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Different Methods For Describing Organisational Culture (2)

Liaqat Ali

ABSTRACT

The various methods for describing the organisational culture are described in the article except the one (Cultural Web) which is explained in the first article on the topic. Some researchers describe organisational culture on the basis of culture exists in the organisation. Whereas others describe on the basis of factors influence organisational culture. These methods are analysed and their suitability is discussed for describing the organisational culture.

Keywords: Organisational culture, Approaches, Typologies and Classifications,

1.0 Introduction

There appear to be two main ways (other than the one described in first article on the topic) of describing organisational culture in the current literature. Some authors (such as, Handy, 1976; Hofstede, 1980; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Quinn and McGrath, 1985; Sethia and Von Glinow, 1985; Scholz, 1987; Wiener 1988; and Hofstede, 1991) attempt to describe organisational culture by classifying the organisational culture in one or more ways. Some other researchers describe organisational culture in relation to factors that are recognised as influences on culture. Drennan is one such researcher that describes organisational culture on the basis of influencing factors (Drennan, 1992). A relationship between the typologies and factors that influence organisational culture is given in Section 2.0. The

various approaches/typologies used to describe organisational culture are detailed in Section 3.0. A critical appraisal of existing typologies is given under Section 4.0. The factors that influence organisational culture are described in Section 5.0. Finally, Section 6.0 provides conclusion.

2.0 Relationships Between the Typologies and Factors

Figure 1 summarises the relationships between the typologies and factors views of describing organisational culture. This figure shows that these factors are input for the formation of organisational culture and resulting behaviour, attitudes and beliefs of employees in the organisation are output.

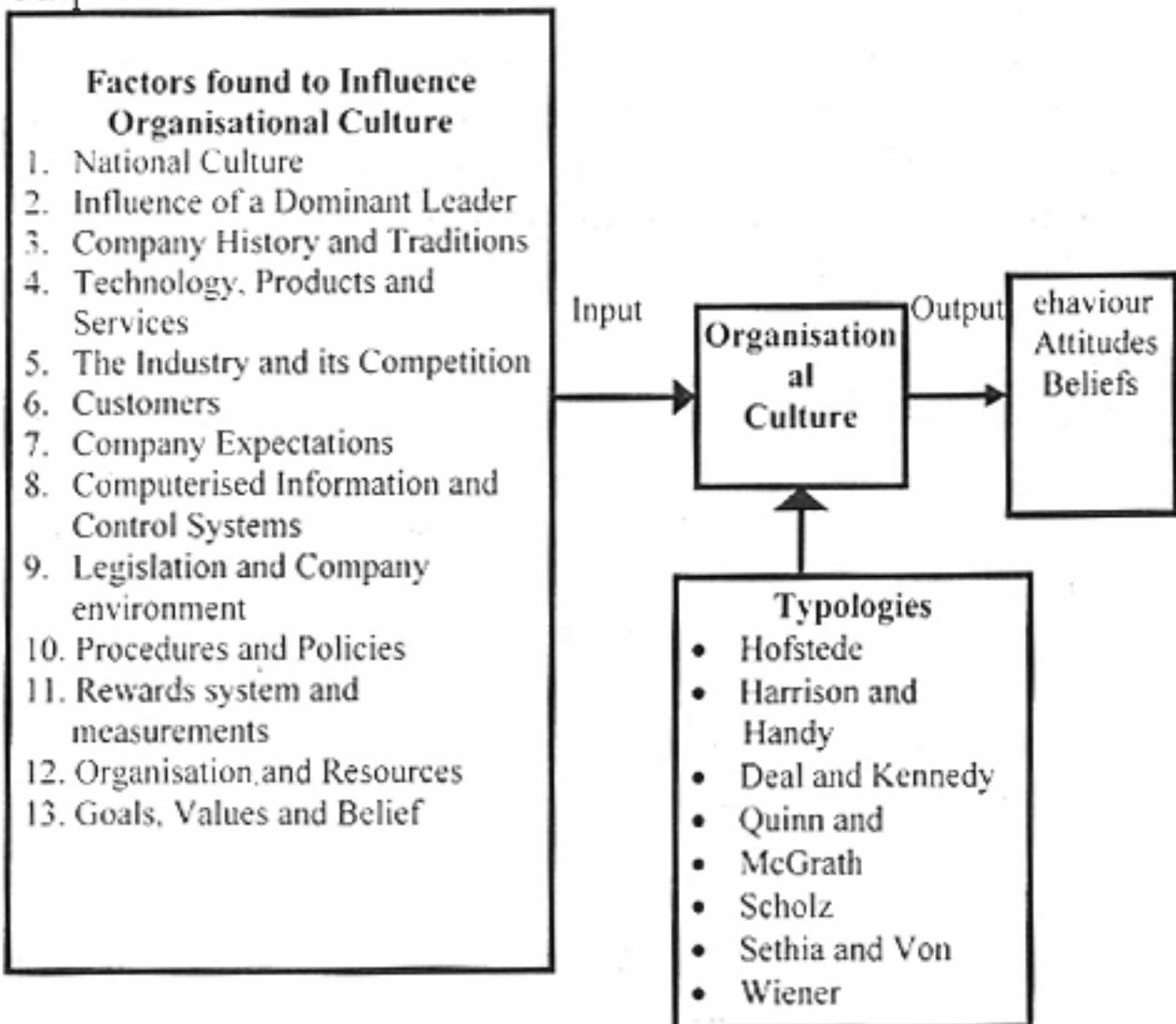


Figure 1 Describing organisational culture: relationships between typological and factors views

However, Johnson and Scholes (1999) have stated a third, albeit a less significant way of describing the organisational culture, that is, "The Cultural Web" (see first article on the topic). Johnson and Scholes (1999, p.73) state "the culture web is a representation of the taken-for-granted assumptions, or paradigm, of an organisation and the physical manifestation of organisational culture" (for detail see first article on the topic).

3.0 Approaches/Typologies of Organisational Culture

This section describes several key typologies of organisational culture that are presented by researchers. During this section the terms "approaches", "typologies", "classifications" and "types of organisational cultures" are used interchangeably. This reflects the loose way in which other authors use these terms, (for example, Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Scholz, 1987; Brown, 1998). Typologies are useful because they give an overview of an organisation's culture and enable simple comparison between the organisational cultures of different organisations. Approaches/typologies are critically evaluated in Section 4.0.

▪ The Harrison and Handy Typology

Harrison (1972) classifies organisational culture as one of four types; power, role, task and person, and Handy (1976), Handy (1993) illustrates these four organisational cultures by using simple pictograms and making reference to Greek mythology (as shown in Figure 2). Later, Handy (1995) describes these four cultures (power, role, task and person)

by the names of the four Greek gods (Zeus, Apollo, Athena and Dionysus) respectively.

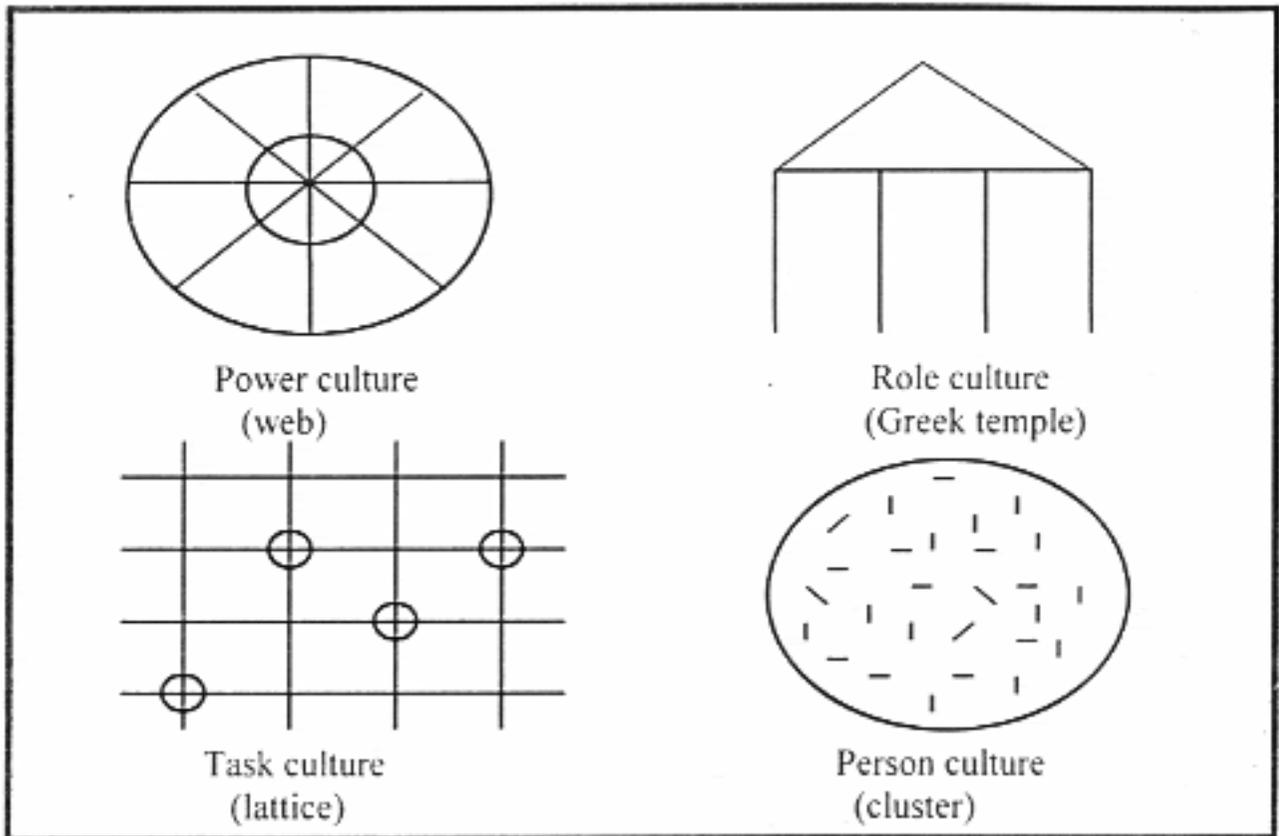


Figure 2 Handy's four organisational cultures
Source: Adopted from Handy (1993)

Examining each culture type in turn, the "Power Culture" depends on a central power figure, with rays of power and influence spreading out from that central figure. (Handy (1993) and Handy (1995) depicts the power culture as a web.) The organisation depends on trust and empathy for its effectiveness, and on disclosure of thoughts and personal conversations for communication. There are few rules and procedures, and little bureaucracy. It is a political organisation, in that decisions are taken largely on the outcome of a balance of influences rather than on procedural or purely logical grounds. This culture, and organisations based on them, are proud and strong. They can move quickly

and can react well to threat or danger. However, whether they do react quickly and/or in the right direction depends greatly on the person or persons at the centre.

Within the so-called "Role Culture", the role, or job description of an organisation's employee is more important than the individual who fills it. Individuals are selected for satisfactory performance of a role, and the role is usually so described that a range of individuals could fill it. Performance over and above the role description is not required, and indeed can be disruptive. Position power is the major power source, and rules and procedures are major methods of influence.

Organisations with role culture will succeed as long as they can operate in a stable environment so that tested organisational rules will continue to work. Where the organisation can control its environment, either by monopoly (exclusive possession or control of the commodity or service) or by oligopoly (limited competition between a few organisations), where the market is either stable or predictable or controllable, or where the product-life is a long one, then this type of culture can thrive. Change is not a priority feature of role cultures. Role cultures therefore offer security and predictability to the individual. The role culture can, however, be frustrating for the individual who is power-orientated or desires control over his or her work, and who is eagerly ambitious or more interested in results than method. Role cultures will be found in organisations where economies of scale are more important than flexibility or where technical expertise and depth of specialisation are more important than product innovation or product cost.

The "Task Culture" is job or project-oriented. It brings together the appropriate resources, and the right people at

the right level of the organisation, and lets them work out the most appropriate activities. Influence is based on expert knowledge rather than on position or personal power. It is team-oriented, where the outcome, the result and the product of team work tend to prevail over individual objectives, and the efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation. Thus, individuals find this culture reflects a high degree of control over work. Flexibility, adaptability and mutual respect, being earned based upon expertise rather than age or status, are the characteristics of this type of culture.

The task culture is appropriate in organisational situations where flexibility and sensitivity to the market or environment are important. Sometimes the task culture does not enable economies of scale or the development of a great depth of expertise because it is a group-oriented and no one puts maximum effort into group tasks (Brown, 1998). The task culture therefore thrives where speed of reaction, integration, sensitivity and creativity are more important than depth of specialisation. The task culture can quickly evolve into a role or power culture with either more emphasis on rules and procedures or an increase in influence from the leader respectively (Brown, 1998). It develops in those organisations that can focus on particular jobs or projects to which teams may be assigned. For example, product groups of marketing departments, general management consultancies, merger, take-over and new venture sections of banks, and advertising agencies, are all places within organisations where task cultures might flourish.

The individual is the central point within the so-called "Person Culture". Individuals only group with others if it serves their own best interests. In the person culture the

individuals themselves decide on their own work allocations, with rules and coordination mechanisms being of minimal significance. Unlike other cultures, the individual has almost complete autonomy, influence is shared, and if power is to be exercised it is usually on the basis of expertise. Barristers' chambers, architects' partnerships, hippy communes, social groups, families, and some small consultancy firms, often exhibit this person culture (Handy, 1993).

▪ **The Hofstede Dimensions of National Culture**

National Culture influences organisational culture and therefore needs to be included in the review (Drennan, 1992, Maund, 1999). Hofstede (1980) viewed the national culture of a country on the basis of four dimensions, and these dimensions are supported as good descriptors of national culture by several other researchers (for example, Williams et al., 1993; Harvey, 1997; Sethi and Lederer, 1997; Martin, 1998; Brooks, 1999). It should be noted that second edition Hofstede (1984), Hofstede (1991) and Hofstede (1994), Hofstede still utilises the concepts developed in the 1st edition (1980) regarding these four dimensions of national culture.

The first dimension of national culture proposed by Hofstede is Power Distance. This examines the extent to which unequal distribution of power is expected and accepted by the less powerful employees of organisations. In "high-power" distance organisations there is greater reliance by the less powerful employees on those who hold power. Conversely, in "low-power" distance organisations, decentralisation of activities is more likely, and subordinates expect to be consulted by bosses. Greater differences in power are associated with greater differences of rewards, privileges, and opportunities between bosses and

subordinates (Hofstede, 1984). Harrison and Handy's power culture, described earlier, and Hofstede's power distance concept are closely related; the fundamentals of both concepts are related to the unequal distribution of power.

The second of Hofstede's dimensions is Uncertainty Avoidance. This is defined as the extent to which human beings respond to threats they feel from uncertain or unknown situations. (The way in which employees deal with uncertainty in organisations is by following understood and trusted rules.) In a more uncertainty-avoiding environment, employees feel a great need for safety by following rules.

The third dimension, Individualism, describes the relationship between the individuals and society at large. In an individualistic society, people take care of only their immediate families. In contrast, in a collectivist society people care for members of an extended family. The level of individualism in a society influences the level of compliance of an employee with organisational requirements: collectivist societies result in greater emotional dependence of employees on their organisations. In individualistic societies, hiring and promotion decisions should be based on skills and rules, whereas collective societies take the employee's ability in group situations into account (Brown, 1998) when making such decisions.

The fourth and final dimension, Masculinity, centres on differences relating to masculine and feminine traits. According to Hofstede, males are assertive, tough and focused on material success, whereas females are nurturing, modest and concerned with quality of life. In high-masculinity organisations, employees are decisive and

assertive. In such organisations, competition among colleagues and high performance are expected, disputes tend to be resolved by conflicts, and the motto is one of "living in order to work." In contrast, in high-femininity organisations, employees' focus is on equality, solidarity, and quality of life. Conflicts are resolved by compromise and negotiation, and the motto is one of "working in order to live."

In 1991, Hofstede supplemented his original work with a fifth dimension of national culture; Confucian Dynamism. Confucian dynamism examines the extent to which a culture takes a short or long term view of life. This dimension was proposed by Michael Bond, who developed it from the ideas of Chinese philosophers and social scientists in particular countries (Hofstede, 1991). Long-term orientation countries stress the adaptation of traditions to a modern context, place definite limits on respect for social and status obligations, are sparing with resources, stress perseverance and are concerned with "virtue". In contrast, short-term orientation countries have high respect for traditions, emphasise the importance of social and status obligations, approve conspicuous consumption, demand quick results, and are concerned with "truth".

