan. Nurjahna's old father agreed to the proposal in order to reduce the burden of the big family. Moulvi Abdul Mannan, the Imam

of Chhatokchhara mosque give a Fotwa' (Islamic religious injunction) for a fee of taka 200, that Nurjahan can marry. According to Fatwa, Nurjahan was married by Mutalib in October, 1992. But self proclaimed *panchayet sorder* Monir Mia could not accept this marriage. The so-called Moulvi Mannan was a mercenary employee of this Monir Mia. The moulvi was asked to give a new *fatwa* as the earlier one was given without the knowledge to Monir Mia. Moulvi Abdul Mannan gave a *fatwa* on 10.1.93, at the behased of Monir Mia attending panchayet meeting. The marriage of Mutalib and Nurjahan was declared invalid. The so-called moulvi were indicated in his *fatwa* that 'the marriage of Mutalib and Nurjahan was not solemnized in accordance with the shariah (Islamic Juris-prudence) and they had illegal relations for two months. So it is 'Zena' (adultery) which has to be tried under the injunctions of the holy Quran. Since Bangladesh is not an Islamic state, I instruct repentance to Allah after some punishment, which is not complete in the eye of the Quranic law'. In the *fatwa*, it was prescribed that the both Nurjahan and Mutalib should be buried up to the hip level and 101 stones should be thrown at them, and Nurjahan's parents to be caned 50 times and those who were witness to the marriage would rise and seat 10 times holding their ears and Nurjahan was barred from meeting Mutalib for 4 years. The *fatwa* was converted into a verdict in the same meeting. However, Nurjahan was not present in the meeting. She was brought from her father's house and the verdict was executed at the compound of another Panchayet Neyamatullah. A hole was dug where Mutalib was forced to stand. One Abdul Aziz, a young man of the village threw stones at Mutalib in executing the verdict. Then stones were thrown at Nurjahan in the same way. The devastated Nurjahan than ran away to her house. After this, 80 years old, Nurjahan's father was caned 50 times. Nurjahan's father was forced to cane her old mother. Similarly the witnesses were made to rise and sit holding their ears. News arrived that Nurjahan has poisoned herself to death just as the trial ended'.¹⁰

INCIDENT TWO

The Case of Feroza Suicide Report Two

'Feroza and her Family : Feroza was one of the 10 children of Khaleque Mistri, who lived in Kalikapur village of Krishnanagar union under Kaliganj

thana of Satkhira district. This remote village is about 50 kilometers from the district headquarters. Feroza lent her labor along with her brothers and sisters in catching fish fringers from local Golghashia river. Uday Mandal use to live in that village.

U P Election : Entaj-Mojibor conflict: Entaj Ali was elected member of the Krishnagar U P for a number of times. But in the last election, he faces a challenge from his own nephew, who was elected number-1 member polling a large number of votes. Entaj was unhappy with this popularity, though he was elected. The conflict between the two originated from this issue. And it was reflected in all activities of the Union. Khaleque Mistri and his family voted Mojibar Rahman, which enraged Entaj who warned Khaleque and his family of dire consequences. Meanwhile Chairman Dr. Moslemuddin took the side of Entaj. In a clash relating to demarcation of land, 5-6 person were injured. Entaj presides over an adjudication meeting which held Khallelque as a guilt and imposed a fine of taka 10,000 on Khaleque. It was a dream money to him. Since he had no money Entaj forced him to sale his residential house to one Deen Ali of the village. This is how Entaj took the revenge.

Trial of Uday : Sometimes in July of 1993, a scandal of sexual relationship between uday and Feroza brought out. It made Feroza's father anxious. Meantime, Uday came to Feroza's house for a personal reason in one night. Her father held him. On learning this Entaj asked Khaleque Mistri 'not to release Uday on the night as their would be a trial in the next morning. Uday's father pleaded with Khaleque Mistri not to hand over his son to Entaj who might take revenge of his election conflict. Instead he requested to take Uday to Mojibar for trial. Uday was told that he was held as he tried to steel cow from Feroza's house. The question of his illegal relation with Feroza was not mentioned. Mojibar member fined Uday taka 1,500 which he paid and left the area. Entaj made angry because he was to conduct the trial. He informed the matter to the chairman.

Unhappy Member Chairman : Meanwhile Entaj repeatedly ask Khateque Mistri to deposit taka 1500. Poor Khaleque had spent taka 300 by this time. He sent taka 1200 to the Chairman through his son Abdul Aziz. Entaj beat Aziz

mercilessly for spending taka 300 and delaying the taka to deposit. The seriously injured Aziz was forced to seek to his father for the rest amount of money. And the Chairman wrote a letter to the super of Bandukati madrasah Abdur Rahim stating that Feroza's trial will take place for her adultery. The madrasah super was asked to conduct the trial quickly.

Trial of Feroza : Then the trial was held at the house of Wazed shaikh where Entaj and others were present. The super gave the fatwa that the adulteress Feroza will suffer 101 strikes of broom sticks and then she will have to make towba (repentance and abstinence) before she can be reentered to the society. Super Abdur Rahim started to execute his own fatwa himself by striking Feroza with the brooms. Then Entaj struck Feroza on her chest and other places making her naked. And then Entaj forced Feroza's brother Aziz to strike Feroza. Both the madrasah super, sitting on the chair of Judge, and Entaj were quite happy. But the witnesses termed it as an act of barbarism. After that Feroza was forced to recite tawba. The injured and harassed Feroza returned home and found out the Indian Thionel (a kind of pesticide) and drank it. It was 10 P M on September 01, 1993. Feroza once again shocked the civilized society by being a victim herself in the chess oppression, religious repression and women suppression.¹¹

THE LAW AND TRIAL

Nurjahan's father filed a case on January 27, 1993 against panchayet sorder Monir Mia, Moulvi Abdul Mannan and 7 others. Police charged the accused under B P C section number 306, 114 and 504.¹² The trial was held over the year. Additional Magistrate of Moulvibazar Mr. Aminur Rasul in his 77 pages verdict indicted all the 9 and sentenced them to 7 years rigorous imprisonment.¹³ The lawyer of the accused declared intention to appeal¹⁴.

In the case of the suicide of Feroza an U D (*unidentified death*) case was filed with the Kaliganj thana. Later under the pressure of public opinion the S P (Police Super, a district level police officer) of Satkhira district instructed the O C of Kaliganj to file a case. The O C filed a case against 11 accused under section no 306 on September 10, 1993. Madrasah super Moulana Abdur Rahim

and Krisnanagar U P chairman Dr. Moslemuddin were arrested in this concern.¹⁵ A case was supposed to be filed on the basis of post mortem report.¹⁶

SOME CHARACTERS ORTNESE TWO NEIOENTS

The position of panchayet sorder Monir Mia, Imam Moulvi abdul Mannan should be considered primarily in the Nurjahan suicide case. Illiterate and simple Nurjahan was personally above of all the faults. She was married and abandoned for a long time and divorced, first verbally and then in writing. In the second marriage she was not at all a principal character. She was not involved in any controversial role. Therefore she was a victim of a cruel reality.

Panchayet sorder Monir Mia is the principal and the heinous character in the whole affair. Local police and administration described him as a *tout*. He use to live on the illegal tolls he collected it from the villagers. The *Moulvi* was a supporter of his illegal activities. Nobody could open mouth for the fear of Monir.¹⁷ Another report said that Monir sorder and his relatives came from India and settled there. He has a big following and influence. For a number of years the relation between Nurjahan's father Ashrafullah and Monir sorder was bad. Quite a number of times Monir tried to beat up Ashrafullah. He use to harvest Ashrafullah's crop and fodder. He was all the time looking for an opportunity to take action against Ashrafullah. He got this opportunity after the second marriage of Nurjahan, which he refused to accept. And he declared that all involved with the marriage will be punished.¹⁸ It will be easier to evaluate and comment on Monir sorder after a clear perception about another character Moulvi Abdul Mannan was availably. In a report, Moullvi Abdul Mannan, shown as an accomplice of Monir sorder¹⁹ Another report says, Monir Sorder and his party and the so-called Moulvi Abdul Mannan, who was in fact a hench-man of Monir who executed the pubishment...After waiting for a long time. Nurjahan's father took initiative to marry her for the second time and obtained a written fotwa from the Principal of local Alia madrasah Moulana Mohiuddin through Moulvi Mannan. The Moulana said, the wife has to wait for 4 years and 40

days after husband is missing. Meantime written Talaknama (divorce document) arrived from her missing husband. This was shown to Moulvi Mannan who said that Nurjahan's second marriage would be valid. Accordingly she was married for the second time to Mutalib of the same village. Hardly 2 months had passed. Monir and his ilks challenged the Talaknama as spore and said that it was spored. And therefore the marriage was invalid. And they kept pressure on Moulvi Mannan to declare punishment for adulteries. Moulvi Mannan had no political identity. A Dakhil (10th class of madrasah education and equivalent to Matriculation) certificate holder Moulvi Mannan was, in fact, against those who were involved in Islamic politics.²⁰

Considering all this information and statements it would appear that Moulvi Abdul Mannan was but a helpless pawn in Nurjahan suicide affair. He did not control the incident in any way. He was entirely guided by Monir sorder. Monir sorder pushed Nurjahan to commit suicide in his design to maintain his domination in the struggle for power in rural politics under the so-called 'Panchayet' banner.

In the Firoza suicide case, the principal characters were Entaj Member, chairman Dr. Moslemuddin, Moulana Abdur Rahim, Mujibor member, Uday mondal and the victim Firoza Begum. According to information and statements, newly-elected U P member, Mujibor was supportive of the family of Firoza. He, however, failed to halt the inevitable end of the tragic incident. He was also a part of the whole episode. Young Uday was Firoza's fishing partner who in course of time also illegally built up a physical relation with her. According to a report,²¹ Feroza's father held up Uday when he went to her house a night on 'personal reason.' On learning it, Entaj member was preparing to 'try' Uday. But at the request of uday's father, the responsibility of trial was vested to Mojibor member, who fined Uday an amount of Tk 1500/- as punishment for alleged attempt to "steal" a cow. This incident was only strengthened the determination of revenge of Entrj for his failure to try Uday. However one matter remains here incomprehensible. For what *personal reason* Uday should be coming to the house of Firoza in the night when there were allegations of physical relationship between the two? Why Uday should be tried on charge of trying to steal cow by holding him in the night without due

process of trial? There is a possibility that there was physical relationship between Firoza and Uday, a Hindu youngman. As a result, Firoza's worried father held Uday without any "stated valid reason" and sought the help of the local member for trial. And as such the incident took a quick turn for the tragic end. Under the law of Bangladesh, intercourse between consenting adult men and women are not any offence. But in the eye of the society it is an offence. Who should met out the punishment for such offence is not the point of discussion here.

Young Firoza became the helpless victim to Entaj member's revenge and exercise of his power. U P Chairman Dr. Moslemuddin become involved in the whole affair under the influence and pressure of Entaj member. But there was no doubt that the interest of Moslemuddin was also involved in it. And Moulana Abdur Rahim was involved in the is one under the pressure of the Chairman and he was their a pawn.

RELIGION IN RURAL POLITICS AND ITS MISUSE

In the Nurjahan incident Monir sorder used religion as a shield in his attempt to ensure his control and lordship over rural politics. In his attempt to harass Nurjahan's father and his family, Monir arranged a punishment in the name of the *panchayet*. He used an Islamic injunction to make it acceptable and valid. It will be discussed later that the use of the injunction was a complete misuse and a distortion of religious laws. Hence the point is that Monir successfully used a religious injunction to consolidate his position in the rural politics and kept it above the challenge of local people.

In the case of Sathkira's Firoza incident, it was climbed to be the result of conflict between two U P members and the chairman.²² Here the religious injunction and religious authority (Madrasah super Moulana Abdur Rahim) were involved only to give validity to an illegal exercise of power in the eye of the society. We shall know from a brief presentation of religious injunctions regarding these issues that the use of those religious injunctions in these cases was just a misuse.

ADULTERY, RAPE AND PUNISHMENT

Hence the religion means Islam and its injunctions relating to illegal relation between men and women. The *holy Quran* and *Hadith* are the main sources of Islamic injunctions (shariah). It allows physical relation only between married men and women²³ and there are certain specific injunctions about them. It has specified men and women who can marry each other.²⁴ Islam bans physical relation between men and women beyond these rules. The sexual relation between men and women if it is *with consent*, in Islam, is called 'Zena'. In *Bengali*, it has been translated as "baybhichar" (-adultery). *The Quran* prohibits Muslims not to go even the near of this relation,²⁵ The punishment for such adultery between *unmarried men and women* is 100 strikes of cane and *death by stoning for married couples*²⁶

But how this punishment will be given and who will give it? *The Quran* declared that the punishment can be given only if the couple voluntarily admit their guilty or four eye witnesses must testify. Without the testimony of four "eye witnesses" the punishment cannot be executed. The next question is who reserves the right to execute the punishment? Islamic scholars and leaders opined that such punishment can only be given by a specially empowered judge (*Qazi*) appointed by the state. The condition is that the state has to be run in the light of *Quran* and *Sunnah*.