In 1991, Hofstede turned his attention to organisational culture classification. He developed the following six dimensions with which to categorise organisational cultures.

- **Process Oriented to Results Oriented**

In a process oriented culture, employees avoid taking risks and make only limited (satisfactory) efforts in their jobs. Each day appears pretty much the same as any other. In a results oriented culture, however, employees feel comfortable in unfamiliar situations and put in maximum

effort. Each day appears to bring new challenges for them.

- **Employee Oriented to Job Oriented**

In an employee oriented culture, the organisation takes responsibility for employee welfare, and decisions are taken by groups or committees. In a job oriented culture, however, the organisation is only interested in the work employees do, and not in their personal and family welfare.

- **Parochial to Professional**

In a parochial culture, employees identify with their organisation. The employees feel that in hiring them, the company takes their social and family background into account as much as their job competence. In contrast, in a professional culture, employees feel that the organisation hires solely on the basis of job competence. The parochial type of culture has been often associated with Japanese companies (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede, 1994).

- **Open Systems to Closed Systems**

In an open systems culture, employees consider both the organisation and its employees open to newcomers and outsiders. New employees take little time to feel at home. In a closed systems culture, however, the organisation and its employees appear closed and secretive, even among insiders. New employees need significant settling in time.

- **Internal Structuring: Loose Control to Tight Control**

In loose control organisations, employees feel that there is no control over costs or punctuality. In contrast, employees are cost-conscious and punctual in tight control organisations.

- **Customer Orientation to Non-customer Orientation**

Customer oriented organisations are market driven. Such organisations emphasise the meeting of customer needs. Results are more important than procedures. In contrast the major emphasis of non-customer oriented organisations is on procedures rather than results.

Hofstede (1991), and Hofstede (1994) relates his dimensions of organisational culture to the dimensions of national culture. He correlates "power distance" with the "process oriented vs. results oriented" dimension, and "high-power distance cultures" with "process orientation" and "low-power distance cultures" with "results orientation". "Uncertainty avoidance" is correlated with the "open systems vs. closed systems" dimension, where "high-uncertainty avoidance" is associated with "closed systems" and "low-uncertainty" avoidance with "open systems". "Individualism" and "masculinity" are associated with the "parochial vs. professional" dimension; "high-individualism" and "high-masculinity" with "professional" and "low-individualism" and "low-masculinity" with "parochial." Interestingly, Hofstede's dimensions of organisational culture have not become visibly popular among researchers of organisational culture, as no references were seen in the existing literature to this work. Rather, researchers have examined organisational culture using Hofstede's national culture dimensions (for example, Williams et al., 1993; Sethi and Lederer, 1997; Harvey, 1997).

- **The Deal and Kennedy Typology**

As shown in Figure 3, Deal and Kennedy (1982) classified organisational culture into four types on the basis of degree of risk and speed of feedback.

		Feedback	
		Rapid	Slow
Risk	High	The tough-guy, macho culture	The bet-your-company culture
	Low	The work-hard/play-hard culture	The process culture

Figure 3 An overview of Deal and Kennedy typology

The “Tough-Guy, Macho Culture” prevails in those organisations where individuals have to take high risks, and receive rapid feedback on actions and decisions. A tough attitude towards work and colleagues is a feature of this culture. It is successful in high-risk and quick return environments, but unsuitable for long-term investment (Brown, 1998). Both Deal and Kennedy (1982) and Brown (1998) state that police departments, surgeons, management consulting organisations and the entertainment industry have been associated with this organisational culture.

The “Work-Hard/Play-Hard Culture” prevails in those organisations where risk is low and feedback is quick. The work-hard/play-hard culture is often misled by success, forgetting that today’s successes may become tomorrow’s failures (Deal and Kennedy, 1982). No individual really makes a difference: the team produces the results. Sales organisations, such as real estate companies, computer sales companies, and consumer companies like McDonald’s, are likely examples of this kind of organisational culture (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Brown, 1998).

The “Bet-Your-Company Culture” prevails in those organisations where risk is high and feedback is slow. It is a

good culture for organisations wanting to produce high quality products and inventions, but slow response times can cause them problems with, for example, cash flow. Large aircraft manufacturing organisations and oil companies have been associated with this organisational culture (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Brown, 1998), as these types of organisations may invest millions in a project and it may take a long time to ascertain the success or failure of the project.

The "Process Culture" prevails in those organisations where risk is low and feedback is slow. Owing to the slow feedback, employees tend to focus on how they do something rather than what they do (Brown, 1998). There is an emphasis on hierarchy, formality and the importance of the position of power. This culture is effective for known and predictable business environments, but ineffective for situations requiring quick reactions and creativity. Banks, insurance companies and civil service have been used as examples of this kind of organisational culture (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Brown, 1998).

▪ **The Quinn and McGrath Typology**

Quinn and McGrath (1985) provided a four-way classification of organisational culture, based on the transactions associated with information exchanges in organisations. These transactions are governed by set of rules or norms which reflect dominance of beliefs. The cultures are summarised in Figure 4, characterised in terms of decision or approaches, authority/power, assessment and leadership style. Further details of each culture is given in turn below.

Culture type	Decision	Authority/power	Assessment	Leadership style
Rational	Decisive	Competency / status	Output	Directive
Ideological	Intuition	Charisma / values	Efforts by individuals / interest in growth	Inventive and risk-oriented
Consensual	Consensus	Members / informal status	Loyalty	Dominant
Hierarchical	Analysis	Rules / technical skill	Agreed criteria	Conservative / Cautious

Figure 4 An overview of Quinn and McGrath typology

Productivity and efficiency are the primary criteria of performance within the Rational Culture. The boss is in charge of organisations with this culture, and control is exercised from the top down. The performance of individuals is evaluated by their productivity, and achievements of pre-specified goals. The salient features of the Rational Culture are aggressiveness, diligence and initiative (McDonald and Gandz, 1992).

The Ideological Culture (Adhocracy) supports broad objectives, such as corporate growth and successful resource acquisition. The leaders hold authority on the basis of charisma. The decisions are often taken as a result of intuition, the leaders are risk-oriented and employees are committed to the organisation. The employees are evaluated on their efforts and are interested in personal development rather than achievements. The features of such a culture are adaptability, autonomy, development and experimentation (McDonald and Gandz, 1992).

The Consensual Culture (Clan) measures performance in terms of group cohesion and morale. The members of the organisation are powerful and their status is informal. Decisions are made by consensus. The individuals are evaluated on the basis of the relationships they have with others and their loyalty to the organisation. The features of such a culture are courtesy, fairness, moral integrity, social equality, openness, humour, forgiveness, cooperation, consideration and broad-mindedness (McDonald and Gandz, 1992).

In the Hierarchical Culture (Hierarchy), authority is vested in rules and it is enjoyed by those persons who have technical knowledge. Decisions are made on the basis of factual analysis. The employees are evaluated against agreed criteria. The features of such an organisational culture are formality, logic, obedience, cautiousness, economy and orderliness (McDonald and Gandz, 1992).

■ The Scholz Typologies

Scholz (1987) views organisations with respect to three perspectives, and classifies them using each of these perspectives in turn.

• Evolution-Induced Classification

This reflects the way in which culture changes over time, in the sense that the organisation's culture is examined after a particular time to see if it exhibits a tendency towards either discontinuity or change. An overview of the evolution-induced cultures characterised in terms of personality, time, risk, slogan and change, is given in Figure 5.

Culture	Personality	Time	Risk	Slogan	Change
Stable	Introvert	Past	Risk averse	"Don't rock the boat"	No change accepted
Reactive	Introvert	Present	Minimum risk	"Roll with the punches"	Minimum change accepted
Anticipating	Partially introvert. Partially extrovert.	Present	Familiar risk	"Plan ahead"	Incremental change accepted
Exploring	Extrovert	Present and future	Operates on risk	"Be where the action is"	Accepted radical change
Creative	Extrovert	Future	Prefers unfamiliar risks	"Invent the future"	Seeks novel change

Figure 5 The evolution-induced model

Source: Adopted from Brown (1998)

The stable and reactive cultures are introverted, risk averse and resistant to change. Alternatively, the exploring and creative cultures are open to new information, new influences, and they welcome and seek change. The anticipating culture falls in between the stable and reactive cultures, and the exploring and creative cultures. It is possible that, at the same time, different departments of an organisation could belong to different types of evolution-induced culture. For example, a production department may have a stable culture, making the same products for many years, and a marketing department may have a creative culture, pioneering new marketing concepts. It is expected that a department's culture will change over time in response to external influences, such as a change in competitor position and numbers.

- **Internally-Induced Classification**

The internally-induced classification is about how the internal circumstances of an organisation affect and then cause a particular type of culture, that is, a production, bureaucratic or professional culture. An overview of this classification in terms of routiness, standardisation, skill requirements (of employees) and property rights is provided in Figure 6. The allocation of transaction costs (that is, the costs of negotiating, monitoring and enforcing the exchanges between employees) for the use of resources are called property rights (Jones, 1983). The culture types are discussed in turn below.

Culture type	Routiness	Standardisation	Skill requirements	Property rights
Production	High	High	Low	Weak
Bureaucratic	Medium	Medium	Medium	Derived from the position
Professional	Low	Low	High	Vested in the person by virtue of skill

Figure 6 The Internally-induced model
Source: Adopted from Brown (1998)

A production culture is the outcome of the specification of property rights designed to economise on transaction costs. In this culture, the production process is routine, skill requirements are low and specialised investment in employees are not necessary. Norms and values of this culture can be seen from a transaction cost prospective.

Figure 6 shows that in a bureaucratic (inflexible) culture property rights are vested in the position of a person. Even

though property rights are vested in the position, they increase the attachment of employees to the organisation and lead to the development of stable and predictable transaction patterns. Since the bureaucratic culture is built on property rights that define authority and status, the attempt to change the distribution or balance of property rights of the employees will lead to resistance (Jones, 1983).

If the production function primarily depends on the skill of specialised personnel then it is called a professional culture. In a professional culture, production requires a specialised skill hence the transaction costs will be high and the task will be non-routine.

- **Externally-Induced Classification**

The externally-induced classification is concerned with how an organisation's environment affects the culture of the organisation. It examines the relationships between the organisation and its environment and the consequences of handling these relationships. For the external-induced classification, Scholz (1987) has adopted the four types of corporate culture which are introduced by Deal and Kennedy (1982). (See Figure 3 and Subsection for details of Deal and Kennedy typology.)

- **The Sethia and Von Glinow Typology**

Sethia and Von Glinow (1985) have classified organisational culture on the basis of organisational rewards systems. The rewards systems they are interested in are financial reward, job content, career, and status (Sethia and Von Glinow, 1985). Figure 7 summarises the elements of each reward system and the criteria for rewards. From this, four cultures evolve, and these are described below.

- | |
|---|
| <p>1. Rewards and Their Attributes</p> <p>a. Kinds of Rewards Available</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Financial: salary, bonuses, stock option, profit sharing, and various benefits 2. Job content: challenge, responsibility, freedom, feedback, and recognition 3. Career: Job security, training and development programmes, and Promotion 4. Status: special facilities and privileges, titles, and committee Memberships <p>b. Attributes of the Rewards Available</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Superior or inferior: salary, benefits, and training 2. Frequent or infrequent: raises, promotion, and feedback 3. Optional or standard: benefits, privileges, and training <p>2. Criteria for Rewards</p> <p>a. Performance: Tangible Outcomes or Results
 Performer: individual, group, and organisation
 Performance: quantity, quality, and timeliness
 Perspective: day-to-day, short-term, long-term</p> <p>b. Performance: Instrumental Action or Behaviour
 Such as: cooperation vs. competition, risk taking vs. playing it safe, Initiative vs. conformity, innovation vs. compliance, helping vs. hindering, communication vs. secrecy</p> <p>c. Non-Performance: Considerations of Contract or Custom
 Such as: membership, nature of work, external equity, internal equity, tenure, Hierarchical position, ease of replacement, terms of employment, contractual obligations</p> |
|---|

Figure 7 Elements of a rewards system

Source: Adopted from Sethia and Von Glinow (1985)

Organisations with an Apathetic Culture show little concern for employees and their performance. The apathetic culture is often governed more by vested interests or political desirability rather than by efficiency and effectiveness (Sethia and Von Glinow, 1985). As described in Figure 8, financial rewards are poor, job content rewards are hardest to find, career rewards regarding job security are low, promotions are uncertain and status rewards are highly visible. Performance is not an important criterion for rewards.

Organisations with a Caring Culture look after their employees but do not impose very high standards of employee performance. In this culture (and as described in Figure 8), financial rewards are average, job content rewards are average, career rewards are good and status rewards are relatively high. Employees are expected to make reasonable efforts in their day-to-day work.

Cultures	Apathetic	Caring	Exacting	Integrative
1. Kinds of Rewards				
Financial rewards	Poor	Average	Variable	Superior
Job-content rewards	Poor	Average	Good	Superior
Career rewards	Poor	Good	Average	Superior
Status difference	High	High	Moderate	Low
2. Criteria for Rewards				
Performance: Results	Individual success Illusory	Reasonable efforts day-to-day	Individual success short-term	Group/company
Performance: Action and behaviour	Manipulation politicking	Compliance Cooperation	Efficiency competition	Innovation Independence
Non-performance Consideration	Contract patronage	Membership Position	Nature of work Replace ability	Equity Potential

Figure 8 Summary of reward systems in four cultures

Source: Adopted from Sethia and Von Glinow (1985)

Organisations with an Exacting Culture show little sensitivity to employees but are extremely demanding. In this culture (and as described in Figure 8), financial rewards can be very good but highly variable, career rewards are few, job security is heavily dependent on performance, and status rewards vary from organisation to organisation.

Organisations with an Integrative Culture show a high concern for employees as well as having high performance expectations. In this culture (and as described in Figure 8),

financial rewards are superior to the other cultures, job content and career rewards are very attractive, there is high job security, and high quality training is available. Performance is a core value in this culture; the emphasis is on group or company success rather than on individual success. A summary of Sethia's and Glinow's typology, based on the cultures' concern for both people and performance, is provided by Figure 9.

		Concern for Performance	
		Low	High
Concern for People	High	Caring culture	Integrative culture
	Low	Apathetic culture	Exacting culture

Figure 9 An overview of the Sethia and Glinow typology
Source: Adopted from Sethia and Von Glinow (1985)

▪ The Wiener Typology

Wiener (1988) classified organisational culture on the basis of shared values, in terms of their focus and source. The two dimensions, focus and source of values, yield four types of value systems. The focus of values is classified into either functional or elitist and the source of values is classified into either organisational tradition or charismatic leadership. The resulting four types of value systems, summarised in Figure 10, are described in turn below.

		Source of Values	
		Organisational Tradition	Charismatic Leadership
Focus of Values	Functional	Functional- Functional- traditional	Functional- charismatic
	Elitist	Elitist- traditional	Elitist- charismatic

Figure 10 An overview of Wiener typology
Source: Adopted from Wiener (1988)

- **Functional-Traditional Culture**

This type of culture subscribes to values rooted in tradition; the same or similar values are transferred from the old generation of employees to the new. The values are time-tested hence this gives stability and predictability to organisational functioning. This type of culture deals with the mode of conduct of employees, goals, functions and style of operations. According to Wiener (1988) it deals with issues such as product quality, customer service, and innovation, which may be expressed by such phrases as "the customer is king", "never kill a new idea", and "quality is number one." The existence of this type of system in Japanese companies has been an important factor in their success (Wiener, 1988).

- **Functional-Charismatic Culture**

This type of culture refers to charismatic leadership. Initial phases of culture development are most frequently characterised by a charismatic value system. The functional-

charismatic culture has the potential for effective organisational outcomes. The functional-charismatic system tends to be a transitional phase, ultimately evolving toward a functional-traditional one (Wiener, 1988). A functional-charismatic culture changes into a functional-traditional culture progressively (by the passage of time) as the organisation expands and it needs to establish functions for effective operation. For example, IBM and Walt Disney's productions moved from functional-charismatic to functional-traditional culture after their expansions (Wiener, 1988). This is because the charismatic leaders were no longer able to control all aspects of their organisations' operations.

- **Elitist-Traditional Culture**

This type of culture refers to the status, superiority, and importance of the organisation itself, its products and employees, and is reflected in phrases such as "we are number one", "our product is the best", and "nice guys finish last" (Wiener, 1988). Elitist values generate strong feelings, such as pride (emphasis on organisational supremacy and superiority) within the organisation. As such this value system sustains a stable, long-term, elitist dimension. Organisations having this type of culture tend to focus on a specific organisational purpose, such as to be the dominant player in a particular market.

- **Elitist-Charismatic Culture**

This type of culture is characterised by employees' identification with their leader. This culture is less stable and permanent than traditional ones. The lifespan of such values may not be more than the life of the leader. This type of culture is least likely to result in long-term organisational success because the sudden and dramatic success of an

organisation prevents the leader from effectively responding to the objective demands of the external environment. For example, high-tech companies (in Boston and Silicon valley in California) have encountered a difficult environment to which they have not effectively responded because they possess this organisational culture (Wiener, 1988). This has subsequently resulted in losses, layoffs and closures.

4.0 A Critical Appraisal of the Existing Typologies

A top level overview of the existing typologies in term of their (inter) relationships is shown in Figure 11.

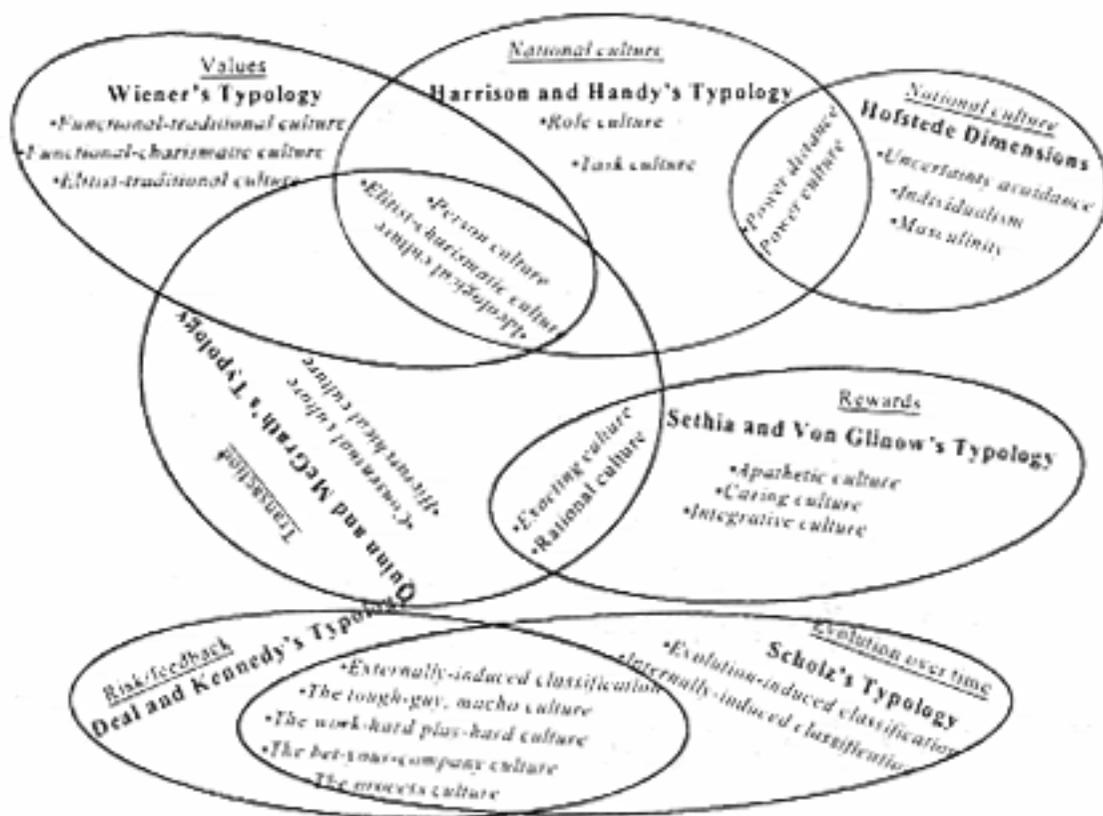


Figure 11 A Venn diagram showing the relationships among existing typologies

This figure shows that some typologies overlap with each other in certain area(s), whereas other typologies do so in other area(s). (For example, the Harrison and Handy's

typology and Hofstede's dimensions overlap each other on power culture/power distance, which are related to the unequal distribution of power (see second paragraph of Section 3.0), Quinn and McGrath's typology, and the Sethia and Von Glinow's typology overlap on rational/exacting cultures.) The typologies which overlap with each other and not with others are the Deal and Kennedy's and the Scholz's typologies. Figure 11 also shows that the existing typologies describe organisational culture based on different perspectives. For instance, Hofstede, and Harrison and Handy describe organisational culture based on the perspective of "national culture", whereas Wiener describes organisational culture based on the perspective of "values", and Sethia and Von Glinow describe organisational culture based on the perspective of "rewards systems". There is no one typology that covers all perspectives, and therefore, none of these are able, in their current state, to provide a sufficiently complete classification of organisational culture. Furthermore, the existing typologies are criticised on other grounds by several academics. For example, Brown (1998) has criticised the Deal and Kennedy's and the Scholz's typologies. He says that no organisation will precisely fit into any one of the four classifications given in the Deal and Kennedy's typology, and that the classifications given by Scholz (1987) are not new, and hence do not provide an interesting perspective on organisational culture. Wiener (1988) himself realises that it is difficult to precisely fit organisations with weak values into his typology. In 1991, Hofstede gave another (organisational culture) classification in terms of "process oriented to result oriented", "employees oriented to job oriented", "parochial to professional", "open systems to closed systems", "internal structuring (loose control to tight control)", and "customer orientation to non-customer orientation" (see Subsection 3.4.2, organisational culture classification). Brown's (1998, p.44) later work on

organisational culture, Maund (1999, p.346), and Keil et al. (2000, p.306) refer to Hofstede's work in general. However, when analysed in detail, it is found that Hofstede's work on organisational culture is not referenced. In fact, Brown, Maund and Keil et al. do refer to Hofstede's work on the dimensions of national culture. It is therefore concluded that the classification of organisational cultures given by Hofstede (1991) has gained little, if any, popularity among researchers. Indeed, not a single example has been found by this author in the current literature regarding the use of Hofstede's (1991) organisational classification.

To summarise, the appraisal of existing typologies highlights that there is no one typology that will provide a sufficiently complete classification of organisational culture. However, combining these in some way may be possible. The next section looks at another view of organisational culture; that of the factors that influence the nature of organisational culture.

5.0 Drennan's Factors that Influence Organisational Culture

Drennan (1992) stated what he considers to be the twelve most important factors that influence organisational culture. Some other authors, such as Deal and Kennedy (1982), Davis (1985), Handy (1993), Williams et al. (1993), Norton (1994) and Brown, (1995) have also described a subset of these factors. Drennan's factors are analysed as follows.

- **Influence of a Dominant Leader**

The owner or the chief executive can have a great influence in shaping an organisational culture over a period of time

(Drennan, 1992; Williams et al., 1993; Brown, 1998; Harris and Ogbonna, 1999). A simple and common sense influence of the leader will not only continue, but will also be enhanced and developed by succeeding managers and executives.

- **Company History and Tradition**

Tradition plays an important role in shaping the culture of an organisation. The majority of the employees feel comfortable in a structure, and in a well known environment. They feel threatened if their normal routines are disturbed (Drennan, 1992).

- **Technology, Products and Services**

Technology, products and services may have a major effect on the culture of an organisation (Drennan, 1992; Williams et al., 1993). This impact may vary from organisation to organisation. For example, in chemical manufacturing organisations, many of the chemicals are dangerous, so, for the safety of the employees, great care and precision is the norm as they handle and process chemical substances. For flying an air force aeroplane, the mental and physical fitness of the pilot, and the fitness of the aircraft, is required to ensure safety, so check-ups of both pilot and aircraft before missions are the norm.

- **The Industry and its Competition**

The nature of the activities an organisation undertakes may have a profound effect on its culture (Williams et al., 1993; Brown, 1998). For example, in some organisations, rapid change and constant innovations by competitors are normal. In response, employees know that product changes are

expected, and repeated retraining is part of work. This rapid change and innovations vary from organisation to organisation. For example, in electronics manufacturing organisations, rapid change and constant innovations may be more, hence employees are more prepared for product changes and retraining.

- **Customers**

In organisations that depend greatly on one major customer, the organisational culture is greatly influenced by that customer (Drennan, 1992; Williams et al., 1993; Brown, 1998). For example, the suppliers to Marks and Spencer produce garments according to the customer's specifications. The colour, size, quality, stitching of garments, and even the type of machine for stitching, are determined by Marks and Spencer. The suppliers are contracted to sell their entire product mix to Marks and Spencer. Hence they depend greatly on the satisfaction of Mark and Spencer. In this way their culture is greatly influenced by Marks and Spencer. Another example of the customers' influence on organisational culture is service organisations. Customers can typically move their business if they do not like what they get from service organisations. Hence, in such organisations the total focus is on the satisfaction of customers, and their culture is therefore greatly influenced by existing and potential customers.

- **Company Expectations**

A company's expectations have a big influence on employees' behaviour (Drennan, 1992). The employees learn how things are done in the organisation, and through these employees' subsequent work, the expectations of the

organisation become the major factor that influences the culture of that organisation. For example, if the rewards (such as increments and promotion) are given on the quantity of work, then employees will try to satisfy the quantity rather than quality of work leading to an organisational culture which supports quantity rather than quality of work.

- **Information and Control Systems**

Computerised information and control systems have a great influence on the culture of an organisation (Drennan, 1992). For example, a clerk in an organisation can easily say, "it is somewhere in the computer but, I'm sorry, we don't get a printout until two weeks on Friday." Hence a culture where delays are accepted can flourish if not properly checked by management. In another case computerised information has helped maintenance services to guarantee repair within a short time-scale. The call for repair is automatically forwarded by the computer to the repairman nearest to the customer making the request. The repairman knows the speed of service the customer has contracted for and therefore knows exactly within what time-scale the repair must be completed. Hence a prompt service culture can result from computerised information and control systems.

- **Legislation and Company Environment**

Legislation and national culture have a great impact on the culture of an organisation. For example, in one country it is easier to take permission for working during holidays than in another country. Hence it can become the culture to work during holidays in those countries where permission can be granted easily. In one country membership of the employees' union may be compulsory whereas it might be

optional in another country. For example, in the USA union membership is not compulsory whereas in Australia it is (Drennan, 1992). Therefore, employees might be more committed to follow the union policies in those countries where membership is compulsory than in those countries where membership is optional.

- **Procedures and Policies**

Procedures and policies have a prime role in shaping the culture of an organisation, while on the other hand, they can be the major source of employee frustration and alienation (Handy, 1976; Drennan, 1992). Procedures and policies are necessary as guidelines to help employees do a good job for their organisation, but when they are implemented rigidly they deprive employees of the authority to act promptly in difficult situations. Hence slow or delayed actions/services can become the norm within an organisation.

- **Rewards Systems and Measurement**

If bonuses and promotions are awarded to those who do well then that becomes part of the culture of the organisation. Also, organisations generally measure what is important to them, for example, sales, costs, profit, market share, return on capital, output, and quality. As a result, employees get feedback on their performance. Paying attention to the numbers or quality can, however, become a habit and hence part of the culture.

- **Organisation and Resources**

The availability of financial resources for completing a specific task can make a crucial difference to employees'

attitudes (Drennan, 1992). With adequate resources employees can gain the self-confidence to perform to their maximum potential. Employees with less than adequate financial resources can only do the best they can, and a mediocre performance can become the norm of that culture.

- **Goals, Values and Beliefs**

According to Deal and Kennedy (1982), Drennan (1992), and Williams et al. (1993), the goals a management sets and the values it truly believes in, have more influence on organisational culture than any other factor. Drennan (1992) gives the example of IBM, claiming that the outstanding success of IBM (in the 80s) was due to its unrivaled customer services rather than to its products. They were not first in the market-place, they did not always have the best products, and their products were often expensive (Drennan, 1992), but they still managed to sell more than anybody else because of their goals and beliefs.

An Analysis of Drennan's Factors

The following amendments are made to Drennan's factors:

- Drennan has placed national culture under the heading legislation and company environment, whereas national culture alone has a great impact on the culture of organisations. Therefore, this important factor (national culture) is taken separately. This amendment reflects the importance national culture plays in the culture of an organisation (Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede, 1984; Harvey, 1997; Brooks, 1999).
- In the explanation of information and control systems, Drennan has discussed computerised information and control systems. Hence the word "computerised" is also

included in the heading to make it more meaningful (see Figure 1).

- Drennan has described his twelve factors as "most important factors that influence organisational culture." Whilst these may be recognised as the most important factors at present, what about the future? If these are the most important factors then there is no room for any other factor(s) over time, whereas it is possible that others may emerge in the future. Therefore, the word "most" is omitted from any reference to Drennan hereafter, and the word "that" is replaced by "found to" to enable future factors to emerge.

Based on the changes, an overview of the factors that have been found to influence organisational culture is given in Figure 12.



Figure 3.14 An overview of the factors found to influence organisational culture

6.0 Conclusion

Classification is a powerful method of understanding culture and identifying associated issues, such as, misalignment. There are several approaches (for example, the Harrison and Handy typology, the Hofstede dimensions of national culture, the Deal and Kennedy typology, the Quinn and McGrath typology, the Sethia and Von Glinow typology, the Sholz typology and the Wiener typology) for the classification of organisational culture, but each one classifies organisational culture from a different perspective (such as, national culture, rewards systems, values, evolution over time, risk/feedback). Hence, it is difficult to portray a sufficiently complete overall picture of an organisational culture with the use of a single approach. A critical appraisal of the existing typologies is also part of this article. Another view of organisational culture (Drennan's factors that influence organisational culture) is also described in the article.

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How to Develop a Linguistic Model for Building a Bilingualized Lexicon

Muhammad Naseer

Introduction

Lexicography has developed rapidly as an autonomous discipline in the academic world during the last decades. Hartmann (1989a: 213) says that "fortunately, the last few years have witnessed a spectacularly fast growth of resources, meetings and publications in the field of lexicography..."

The concept of a bilingualized dictionary is a new one. "The bilingualized learner's dictionary is still largely unknown... (They) provide a bridge between the traditional bilingual dictionary and the monolingual dictionary" (Harmann : 1999). VOX-English Learners' Dictionary (1990) is an example of a bilingualized dictionary. The BRIDGE project has been launched by Harper Collins (UK) for building bilingualized dictionaries and John Sinclair is the Chief Editor. Under this project Collins COBUILD Student's Dictionary has been selected for translation into different languages of the world. The fundamental question is: Will the new bilingualized dictionary be as effective as the existing monolingual COBUILD dictionary? It will not be so. That is what my perception is. This article deals with how to make such a dictionary effective. The linguistic model which

can be used for the said purpose is conceptualized here. It can rightly be called a descriptive framework for building an effective bilingualized dictionary.

The best possible way to develop this model is to work within the following parameters suggested by Hartmann (1989: 213):

- i) Dictionary typology
- ii) User Profiles
- iii) Needs analysis
- iv) Skill protocols

To conduct research in the needs of learners empirical study is the best approach. "If we are genuinely interested in the dictionary needs of the learners,...empirical studies can help us understand the learners' reference needs and reference skills. These needs and skills are always determined by the particular social and institutional contexts in which learning takes place."(Hartmann : 1999).

Statement of the Problem

The existing dictionaries (e.g. OALD, LDOCE, COBUILD and CIDE) treat all users as one group of English learners. None of them is based on an empirical study of what the specific really seek.

The phonetic transcription comprising IPA is not welcomed by dictionary users whose native language is written in letters other than Roman. Learning IPA is considered a burden as these users take it as a third script entirely different from the two which they have already learnt. Due to this they cannot make use of phonetic transcription for learning the exact pronunciation of English words. So the

phonetic aspect of these dictionaries remains useless for them.

No ELD is edited with the consultation of lexicographers/ linguists who come from the user's community (with a few exceptions). The importance of scholarly assistance needs to be recognized. No ELD mentions lexical gaps between English language and the learner's native language. No ELD explains the collocations of different lexemes on the basis of a comparative analysis of English language and the user's native language. The said analysis can be used as a true instrument to disambiguate the meanings.