So, there are three conditions :

- (i) Admission of guilty or ample evidence,
- (ii) Islamic state and (iii) specially appointed judge.

In none of the two above incidents, these three conditions exist.

Let us now look into the Bangladesh penal code, which is framed during the British colonial *power*. It has no provision about 'Zena'. The rape is a punishable offence. In a case, it will be considered as a rape if man or woman indulge in sexual intercourse without the consent of .the other. There is a specified punishment for this offence in Bangladesh.²⁷ This law allows

prostitution (with license); drinking is not considered a bad and sexual intercourse between consenting adults is not an offence. The formal prostitution is not thus illegal, also not illegal if married couple indulge in sex with consent. But Islam does not permit them nor the social customs and traditions of this country.

THE TWO INCIDENTS AND MISUSE OF RELIGIN

The Islamic injunctions imposed upon Nurjahan and Feroza, the two helpless victims, in the cases of the two incidents as reported in the newspapers do not accept such practice in any way. What really happened was that two persons imposed their will in the name of religious injunctions. Besides the position of the two persons related to "religious group", through whom the verdicts were given in obedience to religious injunctions, should also be considered. One of them, Moulvi Abdul Mannan is just a 'Dakhil' (class x) passed person, who was a poor and helpless. He lived by the salary paid to him as *Imam* of the mosque. He was completely under the control of Munir Sordor who was the leader of the 'Panchayet'. Even then, at first Moulvi Abdul Mannan had given opinion fatwa') that Nurjahan's second marriage was valid²⁸ but he had to revert it under the pressure of Monir sorder and given 'fatwa' as Monir dictated. It is, therefore, established that Monir's spirit of revenge, lordship and ego was responsible for the suicide of helpless Nurjahan. Moulvi Abdul Mannan was just a 'helpless machine' and religion was used as a shield for Monir's safeguard.

In the Firoza suicide case local madrasah super Abdur Rahim was educated in traditional term. But he was under the total control of U P Chairman Dr. Moslemuddin and Entaj member. He avoided the question of four 'eye witnesses' or he was forced to skip it. He was forced to give the 'fotwa' by Moslemuddin and Entaj who wanted so.

And there is no doubt that a *local political conflict* and revenge taking mentality paved the way for young Firoza to commit suicide. Hence Moulana Abdur Rahim appeared as a supporting factor and the religious injunctions just became a victim.

PROPAGANDA AND SOCIAL REALITY

The people from all walks were deeply shocked by the tragic suicides of Nurjahan and Firoza. At the same time they condemned and hated the criminals involved in these incidents. The people including various social and women organizations stood by the affected families by sending them money and words of sympathy. Many even traveled all the way from Dhaka to Moulvibazar to encourage and support old Ashrafullah, father of Nurjahan, to file a case and lead it to an encouraging end. Similar cooperation was also extended in the case of Firoza²⁹.

These are, no doubt, good news and cause for hopes. But, at the same time, some propaganda was going on which were difficult to accept. The aim of these propaganda was to mislead peoples opinion and drive the issue through wrong channels. For a proper and well-concerted social construction these were unwarranted and, therefore, best rejected. Everyone wanted an exemplary punishment for such atrocious incidents. But a vested quarter picked it up for their motivated use. They have been using Nurjahan's case in an attempt to prove that Islamic laws and Islamic social systems are but medieval barbarism. There has been a lot of writing transposing one's responsibility on others only to denigrate the Ulama, the religious leaders, and in their language, fundamentalists. A section of officials working in the mass media were also engaged in a campaign of slandering the Islamic laws and the Ulama without going for proper investigation and evaluation of the incidents.³⁰ While there were such unwarranted propaganda on the incidents of Nurjahan and Firoza, there were also some good in depth studies in some journals to reveal the truth :

"They are too hasty and imbalanced in their analysis and their aims appear only to denigrate the religious leaders and undermining Islamic laws and justice instead of describing the incident honestly and analyzing it properly to discover the truth. It was just to evaluate the role of the 'Moulana' in this incident in the context of his helpless status and clumsy village politics as depicted in most of the reports on this issue. But unfortunately a section of the analyst failed to

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understand the matter from its true perspective and dissected 'Moulanas are polluting the village of Bangladesh just as the locusts destroy crops. If they cannot be liquidated now, Bangladesh would become a barren land. While the fact remains that poor Madrasah teachers are simply helpless and undone to the unjust order of the local authority. Why the Madrasah teachers alone? All teachers, professionals and even government officials are so helpless today before the Village touts' and people in power. ... Again, these identified analysts do not consider premature love and sex as offence. Rather they praise and encourage it. They cannot understand the devastating situation a young village girl face if she loses her virginity before marriage. Because it involved an universal value. In this incident (the incident of Feroza - the present author) knowing very well the impossibility of marriage on religious ground, the Hindu youth did not miss the opportunity to fornicate Firoza capitalizing her poverty. These analysts do not feel any pang in their conscience to condemn such abhorrent act. ... They do not condemn illegal sex. They condemns those who oppose and call it punishable in accordance with religious injunctions. Yet another matter deserves attention. There are thousand of well-known and highly educated Ulama scattered all over the country. We do not remember if any of them made such fatwa. One or two Moulanas of low level education give such fotwas either under the pressure of the administration or for their own ignorance. If any one gives such *fatwa*, understandably one could be punished after trial under the existing law of the land. It is unjust and illogical to blame the entire Ulama for the act of one Moulana, who in fact was a victim of circumstances?³¹

It is natural that the informed people feel dejected and aghast when they find distorted presentation of a fact they know or are involved. It is essential for all to refrain from misrepresentation, propaganda or motivated publicity of any incident for the greater interest of the society.

Concluding Observations

Analysis of two incidents relating to misuse of religion in rural politics in Bangladesh has been made in this article. Some observation, can be drawn from these studies and analysis :

- (i) The weak and poor people of Bangladesh are subject to various exploitation, deprivation and harassment. In fact, this simple and generalised observation does not require any clarification and instance. In the presented study, Monir Sorder and Entaj member is the portraits of *rural touts and anti- socials* and Moulvi Abdul Mannan-Moulana Abdur Rahim was performing as pawns of those touts. A good number of NGO officials and social workers were indicating the behaviour of Moulvi Abdul Mannan - Mouiana Abdur Rahim as the common feature of whole *Ulama* of Bangladesh. In fact, it is not the reality and none of the renewed *Alim* of Bangladesh is accused for any misleading fotwa untill recently as one of the analysts explained.¹²
- (ii) Religion is used as a shield to ensure control, take revenge and to dominate the *rural politics*, which in fact, is a misuse of religion. The two incidents studied here in this paper can be a good reference of this observation. In both the incidents religion was exploited by the *rural influentials* and again they have used Islam as a shelter to save them.
- (iii) The powerful people in *rural politics* bend the religious group in their interest at their sweet will. In both the incidents the *rural influentials* have forced the religious leaders to act in favor of their wishes. Hence Moulvi Abdul Mannan of Moulvibazar and Mouiana Abdur Rahim of Salkhira is the scapegoats of ill will of concerned rural elites.
- (iv) A section of urban social workers deliberately present, in a distorted manner, the activities of pawns, apparently religious people, of rural touts and anti-socials as the common and general behaviour of whole religious community to denigrate them before the public.

- (v) Some newspapers and magazines play supporting role for those elements who try to denigrate the image of whole Ulama before the general people. In fact, most of the media of Bangladesh use to campaign against the *Ulama* and try to portrait them as fotuabaj with an extreme negative attitude. This media put *Ulama* against the humanity, human rights, gender equality etc. But this is not a fair practice from a fair outlook on the part of Media.
- (vi) The role and activities of this branded social workers and mass media ruin the existing social harmony, make the societal groups hostile against each other, which, inturn, constrain the desired growth and development of the society and the country.

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Nature of Dependency of the Elderly in Bangladesh : A Study of Rajshahi City

DR. AKM SHAFIUL ISLAM

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

From the view-point of socioeconomic conditions, Bangladesh is considered as one of the least developing countries. The average per capita income of vast majority of the population is very low and they maintain life through severe hardship. Due to wide range of poverty and disadvantageous living conditions majority of the elderly are found to be embedded in adverse socioeconomic situation and a variety of health hazards. It has been observed that the overall condition of the elderly is worse than the people of other age group in the same social settings. As a result, the elderly are bound to be dependent upon their family members. Hence, the dependency of the elderly is an important aspect of society. Generally, the lack of resources available to an individual (elderly) ultimately creates dependency. Financial and material resources as well as individual resources (health and somatic ability) are very important factors of security for the elderly. The ever increasing number of elderly in Bangladesh has been turning into a burden both of their families and society as a whole. This is more a prominent feature in the urban areas than rural ones. Normally, economies with high shares of saving rate in the labor force may exhibit high saving rates; conversely, economies with high overall dependency rates may exhibit low saving rates. By applying the econometric estimates to Bangladesh context, one can gauge the partial effects, over time, of expected demographic change on

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private sector savings rate. In the near future of Bangladesh, the youth dependency -ate will decrease and minimal increase would occur in the elderly ratio: The aging population may create significant pressures on economic conditions in Bangladesh. The majority of elderly people in Bangladesh are living in absolute poverty- The elderly suffer from the cumulative effects of a lifetime of deprivation, entering old age in a poor state of health, and without savings or material assets. They are left out of the development process in Bangladesh and consistently lack the means to fulfill their basic needs such as food, clothes, proper housing and health care, and also lack access to resources and income generating opportunities.

Elderly people in Bangladesh are excluded – often systematically – from access to services and support system, justified by the inevitable restrictions of older age and a perceived lack of capacity for contributions and self-help. The neglect of older people in policy is rationalized by traditional values, which are assumed to safeguard the position and care of older people in families and communities. However, support for the elderly by families is threatened by pervasive poverty, and social, economic and demographic changes. These changes in most societies are pushing the elderly to the margins. Poverty and exclusion are the greatest threats to the well-being of older people. This is especially true for older women, who suffer multiple disadvantages resulting from biases of gender, widowhood and old age. So, population aging in our country is becoming a serious burden for our overall development process. So, dependency of the elderly in our society is a fundamental aspect for the future planning and policy in the context of socio-economic development.

Dependency is used as a special concept in the study of aging. It is a multidimensional concept. Making an inventory of the several meanings of dependency shows a common element that dependency always include as negatively evaluated situation or characteristics of an individual. However, dependency may be defined as a situation when an

elderly turn helpless and compelled to rely upon his family/close kins for fulfillment of his basic needs. This 'definition of the situation' may be objectively based or not. Defining dependency on the basis of these elements seems that dependency and independency are related rare types of relationships (Heuvel, 1976).

Dependency can be meant - physical, mental, emotional, cognitive, social, economic and environmental (Heuvel, 1976). Blenker (1969) mentions physical, mental, social and economic. Clark (1969) also mentions six types of dependency : neurotic, crisis, transitional, non-reciprocal role and cultural modality. Meaning of dependency may refer to a practical- almost physical helplessness (economic, physical, weakness, institutional care) which necessitates attention or care by other (Heuvel, 1976). Dependency seems as the inability of an individual to carry out for him or herself the activities necessary to maintain a normative standard of everyday living (Bond, 1976). Normative standards and abnormality are defined by the social context. Dependency also refers to helplessness or powerlessness in a social/personal relationship. It is characterized by receiving 'help' without giving (Hill, 1970, Brody, 1974). Feldman-Summers (1974) states the dependency as a position which forces those of 'lower status' to be dependent on those with a 'high status' for their well-being. Goldfarb (1969) describes that the meaning of dependency is the loss of resources (physical, mental, social and economic) as the beginning of search for help.

A greater dependency predisposition in the older age groups could be explained by a reduced access to resources on the part of the elderly. Individual resources decrease along with reduced physical capacity, and a probable reduction in mental capacity. Because of a negative attitude towards elderly people in our culture and a loss in socio-economic status due to retirement, the social resources are decreasing. Material resources are decreasing because the physical environment to a considerable extent is designed according to the capacity of young, healthy and strong people (Solem, 1976). How passively and dependently the elderly individual

will behave in an actual situation depends, however, not only upon his personality characteristics, but also on characteristics of the actual situation and on the interrelation between the individual resources and the environmental resources (Solem, 1976). Solem (1976) also describes three factors for the dependency of the elderly :

- (1) Diminishing individual, social and material resources through the aging process, creating general expectancies predisposing for dependency and passivity.
- (2) The actual access to individual, social and material resources in the total situation of the aged individual.
- (3) The interrelation between the actual individual resources on the one hand and the accessible environment resources on the other (Weak persons need more resources in the environment than stronger persons).

The mentioned theoretical references are appropriate for the analysis of the elderly dependency in our society. Particularly in Bangladesh, economic dependency is a significant factor for the problem of elderly people. In old-age, the declining work-efficiency or unfitness to be involved in gainful work becomes the root cause for the emergence of this social problem. The economic dependency ratio - which is an important way by which Bangladesh society is affected by age structure has to do with economic activities. The economic dependency ratio is the ratio of the economically inactive population to the economically active population (per 100). The elderly dependency ratio will increase to nearly 27 in 2010 from 9 in 1996 per 100 working age population vis-a-vis increase in the number of the elderly population and the sex ratio will still remain higher in favour of male elderly with a declining tendency (from 116.8 to 107.4) indicating more elderly survive in the future than the male elderly (Abedin, 1996).

AIM OF THE STUDY

The present paper makes an attempt to study the dependency of the elderly from 20 wards in Rajshahi City with a view to portray the contemporary situation of the urban elderly as well as perceiving old age problems in Rajshahi. The main aim, however, is to generate some significant data that might help understanding the problems of aging from various viewpoints.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

This paper is based primarily on the data collected from twenty residential wards in Rajshahi City Corporation in Bangladesh. Apart from structured interviews on the subjects, informal discussion and in-depth interviews were also carried out to collect relevant data. In the present study, a total of 678 elderly from the study area was purposively chosen. Both structured and unstructured questionnaires were used for interviewing these respondents. It may be noted that the age of an elderly in the present study has been considered 60 years and above for historically the people of Bangladesh are poverty stricken and their life expectancy had been very low (27 years), But now it has been improved (60.6 years, World Fact Book, 2001). For longtime they had although been (still today) poor victims of socio-economic deprivations and natural calamities.

DEPENDENCIES OF THE ELDERLY

Evidently, Bangladesh is a least developed and over populated country. Those persons who are aged 60 and over constitute only 7.0% of it total population. While, this percentage is small compared to the developing ones countries like India, Pakistan and other Asian countries. Due to the large size of the population, it represents 7.3 million people. In 1995 the dependency ratio was 8.0% and this ratio will be double (17.3%) by 2025 (IRCB, 2000). The majority of elderly people in our

country are living in absolute poverty. They suffer from the cumulative effects of a lifetime of deprivation, entering old age in a poor health condition or material assets. Poverty declined in the 1990s, but remains widespread throughout the country. Countrywide, 28% of the population lives on less than \$1 a day, and 48% are below the national poverty line. In addition, inequality is very pronounced, with the real GDP per capita for the poorest 20% at \$606, and the richest 20% at \$2,445—a ratio of richest to poorest of 4.0% (IRCB,2000). Although there are no age specific statistics on poverty available, evidence suggests that poverty is more widespread among the elderly. The social security expenditure in GDP is very low (0.02%) in Bangladesh (ILO, 1993) and health expenditure in (%GDP) is also very poor that is total 4.9%, Public 2.3% and private 2.6% (USAID, 2001). So, the statistical evidence shows that the overall conditions of the elderly in Bangladesh are not good enough.

Table – 1
Total Dependency ratios of Bangladesh, 2025

Variants		Fertility	
		High	Med
Low	High	0.501	0.429
	0.375		
	Mortality	0.498	0.458
0.375	Med		
	Low	0.533	0.462
	0.400		
Total Dependency ratios of Bangladesh, 2050			
Variants		Fertility	
		High	Med
Low	High	0.572	0.510
	0.459		
	Mortality	0.579	0.523
0.481	Med		

Table-1 and shows that high fertility and mortality produce the most rapid increase in total dependency in Bangladesh and it also shows that the total dependency will be very high in 2052. Table – 2 also represents that the old-age dependency ratio is increasing significantly and it will be very high in 2050.

Actually, this study want to underline that the dependency of the elderly in Bangladesh follows the theme of reference above like the Western World, though the social structure is different. Normally, the elderly people in the study areas are dependents in the economic, social, physiological and mental terms. It is a social reality in the population structure. Traditionally, the elderly are dependents on their sons, daughter, spouse and other young members in the family. In the letter days of life, both the male and female elderly depend on their sons economically, physiologically and mentally. The condition of dependency of the elderly is not the inevitable outcome of a natural process of again, but is socially structured and hence potentially open to change.

Table – II
 Old-age dependency ratios of Bangladesh, 2000=0.052
 Old-age dependency ratios of Bangladesh, 2025

Variants		Fertility	
		High	Med
Mortality	Low		
	High	0.077	0.080
	0.083		
Mortality	Med	0.081	0.084
	0.083		
	Low	0.091	0.093
	0.095		

Old-age dependency ratios of Bangladesh, 2050

Variants		Fertility	
		High	Med
Mortality	Low		
	High	0.157	0.188
	0.229		
Mortality	Med	0.179	0.213
	0.260		

Source : USAID, 2001

The socio-economic criteria of dependency are devoted to the analysis of the critical condition of the elderly. This stem from the fact that their conditions of living depend on consumption funds produced by the next generation basically income-earning sons. The economic status of the elderly in Bangladesh worsens with the passage of time; at the same time, normally they are non-income earner and the common occurrence of poor health. Generally, the end of occupational activity has

certain consequences: elderly people, as a tradition, do not work; they live in their family as a dependent person and sometimes they are assisted by the family members. They do not participate in the income-generating activities. The latter differentiates them from children. Thus, the elderly are not producers, but consumers only. Moral and formal rights to this consumption stem from their previous work and the ancestor of the family. Socially and traditionally, this indicates the basic pattern of dependency of the elderly upon the next generation. This kind of dependency is natural for children, it is extremely painful for the elderly, who for their whole life have been used to financial independence. This condition rises to the complex situation for the elderly. They are lowered in the social position in comparison to the period of their professional activity. Naturally, financial dependency is essential for the elderly.

In the statistical sense dependency as defined in this study cannot be measured. Dependency can only be used as a means of classifying individuals. Before dependency can be measured two conditions need satisfying. The first is that each dimension be quantifiable. On basis of various dimensions defined here it is possible to develop ordinal scales of mobility, personal self-care, house-care capacity and social isolation. Second, in order to measure dependency some way of quantifying the relative effects of different dimensions would need to be determined. For example, at present there is little evidence to tell us whether it is mental capacity or mobility which has the greatest effect on dependency (Bond, 1976). Economic dependency can be measured nominally. But conceptually the dependency or independency can not be measured by this factor and it can be assessed here by this factor. In this regard, it was assessed that dependency can only be assessed and not measured. The study describes the difficulties of defining this concept objectively in our culture. So, we would try to show the problem of objectivity that might be overcome.

Age Category	Male				Female				Total	
	Independent		Dependent		Independent		Dependent			
	Fq	%	fq	%	fq	%	fq	%		
60 – 64	45	6.6	10	1.5	15	2.2	42	6.2	8.8%	7.7%
65 – 69	126	18.6	55	8.1	20	2.9	86	12.7	21.5%	20.8%
70 – 74	42	6.2	33	4.9	10	1.5	38	5.6	7.7%	10.5%
75 – 79	22	3.2	16	2.4	3	0.4	20	2.9	3.6%	5.3%
80 – 84	31	4.6	39	5.7	5	0.8	20	3	5.4%	8.7%
Total	266	39.2	153	22.6	53	7.8	206	30.4	47.0%	53.0%

Table-3 indicates that 53.0% of the respondents are economically dependent and 47.0% are independent. There is a great variation in the nature and extent of economic dependency of the respondents by age and sex. The female respondents are mostly economically dependent. Only 7.8% of the female respondents are found that they are economically independent. A majority of the male respondents are economically independent and a great majority of the female respondents are economically dependent. Actually, in the tradition of Bangladesh, the age stratification adheres to the religion and culture. For example, the scheme of life of the Muslim, it is associated with honour and respect to the elderly. Such religious dictums give the elderly certain authority, security and honour and enjoin upon their sons to look after them. Failure on the part of son is considered a serious demerit and this does earn social disposition too. Such a system gives economic, social and emotional security to the elderly. In this regard, the respondents of the study feel traditionally that they are not dependent on other family members. This is a moral duty of the family members to look after the elderly in their latter age. But, operationally the findings show that 28.7% of the respondents who are engaged in income-earning activities, are economically and socially independent while 71.3% of the respondents are dependent mainly on their sons.(see table-8).

Table-4
Nature of the economic dependence on their family members

Dependent on persons	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Son	247	68.8
Daughter	10	2.8
Grandson	6	1.7
Wife	2	0.6
Husband	20	5.6
Others	19	5.3
More than one	55	15.3
Total	359	100

According to the tradition of Bangladesh society, the elderly would be dependent economically and socially, mainly on their sons. But psycho-physically, they would be dependent on other family members such as daughter, daughter-in-law, grandson, granddaughter and also aged spouse. In this context, sons are not normally involved to care their aged parents physically. However, the table-5 shows that 26.7% of the respondents (both 14% of male and 12.7% of female) are physically dependent on other family members. The study also observed that this proportion of physically dependent respondents is partly or fully lack of competence for living. In this regard, we could say, some of them are partly disable and others are disable.

Table-5

Age Category	Independent					Dependent				
	Male		Female		Total	Male		Total		
	fq	fq	fq	fq	%	fq	fq	%	%	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
60 - 64										
65 - 69										
70 - 74										
75 - 79										
80 +										
Total										
N=678	Independent (by sex group categories)					Dependent (by sex group categories)				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Female			
	77.3%	66.8%	n ₁		22.7%	33.2%	n ₂ =259			
			=419							

A vast majority (73.3%) of the respondents has informed that they are not physically dependent. But the field observation of this study suggested that the above information of physical dependence is not true. The study rather shows that some way or other the elderly are dependent on other family members. Moreover, the fact is that in our cultural setting an elderly person is considered as respectable member in the family and community. So, generally they receive some sort of

spontaneous help from others. In this context, grandson, granddaughter, daughter-in-law, maiden daughters help the aged parents and grandparents. Here we could say, 73.3% of the respondents are not disabled, but all of them are not fit physically for a standard living. Table-6 indicates that 13.8% of the respondents are cared by the daughters-in-law and 10.5% are cared by their daughter. 51.4% of the respondents informed that they receive physical assistance from at least more than one young family members. In this case, spouse, daughter-in-law and offspring help the elderly normally. In the later days of life, the elderly are afflicted with some sort of health hazard. It is natural that they would have somebody to render help and care during ailments and physical difficulties. According to our culture, family plays the dominant role in care-giving to the elderly.

Table-6
Nature of physical dependency of respondents on other family members

Dependent on persons	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Son	3	1.7
Daughter-in-law	25	13.8
Daughter	19	10.5
Servant	2	1.1
Grandson/Granddaughter	12	6.6
Wife	15	8.3
Others	12	6.6
More than one	93	51.4
Total	181	100.0

Generally, physical dependence depends on health and illness of the elderly. Health and illness affect an individual's performance of basic personal tasks of daily living and the expected social roles. Impairment and disability increase the probability of failure in carrying out personal tasks and social roles. Such failure increases dependency which, particularly for adults, challenges widely shared personal and social expectations and preferences for independence. Moreover, loss of autonomy tends to have a negative effect on self-evaluation and life satisfaction. So, health is an important resource for any individual and a social concern, because performance and functional competence of an individual depends mainly on good health (Shanas and Maddox, 1976).

Table-7

Nature of mental feelings of respondents on the dependency

Nat	N	Female			Total	
		f	f _q	%	f _q	%
Good	20	5.2	20	5.2	40	10.4
Not too Good	79	20.6	115	30.0	194	50.6
Poor	77	20.2	72	18.8	149	39.0
Total	176	46.0	207	54.0	383	100.0

The relationship between chronological age and illness is well-known and well-documented in life tables and epidemiological reports on the distribution of disease and impairment. Chronological age is a basic and the best single general predictor of mortality as indicated death rates; age is also associated with morbidity as indicated by an age-related incidence and prevalence of disease and disability (Shanas and Maddox, 1976). So, the old age is naturally considered as age of dependency. In the later life of older person, their health problems are frequently multiple, including physical, psychological and social components a complex mixture. The observation of this study in this regard, shows that a greater dependency is the natural consequence for the elderly. Naturally, the over all situation of the elderly is also worsened by lack of physical competence, reduced income and non-income earner, disengagement from the social and other activities. In view of these facts the results of this study about dependency are quite significant for the Bangladesh society. The feeling of the dependency can be partly measured by the opinion of the respondents. 383 respondents out of 678 samples opined about the nature of dependency. As per this statement (see table-7) only 10.4% of the respondents feel good, which means that they do not feel neglected within the family. While 39% of the respondents feel ignored and 50.6% reported that their feeling about dependency is not too good. It is indeed a kind of opinion with much reservation. 30.6% of the female respondents belong in this group. In our culture, women are dependent beings in the various stage of their life span on their male members of their own families. In this regard, it can be said that the elderly women somehow feel contended in the existing situation. But a significant number of the female respondents (18.7%) informed that they feel unhappy due to their dependence. In view of such cases hundred per cent dependency of the respondents are thrown in disappear in their later life.