All ELDs claim to be helpful in both decoding and encoding text. It is of crucial importance to investigate whether they are really helpful in the process of encoding i.e. the production of text in English and to what extent do they help a user when he intends to write about a local scene or culturally rich local phenomenon.

The said dictionaries do not recognize the importance of the communicative ecology of the users which basically differs from society to society. The Editor of the Cambridge International Dictionary of English mentions "the fuss" which is the basic feature of all EL dictionaries other than his own. "Our first concern in writing Cambridge International Dictionary of English has been clarity and simplicity that is the clearest presentation we could devise with the minimum of the fuss and clutter that are the usual features of the dictionaries." (Procter 1995: viii).

Objectives of the research

The Primary objective of the research is to establish the steps for the development of a descriptive framework for

building an effective bilingualized dictionary. The secondary objective is to establish the importance of consideration of specific needs of ELD users who can be classified into groups on the basis of their linguistic and cultural background.

Research Questions

Why is the consideration of the specific needs (linguistic and culture) important for developing an effective learner's dictionary?

To what extent are monolingual EL dictionaries helpful at the following levels:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| a) Phonetic | b) Semantic |
| c) Grammatical | d) Pragmatic |

How can a bilingualized dictionary be developed as an effective helping tool for the encoding purpose ?

How can lexemes be organized in a way other than alphabetical order to help users perceive the meanings of words in a better and clearer way?

How can IPA symbols be replaced with a new set of phonetic symbols to transcribe English words in a way that could facilitate the learning of pronunciation for the target group?

Underlying Assumptions

Neglect of the specific needs of users made the existing ELDs less helpful. If the specific needs of ELD users are fully

recognized and acknowledged, an ELD will meet the needs of a user in a more satisfying way.

A bilingualized dictionary developed on the basis of consideration of learners' needs will be more effective than the existing monolingual dictionaries.

For the transcription of English words a new set of easier and more effective phonetic symbols can be developed if the acquired linguistic knowledge of a particular group of users is exploited.

Different meanings of lexemes can become clearer for a learner if the vocabulary is organized thematically rather than alphabetically.

If lexical gaps on a comparative basis (English V user's native language) are mentioned in a bilingualized dictionary, it will be more effective for encoding purpose.

Research Method and Paradigm

In the post-positivistic paradigm the qualitative research would be the most suitable one for the present research.

The following variables are involved in this study:

- (a) Independent Variable: Linguistic features of dictionaries
- (b) Dependent Variable: EFL learners' ability to use the dictionary

Research Instruments

The following instruments are required for this research:

- i) Questionnaire
- ii) Interviews

iii) Tests

iv) Related Literature

Subjects

The subjects of this study should consist of 1000 informants. They should comprise English teachers, educationists, policy makers and degree students in colleges and universities in user's native country (for the sake of specification let it be Pakistan). All these informants should have significant formal instruction in English during their education. They exhibit a good social distance from native speakers of English. They belong to a group that is neither dominant nor equal to Britons technologically or economically. The cultures of these two groups are hardly similar and the same is the case with their societal structures. The subjects have a fair degree of knowledge about the British and American cultures.

Research Procedure

Data for the analysis will be gathered through the questionnaire. The subjects will be samples drawn at random from the population. It is not arbitrary or haphazard as it requires a systematic approach.

Questionnaires will be administered to groups of students and individuals. They will fill them up in the presence of the researcher. With a captive audience a relatively high completion rate is guaranteed. Moreover if anyone finds a question unclear, the researcher can explain what he means.

Simple language tests will be administered to get data on both the aspects i.e. decoding and encoding.

Interviews will be held individually and they will be recorded for a detailed analysis.

Data Analysis and Presentation

Data collected from this qualitative research will be ordinal which means that scores can be placed in order from the smallest to the largest. It is sometimes called rank measurement. These ranks have the numerical values 1,2,3,4,5 etc. The Likert scale used would have only five alternative values. In this way tabulating data will be straightforward. Moreover the quantitative analysis is possible if data is in numbers.

The mean, mode and median of the data will be specified as the statistical mean, mode and median of the subjects are the mean, mode and median of the population. T-test and ANOVA should be carried for the advanced analysis. The computational tool to be used for the statistical analysis should be SPSS version 10.0.5. This programme helps summarize data into easy formats and present them through tables and explicit diagrams which will be adequately illustrated.

On the basis of the findings a Linguistic Model for building a bilingualized dictionary would successfully be developed.

Significance of the research

a) Theoretical Significance

The research is an interdisciplinary approach. Linguistic theories are involved for the development of lexicographic practice. Major theories involved in the present study are as follows:

- i) Zgusta's concept of anisomorphism of Languages
- ii) Semantic Fields

iii) Equivalence Typology

The survey to be conducted is hoped to favour Zgusta's concept of anisomorphism of languages. This theory refutes isomorphic polysemy. The division of semantic space is not identical in any two languages.

Thematic organization of vocabulary in a dictionary would be one of the questions in the said survey. Is the consideration of semantic field better than lexical sets? It will also provide material for discussion on collocations and colligation of lexical items. The proposed survey will be helpful to analyze the notion of lexical gaps at contrastive level. A comparison between *meaning-based entry* and *equivalence-structured entry* will be possible after collecting data on a good number of selected lexemes used in the survey. The informants' preference to either of the entries will help solve the debatable thematic issue of the translation meaning problem. The structuralist concept of 'three logically possible equivalence relations - full, partial and zero equivalence would be examined in the proposed survey.

Last but not least is the theoretical issue of contrastive idiom analysis. It concerns relations between idiosyncratic phenomena and the universal features of idioms. A theory based on cognitive heuristics can be established why certain idioms of a foreign language are easily understood or distorted or hardly understood. The analysis of responses from the informants will help develop the theory of cognition of idioms. Here the study of interlanguage will also be conducted which will help to develop the said theory.

b) *Empirical Significance*

This model to be developed with the help of lexicographers and dictionary editors for building an effective bilingualized dictionary. The phonetic symbols invented on the basis of exploitation of users' native language will be of a universal nature.

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Only a select bibliography is given here. It includes references too. For building the theoretical basis of the model to be developed, the articles and materials in the following inventory are strongly recommended:

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THE ELEGIAC HEANEY--
**A reading of *Glanmore Sonnets* in
 conjunction with *Clearances***

Ayesha F. Barque

Reading through Seamus Heaney's *New Selected Poems 1966-1987* I was struck by the similarity between *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances*. Both appeared to be about loss and presented an exercise in coming to terms with it. With this as my starting point I turned to biographical material. Heaney, born in Belfast, Northern Ireland in 1939 moved in 1972 to Glanmore, a peaceful country retreat in Wicklow county in Southern Ireland. The minority Catholic community in Northern Ireland saw this as a betrayal of the land and people living under volatile conditions in Ulster. Heaney saw it likewise and registered his choice as a loss and betrayal of his birthplace, Belfast, Northern Ireland. The *Glanmore Sonnets*, which mark the high point of his collection *Field Work* (1979) sub text the emotive ingredient of an ostensibly quiet existence away from Belfast. Another kind of separation is dealt with in *Clearances* the high point of *Haw lantern* (1987) published after the death of the mother, Margaret Kathleen, in 1984. These sonnets movingly text a separation by death from the mother. Both the series of sonnets share in the pressure of responsibility to what has been left behind or lost and are underlined with guilt for not having honoured the deep bond which separation now

makes difficult to honour. Propelled by a desire for liberation the sonnets attempt to work this angst out in poetry. The tension between obligation and desire constitutes the angst the sonnets subtext.

Both the series of sonnets are elegies in that they tacitly acknowledge loss, one of place and the other of person. They acknowledge the contribution of birthplace and mother — also a birthplace — in his life, express his bond with them and use the separation by loss as a means of liberating the agent now capable of making explorations independently.

Throughout Heaney's poetic career soil and relatives and friends constitute the source and subject of poetry. When asked about his abiding interest in memorializing the people of his life, he replied, "The elegiac Heaney? There's nothing else"ⁱ. Loss and death however continue to find their place in the ongoing process of life. The human agent retains agency beyond devastating experiences of loss and is able to take account of things and move on. The poems are thus as much about getting started as they are about loss.

Getting started, keeping going, getting started again -- in art and in life, it seems to me this is the essential rhythm not only of achievement but of survival, the ground of convinced action, the basis of self-esteem and the guarantee of credibility in your lives, credibility to yourselves as well as others.ⁱⁱ

The starting afresh again and again — after leaving Belfast and after the death of the mother — affirms the redressing potential of art, a faith from which both the series of sonnets draw life. Their organic power is expressive of the creative

possibilities of life. They seek to dissolve the text-world dichotomy by selectively retrieving images from the past and incorporating them into fresh wholes such that the sutures of separation disappear. The images of intimate contact seek to surmount the guilt and fear that comes from separation. Heaney draws on memory to create the fiction of immediacyⁱⁱⁱ and continues it unobtrusively into the present such that present exploration becomes organic to past relations canceling out the possibility of interpreting departure as betrayal.

The subtext identifiable in the pattern of construction of the poems reflects the angst the poems seek to come to terms with. It urges Heaney to make a redemptive journey through each of the series of sonnets in order to achieve peace with his creative space^{iv}. This space is both actual and metaphoric. The poems draw attention to this space by emptying it of its emotional content. Wicklow is a space of 'no sound' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1) that the *Glanmore Sonnets* fill up with images, ghosts and memories of the violence stricken Ireland. Clearance is a space that Clearances fill with memories of mother and son. As the sonnets occupy artistic space they also create an awareness of the vacancy within art and artist which provides the room for creative activity which signifies a looking ahead rather than casting an elegiac look over relationships. These poems thus perform a customized rite of passage into Wicklow from Belfast and clearance from sharing space with the mother.

I have so far classified the *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances* as elegies that hinge on the relation of the poet / son with what is betrayed / lost. I have also stated that the poems perform an expiation of the guilt that springs from betrayal. This performative is achieved through images of intimate contact with both what is betrayed and what is exchanged for it.

This contact allows them to address separation as continuity so as to nullify betrayal before the poet can experience

Having said what these poems are and what they attempt to do I will move on to say *how* they do it. Image is the poet's material and structure his satisfaction. Belfast and Wicklow (*Glanmore Sonnets*) and mother and son (*Clearances*) are expressed in distinct images. This separation in imagery signifies betrayal and the guilt subsequent upon it. To counter it the poems employ images of contact which serve to bridge the separation and suggest continuity of experience. This recurring movement and counter movement held in the balance structures the poet's expiation in one and initiation in the other as it structures poetry.

Apart from the features that operate independently in the two series what brings them together is the age old metaphor of mother for mother land and the Irish ballad tradition in which Ireland is the heroine of the freedom fighter's romance as the mother (*Clearances*) is of the son's poems. These ties of mother-land with the mother allow for the *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances* to constitute between them a hermeneutic code^v which reveals its clues in the imagery of the two series.

1

Heaney believes, 'To know who you are you have to have a place to come from'.^{vi} He begins both *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances* with the semantic explorations of the location which has source value^{vii} for him. This sense of place inaugurates both the series of sonnets. I begin my reading of

the *Glanmore Sonnets* with the poem that introduces *Clearances*.

She taught me what her uncle once taught her:
How easily the biggest coal block split
If you got the grain and hammer angled right.

The sound of that relaxed alluring blow,
Its co-opted and obliterated echo,
Taught me to hit taught me to loosen,

Taught me between the hammer and the block
To face the music. Teach me now to listen,
To strike it rich behind the linear black.

This poem voices the major themes of both *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances*.

The poem begins with a tacit acknowledgement of the instructing power of family elders. They have the ability to pass on an understanding of ordinary things, everyday activities that make up the business of life. As family wisdom teaches one to get 'the grain and hammer angled right' fears are dispelled and difficult tasks are made easy, 'relaxed' and 'alluring'. From there the learner learns from what he does. Activity itself emits sounds that tell on the medium in which it is conducted and guide the learner to become a sensitive and responsible acting agent. Heaney traces three instructors 'she', 'her uncle' and 'the sound' of activity. These together locate the fount of learning in history, the medium of activity and activity per se. The instruction imparted concerns identification of the medium to be explored and the instrument of exploration, precision

obligation only be an 'exonerating' stone and not one that accuses. The 'exonerating' and the 'exonerated' juxtaposed

and the opening up new mediums to understanding. This done, the last sentence of the poem effects a subtle shift of focus by absenting the grammatical subject. The instructor and the medium recede as the learner and teaching are foregrounded. Paradoxically, in doing so Heaney takes the presence of both the instructor and the medium of activity for granted and thus creates a fiction of immediacy^{viii} which does not require him to mention the mother or the coal block. These become the givens and thus the essentials of exploration. What remains is the 'me' embarking on the journey of understanding which is to be had in the verb 'listen' and the qualified 'strike' that operate in the yet fully unexplored medium conceptualized as 'the linear black'.

Thus we have, sown into this poem, the major theme of *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances* namely, the acknowledgement of the source that has instructed the poet to work precisely and sensitively into his medium so as to 'strike it rich' and make the medium emit meaningfully what it holds. The semantic value of the source is translated as the teaching agent with whom the poet has primal bonding. This bonding finds expression in activity sensitively and responsibly conducted. Source/space, activity, the responsible acting agent (the poet) and the medium in which he works thus constitute the building blocks of the poems. The medium here identified as the mysterious coal block becomes the Irish homeland in *Glanmore Sonnets* and the mother-son bond in *Clearances*. This is the ground Heaney has to strike rich with his 'squat pen'^{ix} and into which he is to make his explorative journeys 'beyond the linear black'.

The introductory poem of the *Clearances* introduces the conceptual building blocks out of which both the series of sonnets are constructed. *Clearances* 1 supplies the angst that

connects the building blocks into self conscious but 'tentative art'^x. To what purpose the art is so I will attempt to show by lifting fragments (in order) from *Clearances 1*.

A cobble thrown a hundred years ago
Keeps coming at me,

.....turncoat brow.

.....

.....

Running the gauntlet

.....

.....

Call her 'The Convert'

.....a genre piece

Inherited

And mine to dispose with.....

.....

The exonerating, the exonerated stone.

The art is tentative because it is ridden with responsibility. Hinged apparently on the angst emanating from the accusative stone *Clearances 1* employs it as a sure method of dealing with 'turncoat brow' and 'running the gauntlet'. The homely 'cobble' makes benign the Biblical echo of casting the first stone. Heaney draws heavily on the idea that those giving the stone verdict^{xi} were themselves sinners. The last line of the poem cleverly reverses the expected order of exoneration and secures neutral ground for the poet. The 'exonerated stone' becomes a synecdoche of sorts as it comes to stand for the (absent) those that accuse. The stone is exonerated i.e. those that cast are exonerated even though they are guilty. Thus forgiven, the stone that they cast can by obligation only be an 'exonerating' stone and not one that accuses. The 'exonerating' and the 'exonerated' juxtaposed

serve to invalidate blame. However the overwhelming presence of 'turncoat', 'running the gauntlet' and 'the convert' maintain culpability. Moreover the bonds expressed in relational words, 'great-grandmother', 'mother', 'my', 'mine' accept the inheritance of the 'genre piece' and the responsibility of disposing it off. The inheritance that comes to him is the blaming stone which he has chosen to perceive as the exonerating stone. Age old inheritance of betrayal and guilt, burden of legacy and the need for exculpation constitute the emotive content of *Clearances* 1. It is this content that provides the logic for the construction of both *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances*

The burden of responsibility-laden inheritance and the poet's need for exoneration define the central tension of the two series of sonnets. Both *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances* are elegies that are lovingly burdened with the deep bond that the poet has with what is lost — Belfast in *Glanmore Sonnets* and the mother in *Clearances*. His method is to take what's inherited and to work with it as if time and distance do not separate him from it. He thus creates a fiction of immediacy that allows him to deal with what is lost as if it is present. He makes contact with it and moves imperceptibly into the present such that what is lost and what is present serve to context a continuous experience. Such construction belies separation through images of contact. The building blocks of the poem — source, activity, the responsible acting agent (the poet) and the medium in which he works — are connected with the desire to dispose of the burden of inheritance in a way that exonerates the poet and enables him to come into a clearance. It is this desire that finds its objective correlative in the imagery of *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances*. The imagery conducts Heaney through rites of

passage to a 'respite' in *Glanmore Sonnets* and a 'clearance' in *Clearances*.