Table-8
Working Position of the Elderly

Age Categories	Working Position						Non-working					
	Male	% n_1 195	% N=678	Female	% n_2 =195	%N =678	Male	% n_1 483	% N =678	Female	% n_2 =483	%N =678
60-64	39	20.0	5.8	13	6.7	2.0	16	3.3	2.4	44	9.1	6.5
65-69	77	39.5	11.4	14	7.2	2.1	10	2.4	15.3	92	19.0	13.6
70-74	24	12.3	3.5	5	2.6	0.7	51	10.6	7.5	43	8.9	6.3
75-79	9	4.6	1.3	2	1.0	0.3	29	6.0	4.3	21	4.4	3.1
80+	11	5.6	1.5	1	0.5	0.1	59	12.3	8.8	24	5.0	3.5
	160	82.0	23.5	35	18.0	5.2	259	53.6	38.3	224	46.4	33.0
Working position $n_1=195$						Non-working Position $n_2=483$						

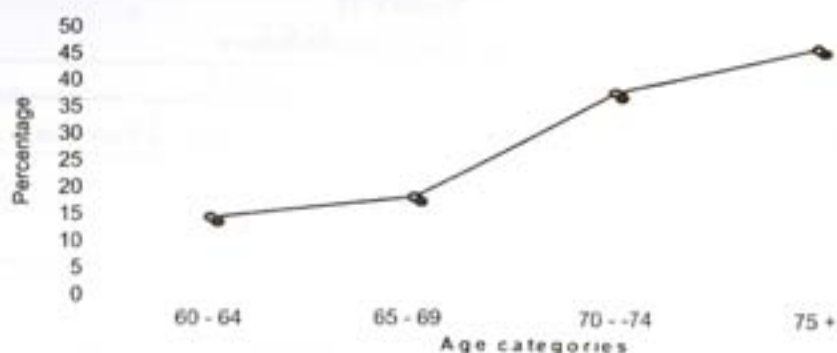


Figure-1: Dependency trend in old age

Table-10

Means, Standard Deviation and Intercorrelations of variables under study

Variables ^a	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
	1.53	.50	1.000					
	69.65	7.44	.089*					
	1.3	.49	.423*	-.102**	1.000			
	2.0	.69	.300*	.194**	.227*	1.000		
	2.29	.84	.724*	.185**	.487*	.355*	1.00	
	1.73	.72	.437*	.138**	.308*	.345*	.465	1.00

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

- ^b
1. Dependency of the elderly (1= independent, 2= dependent)
 2. Age
 3. Gender (1= male, 2= female)
 4. Health Status (1=good, 2=not too good, 3=poor)
 5. Position in income-earning conditions (1=Income-earner
2= Partial income-earner, 3= Non-income-earner)
 6. Position in the family (1=good, 2=moderate, 3= poor)

Table – 11
Variables Processing Summary

Variables	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Dependent of the elderly	Independent	321	47.35
	Dependent		
Gender	Male	419	61.80
	Female	259	39.20
Health Status	Good	138	20.35
	Not too good	351	51.77
	Poor	189	27.88
Position in the Family	Well	294	43.36
	Moderate	274	40.41
	Poor	110	16.23
Position in Income-earning condition	Income-earner	170	25.07
	Partial income-earner	144	21.24
	Non income-earner	364	53.69
Valid Cases	678	100.00	

Table – 12
Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept	828.152			
Final	349.982	478.170	42	.000

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Smell	.506
Nagelkerke	.675
Mc Fadden	.510

Table - 13

Likelihood Ratio Tests

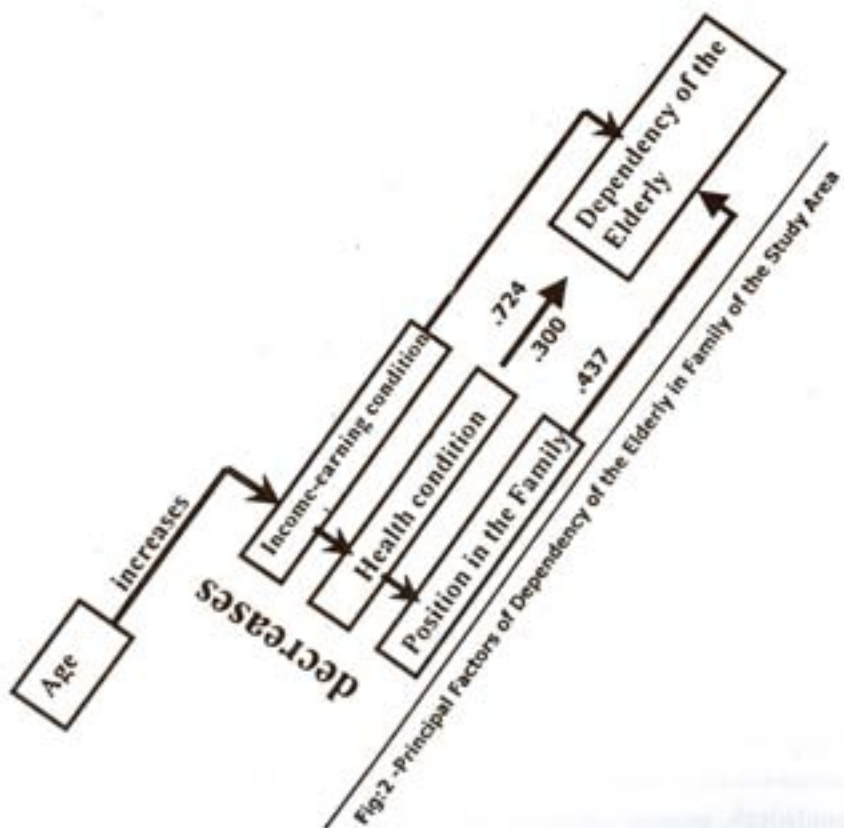
Effect	-Log likelihood Reduced Model	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept	349.982 ^a	.000	0	
Age	376.779 ^a	26.798	35	.838
Gender	352.077 ^a	2.095	1	.148
Health Status	350.796 ^a	.814	2	.666
Position in the Family	364.421 ^a	14.439	2	.001
Position in Income- earning conditions	558.440 ^a	208.459	2	.000

^a Unexpected singularities in the Hessian matrix are encountered. There may be a quasicomplete separation in the data. Some parameter estimates will tend to infinity.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study hypothesized that the age of the elderly, gender, health status, position in income-earning conditions, position in the family are differentially related to the dependency of the elderly. Income-earning conditions and health status are positively related to the dependency of the elderly. Of course there are some other variables but they are not directly related (see the table-10, 11, 12 and 13). The Reliability Analysis (**Alpha Scale**) for the dependency of the elderly and position in the income-earning conditions are $N=678$ and $\alpha = .777$. So, in the context of Bangladesh, income-earning condition is a prime factor for the nature of dependency of the elderly. From the logistic regression analysis, we can find out that the dependent variable 'dependency of the elderly' of the

analysis is dichotomous variable representing the independent position and dependent position in the family. Scaling of the variable is independent=1 and dependent=2 (scaling fitting is valid; because when the scale fitting for dependency level 7,9,11,12 etc. the result of the calculation is giving the same result). Table-3a and table-3b reveal that position in the family and position in income-earning conditions have a significant direct effect on dependency of the elderly but other independent variables of this study have also indirect effect on dependency of the elderly in Rajshahi City.



CONCLUSION

Generally, human being is dependent on natural circumstance. But, both dependency and independency are consequences of our values and norms. This study led us to the assumption that low access to resources and declining health status, which increases with age, make older people dependent on institutions. This study also shows significantly that dependency creates a negative situation for the elderly in our culture. Generally, dependency of the elderly places them in lower socioeconomic position and vulnerable health status. It is extremely painful for the elderly male, who for their whole life have been used to financial independence. But it is not so much painful for the elderly female in our society. Because women in our society are all through dependent on men and they are accustomed to bear such stressed and pain from the moment of their birth to death. We were aware of these difficulties and just such considerations made us try to formulate the idea of the dependency in the present study.

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Spatiotemporal Trends and Anomalies in Surface Air Temperature at some Selected Stations of Punjab – Pakistan

SAFDAR ALI SHIRAZI

INTRODUCTION

The chief elements of atmosphere, which influence the human life on the earth, are the temperature, pressure, precipitation, clouds and humidity. Present study is based on temperature as a variable in the climate of Punjab. Temperature in many parts of the world is subjected to wide extreme and sudden changes. For many Asian countries with annual temperature greater than 20°C-25°C the projected temperature increase of 10°C by the year 2025 would be of minor importance especially because it is expected that the temperature increase will be greater with increasing distance from equator. The 1990's were the warmest decade and 1998 the warmest year in the instrumental record, since 1861. New analyses of proxy data for the Northern Hemisphere indicate that the increase in temperature in the 20th century is likely to have been the largest of any century, during the past 1,000 years. Because fewer data are available, less is known about annual averages prior to 1,000 years before the present. On the average, between 1950 and 1993 night time daily minimum air temperatures over land increased by about 0.2°C per decade.

This is twice the rate of increase in daytime daily maximum air temperatures (0.1 °C per decade). Since the start of the satellite record in 1979, both satellite and weather balloon measurements show that the

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global average temperature of the lowest 8 kilometers of the atmosphere has changed by $+0.10^{\circ}\text{C} \pm 0.05$ per decade, but the global average surface temperature has increased by $+0.15 \pm 0.05^{\circ}\text{C}$ per decade. The record shows a great deal of variability; for example, most of the warming occurred during the 20th century, during two periods, 1910 to 1945 and 1976 to 2000. It has been noticed (Houghton et al; 1990,1992) that the global surface air temperature has increased by $0.3\text{-}0.6^{\circ}\text{C}$ during the 20th century. However relatively small changes in mean temperature can have effect on the frequency for the extreme level of the available warmth, the number of very hot days, which can cause damaging heat stress. Several studies of the temperature recorded in the past century have been reported for the world. According to Peterson and Vose (1997) warming of the northern hemisphere between 1880 and 1940 and cooling between 1940 and 1950 have been recorded. A general warming during the past century has also been reported by Hansen *et; al* (1997) but the conclusion is uncertain because of sparse data. It is noted by Watts *et; al* (1987) that the surface air temperature studies are more or less inhomogeneous in space and time. World Climate News 2004 also reported that year 1998 to 2003 were the warmest on the record and this warming was mainly due to the increase in minimum temperature.

TABLE-1

Network of Meteorological Stations in Punjab-2003

No	Name of Station	Latitude	Longitude	Elevation / Height a.m. s.L
1.	Bahawal Nagar	29°20'	73°51'	16 1.05 meter
2.	Bahawal Pur	29°20'	71°47'	11 0.00 meter
3.	Bahawal Pur (A.P)	29°23'	71°41'	11 7.00 meter
4.	Faisalabad	31°26'	73°08'	185.6 meter
5.	Jhelum	32°56'	73°44'	287. 19 meter
6.	Khanpur	28°39'	70°41'	88.41 meter
7.	Lahore (A.P)	31°35'	74°24'	216.15 meter
8.	Lahore (PBO)	31°33'	74°20'	2 14.00 meter
9.	Multan	30°12'	71°26'	12 1.95 meter
10.	Mandibahauddin	32°58'	73°48'	252.97 meter
11.	Sialkot	32°31'	74°32'	255.1 meter
12.	D.G. Khan	30°03'	70°38'	148.1 meter
13.	D.G. Khan I(Aeromet)	30°03'	73°38'	148.1 meter
14.	Jhang	31°16'	72° 19'	156.69 meter
15.	Mangla	33°04'	73°38'	283.3 meter
16.	Rahim Yar Khan	28°26'	70° 19'	82.93 meter

Source : Pakistan Meteorological Department-2003

CHARACTERISTICS

A fairly wide spread surface temperature observation network over Punjab is available for almost a century. However, owing to spatial and temporal inhomogeneity, the present research pertaining to spatial average temperature data have been used since 1973. Punjab is leading province in term of population and agriculture production. Most of the area comprises of level plain and all this area formed by the Indus and its tributaries. The climate of Punjab is continental with marked temperature fluctuations both seasonal and regional with significant aridity. The winter season starts in November and lasts till the end of March. January is the coldest month of season.