2

Glanmore Sonnets as *Clearances* begin with experiencing the source from a distance. In Wicklow Heaney is in the 'mildest February' that he has known 'in twenty years' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1)^{xii}. Coming to the misty mildness of Wicklow has opened up the 'other' ground of Belfast which is Heaney's synecdoche for the Irish history of struggle and violence. Away from violence Heaney has the opportunity to chart for himself a fresh course but his 'lea is deeply tilled'. The 'deep no sound' of Wicklow is suitably distanced from Belfast to receive the sounds of 'distant gargling tractors'. Its furrows are receptive to 'old ploughsocks' glutted with layer on layer of meaning. Its mist is host to 'ghosts' that assert their claim on all Irish ground and all art that it nurtures. Ireland, the 'dark unblown rose', is Heaney's beloved in the *Glanmore Sonnets* as the mother is in *Clearances*. The two connect in the Irish ballad tradition that harks after its beloved, Ireland. The past of Ireland makes up the 'dream grain' that quickens Heaney with its redolence and contextualizes itself in the present. The Irish heritage, maternal like the nurse's song and the lull of the river Derwent in Wordsworth's *Prelude*, has sensitized the poet to the sounds of the land. The stirred up 'freakish Easter snows' thus become both a collective and a personal granary of the high points of the past: Easters of collective significance such as that of 1916 and those spent with the mother 'which were the high points of our sons and lovers phase' (*Clearances* 6) together with the communal ceremonies of the Holy week that belong to both. The sounds of the land are the memories of past heroes and

political events together with more personal memories. These are the 'vowels ploughed into other' ground which distance has opened to release a redolence that quickens Heaney to recompose his past in the present such that the distance he has attempted becomes a tribute to and not a betrayal of the past that articulates his paradigm.

Language is a sensory experience which takes shape within the soil. Into and out of this soil it dares its first sensuous probings. The 'hiding places' of memory hold the 'dream grain', the collective Irish subconscious which holds 'what the mallet taps to know'. It is as if the DNA of art is contained in the land and contact is the requisite that will bring forth form and structure. Coming from 'Belfast' to 'hedge-school of Glanmore' Heaney remains on the same soil. From the 'backs of ditches' he hopes to ferret out a yet caught voice 'that might continue, hold, dispel, appease' the haunting sounds of the land. *Glanmore Sonnets 2* thus defines the conflict in the poet's mind and art between obligation and desire with Belfast signifying one and Wicklow the other.

These two sonnets, the first of the series are the most closely linked with *Clearances 2* and *6*. *Clearances 2* has an octave of the mother's instructions to the son over matters of homely conduct delivered to us in free indirect speech. In the sestate that follows the mother is making a homecoming to her father beyond this world. The son, by implication, is left to manage on his own. This prompts him — through the series — to recall and recast in verse the value message encoded in the times spent with the mother that always contain the hindsight of the devastating experience of her death which nevertheless was also a liberating experience for both mother and son. The octave and the sestate here are hosted

by two worlds which correspond to the two worlds in *Glanmore Sonnets* 1. That ability of the two experiences and two times to exist harmoniously yet distinct in a sonnet reflects the capacity of the poet to contain them likewise retaining the significance of both. Being close to the mother is a fiction that he creates again and again as he creates the fiction of being placed in Belfast because the two continue to be effective and active presences in his life. The influence of these presences extends beyond the personal to social and communal experiences where they incorporate the 'Formal incensation / And the psalmist's cry' (*Clearances* 6), the voice of Oisín Kelly (*Glanmore Sonnets* 2), 'the boortree's trunk' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5) and 'that winter/ Of nineteen forty-seven' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 6).

All sonnets of the *Glanmore* series are cast in a consciousness of time and distance that serve to separate Heaney from his source. He composes in and over time and distance. The sonnets ostensibly located in the present (*Glanmore Sonnets* 3, 4, 7 and 8) are attempts to raise a voice that would 'continue, hold, dispel, appease' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 2) the redolence that quickens him. The tension thus emanates from the fact that his angst is his inspiration.^{xiii} This tension weaves locations and experiences separated by time and distance into the fabric of the poem such that the evidence of separation is concealed in its pattern.

The sonnets apparently located exclusively in the present manage to ensconce evidence of the past in images of the present. *Glanmore Sonnets* 3 utters the resolve, "'I wont relapse/ From this strange loneliness I've brought us to/ Dorothy and William__'". This works as a dual reminder. One operating with reference to the poet who uses 'from' to suggest the place he could 'relapse' to. The other working the power of allusion over the present to talk of *Tintern Abbey*

which helps the poet go far back into his childhood, trace his youth and voice back to his primal bond with nature. The two together convey a backward pull, hindsight and resolve to stay where he is — a resolve strengthened by the refreshing breeze^{xiv} and the coming to a mellifluous close of all sounds 'crepuscular and iambic' into reassuring 'cadences'.

Glanmore Sonnets 4 is centered on images reflecting sound, meeting and excitement. It listens 'an ear to the line' to sounds of activity on the land. The sounds are 'Lifted over the woods' like the 'distant gargling tractors' (*Glanmore Sonnets 1*). The images the eye awaits likewise come from a distance as the ripples shake 'Two fields back'. Things 'vanished into where they start', the poem adds parenthetically, 'are shaking now across my heart'. Time and distance is bridged as the ear and eye anticipate and the heart tremors. Like the images in *Glanmore Sonnets 4*, *Glanmore Sonnets 7* describes the magnificence of the pageant of ships drawing into Wicklow harbour. Like the images in *Glanmore Sonnets 4* the 'gale-warning voice', the 'sirens of tundra' and the 'wind-compounded keen' both make up and collapse the distance of 'the sky/ Elsewhere' from Wicklow.

Glanmore Sonnets 8 operates on a different principle. It depicts Wicklow landscape superimposed with the omens of imminent violence and evidences — 'armour and carrion' — of bloodshed in Northern Ireland. This leads Heaney to anticipate violence in his immediate surroundings of 'peaceful absences' (*Glanmore Sonnets 1*) and he wonders, 'What would I meet blood-boltered on the road?'. This sonnet casts Wicklow in terms of the Irish history of violence. It thus forms the culmination of the technique

adopted in *Glanmore Sonnets* 3, 4 and 7 where the past is incorporated unobtrusively.

These sonnets are constructed on the principal that the past sounds itself in the present and manifests itself seamless into the Wicklow landscape. In that these sonnets are closely patterned on the poem introducing *Clearances* where the past devices for Heaney a way into the mysteries of experience. 'Who reads into distances reads/ beyond us' says Heaney. Both the series of sonnets attempt to read into distances. They seek to give meaning to the place in time from where the experience is conducted by making contact with what is 'beyond us' the place that is the source of the experiencing agent.

These sonnets share their method of construction with *Clearances* 4, 5 and 6 that recount experiences with the mother without acknowledging death, the fact of their separation. These experiences provide the method of construction for these *Clearances* poems as well as for those of the *Glanmore Sonnets* mentioned above.

.....'So I governed my tongue
In front of her, a genuinely well-

adjusted betrayal
 Of what I knew better. i'd *naw* and *aye*
 And decently relapse into the wrong
Grammar which kept us allied and at bay

Clearances 4

Separation not mentioned in these sonnets is accommodated in the use of the past tense and concealed in the pain and the fondness that prompts its recording. Thus Heaney works a 'genuinely well-/ adjusted betrayal' of what he knows better:

records the experience in such a way that the sutures of time that allow him to be allied also keep him at bay. Given the fact of loss this becomes his wrong grammar which nevertheless enables him assert an elegiac bond with the mother as imperceptible switches into the past permitted him to acknowledge his bond with the Violent history of Ireland.

Clearances 5 contains the shared activity of linen folding with its exciting moments of ending up 'hand to hand' that replicated in touch the bond that had 'always happened/ before hand'. Experiences in which Heaney had been 'allied and at bay' (*Clearances* 4) with the mother were those that held them 'day by day, just touch and go,/ Coming close again by holding back'. These experiences are brief, exciting and still shivering like those in *Glanmore Sonnets* 4 that 'are shaking now across my heart' like the joy of the 'our *Sons and Lovers* phase' that provides the opportunity to be 'Elbow to elbow, glad to be kneeling next/ to each other' in the 'packed church' (*Clearances* 6). In linen folding (*Clearances* 7) the fleeting, exciting, touch is made possible because of the cloth that holds one with the other like the fetal cord. The contact arrives at the epiphany, 'In moves where I was x and she was o', that makes *Clearances* 5 the emotional core of both the series of sonnets. We have here the image of the fetus moving in the 'o' of the amnion taking form from the 'x' that the mother inscribes^{xv}, the notorious algebraic variable taking its code from the source that conceives it.

Such a going back to the beginning is sensuously celebrated in *Glanmore Sonnets* 2 and 5. Heaney visits early experiences to trace language back to its 'vowels' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1) where words 'enter almost the sense of touch' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 2). He meets the 'snapping memory' from 'boortree'

to 'elderberry' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5). Back to the beginning he goes, the 'etymologist of roots and graftings' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5) licking into the 'soft corrugations in the boortree's trunk'. Like earliest childhood making tactile explorations, 'touching tongues' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5) he feels his way through the 'dark hutch' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 2). Exploring, he says 'I fall back to my tree-house and would crouch' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5). This tree corresponds with 'my coeval/Chestnut' (*Clearances* 8) which is the Metaphor Clearances adopt for the mother, 'I thought of her as the wishing tree that died'^{xvi}. The tree is the organic metaphor the darkness of whose trunk is Heaney's 'tree-house' to which he falls back and 'would crouch' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5) as in the womb. It constitutes the 'coal block' (Introduction to *Clearances*) which contains all sound and hence the primal relationships^{xvii} which are the roots to which the etymologist goes back to and onto which he grafts his art. Born in Northern Ireland, born to the mother Heaney resides in the tree planted in the turmoil redolent soil 'deeply tilled' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1).

It is thus in metaphor that the *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances* converge into a unifying theme of going back to the beginnings. I will leave this here to look at the attempt the poems make beyond metaphor towards articulation of a paradigm 'new from the lath' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1).

Heaney (*Glanmore Sonnets* 2) hopes to raise a voice 'That might continue, hold, dispel, appease' the sounds of the past. The *Glanmore Sonnets* that I have so far read in conjunction with *Clearances* sonnets accommodate the past, almost imperceptibly, in the present. Thus they serve to 'hold' and 'continue' the 'vowels ploughed into' the ground that has been opened into *Glanmore Sonnets* with the arrival in Wicklow and into *clearances* with the death of the mother.

Those of the *Glanmore Sonnets* that juxtapose Belfast and Wicklow as distinct experiences and those of the Clearances sonnets that record the mother's death acknowledge the angst of separation and attempt to translate and thus 'dispel' and 'appease' the troubling images of the past.

Glanmore Sonnets 2 goes back 'years ago' from Wicklow to Belfast to explore with language the mysteries of the land. He puts into practice lessons learnt from Oisín Kelly's art that took its shape from the stone in which he worked. The image of Oisín Kelly's chisel connives with Heaney's slow chanter to find its value in 'the subsoil of each sense' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1). Heaney identifies himself as 'etymologist of roots and graftings' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5). His concern is as much with history as with progress. His art is an attempt to graft onto the 'vowels' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1) of history the harbours that are 'haven' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 7) so as to move forward and not back to the 'verse returning' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 2) from the deeply tilled lea.

Glanmore Sonnets 6 visits the winter of nineteen-forty-seven to recast and adopt someone else's resolve, "I will break through", he said, "what I glazed over/ With perfect mist and peaceful absences...". The perfect mist is of repressed memory which Heaney unearths in poetry. Peaceful absences are afforded by achieving a peaceful distance from violence. Poetry thus becomes an act of breaking through to what's painful. This act of daring finds its image in riding a bike on thin ice recalled from hearsay. Things are thus brought to the precarious moment where 'things might crystallize or founder'. Stories from the past stimulate but summon the 'white goose/ after dark' like the Albatross to the Mariner.^{xviii}

The past thus continues to introduce into art a backward pull along with the urge to move forward. Sensitive to the ever surfacing images of the past Heaney is sometimes guilty for the government of the tongue effecting a 'genuinely well-/adjusted adequate betrayal' (*Clearances* 4) to maintain an amiable relationship with what is now absent. At other times he is haunted by the ghosts of the past with whom he actively seeks a harmonious existence, decently relapsing into the wrong grammar (*Clearances* 4), such that they remain 'allied and at bay' (*Clearances* 4). To dispel the troubling memory of having deserted Northern Ireland (*Glanmore Sonnets*) and having lost the mother with whom he only connected in episodes in the past (*Clearances*) Heaney imposes an order on his verse that redresses the two irks. He records what haunts and summons from memory more to assert a bonding, exorcise and to pay tribute. This method of construction implicit in *Glanmore Sonnets* explains itself in *Clearances* 2, 3 and 7.

Clearance 2 juxtaposes a sestate of mother's voice with an octate of the mother being welcomed by her father beyond the grave. *Clearances* 3 composes mother and son in potatoe peeling where he is 'all hers' while 'all the others were away at Mass'. This closeness and the silence in which the activity is conducted gives both mother and son the quite to lapse into reverie out of which the splashes in the bucket shake them. The following sestate defies the separation that the mother and son maintained in joint activity. Heaney describes the time of the mother's death when they were 'never closer the whole rest of our lives'. The knives working their separate tasks in potatoe peeling are cast as the confluent breath of mother and son, her head bent towards my head'. Thus *Clearances* 3 records the experience of the mother's approaching death. *Clearances* 7 records the death itself.

The space we stood around had been emptied
 Into us to keep, it penetrated
 Clearances that suddenly stood open.
 High cries were felled and a pure change happened.

Glanmore Sonnets 7 is the only of the series located entirely in Wicklow. It marvels in the magnificence of Wicklow harbour and interprets it as 'haven'. The 'clearing' that this 'haven' leads him to experience comes from the weight of association with Belfast from which it offers a release. It marks for Heaney a universalizing moment connecting him to distant ports under the sky that forms a clearing to correspond with the lightness experienced. Such a clearing is a breaking free and is momentary as the next two sonnets in the series show. The 'Clearances' attained after the mother's death however effect a 'pure change'. These clearances are both emptying and filling. They locate the experiencing agent on the periphery of emptiness while they locate experience, relationship, in short the 'other'^{xix} within them.

Heaney has remarked that since the death of his parents, he feels as if "the roof has blown off" his life. We are inevitably released from the weight and shield of our ancestors. This lightening, when we are finally exposed to the elements, to the cosmos, is both freeing and frightening----- Joe Pellgrino

It is the perception of the paradoxical nature of one's earliest bonds that structures the *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances*. In some sonnets Heaney weaves the past into the present to present life's forward journey as a continuation and

containment of these bonds. In others he juxtaposes images of the past with images of the present to reveal the fact that the liberating movement forward is troubled by the call of the past but the two stand distinct. In yet others Heaney suspends his desire to move on, acknowledges the backward pull of responsibility, and translates it into poetry whose imagery composes the objective correlative of the clearings he has managed to arrive into. The concluding sonnets (*Glanmore Sonnets* 9, 7, 10 and *Clearances* 8) of both the series fall under this category.

In *Glanmore Sonnets* 9 the ordinary and expected in the landscape is charged with omen and decay^{xx} as the 'raindrops' in *Glanmore Sonnets* 8. The peaceful Wicklow landscape is perceived in terms of the memory of violence in Northern Ireland. This leads the poem to question Heaney's decision to move away from the turbulence of Northern Ireland, 'Did we come to the wilderness for this?' The 'infected fruit', 'reek of silage', blood on ... pitch-fork, ... chaff and hay' and 'Rats speared' are examples of the ordinary ascribed an emotional content not intrinsic to it. Yet the utterance, 'I'm not/ imagining things' launches a plea to be taken seriously. This polarizing of present experience with emotions experienced elsewhere justifies the 'haunts' and 'tangle' that Heaney has put his companion into. He has drawn another, presumably the friendly (*Glanmore Sonnets* 3), welcomed (*Glanmore Sonnets* 4), and fear allaying companion (*Glanmore Sonnets* 8) mentioned earlier into the questionable rewards of his decision. This expands Heaney's sense of responsibility beyond the personal and leads him to question, 'What is my apology for poetry?'. The question gains poignancy from the fact that poetry itself expresses it making it a question about existence.