The temperature decreases from south to north, the mean maximum temperature ranges 18°C at Rawalpindi to 21 °C at Bahawalpur. Sometime the area has to face the western disturbances that originate in the Mediterranean Sea, travel across Afghanistan and Iran then reach the areas of Punjab. The summer season starts in April and last till October. June is the hottest month of the season. In most parts of the province, particularly in the southern side high temperature and aridity are the main characteristics of this season. The hill station of Murree in Rawalpindi district has comparatively low temperatures and due to pleasant weather serves as tourist resort. A transitional belt of comparatively higher range of temperate molds central Punjab,(the district of Sahiwal, Faisalabad, Lahore, Sheikhpura, Sargodha and adjacent parts of Jhang) Both the summer and winter rains show progressive increase when compared with Multan region. In the Lahore region the summer rainy season becomes longer winter rains increase towards the west Sargodha in the north of Sindh, Sagar Doab has an average annual rainfall of 767 millimeters. In the southwest Punjab, Multan is the prominent region. Here the annual rainfall is from 115-427 millimeters. Multan station respectively gives about 233 millimeters of annual rainfall. The western part of the Punjab is known as Thai, this region is between Jhelum, Chenab and Indus and is an arid desert toward the southeast of the Punjab while it lies in hot and dry desert of Bahawalpur region.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Weather data pertaining to temperature were collected from Pakistan Meteorological Department from 1973 to 2003 to generate monthly weather indices, which were used to represent the condition of past thirty years variation. All indices were derived from observation of monthly mean maximum and mean minimum air temperature. Missing meteorological data has been interpolated by the arithmetical mean method. Analysis of meteorological parameters is first step in analyzing the data, which has been transformed in the temperature anomalies series. Anomalies have been calculated on the monthly bases from the period 1973- 2003 and trends have also been shown with the help of trend line. In order to find the anomalies in temperature during the period under study the arithmetic mean is used which is defined as the average and is computed as the sum of all the observed outcomes from the sample divided by the total number of events. We use \bar{x} as the symbol for the sample mean and is computed by following formula.

$$\bar{x} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n x_i$$

Where n = total number cases & $i = 1$ to n
 X = Temperature of the selected station.

RESULTS

In order to study the temperature trends in annual records a study of surface air temperature recorded over the period from 1973- 2003 at selected weather stations located in six cities of Punjab (Fig.1), have been analyzed. The climatic variables at these stations have been studied by computing annual anomalies. Following is a summary review of the findings at the selected stations in the Punjab.

Analysis of annual mean maximum and minimum temperature anomalies and trend at Sialkot station and trend per decade has been observed for maximum temperature as 0.03°C and for minimum temperature 0.24°C . Which has been presented in table 2 .At Sialkot station maximum increase and decrease have been found as 1.3°C in 2002 and -1.5°C in 1997 in annual maximum temperature. This has also been shown in fig.2. Annual mean minimum temperatures also have significant variations which was found till 2003 in maximum temperature and maximum decrease -1.2°C in 1975 which has been depicted in fig 2. At Lahore station trend per decade for mean maximum and minimum temperature is found to be 0.01°C and 0.63°C respectively (Table 2). At Lahore maximum increase and decrease in maximum temperature has been recorded as 1.1°C in 1987 and -1.1°C in 1983 respectively. In mean minimum temperature maximum increase and decrease has been noticed 1.7°C in 2002 and -1.4°C in 1983(Fig. 2). At Sargodha trend per decade has indicated -0.09°C for maximum temperature and 0.64°C for minimum temperature (Table2). At Sargodha maximum increase and decrease has been found 1.2°C in 1999 and -0.2°C in 1997 respectively. In mean minimum temperature maximum increase has been found 1.2°C in 1999 and decrease in next years but significant as compare to last decade and maximum decrease has been noticed -1.5°C in 1997 while continues increasing trend was found after 1989. At Faisalabad trend per decade for maximum and minimum temperature was 0.01°C and 0.05°C respectively, maximum increase and maximum decrease in mean maximum temperature, from 1999 to 2002 has shown a continuous significant variability as compared to the last

decades. (Table 2 & Fig.2) At Multan trend per decade for mean maximum and mean minimum temperature is 0.02°C and 0.15°C respectively. Which has been shown in table 3. At Multan again show significant increase from 1999 to 2002 in mean maximum temperature. Mean minimum temperature variations very significant in last decade from 1999 to 2002. At Bahawalpur trend per decade for mean maximum and mean minimum temperature has been shown in table 1a, which is 0.21°C and 0.43°C respectively. Mean maximum temperature increase again has been noticed from 1999 to 2002 and maximum decrease has been observed as -0.9°C in 1997 and mean minimum temperature maximum increase was found as 0.9°C in 2002.

TABLE : 2

Trend Per Decade for Annual Mean Maximum and Mean Minimum Temperatures at Some Selected Stations of Punjab 1973 – 2003

STATION	TREND PER DECADE	
	Max.Tempt.	Min.Tempt.
Lahore	0.01°C	0.63°C
Sialkot	0.03°C	0.24°C
Faisalabad	0.01°C	0.05°C
Sargodha	-0.09°C	0.64°C
Multan	0.02°C	0.31°C
Bahawalpur	0.21°C	0.43°C

Source: Pakistan Meteorological Department 2003

TABLE : 3

**Annual Mean Maximum Temperature Anomalies at Some Selected
Stations of Punjab 1973 - 2003.**

TEMPERATURE VARIABILITY IN °C

Years	Sialkot	Lahore	Sargodha	Multan	Faisalabad	Bahawalpur
1973	-0.1	0.3	-0.1	-0.3	-0.3	0.5
1974	0.4	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.8
1975	-0.4	0.1	0.1	-0.2	-0.8	-0.1
1976	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	1.3	0.1
1977	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.9
1978	0.2	-0.1	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.1
1979	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	1.1	0.0
1980	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.7
1981	0.0	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.8
1982	-0.8	-0.9	-0.6	-0.6	-1.3	-0.5
1983	-1.1	-1.3	-0.5	-0.8	-1.4	-0.8
1984	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	-0.2	-0.1
1985	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.7	0.3	0.3
1986	-0.1	-0.6	-0.7	-0.4	-0.8	-0.4
1987	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.6
1988	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.7	1.1
1989	0.4	-0.2	-0.3	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4
1990	-0.2	-0.4	-0.3	0.0	-0.2	0.2
1991	-0.2	-0.5	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	0.1
1992	-0.1	-0.6	-1.2	-1.0	-0.8	-0.4
1993	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.5	1.1
1994	0.2	0.2	-0.4	-0.4	0.1	0.2
1995	-0.2	0.0	-0.4	-0.4	0.0	0.0
1996	-0.3	-0.4	-0.6	0.0	-0.1	0.3
1997	-2.2	-1.5	-2.0	-1.7	-1.8	-0.9
1998	-0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.6
1999	0.4	0.7	1.2	0.6	0.8	1.1
2000	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.2
2001	-0.1	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.2
2002	0.4	1.3	0.7	0.9	0.9	2.0
2003	-0.8	-0.4	-0.4	0.1	0.0	1.0

Source: Pakistan Meteorological Department 2003.

Figure 1 Annual Mean Maximum Temperature Anomalies at Some Selected Stations of Punjab 1973 -2003.

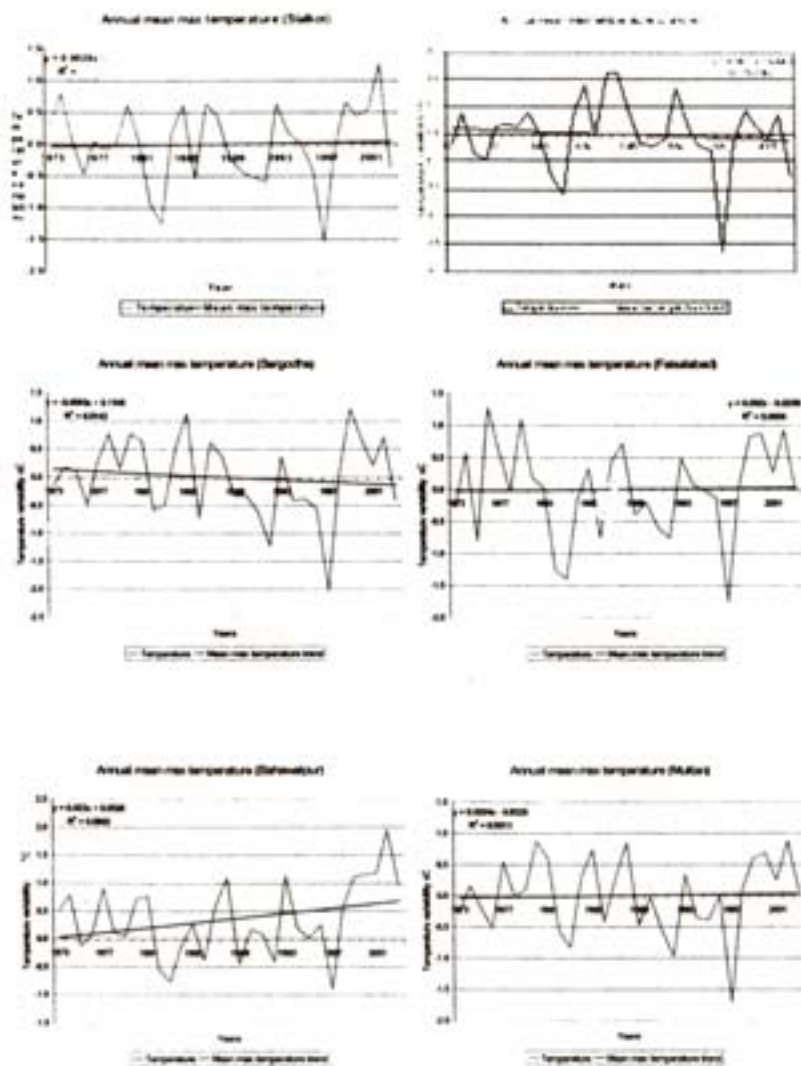


TABLE : 4

Annual Mean Minimum Temperature Anomalies at Some
Selected Stations of Punjab 1973 - 2003.

TEMPERATURE VARIABILITY °C

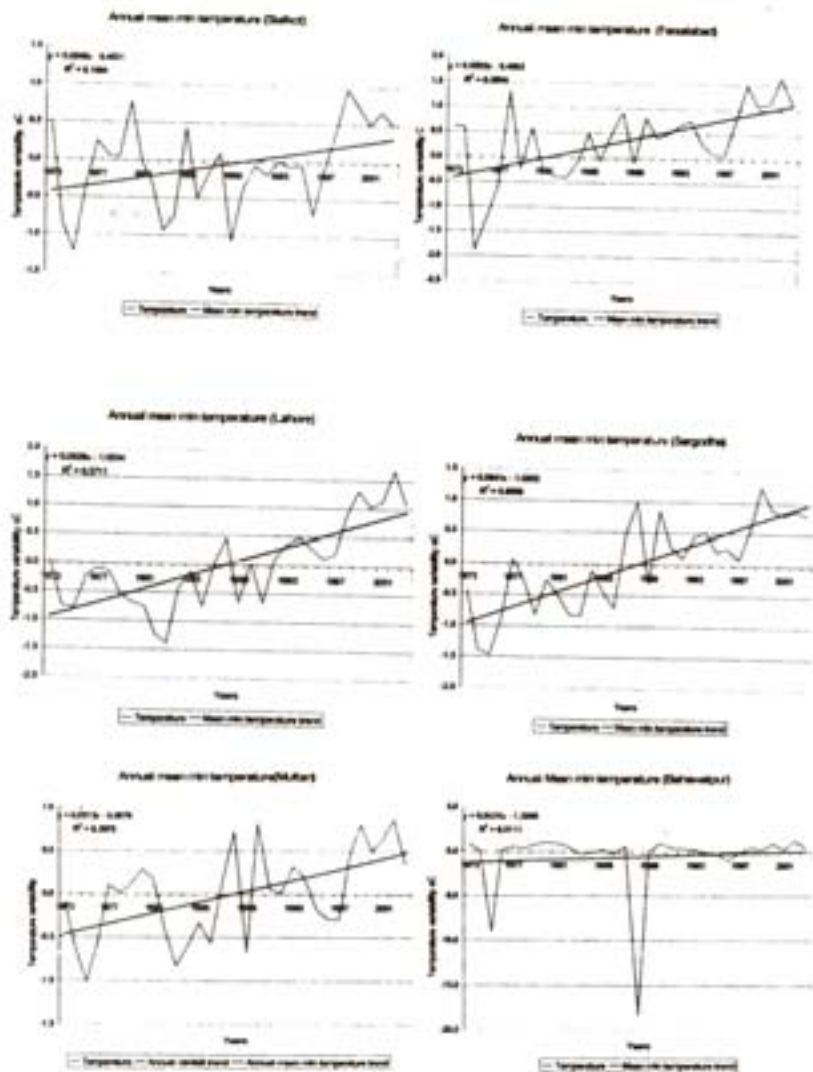
Year	Sialkot	Lahore	Sargodha	Multan	Faisalabad	Bahawalpur
1973	0.5	0.0	-04	-01	0.6	0.8
1974	-09	-08	-14	-06	0.6	0.0
1975	-12	-08	-15	-10	-19	-01
1976	-04	-02	-09	-06	-12	0.2
1977	0.3	-01	0.1	0.1	-06	0.6
1978	0.1	-01	-03	0.0	1.3	0.4
1979	0.0	-06	-08	0.1	-02	0.8
1980	0.8	-07	-03	0.3	0.6	1.0
1981	0.0	-07	-05	0.2	-03	0.9
1982	-03	-12	-08	-04	-04	0.5
1983	-09	-14	-08	-08	-04	-03
1984	-07	-04	-01	-06	-01	-01
1985	0.4	-01	-04	-03	0.5	0.2
1986	-05	-07	-07	-06	-01	-03
1987	-02	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.6
1988	0.1	0.5	1.0	0.7	0.9	-03
1989	-1.1	-07	-03	-07	-01	-01
1990	-04	0.0	0.9	0.8	0.8	1.0
1991	-01	-07	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.4
1992	-02	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.3
1993	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.2
1994	-01	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.8	-02
1995	0.0	0.3	0.2	-02	0.3	-04
1996	-07	0.1	0.3	-03	0.1	-10
1997	-01	0.2	0.1	-03	0.1	-01
1998	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.4
1999	1.0	1.3	1.2	0.8	1.5	0.2
2000	0.7	1.0	0.9	0.5	1.1	0.9
2001	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.6	1.1	0.2
2002	0.7	1.7	0.9	0.9	1.6	1.2
2003	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.3	1.1	0.5

Source: Pakistan Meteorological Department 2003.

Figure-2

Annual Mean Minimum Temperature Anomalies at Some Selected Stations of Punjab 1973-2003

Annual mean minimum temperature (Faisalabad)



CONSEQUENCES

Significant increasing trend rates in annual minimum temperature within the Punjab lie in the ranges of 0.05°C to 0.64°C per decade. Which shows that increase in minimum temperature is the major reason in increasing the temperature because this trend per decade ranges between -0.01°C to 0.21°C as warmest years during the 1973 to 2003 has been observed in the time period of 1999 to 2003 at the selected stations of Punjab. This climatic change induced consequences and impacts on Punjab-Pakistan can be the gradual rise in temperature may lengthen the growing season in Punjab due to higher temperatures, reduce soil moisture, alter growth patterns (with accelerated growth early in the season and reduced periods for grain filling), affect the partitioning and quality of biomass, effect pests and diseases, and entail spatial shifts of agriculture. The most important consequences of projected temperature change for agriculture would stem from higher evapo-transpiration primarily as a result of higher temperatures of air and land surface. In the hot climate of Punjab-Pakistan, cereal crops are already at the margin of stress. An increase of 2.5°C in average temperature would translate into much higher ambient temperatures in the wheat planting and growing stages. Higher temperatures may also lead to higher rates of evaporation and therefore reduced moisture availability, which is expected to affect yields of root crops and grasslands. The main impacts of temperature change on the forestry sector are likely to be due to the latitudinal and altitudinal shifts in ecological zones. The tree species, not getting enough time to migrate, might get stressed. Unique and endangered forest ecosystems such as found on the high altitude areas of the province is already suffering from over-felling for timber, fuelwood, and forage. Effects induced by temperature change could further increase the stress. Due to increase in the overall temperature, the resulting floods could destroy the irrigation infrastructure, and crops, especially cotton. Cotton, planted in June-July, is extremely susceptible to field flooding in early stages of growth. This would be detrimental to the economy as cotton is the main cash crop of Punjab-Pakistan. The scenario of an increased

frequency of flood events has other potentially serious consequences. A significant share of the population lives in low-lying flood plains of the Punjab province. Seasonal flooding and concomitant damage to infrastructure and crops, and loss of human life may be of regular occurrences. With explosive population growth in the province, the increased frequency of extreme flooding events is likely to further aggravate the effects of the seasonal floods. The effect of temperature change on water resources is expected to be significant. In general, increase in temperature would not only increase water demand because of higher evaporation rates, but may also increase rainfall due to additional moisture supplied to the clouds because of higher evaporation from the sea surface. Similarly, increased rainfall may cause increase in magnitude of floods. Temperature change is expected to have significant impacts on agriculture. Potential impacts, which were explored in the sector study, were potential vulnerability of crops to heat stress, possible shifts in spatial boundaries of crops, changes in productivity potential, changes in water availability and use, and changes in land use systems. The projected increase in temperature by 2050 would reduce the growing season length and productivity of all the three cropping systems, but might provide more time for preparation of land for the next crop and have implications for land use in agriculture. Pakistan-Punjab has a low institutional and financial capacity to adapt to climatic changes; therefore improving the adaptation capability should be of the highest priority at this stage. Suggested adaptation strategies for Pakistan will have to concentrate on reducing vulnerability to current climatic events, as well as adopting policies for ensuring long-term ecological and human development. In Pakistan, the agriculture sector has taken some adaptive measures. However, farmers need support both technically and financially to adapt with rapidly changing climatic conditions and pressures due to extreme weather events. The forestry sector is very vulnerable to climate change as far as forest distribution, composition and productivity are concerned. Climate /temperature change scenarios and impacts on forest biomes may require changes in forest management.

Suggested adaptation strategies for the forestry sector are Pest Control, Changes in Species and Varieties, Preservation of Watersheds etc;

RECOMMENDATIONS

Keeping in view the possible adverse impacts of spatiotemporal change in surface air temperature over the Punjab and the gravity of the problem, the study recommends the following precautions to be adopted and implemented by the policy makers :

- 1) There is a need for assistance in improving socio-economic scenarios, monitoring, and assessing the relationships of temperature/climate change impacts, of extreme weather events and climate variability events.
- 2) There is a need for enhancing existing methodologies and capacities to undertake integrated assessment of climate/temperature change impacts in different sectors.
- 3) There is a very limited understanding at present of analyzing weather. The extreme weather events occurring periodically in the province as well as in Pakistan are due to climatic change or natural variability in climate.
- 4) Punjab's economy being so heavily dependent on agriculture requires that necessary capacity be built in the province to understand the implications of climate change on agriculture.
- 5) Limitations of data and global circulation models may require specific interventions to address these deficiencies in future. There is a strong need for improving information sharing, education and training, technical and scientific research in order to articulate an effective adaptation plan.

- 6) There is a need for identifying appropriate technologies for adaptation well suited to local conditions and builds on the indigenous knowledge of the area.
- 7) The need for a functional and independent Climate Change Cell under the Ministry of Environment has long been recognized. This cell would coordinate all climate change activities at the Ministry of Environment and ensure that climate change issues are addressed in various policies of the Government.
- 8) Enhancing capacity to prepare projects and programs in the temperature change area.
- 9) Enhancing the provincial capacity for policy formulation and planning and integration of climate change concerns into various activities of the government is a recognized limitation for which adequate financial and technical support is required.
- 10) Enhancing technical capabilities, and improving infrastructure and equipment for better data collection and monitoring, to enable development and maintenance of proper databases.
- 11) There is also a need for establishing and upgrading stations for systematic observation of the temperature and associated climate system.
- 12) Enhancing the analytical capacity of experts, policy-makers and decision-makers to better understand the linkages and interactions that exist between political and technical dimensions of climate change.
- 13) Promoting the participation of key stakeholders, such as public and private sectors, non-governmental organizations, academia scientific and technical personnel as well as local communities.

- 14) Raising public awareness and incorporating climate change issues into national formal education systems at all levels in order to facilitate effective implementation of climate change measures.

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The Role of Press as A Pressure Group and the Place of Islam in the Constitution of Pakistan (1947-54)

ABDUL RAUF

The political process of a country can be understood properly through its political institutions such as legislature, executive, judiciary, constitution, political parties, political culture and behaviour of the people. However, neither of the above mentioned can give us a complete picture of the political process unless we should also study different elements, factors and interest groups influencing policy making in the political system. In interest groups each has its own aims and objectives and its own way for the articulation of demands. According to David Truman, "an interest group is every group that is based on one or more shared attitudes and makes certain claims upon other groups or organisation in the society".¹

Thus interest group is a collection of more than two people who interact on the basis of a common shared concern. When interest group goes one step further and turn to the political system to press its demands, it becomes a political interest group or a pressure group.²

Pressure groups one way or another highlight different problems and intensity of the problem to the attention of public. The task, which these pressure groups set for themselves, is to gain leverage over what government does and to influence public policy. The term used for this

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process of influence is "going access". It covers a wide range of phenomenon. Including a group is simply able to convince a policy maker to listen to its arguments or that the group establishes a regular relationship with the policy makers, in which the pressure group provide information, guidance or even instruction to the legislator or administrator. Sometime it means that a group becomes "institutionalised" into the policy process. Access may also mean that pressure groups own the policy makers through an established pattern of bribery and corruption and perhaps blackmail and intimidation.

The degree of access a group has, and the kinds of access depend upon the power of the pressure group. The answers to the question, how powerful are they? is difficult.

Sometime the public policy is not entirely and solely a product of the groups struggle; but at the same time it is also not completely free of the influences of the pressure group.

Interest groups are classified, according to the degree of organisation, field of interest, style of articulation and location of activities. According to Almond, there are four types of interest "articulation structures" or "interest groups", (i) associational interest groups (ii) institutional interest groups (iii) non-associational interest groups and (iv) anemic interest groups³.

The present study is related to an associational interest group i.e. press. However the study does not comprise the interests concerning to the press e.g. salary of the workers, prices of paper, freedom of the press, access to information etc for which the press usually strives. The role of press is evaluated in the process of constitution making just after the creation of Pakistan. The purpose is to determine whether and to what extent the output (constitution making) of the Pakistani political system during 1947-54 were related to and controlled by the input (press).

During the period of the study (1947-54), Pakistan was under a democratic parliamentary system. The constituent Assembly was elected in the 1945-46 election. Though the franchise was not based on the adult population, however, it was larger than the 1937 election (10-13% of the population). In the 1945-46 election not more than 15% of the population was allowed to participate in the election.⁴ The head of state was governor-general who drew his power and functions from the Indian Act 1935. The Act was adapted as a temporary legal document to run the government of Pakistan. The head of government was Prime Minister who had less power than the Governor General. During this period the press acted as one of the most important forum for the articulation of public opinion, because during this period political parties were not organised. The only organised mass political party i.e. Muslim League was more involved in government. Its internal differences distorted its image and in 1954 election in Bengal it performed extremely poorly⁵. In such a situation the press did try to facilitate the articulation of latent information somewhat independently. It thus made possible a relatively free flow of information from the public to the government and in the reverse order, from output to input again.⁶

POLICY MAKING PROCESS AND THE PRESS

The policy making processes shows that no generalisation can be made that how far the press influenced the policy makers. The role of Press is different from country to country. In U.S.A and European countries it may have more influences, mostly representing the public opinion while the press in third world may be different, because of certain restrictions on them. It can be said that the press does not influence the details of most policies but it does set limits within which the policy makers must operate. Public officials will try to satisfy a widespread demand, or atleast will keep it in their deliberation and they will try to avoid decisions which will make more problems for the government. Press is seems to be more effective in inferring the policy makers on local issues in a country like Pakistan.

PRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION MAKING DURING 1947-58

In the second quarter of 20th century the Muslims of South Asia felt a threat to their identity, culture, civilisation and religion from the non-Muslims. In the year 1940, they reached to the conclusion that a separate homeland for the Muslim is the only solution to safeguard their religious, political and economic interests. Muslim League became successful in popularising the demand of Pakistan among Muslim masses in 1940s. Their main argument was their separate religious identity. They asserted that Muslims were and are a separate nation in India and there must be, a land for Muslim. They need a separate state where they will be free to profess their faith, to protect their culture and by and large to live individually and collectively according to the teachings of Islam. Muslims had majority in certain parts of India, which made the case of a separate homeland stronger. Quaid-i-Azam, leader of the Muslims pleaded the case and become successful in the creation of a separate homeland comprising North West and North West of India.

After the establishment Pakistan a fierce controversy started on the question of the nature of state. The main issue was the place of religion in the constitution of Pakistan. Different views or groups involved in the process may roughly be categorised in four important trends; traditionalist, modernist, fundamentalist and secularist⁷.

The traditional view was almost that of the ulama, the modernist view was held by most of the politician, the fundamentalist comprised *Jamui'ut-i-Islimi*. The secularists were small in number, bin powerful⁸ Most of them were highly westernised and some of them occupied important position in civil service and military.

Press is the oldest and the best-developed part of mass media, partly because of the traditional Islamic audience awarded to the written word. It is also the most influential medium, though the ratio of newspapers

was lower than other countries. Newspapers like *Comrade, Zaminidar and al-Hilal* played an important role in the Muslims freedom struggle. The editor of *Comrade and al-Hilal*, Mawlana Mohammed Ali Jawhar remained a symbol of courage and spirit for the entire freedom movement. He and the editor of *Zaminidar*, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan faced enormous hardships in the hands of British Indian government including internment and frequently closer of their papers. In Pakistan movement, newspapers and journals owned by Muslims supported the demand for Pakistan more vigorously. In fact it was created and nurtured to serve as an instrument for popularising and propagating the plea of Muslim League and to promote the realisation of the dream of separate homeland for the Muslims of subcontinent. The nature of the task (*i.e.* getting separate country while Hindus and the British were opposing it) forced the press to adopt a crusading style, which was sometime not close to objective and investigating journalism.⁹ Thus having a splendid history, press was expected to play its role in the constitution making also. Press, boldly and independently projected the views of the above mentioned groups. They selected items, which certainly reflected and shaped the agenda of politics in the newly established slate of Pakistan. In these newspapers articles were designed to raise and resolve issues through open discussion. By publishing the letters of readers/newspapers provided an opportunity to the common people to participate in discussion and express their views on different issues and thus widening the political communication between the government and people. However, it is only editorials of newspapers, which represented the policy of the newspaper, and thus became the central focus of the present study.