Having thus focused his concern over art Heaney recalls a

dream in *Glanmore Sonnets* 10. Reluctant to exonerate himself for his decision to move away from Northern Ireland Heaney translates the experience twice in art: dream and poetry. The logic of dream and the logic of desire become his apology for poetry. Lorenzo and Jessica cast out of their warm Venetian climate are nature-blessed, asperged and laid for sacrifice on raised ground. Heaney draws on the folkloric sympathy for runaway lovers to illicit a similar response for himself who has followed the course of desire to 'art a paradigm of earth new from the lathe' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1). He continues to narrate the same dream which extended into a personal experience of awakening of the senses 'towards the lovely and painful/ Covenants of the flesh'. The lover's 'deliberate kiss' is an expression of fresh kindlings that expand the possibilities of experience. Separateness from land (Venice) and lover becomes both the impetus and justification for arrival into new experiences. The desire that prompts this separation sees it as crucial for the survival of love and bonding. Also separation is not an act of betrayal but an of upholding the value of fidelity and the means of keeping dreams alive.

As *Glanmore Sonnets* 10 translates the emotive content of experience into a dream *Clearances* 8 transmutes it into the apotheosis of the tree that the earlier sonnets of both the series have together evolved as the metaphor for the mother. *Clearances* 8 begins with the space that *Clearances* 7 forms with the mother's death. The concepts of empty and filled work together to give 'space' a paradoxical value. For the poet it opens up existing clearances to effect a 'pure change'. Heaney thus collapses the separateness from the mother into a union as the mother loses form and substance. *Clearances* 8 employs sexual imagery to evoke a union with the mother now described in terms of the space that has emptied itself

into after the mother's death. This space is source. The 'etymologist of roots and graftings' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5) continues life unbroken from the source through the 'soul ramifying and forever/ Silent'. The tree is 'coeval' with its new branches that continue to grow beyond the apparent collapse of the source. I will illustrate the grafting through sexual union with the tree in quotes from the poem:

.....jumped and jumped and skited high
the hatchet's differentiated
 Accurate cut , the crack, the sigh
And collapse

This collapse apparently of the tree is of what 'luxuriated/ Through the collapse' i.e. those into whom the space has been emptied. The tree itself continues 'ramifying' as it is apotheosized and 'Silent, beyond silence listened for'. The 'heft' and 'hush' of its existence is relocated in 'a bright nowhere'. Although about death and accommodation the sonnet's domestic imagery keeps it from being a sad poem. Heaney only thinks of walking 'round and round' the space but does not circumscribe himself in it. Instead the ramifying soul offers a potential for creativity and marks a forward movement. The tree is 'long gone' but its being 'deep planted' and assimilated as in 'jam jar from a hole' gives it lasting location in life and gives the poet the silences to listen into. This takes us back to all the listening that has willy nilly engaged him. He operates in the 'deep no sound' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1) emptied into him and is thus receptive to sounds 'of distant garling tractors' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1) or 'couplings and shuntings two miles away' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 4).at one level the opening provided him with the death of the mother who initiated him into activity, sound and sensitivity becomes Heaney's 'apology for poetry'.

environments and prosper in natural clearances. Art itself is

3

I conclude my study of the *Glanmore Sonnets* in conjunction with *Clearances* with *The Wishing tree*^{xxi} which, composed on the pattern of the poem introducing *Clearances*, acts as an epilogue to the series.

I thought of her as the wishing tree that died
And saw it lifted, root and branch, to heaven,
Trailing a shower of all that had been driven

Need by need by need into its hale
Sap-wood and bark: coin and pin and nail
Came streaming from it like a comet tail

New-minted and dissolved. I had a vision
Of an airy branch-head rising through a cloud,
Of turned up faces where the tree had stood.

The space that was created with the mother's death is filled up with the experience of the tree's apotheosis. The trailing shower of what 'need' had 'driven' in is reminiscent of the 'trailing clouds of glory we come' from Wordsworth's *Ode to Intimation of Immortality*. The expression takes value from the concept of heavenly connection that the ode describes but employs it in reverse process. The wishing tree where all wishes were cast surrenders them as it rises leaving wishes unsheltered and nowhere to place them. The connection of need is cast off as the 'airy branch-head rises' leaving the 'turned-up' faces unable to place their wishes in the mother's sheltering protection.. Heaney's conception of mother as the 'wishing tree' accommodates both the 'boortree' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 5) which was his 'tree-house' of protection and tactile

exploration and the 'chestnut' (*Clearances* 8) in which he luxuriated and with which he sought an oedipal union which marks the beginning of all separations. The sonnets of both *Glanmore* and *Clearances* series are, by implication, the 'coin and pin and nail' of the rising 'branch head' that sheds all that has been grafted onto it by 'need'. The poems of both the series are grafts of need from which the source rises 'root and branch' liberating itself and simultaneously liberating the 'turned up faces'. The Wishing Tree articulates the separation as release and presents the clearing as a clearance of what occupied it. What attains this for the poet is his 'vision' that translates the 'coeval' (*Clearances* 8) to the stars. The 'clearance' (*Clearances* 8) is not something Heaney has sought but something that has been left to him by the mother who has found herself a home away from him in New Row with her father or in the stars glorified.

A relocation of what's lost liberates the poet to locate himself as he chooses. The organic metaphor of the tree facilitates life of another sort.. In the mother's death he is betrayed, in moving to Wicklow he has betrayed. In writing he encrypts both his guilt and his desire in pertinent questions that place the text within the world. If the 'dream grain' (*Glanmore Sonnets*1) is to haunt 'peaceful absences' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1) what has he gone to the wilderness for and what is to be his apology for poetry? The two series of sonnets constitute between them the hermeneutic code of exoneration in expressing the continuous immediacy of what is apparently and surely lost. One places the mother beyond this world the other places Heaney outside Belfast. Art, like the runaway lovers, Lorenzo and Jessica, (*Glanmore Sonnets* 10) is with desire and for life. It is both an admission and an assertion of love. It tacitly acknowledges and celebrates love's organic nature and its propensity to engraft itself onto new environments and prosper in natural clearances. Art itself is

its justification when it is not unmindful of the relationships that have made it possible. The performative of expiation cast by the *Glanmore Sonnets* and *Clearances* thus simultaneously becomes a somber acknowledgement of the possibilities that the responsibilities of love bonds introduce into life and art.

Loss is 'respite' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 10) as one is laid out like 'effigies' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 10) 'asperged' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 10) in waiting. Loss when it is irrevocable as in *Clearances* is 'emptied into' (*Clearances* 8) its survivors and becomes a means of permanent unification with what is lost. The emptiness subsequent upon loss contains the experience of losing. This experience when sounded echoes the 'genre piece' (*Clearances* 1) that the 'exonerated' stone taps into an exonerated 'as if the grain/ Remembered what the mallet tapped to know' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 2). With this carving of elegy guilt, loss and separation are accommodated in a genre piece that has completed its expiation in *Clearances* after having achieved a respite in *Glanmore Sonnets*. 'big-eyed Narcissus' has stared into the 'spring, seen into himself, his 'subsoil' (*Glanmore Sonnets* 1), and has 'set the darkness echoing' with images of the source that have shaped him^{xxii}. These images, at times metaphoric in their capacity to sensuously explore and describe art and artist alike, attain for both an exonerated, in and through art.

Notes

ⁱ SEAMUS HEANEY: *Biography*, Britannica CD Version 98.

ⁱⁱ Further down Heaney continues, "... Unless that underground level of the self is preserved as a verified and a verifying element in your make-up, you are in danger of settling into whatever profile the world prepares for you. You'll be in danger of molding yourself in accordance with the laws of growth other than those of your intuitive being. "Seamus Heaney's Remarks, Commencement Ceremony at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, May12,1996.

ⁱⁱⁱ Andrew Bennet and Nicholas Royle, *An Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*, Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995.p31.

^{iv} Seamus Heaney in *Harvest Bow* says, 'The end of art is peace'.

^v. The notion introduced by Roland Barthes is quoted by Andrew Bennet and Nicholas Royale in *An Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*, Prentice Hall /Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996. pp 171-172.

^{vi}. Seamus Heaney quoting Carson McCullers in *The Sense of Place*, Smith,19 . pp 227

^{vii}. In his exploration of the source Heaney is careful not to mention the connecting word *from* which would signify the otherness of location. He moves from one place/ person to the other maintaining the fiction of immediacy for the place/person he is separated from.

^{viii}. The poem's 'fiction of immediacy' (the sense that the speaker is addressing someone or something that is present and that the action of the poem takes place in 'real time') becomes fully apparent at this point when the speaker, with the words, 'teach me now', urges this someone or something

to act.

I owe my understanding of the concept of 'fiction of immediacy' to Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle, *An Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory— Key Concepts*, Prentice Hall / Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995. p. 31

ix. Seamus Heaney, *Digging, Death of A Naturalist*, 1966.

x. Seamus Heaney, *Casualty, Field Work*, 1979.

xi. Seamus Heaney, *The Stone Verdict, The Haw Lantern*, 1987.

xii. This paragraph deals with *Glanmore Sonnets 1*. Quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from there.

xiii. This might appear to be a truism which it may well be for its applicability to a host of writers, Kafka, to say the least, but the obvious is the most neglected category and sometimes urges reiteration.

xiv. After the mention of Wordsworth all breeze is the inspirational breeze of *The Prelude* a poem about 'beginnings' that holds significant for sonnets that attempt to acknowledge the source in experiences of adulthood.

xv. The male child in the domain of biology is born with sex determining chromosome combination XY of which the X is inherited from the mother.

xvi. Seamus Heaney, *The Wishing Tree, Haw Lantern*, 1987.

xvii. I use the sounds held in the 'linear black' in the poem introducing *Clearances* and Heaney's reference to Wordsworth in *Glanmore Sonnets*, No. 3 to interpret primal bonds in terms of sound which corresponds to the lull of river Derwent, the first inspirational music in Wordsworth's life as recorded in *The Prelude*, Book 1.

xviii. S.T. Coleridge, *The Rhyme of The Ancient Mariner*

xix. The use of the other is fully appreciated with reference to the meaning it holds in *Glanmore Sonnets 1 and 2, Field Work*, 1979.

xx. Refer to 'carrion', *Glanmore sonnets*, No. 8, *Field Work*, 1979.

- xxi. Seamus Heaney, *The Wishing Tree, Haw Lantern*, 1987.
- xxii. Now to pry into roots, to finger slime,
 To stare, big-eyed Narcissus, into some spring
 Is beneath all adult dignity. I rhyme
 To see myself, to set the darkness echoing.
 Seamus Heaney, *Personal Helicon, Death of A Naturalist*,
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Sea Imagery in Derek Walcott's The Sea at Dauphin

Amra Raza

This study explores how Derek Walcott consciously employs sea imagery to generate structural, thematic and technical complexities in his short play The Sea at Dauphin. In the course of the exploration I will show how the sea is used as a contextual and conceptual device to characterise both landscape and mindscape.

The action of Walcott's play is plotted on a windswept Island in the West Indies on the Atlantic sea coast, populated by a sparse and predominantly masculine fishing community, ranging over three generations. Much like the fishermen Achille, Philocrete and Hector in Omeros¹, in The Sea at Dauphin, we have Afa, Gacia and Augustin. But there are also references to dead fishermen such as Bolo, Boileau, Habal, Arnelles and Raphael. Then there is the young boy and old Hounakin. Thus landscape setting, its inhabitants and even the drowned are defined in terms of the seascape. In fact, the creation and continuity of the spatial and generational, is attributed to and recorded by the Sea as history when Hounakin remarks, "The Sea have many navels, many waves, and I did feel to die in Dauphin Sea, so I could born, "(p.69). This is corroborated when Afa says, "Ask it where Bolo's bones and Rafaeis and friends I did

have before you ever born," (p.53)echoing Walcotts poem Seacanes, "Half my friends are dead/I will make you new ones, said earth/ no, give me them back, as they were instead /I cried, "(p.331)². Thus the Sea becomes the tribal memory which is more reliable and superior to personal memory. This is substantiated by the fact that when Afa tells Gacia, "But the sea forget," (p.47) when Bolo drowned, Gracia replies, "But the sea do what it have to do, like wind, like birds, like me, "(p.47). The emphasis is on the independence of the historical process and its relation to the individual and collective consciousness.

The sea imagery in Walcott's play also generates a variety of rhythms. On the one hand there are regularly repeated pulses of energy created through the mention of the sea's roughness, and altercations of strong and weak pulsations of wind and wave. On the other hand, there are up-down and backward - forward rhythmic patterns as well as contrapuntal movements. These provide structural cohesion and have thematic correlations.

The proceeding and receding tidal rhythm is structurally integrated into the play through the ambivalent attitude of the fishermen towards the sea. For them sea life is a compulsion; but the sea is also a source of comfort. There is the sense that island life lacks rootedness and stability, yet at the same time the seabed is the repose of the dead. Thus the sea is life and death, retribution and resurrection. Afa in The Sea at Dauphin voices the difficulty of cultivating a livelihood from the sea, he says, "you cannot plant it, the sea food does move and one must follow it, "(p.53). He comments bitterly on the harsh life at Dauphin, "forty years, quarante, I work this water," (p.50), and this becomes almost like a refrain which echoes throughout the play such as

when Afa reprimands Hounakin with, "What right a man is blind... to work the sea?" (p.53). Even Augustin reluctantly accedes, "Old man, the sun come up and sea have work," (p.65). Ironically Hector in Omeros paid the penalty of giving up the sea, "lost his life in a wreck,"³ when he became a taxi driver (Lviii). As the play progresses, for Afa, the sea becomes a source of both anguish and compassion. He says, "Is I does make poor people poor, or this sea vex?... Everyday sweat, sun and salt, and night is salt and sleep and all dead days pack away and stink is Dauphin life... so I must work the sea that is my pasture, garce. If it is compassion you want, talk to the sea," (p.53) and, "it have compassion in the end," (p.61). The alliteration of sibilant fricatives such as 's' and hard alveolar 'd' sounds contribute to the ambivalent attraction and repulsion rhythm created through the sea imagery. The two views of the sea as survival and salvation find a parallel in The Odyssey in which the First Attendant says, "The seas a maw that devours," and Nestor contradicts with, "A god who saves," (p.23-4).⁴

A thematically post colonial ambivalence in the attitude of the black colonised towards the white coloniser is also made evident through the sea imagery. Afa, a 'nigger' is attracted and repulsed by the white sea much like Makak is enamoured with and afraid of the moon woman in Dream on Monkey Mountain. In fact, the corporal in the latter remarks, "is this rage for whiteness that does drive niggers mad" (p.255)⁵, a sexual connotation which finds a parallel in Afa's enraged question, "The Sea is Gacia Woman, no man must touch it?" (p.60). The tension between the masculine and feminine is voiced in Gacia's avowal to, "Finish with the sea", (p.78) to which Afa replies sarcastically, "you always finish with the sea. But you and I, compere, we cannot finish" (p.78). To this Gacia replies, "If you leave women, I

can leave the sea..." (p.78). The play also ends on a sexually connotative image of the, "Fond River coming down by the canes and making one with the sea at Dauphin" (p.80) echoing Afa's earlier observation about Point Jesu, "where water making white after Sablisse", (p.52).

Contrapunctal rhythms much like pendular movements, are set up and sustained in The Sea at Dauphin. In the first half of the play Afa's attitude to taking old Hounakin fishing is indignant and cynical, whereas Augustin's is pleading and respectful. In the later part Augustin becomes enraged and Afa tries to maintain self control. Hounakin is earlier afraid of the seatrip, yet when he is left on shore he commits suicide by jumping into the sea. Thus rising and ebbing sea tides find an objective correlative in human emotions. The gravitational force of the sea at Dauphin is very strong, and felt in Houakin's temptation to succumb and yield to death. But there is an equally strong instinct in Afa to resist the sea and survive, and he advises a young apprentice to be, "Brave like Habal to fight the sea at Dauphin. This piece of coast is made for men like that," (p.76). The audience is also pulled in opposite directions by the lyrical wisdom of the Dauphin women's song in, "Farewell, my love, farewell, when fishermen die / there is no more bad luck and no more sea/" (p.70), and the foolish abandon of Lavoisier in, "Let the wind come, sea come, let the hurricane blow," (p.72). In Federico Garcia Lorca's '**Blood Wedding**', it is the land which generates connotations of preservation and destruction as the father tells his daughter's mother-in-law "when I was young, this land didn't even grow hemp we've had to punish it, even weep over it to make it give us anything useful" (p.222)⁶ and yet the servant sings of "the fields wait for the whisper of spurting blood" (p.242)⁷.