After the establishment of Pakistan the people expected an Islamic constitution. The constitution-making process was delayed due to certain elite, who was not in favour of a constitution made on Islamic principles. People started demanding an Islamic constitution for Pakistan. Mawlana Mawdudi urged the Constituent Assembly to declare that; Pakistan believed in the supreme sovereignty of God, with the state being no more than His

agent. He also demanded that *Shairiah* be declared as basic law of the land; that all existing laws conflicting with the *Sharicah* be repealed and an assurance be given that no such law which were in conflict with *Shairiah* will be framed in future¹⁰. *Jamiat-ul-Ulaima-i-Islam* was another religio-political party founded by Mawlana Shabir Ahmed Uthmani, which demanded Islamic constitution in Pakistan. Some of the people mostly westernised educated who had no knowledge in religious disciplines showed reservations about the concept of an Islamic State. The secular elements opposed the idea of Islamic State. They forwarded the following views; that the demand of the establishment of Islamic state is the demand of the establishment of semi *mullah* and semi monarchical government and that Islam in the latter period was degraded by monarchy and *mullah*. They asserted that opposition to the Islamic constitution is necessary because it was originated by *mullahs* and supported by *mullahs* who are unaware of the requirements of modern times¹¹. Commenting on the views of the above group daily *Jcing* wrote that the need of the idea of Islamic constitution in itself is that of the establishment of Pakistan.

جو خود بڑھ کر اٹھالے سا غر و مینا اسی کا ہے۔

Pakistan was demanded on the slogan of Islam. The condemnation of the demand of the Islamic constitution is the negation of the whole Pakistan movement. It further asked if we, the people of Pakistan, by establishing a new government and society cannot solve the problems of humanity then there was no need for the creation of a new state. The paper described a doom picture neither of the world and the complexities of humanity, which can neither be solved by communism nor by capitalism. A religion and that is Islam can only solve it.

The paper further explained that among the Muslim countries, Pakistan should come forward and fill this gap and present solution of human problems. Some people are worried that Islam is fourteen centuries old and how it could solve the problems of modern time. The paper asserted that

Islam is for the unlimited time. So the lack of every detail of a limited period is quite possible. Now it is the task of the competent persons who should bring the details in the light of the given principles. Although Mawlana Mawdudi and Mohammed Asad¹² have put their draft of the Islamic constitution, however if the government doesn't agree, then they should brought out their own formula. At the end the paper suggested that, the best available individuals and different schools of thought should be asked for help and for this help a conimitice should be appointed.¹³

In various articles and statements an Islamic state was defined as an 'ideological state' and thus "fundamentally different' from every other state. In such a state, sovereignty belong to Allah and not to human beings; hence it could be governed only by divine law as revealed in the holy Qur'an; there was no room for purely man-made laws in an Islamic state. The Qur'an laid down in detail certain positive injunctions and prohibitions which had got to be incorporated in to the country's legal code without any fundamental change. However, since Qur'an did not constitute a complete legal code, being a book of values and fundamental principles, the legislature in an Islamic state could frame certain laws for its citizens within the framework of Qur'anic principles. As such, the membership of such legislature could consist only of those who are well versed in Qur'anic knowledge. These people alone could interpret the Qur'anic principles in the light of modern requirements. Legislators in an Islamic state should thus be required to have additional qualification. The position of the head of the state in an Islamic state, called *amir*, is similarly different from his counterpart in other states. He was not 'the law giver' but only the executor of the divine law and hence he himself not exempted from its operation. He is the repository of supreme power invested in him through the general concert of the *millat*; the *amir* later exercises this power as a trust of God. The people could remove the head of state if he deviates from the path of divine law. The foundation of government rested on the principles to enable the *millat* to lead a higher and virtuous life and contribute effectively its share towards the spiritual purification of entire humanity. Pakistan was thus expected to be the kingdom of God on earth with its

constitution based on the fundamental of Islam, only such could satisfy the demands of the people and be the fulfilment of Quaid-i-Azam ideals and indeed, his will.¹⁴

In February 1949 daily Jang invited the people for discussion on the issue that whether Pakistan should be an Islamic or secular state. People from all walks of life participated in the discussion, most of who supported the idea of an Islamic state. After the passage of objective resolution the paper initiated another discussion on the making of an Islamic constitution for Pakistan.¹⁵

The Objectives Resolution was passed on March 12, 1949. It was widely acclaimed the realisation of popular demand popular for standing Pakistan's future political system on the principles of Islam. To that extent the process demonstrated that the inputs in the projection of Islamic principles by the press as a pressure group into the political system were realised to the outputs, in the shape of Objection Resolution.

A joint editorial in 12 leading newspapers appeared on March 13, 1949 which stated, the resolution not only succeeds in the ideas on which Pakistan is based, but it also demonstrates how those ideals breathe the very air of fair play and tolerance and are in perfect keeping with modern progress. It should be noted that the resolution describes only the broadest ideals, which should be embodied in the constitution, so that they may guide the various committees appointed for the purpose of recommending the form of government and drafting the constitution.... It should be clearly understand that this does not create theocracy, because the state derives its authority through the people, not through an ordained priesthood or a particular section. This has been made even clearer in another clause where it has been laid down that authority shall be exercised through the chosen representatives of the people. The concept is not only the bases of modern democracy but is also accord with the spirit of Islamic polity.¹⁶ The editorial mentions the most glaring defects of the modern democracy; that is, the ignorance of the ethical principles by the majority... Islam therefore,

emphasises the fact that all authority is sacred trust and must be exercised within the limits prescribed by God. These limits are essentially spiritual and ethical... and if there be such rulers who transgress such limits, the people should have the power not only to dismiss them but also to punish them.... Some of these limits explicitly mentioned in the resolution. Referring to the teachings of Qur'an and Sunnah, the editorial stated that ... The intention of the framers of the resolution is that Pakistan should be able to develop a truly Islamic society without getting entangled in controversial details of belief or practices. All Muslims irrespective of their belief will agree that Qur'an and life of the holy Prophet (saw) possess the basic ideals which are a common ground between all schools of Islamic thought and therefore, Pakistan will develop an Islamic society free from conflicts and controversies. The editorial further stated that the resolution should satisfy those Muslims who have been clamouring for an unequivocal declaration that Pakistan should be guided by the teachings and ideals of Islam, because a true Islamic state could not be envisaged in any Objectives Resolution¹⁷.

The resolution was an attempt to aggregate the demands of both modernists and traditionalists. The first satisfied because the resolution lay down in highly imprecise terms, the broad Islamic objectives of the future constitution, without bringing the word, Shari'ah. For the second it was a great satisfaction because the principle of supremacy of God in matters of state had been established and government stood committed to give effect to this principle. However, the resolution was interpreted in different ways by these groups in the coming days. The dangers of ambiguity were pointed out by daily Pakistan Times in its editorial, that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice etc. as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed because all these principles had been enunciated by Islam or whether some special brand of these principles had yet to be evolved in accordance with some particular individual's enunciation of Islam. If it is the former, the formula is progressive and straightforward, if it is the later, it might easily open the door to disruptions and sectarian tendencies.¹⁸

Another paper, Jang, on the adoption of Objectives Resolution appreciated the government and the party [ruling]; but at the same time demanded practical steps for its implementation. The paper forwarded the following three proposals; a committee of experts of constitutions should be set up in which different ulama representing different points of view should also be included. Mawlana Mawdudi who was at that time in jail should be released and included in the committee; those people should also be included in the constitution making who does not believe in the 'kingdom of God; a sub committee should be set up to collect and consult different materials written on the subject till that time¹⁹.

Basic Principle Committee (BPC) was appointed by the Constituent Assembly for the formulation of the main principles of the future constitution. This committee consisted of twenty-five members. Mawlavi Tamizuddin Khan was president of this committee while liaqat Ali Khan worked as its vice president²⁰. People were not unaware of the question as to how the principles of Islam would be incorporated with the future polity of the country. Differences of opinion regarding the constitution were re-emerged. The modernists pleaded that Islam could be cover into the state fabric as a matter of policy and not of law. Once the fundamental principles of Islam like equality, fraternity, democracy and social justice were enshrined in the constitution, and provisions made to ensure that the state was inspired by these ideals in its day to day functioning, the basic objective of the Pakistan movement has been achieved.²¹ The traditionalists on the other hand emphasised the legal aspects of the Islam and regarded them as the corner stone of an Islamic state. They were concerned with the form, rather than the spirit of Islam. To them unless Pakistan conformed to the classical model of the Caliphate, wherein the supremacy of, Shariah law as handed down by Muslim jurists was established, it could not be called truly Islamic.²²

The Basic Principle Committee set up three subcommittees to deal with subjects like the distribution of power, federal and provincial

constitutions, judiciary and franchise, as well as a special committee for Talimat-i-Islamia to advise on the matters arising out of the Objectives Resolution. The board of Talimat-i-Islamia was led by Allama Sayyed Sulcman Nadvi to advise the constitution makers on Islamic matters. Allama Uthmani, Mufti Mohammad Shah, Professor Abdul K.haliq, Dr. Hamidullah and Mufti Ja'far Hussain, a shi'ile Mujtahid were board members while Mawlana Zafar Ahmad Ansari was the secretary.²³

People were in anxiety because of the delaying of constitution. Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister, explains the delay by pointing out the extraordinary nature of the task. On the same day daily Dawan wrote in its editorial agreeing with the Prime Minister, said that the early Islam, from which inspiration is rightly sought, built on character rather than formula. This aspect of Islam is vital for constitution making on Islamic lines. What our constitution makers should not forget is that a constitution need not be as elaborate as (say) a civil or criminal code. The broad outlines of desired set-up be indicated... that the best drafted constitution could he made, by the poor qualities of human material Brought into its service, and a comparatively poor political document be could far better in goods hands. The people of Pakistan are naturally anxious to know the shape of the things to come. It is for the constitution makers to feel this popular urge, and equally essential that the common peoples should be educated for their duties and privileges in an Islamic society.²⁴

But as the public pressure for an early framing of the constitution mounted. Liyaqat Ali Khan declared that an interim report of the Basic Principle Committee would be presented to the Constituent Assembly. There was nothing striking in the recommendations of the committee A very few modifications have been proposed. As far as the Islamic provisions of this report were concerned these were brief and of a general nature, the Ohjctiscs Resolution was to be incorporated in the constitution merely as directive principle of state policy; steps were to be taken in many spheres of governmental activities to enable the Muslims as laid down in the resolution, to order their lives in accordance with the Holy Qur'an and

Sunnah. Emphasis was to be laid on the compulsory teachings of the Qur'an and on the organisation of *waqfs* and mosques on proper lines. The above recommendations indicated the government leniency towards the modernists.

People protested against the interim report and termed it undemocratic, and as insult to Islam. Press also loaded against these recommendations. *Nawa-i-Waqt* wrote its editorial with its heading as,

ردی ٹوکری میں پھینک دو۔

That the reason for the delay of the constitution was given that (government) wants to frame a constitution different from other countries. But a recommendation of the committee shows that it has no relation to it with the Islamic principles, it seems to be the 'American edition of Islam'. They are based not on Islam but on the American constitution. The Objectives Resolution has been conditionally included in the constitutions, which bring the place of Qur'an nothing different from that we have in our homes. The paper on one hand appealed to the members of the Constituent Assembly not to approve the recommendations and on the other hand asked the people to protest strongly by organising public meetings and sending protest letters to the President of the Constitution Assembly.²⁵ *Pakistan Time*, comments on it, that due to there compulsion the committee is in the grip of capitalism.²⁶ *Daily Zamindar* said that recommendations have nothing to do with Islam but even lack the spirit of material democracy of America and Britain.²⁷

The traditionalists looked at the report mainly from the viewpoint of the absence of any positive Islamic provisions, The modernists emphasised that since it contained nothing contrary to Islamic principles, thus it is fully Islamic. The view of the traditionalist was represented by *Naw-i-Waqt* on November 29, 1950, as "to insist on calling the recommendations Islamic, in the face of overwhelming evidences to the contrary was the height of

obstinacy and obduracy. Whose judgment, anyway, on the Islamicness or otherwise of the report would be considered weighty and authoritative? Of men like Sayyed Sulayman Nadwi, Mawlana Ahmad Ali, Mawlana Mawdudi, Mufti Mohammad Hasan and Mavskuia Zafar Ahmad Tahnwi, or of Mian Mumta'. Daultana, Sufi Abdul Hamid and Begum Shah Nawaz? To deviate from the Islamic path is deplorable enough; that is simply insufferable is the insistence to put the stamp of Islam on something that is patently unIslamic²⁸. The report also received comments particularly on the question of provincial autonomy from the Dhaka Based, *The Pakistan Observer*. The newspaper referred to the public opinion from East Pakistan which characterised it as a fatal slab, 'a shameless conspiracy against their province', 'a murderous scheme' cleverly devised by the "power-drunk oligarchic ruling clique in Karachi" for its nefarious aims of imposing 'a dictatorship under the camouflage of Islam and the Objectives Resolution'²⁹.