The sea imagery also creates a powerful subtext in which opposite forces struggle for dominance. The sea is like a Pagan god of antiquity at war with the Christian god of the land. This technique magnifies the tension of the play to an epic proportion. Gacia remarks, "This sea not make for men. God self can't sail it," (p.59). Augustin defines the sea in terms of the undefinable, "The sea is the sea", (p.60) - an idea which finds a parallel in Gods words to Moses on the Mountain as, 'I am what I am'. Afa clarifies the dichotomy as, "Is land you know, old man, you don't know the sea...but this sea is no cemetery for old men, go on the morne behind the presbytery...talk to priest," (p.64). It seems as if Afa's faith in the sea is pitted against the faith and preaching of the priest, Lavoisier. Like Afa, the poet in *Crusoe's Island* remarks, "My father God is dead / past thirty now I know / To love the self is dread / Of being swallowed by the blue," (p.68)⁸. Hounakin verifies the stature of the sea as another pole of faith by, "Nobody know God height, and nobody know how deep the green sea is," (p.68). The water imagery is also used in its biblical context with connotations of Afa, like Christ, walking on water in the storm and the casting of bread on water, as Afa's boat is named *Our daily bread*.

In Walcott's Nobel Laureate lecture there is the repeated image of a broken vase restored with painstaking care. This finds a parallel in the Caribbean Islands as pieces of the African continent. Augustin voices the concern of a fragmented identity in, "You leave something in Africa?. Between there and Dauphin 10,000 miles?" (p.61). The sea was the slave trade route and thus also a witness to black exploitation and suffering at the hands of the Europeans and British. Thus the element of water carries not only associations of suffering, painful memories of amniotic unity, but also dreams of reunion. Post colonial existence becomes haunted by pre-colonial memories but paradoxically just as the past is part

of the present, so the nightmare is part of the dream.

Kinetic changes in the sea are accompanied by colour and textural changes. The play opens on, "Two weeks now this sea whiter than spit" and, "It white like the time when Bolo drown," (p.46). This is an image which recurs in *Sea is History* as, "The bitch hawk and spat / A spit like that worth any number of words" (p.350)⁹. Movement fluctuations very often follow a musical diminuendo-crescendo pattern intensifying colour as Gacia notes, "I see it bad, but never in a life like this," (p.47), Afa corroborates, "is more rough than you will see again for many weeks...every night it getting whiter," (p.57-8) and Hounakin exclaims, "The sea rough for two weeks" (p.67). But towards the end of the play a reversal begins as Afa predicts, "The sea will go down" (p.67) and as the sun goes down, "The sea too..." (p.80), recedes and calms down. The sea is thus churned from congealing spit to a fierce roughness and then subsides into a calm fluidity. It is through these changes and the naming of geographical and spatial markers such as Pointe, Maingot and Sablisse, that Walcott gives the expanse of whiteness a three dimensional quality of paradoxical enclosure and freedom.

The sea in Walcott's play is both character and device for characterisation. The progressive personification of the sea describes a physical and emotional constitution in terms of attributes ranging from the human and creatural to the mythical. It develops from a mischievous youngster with, "The next half [of the wind] in the sea back pocket" (p.46), as in *The Schooner Flight*, "Be Jesus, I never see sea get so rough... That wind come from God back pocket" (p.358 Sec.10)¹⁰. Then follows a malicious creatural mutation to the, "Sea grinding his teeth" (p.52) and, "Like a mad dog

fighting" (p.59) till like a hungry predator, "The sea took Bolo who was so brave" (p.70). Thus by the end of the play the sea becomes a mythical god with, "many navels" (p.69) which has to be appeased with sacrifice, "like somebody shaking this basin of the world / And making waves where man and boats is drowning. Is God..." (p.68). Metaphors and similes employed to create dynamic sea images, generate intertextual parallels of realistic African predators and mythical monsters and gods such as Scylla, Charybdis and Poseidon. Afa is identifiable as Odysseus, Shabine, Crusoe and even Santiago. The sea images are not only vividly visual and auditory but also emotive and cognitive, illustrated in Afa's contemptuous, "God's white man. The sky is his blue eye / His spit on Dauphin people is the Sea," (p.61). The sound of the sea as, "dead fisherman laughing...fisher woman crying...never quiet. Always noise, noise", (p.58) is also the meaning of the play: the coexistence of happiness and suffering in human life.

The reference to the fisherman fighting, feeding and finishing with the sea is a device of characterisation which gives these common men a warrior stature. Gacia and Afa are aggressive and Afa considers himself an equal adversary with, "The sea and I don't sleep", (p.49) whereas Hounakin and Augustin are defensive.

Through Walcotts use of sea imagery in The Sea at Dauphin we see an evolution of a medium of communication which has all the properties of language. The sea images are used, like a language, to convey information and record history. They have an intonational rhythm and denotative as well as connotative meanings. The sea images also perform speech acts characteristic of a language because they are used to praise, to insult, to evoke mood, to incite, to protest and even to placate. These images at times also become the shared

meaning of the senders and receivers of the messages within the play. The characters thus talk about the sea in a language of sea images, which has functional, semantic and metaphorical dimensions. The declamatory rhetoric of the sea images enlarge Walcott's themes in The Sea at Dauphin beyond the characters and confines of the play to address the audience as sharers of a common human fate.

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Patterns of Global Foreign Direct Investment and Determinant Issues for Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

Love, liberty and free choices in markets all are precious and closely related commodities. As Stalin said about the rationing of liberty, there is also a natural rationing of capital to the most deserving ones. Arts, sciences and useful skills, all evolve and wealth of nations accumulates in peace times. Accordingly, capital blossoms in peace times and likewise FDI dies in the domains of political instability, war and crisis. Pakistan is still suffering from the basic barricade of FDI inflows, political instability. More than half century has passed since its birth and while many caravans of communities and societies have made their way to prosperity and civilization, the unfortunate nation is still standing at the crossroads of political uncertainty.

This study explores patterns of FDI across the countries of world and investigates determinant issues for low FDI in

Pakistan. Patterns of global FDI indicate that FDI was largely influenced by a number of factors in the host countries including market size, mergers and acquisitions, availability of low wage skilled labor, hospitable policies, privatization, restructuring, availability of natural resources, conducive institutional and legal framework, and exports-oriented economies. Reduced psychological distance in terms of cultural proximity, diversity and liberal life styles created beauty in the eyes of foreign investors for the recipient countries.

Foreign direct investment has played a significant role in transformation, contributing finance, development policy, training for public policymakers, supporting reforms, and expansion of public services. Foreign direct investment [FDI] has overtaken international aid to become the engine of globalization. It has been one of the defining features of the world economy over the past two decades. It stimulates production improvements, contributes to technological advancement, generates manufacturing employment, and boosts exports of the host country. The GATT Treaty and creation of World Trade Organization [WTO] gives even greater access for private investment in member countries.

The flow of foreign capital in the form of direct investment plays a major role in creating core of the global economy by linking international economies and building an integrated international production system. Governments which have taken steps to liberalize their economic policies have not only witnessed rapid increases in FDI flows but also experienced the gains of integrated international production, including higher relative wages and access to improved management techniques, new technology, and marketing links. There are a number of determinant issues for the

failure of Pakistan in attracting substantial FDI resulting in part, continued economic stagnation and financial dilemma.

The findings of this study indicate in part that a set of consistent and prudent national investment related policies combined with other determinant factors notably political stability, Water and Power, and sophisticated technology skills may attract more FDI, thereby facilitate rapid industrializing, increase jobs opportunities, boost exports, and manage balance of payment and external debt problems of Pakistan.

This study may be useful to national decision makers, policy makers, financial and investment wizards, management of multinationals, bankers, and students of international finance.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of foreign investment and trade is as old as human civilization. Many organized groups and tribes used to travel in other parts of the world for the sake of trade and investment. The practice of foreign trade and investment was common in the many parts of the world and the only difference was the, modes and means. The Arabic traders used to come in the sub-continent for trade and investment. The concept of financial superiority, economic exploitation and political domination gained momentum when Europeans used sea routes for foreign trade and investment with the ultimate goal of accumulating wealth of India, China and the rest of the East through their disguised policy of colonization (Burns, 1974).

Thanks to Ricardo principal of comparative advantage and mutual dependence among national economies, cross-border

direct investment has attracted attention from various fields of the world. It is estimated that in future global direct investment will contribute to a well-balanced development of the world economy by stimulating free economic activities in and among nations around the world. It would be one of the key instruments for the establishment of peaceful international relations among the countries (International Monetary Fund, 1993).

Foreign direct investment [FDI] plays a crucial role in the development of host country. FDI may reinforce the confidence in economy and create a development cycle that affects not only local and foreign investments but also foreign trade and production. The flow of FDI first shifted to newly industrialized economies like Hong Kong, China, Korea, and Singapore. Later ASEAN countries also took advantage of FDI. Recently the flows of FDI are directing to China, India and also Viet Nam (Chen, 1992).

In many countries FDI flows were driven by a number of large-scale cross-border mergers and acquisitions [M&As], particularly between American and European companies. Mergers and Acquisitions [M&As] have become increasingly important factor to attracting FDI in recent times (Chen, 1983). Despite the turbulence in emerging markets, the value of total international M&As increased by some 60 per cent in 1997 of \$544 billions (World Bank, 1998).

Such M&As are estimated to account for more than 60 per cent of FDI in advanced countries, about 80 per cent of FDI in the United States and around 85 per cent of FDI in Australia (OECD, (1988). The strong expansion of FDI flows in the 1990s has been driven by several interrelated factors including rapid technological change, trade and investment liberalization at national, regional and global level,

privatization, deregulation, and geographical diversification. A large number of stock market listings have also facilitated the sale of domestic companies to foreign investors. The factors interacted at various levels related to policy reforms and technological changes and became the main actors to attract FDI (World Bank, 1991).

Foreign direct investment has now become an important source of private external capital for developing countries. It can fill the gap of saving and investment and help in stabilizing foreign exchange. The evolution and dynamics of foreign direct investment have been aptly considered as the most outstanding characteristic of the globalization process, particularly because of its significant growth during the nineties (Dionise, 1995 January 9). The increasing inflows of FDI in many countries like China, India and Mexico are made attractive due to structural reforms of their economies. The respective economies took many diversified but integrated steps such as enhancement of economic returns, creation of competitive business policies, reduction of the disparities between international and domestic prices, import expansion, introduction of the new technology, better management skills, and balanced competition patterns among domestic and foreign firms (Behrman, 1972).

Foreign direct investment can stimulate economic growth leading to more jobs, higher purchasing power, wider range of products, and improved and cheaper goods and services. Foreign direct investment is viewed as a major stimulus to economic growth in developing countries. Its ability to deal with the major obstacles, namely, shortages of financial resources, and technology and skills has made it the center of attention for policy-makers in particularly low-income countries. Since mid-1980s, growing integration of markets and financial institutions, increased economic liberalization

and rapid innovation in financial instruments and technologies, especially in terms of computing and telecommunications, have doubled the private inflows (International Monetary Fund, 1992).

Theories of Foreign Direct Investment

Management experts and scholars of international business and economies have formulated a number of theories to explain the mechanism of FDI by the advanced countries and international firms: -

The Differential Rates of Return Theory

Grosse (1981) and Vernon (1966) suggested that differences in the profits encouraged the multinational firms to invest in the foreign countries. It was popular in the late 1950s. It was the first theory of foreign direct investment. According to the theory if expected revenues are higher abroad than that at home, with having same marginal cost of capital for investment at home and abroad, there is an incentive to invest abroad. It is one of the vital elements of capitalism to earn maximum profit with minimum cost.

Market Imperfections

Kindleberger (1969) and Hymer (1976) were among the first to attempt to explain the mechanism of FDI. According to them market imperfections in national or international level are among basic determinants of FDI. Hymer (1976) was one of the first to distinguish between portfolio and direct investment abroad. He suggested that FDI took place for reasons other than interest rate differentials. Foreign investors employed FDI for the purpose of control over enterprises. Kindleberger (1970) stressed that an investor

must possess some advantage that would allow a FDI to earn sufficient return to justify competing with firms in the host country and imperfections in the existing markets create an opportunity for FDI.

The Theory of International Banking

International banks can also invest in others countries. According to Grubel (1977) international banks are major sources of foreign direct investment. Many international banks like Citi Bank and ANZ Grindlays are making investments in different parts of the world. The foreign international banks use superior management technology and marketing knowledge and capture the domestic markets through investment.

The Dunning Theory

Dunning (1980) posits that international companies and international banks usually invest in the countries where there is lesser or no cultural barriers, larger market potential and strong industrial base. It is quiet true in case of India, Mexico, Indonesia and China, which are recipients of huge FDI funds in recent times.

Role of Multinational Corporations for FDI

Globally, the corporate world is becoming increasingly intertwined. The MNC is both a vehicle for generating FDI as well as a product of it. This trend towards MNC-based foreign investment is likely to continue as a result of the globalization of markets for goods, services, and capital. In fact, much globalization is driven by MNCs (UNCTC, 1985). The current financial crisis in Asia and in Russia may

temporarily halt or reverse globalization trends in some countries, but economic, social and technological forces towards globalization will remain strong. Competition among MNCs is intensifying at the global level, and the pressure to keep costs down forces them to locate in or relocate to countries that offer first-class conditions (Bottelier, 1998).

Porter (1990) indicates that Multinationals Corporations are one of the main actors for the attraction of FDI and FPI. Multinationals Corporations [MNCs] are the main sources of foreign direct investment. There are many inter-related reasons for the foreign direct investment as given below:

- To exploit technology, and managerial, financial or marketing strengths, and to enter or expand into specific foreign markets. For example the firms of Italy, France and Germany due to their better technologies and international marketing strengths exploit Pakistan Telecommunication Corporation sector.
- To exploit natural resources, usually employing specialized and often technologically sophisticated methods. Many multinational corporations have been investing in the fishery and forestry industries in this mode.
- To exploit low wage, but sufficiently skilled labor to serve as a base for exporting to other countries. SONY International has been shifted from Japan to Malaysia to avail relatively low paid skilled workers. Recent venture capital arrangements among Pakistani software companies and European and Singaporean companies may also be cited in this category.

- To sell services, in which case a local presence is normally required. Mobile phones, computer devices and electric appliances in South Asian region by many MNCs like National, Hitachi, Philip, Intel, and Nokia are example of such mode of investment.

Transnational corporations [TNCs] play very essential part to attract FDI (Calvet, 1981). It may be able to supply scarce financial capital at a relatively low cost since they can exploit their scale and the credit rating of the parent company to obtain competitively priced finance. There are about 54,000 international corporations in the world (International Monetary Fund, 1995). These international and transactional corporations are the main source of FDI in different countries of the world. These Transactional Corporations [TNCs] have now an estimated \$ 3.4 trillion invested in about 449, 000 foreign affiliates throughout the world. Many international banks and other financial services companies are also supposed to be helpful in attracting foreign direct investment. TNCs may also lend to associate domestic enterprises at competitive rates as a supplier or end user (Mallampally & Sauvart, 1999).

A related benefit that foreign investors are expected to provide to the host country is a commercially viable package consisting of superior processes and product technologies supported by appropriate organizational and managerial capacities (International Monetary Fund, 1993 April 14). Trade-related benefits may be expected to follow from participating in the TNC's global production and trading network. TNCs are well equipped to exploit product and process technologies because of their access to international markets and the economies of scale and scope they achieve (International Monetary Fund, 1991). Global competitive pressure and the need to innovate encourage TNCs to invest

continually in research and development. The ability to tap global markets for scientific talent and organize research and development worldwide further strengthens this competitive advantage of TNCs (Caves, 1971).