After a strong protest from the people, Liaqat Ali Khan moved a resolution in the assembly for the postponement of the consideration of the report. A suggestion committee was appointed. The nature of the popular reaction to the Islamic provisions of the report showed that opinion articulation tended to be manifested and specific; and the report's withdrawal coupled with the provision of revision in the lights of public suggestions indicated a relatively high degree of system responsiveness to the claims and demands from society.³⁰

Neither the Suggestion Committee nor any other sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly was able to finalise the report during 1951. This was strongly criticised and condemned. This shows the incompetence of the constitution framers. However in April 10, 1951, the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution setting up an Institute of Islamic Research to give effect to the requirements of the Objectives Resolution and to make the Muslim population of the country truly Muslim. The Islamic Research Institute since its establishment worked under the control of various ministries of the central government until 1980, when it was made part of the Islamic

University Islamabad by the then martial law regime of Zia-ul-Huq. In 1985 when the university was transformed into international Islamic University, this institute became a research part of its body.

In October 1951, Khawaja Nazimuddin took the office of Prime Minister after the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan. He was considered to be a pious and God-fearing Muslim and thus was regarded the augmentation of the strength of the traditionalists. The BPC report was finalised by the third week of November 1952, which was presented to the assembly on December 22, 1952³¹

It had more Islamic provisions than any previous document presented to the assembly. It contained a set of eighteen directive principles of state policy as against only three in the interim report. These principles laid down *inter alia* that the state should be guided in its policies by the principles enunciated in the Objectives Resolution; steps should be taken to enable the Muslims to order their lives individually and collectively in accordance with the holy Qur'an and Sunnah, these steps should include facilities for the compulsory teaching of Qur'an, prohibition of drinking, gambling and prostitution, eliminating the *riba* promotion and maintenance of Islamic moral standards and proper organisation of Zakat, and mosques: an organisation should be created for making the teachings of Islam known to the people and for *Amr bil ma'ruf and Nahi anil munkar* (observation of do's and don'ts) suitable steps should be taken for bringing the existing laws in conformity with the Islamic principles and for the codification of such injunctions of the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah as can be given legislative effect, suitable steps should be taken to prevent activities subversive to the principles embodied in the Objectives Resolution, steps should be taken also to discourage amongst the Muslims of Pakistan parochial, tribal, racial and other similar un-Islamic feelings and inculcate in them the spirit to keep far most in their minds the fundamental unity and solidarity of the Millah and the requirements of the ideology and the mission for the implementation of which Pakistan came into being. The

state should also endeavour to strengthen the bonds of unity amongst the Muslim countries of the world; only such a person should be elected as head of the state who in the opinion of the electors possessed ability, character, integrity and piety and who was fit to conduct the affairs of the state in accordance with the Objectives Resolution³²

Among the Islamic provisions the most notable was that no legislature could enact any law repugnant to the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The head of the state would constitute a board of Ulama consisting of not more than five persons, well versed in Islamic laws to hold office for a period of five years to help him in deciding the question of repugnancy. A Muslim member in the house could raise objection to legislation. The head of state would then refer the matter to the Board of Ulama. If the board unanimously decided against the proposed legislation, it would be sent back to the legislature where only a majority of Muslim members and a majority of the members present in voting could pass it. If the board was disagreeing the head of state might make his own decision as to give his assent to the measure. Similar boards were to be constituted by various heads of unites. These provisions were not to apply to money bills.³³

The report further recommended that the head of state shall be a Muslim and he along with other Muslim members of the legislature and heads of units would be required to take an oath that they would fulfil in their public and personal life, the obligations and duties enjoined by the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. There was to be no bar to legal proceedings being instituted against the head of the state or head of units even during the tenure of office for acts done in his personal capacity. The Supreme Court would try such cases.

It was clear from the report that certain Islamic provisions were adopted, which was against the wishes of the modernists. In turn the modernists denounced the report. And the Islamic provisions were described as surrender to mullaism, a statutory recognition of priesthood.

designed to create a medieval theocracy in the twentieth century, and an attempt to take the country back to the dark days of Islam.

The *Pakistan Times* wrote it was inconceivable, that with the large Muslim majority in every legislature a measure should knowingly be passed which is repugnant to the tenets of Islam, The paper even doubted the integrity of the boards of *Ulama*, who, it said, will be nominated by the head of the state or the head of the units and will thus be paid agents of the government. Further, their decision will rouse theological controversy between different sects or those who uphold different interpretations of the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. The paper said that the only sane way of ensuring that the true spirit of Islam is cultivated in the country is to establish a fully democratic state and leave it to the good sense of the representations of the people to establish a society which conforms to Islamic ideals.³⁴

The *Dawn*, in its editorial, attacked the Islamic provisions of the report, and described it as curiously anachronistic and ill-conceived document. It added that its Islamic provision threaten so reduce the country into a medieval theocracy and retard its progress forever³⁵.

Even *Nawa-i-Waqat*, which usually supported the traditionalist viewpoint, described the provision of the *ulama* boards as utterly undemocratic; it was, said the paper, an attempt to create a group of religious courtiers whose decision will be guided not by the dictates of the Qur'an or *Sunnah* but by whims and political expediencies of the rulers.

The report aroused a sharp reaction on the Islamic provision, as did the interim report. It proved the fact that the ruling political party was incapable to aggregate the modernists and traditionalist on the constitution making.

Khwaja Nazimuddin was dismissed and Muhammad Ali assumed the office of Prime Minister. Amendments were brought in the report of Basic Principle Committee. The assembly substituted boards of *ulama* and

makes Supreme Court of Pakistan responsible for deciding questions of repugnancy. Every citizen was provided the right to challenge the validity of legislation on the ground of such repugnancy within three months from the date on which a bill had been assented by the head of state. The name of the state was to be "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" in place of simply Pakistan as suggested in the BPC report. The directive principles were approved with minor changes.

The constituent of Assembly In the middle of November adopted main principles of the constitution the final draft of the constitution was ready by September 1954, when the assembly was dissolved on October 24, 1954. The task of constitution making was resumed in 1956; the Islamic provisions adopted in 1953 were retained except the procedure for deciding the question of repugnancy. The amended provision laid down for the appointment of a commission, to recommend measures for bringing existing laws into conformity with the injunction of Islam.

CONCLUSION

The period covered in the study was the most crucial period of the history of Pakistan. Pakistan being the new state was facing many problems such as settlement of refugees migrated from India, sating up of administrative structure for the newly born state, issues of Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagarh, water and division of asserts with India. In all these problems, it is evident that the decision about the future constitution of Pakistan was the most important one. Ironically very little attention was given to the constitution making. Pakistan had to wait till 1956, to have a constitution while India succeeded in framing its constitution not latter than 1950. People demanded Islamic constitution but difficulties were amused in the implementation of Islam because political power contras were not clear about the possibilities of Islam being able to run a modem state. On the other hand the people led by *ulama* constantly strive for the Islamic polity. However, after sometime religion \vas entrusted a place in the constitution of Pakistan.

In Pakistan it is generally perceived that the Urdu language print media is for the commoner while the English language print media is meant for the limited elite class particularly for the policy makers. The views of the English press influence the government policy more than the Urdu Press. However, in the constitution making process, when the Urdu press forcefully uphold the people demand for Islamic provisions in the constitution, the police makers had to incorporate it in the constitution making. In this process, we can say that the inputs into the political system were related to the output. However this process was not as regulated as it is in the developed countries. The first output from the input from the input was the objective Resolution (March 1949), which represented the people quest for Islam. The Interim Report and then the final report of the Basic Principle Committee are the other outcome of the people demands. The study shows that press played its due role in presenting the views of different sections of society and criticised the government when it was found necessary.

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11. *Jang*, January 1, 1949.
12. His original name was Leopold Weiss and prior to become a Muslim he was a Jew. He served the department of Islamic Reconstruction of the government of Punjab. He also served the government of Pakistan in

different capacities including the foreign office on the Middle East desk. He was also one time representative of Pakistan in the U.N. He wrote on different Islamic themes including his commentary on Qur'an, *The Message of Islam*, *Islam at the Cross Road*, *The Principles of State and Government in Islam*. Latter on he settled in Lisbon and breathed his last in 1992.

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14. Rahman, *Public Opinion*. p.6.
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16. *Dawn* (English, Urdu & Gujrati), *Nawa-i-Waqat*, *Zamindar*, *Jang*, *Safina*, *Sind Observer*, *Anjuman*, *Al-Wahid*, *Watan*, *Hilal-i-Pakistan*.

Book Reviews

SOUTH ASIA

Abinding By Sri Lanka

By Qadri Ismail. Minneapolis, MN : University of Minnesota Press, 2005, 273 pp. Examines the problems of the region in regards to the relationships between democracies and minorities and the possibility for peace.

Offering Flowers, Feeding Skulls : Popular Goddess Worship in West Bengal

By June McDaniel. New York, NY : Oxford University Press, 2004, 356 p. Provides a broad, accessibly written overview of Benagali Goddess Worship.

The Changing Face of Electoral Politics in Sri Lanka (1994-2004),

By Laksiri Jayasuriya. New York, NY : Marshall Cavendish International, 2005, 168 pp. Describes an important decade of democratic politics in post-independent Sri Lanka that includes four General Elections and a presidential Election, providing a close analysis of the third-world country's political processes.

Living Islam : Muslim Religious Experience in Pakistan's North-West Frontier,

By Magnus Marsden. Cambridge University Press, 2005, 297 pp. Details the study of Islam in the North-West Frontier of Pakistan,

arguing that a good Muslim lives a mindful life enhanced by creativity, poetry, dance and critical debate.

Terrorism in South Asia : Views From India

By Adluri Subramanyam Raju. Research Press, 2004, 469 pp. Collection of seventeen papers on the subjects of terrorism trends, bio-terrorism, terrorist connections with legal regimes, the role of women, and much more.

The White House and Pakistan

Edited by F.S. Aijazuddin. Oxford University Press, 2002, 659 pp. Compilation of 208 declassified documents from 1969-1974 regarding U.S. Pakistan relations.

India Before Europe

By Catherine B. Asher and Cynthia Talbot. Cambridge University Press, 2006, 313 pp. Description of the political, economic, religious and cultural traditions from 1200 to 1750.

Dr. Amedkar and Untouchability : Fighting the Indian Caste System

By Christophe Jaffrelot. New York : Columbia University Press, 2005, 205 pp. Focuses on the significance of the rise of B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) from unotuchable to a major figure in modern Indian History.

Poverty, Gender, and Human Development

By A.H. Somjee and Geeta Somjee. Canda : de Sitter Publications, 2005, 209 pp. Advocates a context-effective approach that would allow

significant changes toward economic growth and social justice, based on an attempt launched by the milk cooperatives of India.

Pakistan 2005

Edited by Charles H. Kennedy and Cynthia A. Botteron. Oxford University Press, 2006 293 pp. Fifth volume of essays in the Pakistan briefing series with updates on domestic, foreign and economic issues of importance.

Faultlines of Conflict in Central Asia and the South Caucasus

By Olga Oliker and Thomas S. Szayna. Pittsburg : RAND, 2003, 376 pp. Evaluates the key political, economic and societal faultlines underlying the likelihood of conflict in the region, assessing their implications for regional stability and for U.S interests and potential involvement over the next 10 to 15 years.

Avatar and Incarnation : The Divine in Human Form in the World's Religions

By Geoffrey Parrinder. Oxford U.K. : Oneworld, 1997, 294 pp. Looks at the origin and development of these doctrines.

Sikhism

By Hew McLeod. New York, NY : Penguin Books, 1997, 334 pp. Explores how the Sikhs' distinctive beliefs emerged from the Hindu background of the times.

Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet : Religious Revival and Cultural Identity

By Melvyn C. Goldstein, et al, eds. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1998, 217 pp. Reveals not only the vibrancy of this

ancient religion in contemporary Tibet, but also the problems that religious and Tibetan culture in general are facing in a radically altered world.

The Meaning of the Glorious Koran

Mohammad Marmaduke Picthall. New York, NY ; mentor, 1998, 464 pp. Introduces the sacred scriptures of The Koran to Western readers.

Death Before Dying : The Sufi Poems of Sultan Bahu

By Jamal J. Elias. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1998, 145 pp. One of Pakistan's most enduringly beloved and influential Sufi poets.

Love in Asian Art and Culture

Seattle, WA. : University of Washington Press, 1998, 120 pp. Rich, widely varied imagery infuses the art and literature of love in Asia.

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Manuscripts, articles, book reviews and notes or letters on themes of contemporary or historical interest, with particular reference to South Asia, will be welcome.

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