FDI and Democracy

Lodhi, (1994) indicates that there is very closed relationship between democracy and foreign direct investment. Many researches indicate that democracy is one of the essential factors to attract the foreign direct investment (Plender, 1988). In 1996 about 60% of FDI flows went to developed democracies. The vast majority of FDI in terms of both flows and stocks was accounted for by the investments of MNCs from one advanced democratic country to another. That FDI largely took place within the community of democratic nations. Foreign direct investors and MNCs sought countries that were prosperous and stable. Incidentally such countries were overwhelmingly democratic and industrialized ones. However, in very recent years, there has been more direct investment in developing nations than has happened historically. Over 70% of total FDI went to just eight countries including Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Poland (World Bank, 1997).

Fruits of Foreign Direct Investment

FDI contributes to the growth of host economies through various ways in addition to physical capital formation, including technology transfer, human capital (managerial skills) development, and promotion of foreign trade. However, its benefits may be lost if the host economy is

heavily distorted. FDI has many benefits for host country as given below (Marsden, 1989): -

- Additional resources available for productive investment
- Risk sharing with the rest of the world
- Greater external market discipline on macroeconomic policy
- Enhanced access to technology and management skills
- Broader access to export markets through foreign partners
- Training and broader exposure of national staff
- Greater liquidity to meet domestic financing needs
- Broadening and deepening of national capital markets
- Improvement of financial sector skills

According to Asian Development Bank (1999) FDI benefits developing countries by:

- Providing additional sources of capital and expanding countries production.
- Transferring crucial technology to the host country.
- Promoting trade and exports, especially in more open host nations.

- Generating employment opportunities and training skilled workers.
- Improving the international allocation of capital, particularly if the return on capital is higher in the host country than in the source country.

Hazards of Foreign Investment

Pioneered by the Portuguese explorers to Africa and Asia, like Vasco De Gama, in the long run the Dutch, English and French followed the same policy. The French and British colonization was accomplished by the disguised policy of trade and foreign investment in the continents of Africa and Asia. They both went to African and Asian continents as foreign traders. However, with the passage of time they both captured the continents. The East India Company in the Sub-continent may be cited as an example in our context.

The benefits of foreign direct investment [FDI] will only be realized if countries harness it for their sustainable economic development and there are safeguards to prevent any negative impacts on the local economies and people. Without these safeguards, foreign companies may damage the interests of the local producers and consumers by engaging in anti-competitive practices. Foreign investors may damage consumer interests, and environment, labor, and other standards as countries compete to attract investors to their territory; or they may behave unethically by, for example, artificially avoiding taxes or using bribes (International Monetary Fund, 1993).

There may also be disadvantages of FDI. Irrational and uncontrolled FDI may lead to the collapse of economic system of the host country. Many countries of African

continent are allegedly the victims of such phenomenon. The hazards may include (Shen & Bergsman, 1995; Bhattacharya, & Sharma, 1995): -

- Currency appreciation for inflows and depreciation for abrupt outflows
- Reduced scope for independent macroeconomic policies
- Greater exposure to external shocks
- Demands for protection in local markets
- Loss of control of foreign-owned domestic industry
- Disruption of national capital markets and asset inflation
- Increased volatility in financial and exchange markets
- High sterilization costs

Now days, the nationalization of foreign investments is rare, but negative views about foreign investment persist in many parts of the globe. Even many advanced countries of the world are cynical of foreign investors. In the United States, for example, Japanese purchases of real estate aroused fears of the U.S. losing control of its economic destiny to the Japanese or of losing its economic preeminence in the world. In France, the opening of the Euro-Disney amusement park stirred fears of the undue "Americanization" of French culture. These attitudes are also present in the newly democratizing countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union, which are attempting to attract foreign investment in hopes of integrating themselves into the world economy (Adler & Ghadar, 1990).

In the 1970s, commercial banks from the U.S., Europe and Japan were active in foreign lending, as the profit potential was perceived high in relation to the risks involved. The troublesome legacy of the 1980s regarding debt crisis brought painful adjustment programs to the borrowing countries and yielded major losses for many banks. Consequently, major commercial banks may be reluctant to engage in large amounts of foreign lending. In Africa, many of the newly independent countries emphasized the development of an indigenous economic base in the 1960s (Griffith, Bhinda & Martin, 1997). The government of Nigeria nationalized British Petroleum's assets in 1979. India expropriated Coca-Cola's operations in the 1960s. In the early 1970s, Chile nationalized its copper industries due to the fears of disrupting effects of FDI on the national economy (Vogl, 1990 August 15).

Determinants of FDI Inflows

The destination of foreign direct investments is an outcome of multiple factors. The unpredictability of autonomous FDI flows, in both scale and direction, has generated a substantial research effort to identify their major determinants of host country. Ensign (1996), Jhon (1989) and Agarwal (1980) discussed relationships between FDI and characteristics of recipient countries and investing companies.

Size of the market

According to Papanastassiou & Pearce (1990), Culem (1988), Dunning (1980), Swedenbourg (1979), Kobrin (1976), and Green & Cunningham (1975) FDI is positively influenced by the size of the host country's economy and local market. The

size of local market can be considered a long-term strategic factor, as the size of the economy does not alter too quickly. Scaperlanda & Balogh (1983), Lunn (1980) and Schmitz & Bieri (1972) confirmed that FDI in the European countries were in proportion to the size of the national markets.

In the last few years China gained the most proportion of global FDI, reinforcing the findings of the earlier studies. There is no doubt that the size of China's market is very large which is indeed the major determinant of the concentration of FDI (Broadman and Sun, 1997). Many researchers identified GDP growth as a major factor for FDI in sub-Saharan Africa and China (Griffith, Bhinda, & Martin, 1997). Angola and Ghana with GNP of \$8.9 billion and \$5.5 billion in 1995 respectively, received larger proportional FDI flows in 1995 than Nigeria indicating that small market size need not be a constraint in the case of resource-endowed export-oriented economies (Wilde, 1998).

Openness

Export-oriented national economies attract higher FDI flows than the ones with a lesser export orientation (Jun & Singh, 1996). Open economies encourage more foreign investment. China, in particular, has attracted large sum of foreign investment into the export sector. In Bangladesh, on the other hand, foreign investors have been attracted to the manufacturing sector by its lack of quota for textiles and clothing exports to the European Union and US markets. Garment exports, for example, rose from virtually nil in the 1970s to over one-half of its export earnings by the early 1990s (World Bank, 1992). Economic policies aimed at the liberalization of trade and investment have a strong positive influence in attracting FDI, superceding structural variables such as market size. The countries pursuing open policies

involving limited trade restrictions and exchange rate distortions and where the rule of law is strong and corruption is limited, have indeed experienced higher levels of foreign direct investment (Wilde, 1998).

Labor costs and productivity

According to Papanastassiou & Pearce (1990), Lall (1980), Swedenborg (1979), and Juhl (1979) level of workers' skills and level of productivity are positively correlated with incoming FDIs to host countries. The decision to invest in China, for example, has been heavily influenced by the prevailing low wage rates. Decision of SONY Corporation to invest in Malaysia away from Japan was largely based on the same rule. The rapid growth of FDI to Vietnam has also been attributed primarily to the availability of low-cost labor. In India and Pakistan labor market rigidities and relatively high wages in the formal sector have been reported as deterring significant inflows into the exports sector in particular (OECD, 1985).

Political Risk

Rivoli & Salorio (1996) and Brewer (1991) concluded that political and economic instability in the host country is a deterrent to FDI. Politically unstable countries such as Nigeria and Angola are not attracting larger proportion of FDI. Violence or war, currency restrictions, contract interference, contract disputes, and expropriation are some common political risks. In the past many countries and individual international firms badly suffered from that type of political risk. Singh and Jun (1995) indicate that sociopolitical stability has a positive impact on capital flows. However, sociopolitical stability is quite a complex phenomenon.

Infrastructure

Modernization of infrastructure (e.g., air and sea- ports, telecommunications, rail and road linkages, and banking regimes) is also crucial for promoting trade and FDI. As real transport and telecommunications costs have fallen in absolute terms and relative to the final value of output, firms are becoming increasingly indifferent to location decisions (OECD, 1983). The existing density of manufacturing activity, population and extensive infrastructures all are closely associated with the location of FDI (Coughlin, Terza and Arromdee, 1991).

Infrastructure covers many dimensions, ranging from roads, ports, railways and telecommunication systems to institutional development such as accounting and legal services. Studies in China reveal the extent of transport facilities and the proximity to major ports have a significant positive effect on the location of FDI within the country. Recent evidence seems to indicate that, although telecommunications and airlines have attracted FDI flows to India and Pakistan, other more basic infrastructure such as road-building remains unattractive because of low returns and high political risks of such investments (Wilde, 1998).

Poor accounting standards, inadequate disclosure and weak enforcement of legal obligations have damaged the credibility of financial institutions to the extent of deterring foreign investors. Also bad roads, delays in shipments of goods at ports and unreliable means of communication have added to the disincentives (Butt, Raouf & Hassan, 1999).

Incentives and Operating Conditions

Many Researches indicate that FDI appears to be quite sensitive to the soundness of the macroeconomic environment of developing countries. Regional or preferential trade arrangements linking the developing country to major consumer markets may also attract investment funds (Davidson, 1980). Operating conditions such as reduced customs tariff barriers, and enhanced financial incentives and concessions proved to be important determinants of incoming FDI (Chenery, 1979). Removing restrictions and providing good business operating conditions are generally believed to have positive effects. In China, the open-door policy and enhanced incentives for investing in the special economic zones contributed to the initial influx of FDI. Further incentives, such as the granting of equal treatment to foreign investors in relation to local counterparts and the opening up of new markets air transport, retailing and banking for example, have been reported as important factors in encouraging FDI flows in recent years (Aizenman, 1996; Chen, 1992; Culem, 1988; Baldwin, 1979; and Kojima, 1973).

Currently many countries of the world are trying their level best to attract more FDI. The Indian Government has recently relaxed most of the regulations regarding foreign investment. In 1991, Bangladesh and Pakistan implemented reforms allowing foreign investors to operate with 100% foreign ownership but unfortunately failed to attract significant FDI flows as a proportion of their GNP because of political instability and an over-extended bureaucracy (Hassan, 2000 August 7). Nigeria, in contrast, continues to attract foreign investment because of its oil-exports base

despite its erratic and relatively inhospitable policies (International Monetary Fund, 1994).

Privatization

The policy of privatization attracted certain foreign investment flows in countries like Nigeria in 1993 and Ghana in 1995. In India, for example, organized labor has fiercely resisted privatization or other moves that threaten existing jobs and workers' rights (Srinivas, 1996). Regional figures in 1994 indicate that 15% of FDI flows to Latin America were derived from privatization, but only 8.8% in sub-Saharan Africa and 1.1% in South Asia. A number of structural problems are constraining the process of privatization. Existing stock markets are thin and illiquid and securitised debt is virtually non-existent. An under-developed financial sector of this type inhibits privatization and discourages foreign investors (Fritsch & Franco, 1988; Kain, 1996).

Government Investment Policy

Government policy aimed at attracting foreign investment ranges from ownership policy, taxation and subsidies, foreign exchange restrictions, sector specific limitations, and entry rules. Ownership policy includes miscellaneous limitations on foreign equity ownership. Such limitations were explicit in Malaysia, Mexico and several other developing countries. Since 1992 more developing countries have been relaxing restrictions on ownership. However, most of the successful ones have encouraged joint ownership with local investors (Pfefferman, 1992).

Competition policy

Competition policy comprises the body of laws and regulations through which countries protect and preserve the role of fair and competitive markets for allocating economic resources. Effective competition policy promotes increased efficiency reflected in greater consumer choice, lower prices and improved product quality. The goal of fair and competitive markets is served by liberalized policies determined by free international trade and investment. But while competition policy and FDI are complementary in principle, they may collide in practice. A number of economies including Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand do not have competition legislation. Foreign trade and investment have limited the potential for anti-competitive practices in countries like Hong Kong and Singapore (Davies, 1998).

Intellectual Property

Intellectual property [IP] rights in the form of trademarks, copyrights, patents, and industrial design rights, are the means by which governments protect brands, literary and artistic works, and new products and processes. Intellectual property laws that deal with industrial property have the same broad objective as competition policy, namely to improve economic efficiency. But whereas competition policy addresses various possible sources of increased efficiency, intellectual property [IP] policies are aimed mainly at achieving the dynamic efficiency gains through higher rates of innovation and technological change. The Uruguay Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights [TRIPs] signed in 1994, attempts to establish minimum international standards of IP protection and to provide effective support for these

standards through the application of GATT-style enforcement procedures and dispute resolution mechanisms (World Bank, 1994).

Measures to Attract FDI

Host countries may adapt a number of measures along the transparency and simplification of procedures to attract FDI. In this connection, following measures may be considered (International Monetary Fund, 1994; World Bank, 1994): -

- Priority to the policy of deregulation in order to reduce business-operating costs and to create new businesses opportunities. In particular, regulation of direct investment may be kept to a minimum level.
- Special taxation and financial incentives package for foreign direct investment, so as to facilitate smooth business operations.
- Emphasis on skilled labor personnel, job consultation and employment exchange.
- Establishment of Investment Boards, Commercial Consulates and Free Trades Zones, in order to attract greater inflow of foreign direct investment.
- Provision of comprehensive services for foreign firms by drawing on the expertise of foreign investment in the host countries.
- Support for setting up of facilities to promote foreign business participation in the host countries.

- Promotion of private business sector to help create a business climate with more transparent business practices.
- Make strong efforts to attract foreign direct investment at federal and provincial levels.
- Improve accounting and statistical record keeping according to international standards in order to provide more accurate information on foreign investment and business activities of foreign affiliates in the host countries.
- Contribute to fostering a free international investment climate by actively participating in OECD, APEC and WTO.

PATTERNS OF GLOBAL FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT

Attitudes towards Foreign direct investment have changed in recent years. The argument is that FDI is better than debt since the former does not create fixed obligations in foreign exchange. In addition, profits are directly related to success of the project finance by FDI (Bhatti, 2000 January 12).

In the modern history of mankind first the industrial revolution, then the clash of two distinguished philosophies of Communism and Capitalism and later on the formation of regional alliances were main drivers for the promotion of foreign investment and trade. The concept of foreign trade and foreign direct investment was limited to their respective regions and friends.

After the world war II, entire foreign economic assistance, and foreign trade generally and foreign direct investments especially by the USA were made in order to stop the onward march of Communism. The two main players of the world, USA and former USSR changed the pace and nature of the foreign direct investment with the ever changing political situation of the globe and changing economic realities. During the cold war, East-West competition to influence the developing countries led the U.S. and other Western governments to provide significant amounts of aid to the Third World.

Similarly, the countries of the Warsaw Pact and other Soviet allies benefited from huge amounts of Soviet aid and other forms of financial support. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and demise of the Warsaw Pact, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are now turning to the West for the necessary financial support. However, now the major economic players, the United States, Japan, U.K., and Germany themselves are facing domestic economic difficulties that constrain their ability to provide as much direct assistance as in the past (Rostow, 1978).

The concept of mutual trade and foreign direct investment has made immense progress in the recent years in many parts of the world with the integration of financial markets, technological revolution, information explosion, globalization of international banking system, privatization, deregulation, liberalization of economies, international monetary institutions like World Bank, IMF, supervisory organizations like WTO, and formation of regional alliances, like EU, NAFTA, AFTA, SARRAC, ASEAN, and APCE. The United States, Japan, and the European Union are the three main players of the FDI around the globe. The United States has been traditionally the largest supplier of FDI amounting

to 35 percent, while the second largest donor, U.K. has accounted for about 16 percent (Williams, 1994 August 31).

Aggregate Net Private Capital Flows to Developing Countries (1991-97)

(Billions US \$)

TABLE-1

Type of flow	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Total private flow	53.6	90.1	154.6	160.6	189.1	246.9	256.6
Portfolio flows	14.6	19.3	76.8	60.1	56.3	91.5	86.3
Bonds	7.4	8.3	31.8	27.5	23.8	45.7	53.8
Equity	7.2	11.0	45.0	32.6	32.5	45.8	32.5
FDI	32.9	45.3	65.6	86.9	101.5	119.0	120.4
Commercial Banks	3.4	13.1	2.8	8.9	29.3	34.2	41.1
Others	2.7	12.4	9.4	4.7	2.0	2.3	8.3

Source: World Bank (1998).

The patterns of global FDI have been driven by the complex interaction of technological change, evolving global corporate strategies and major policy reforms in individual countries. The past decade has witnessed an unparalleled opening and modernization of economies in all regions, encompassing deregulation, de-monopolization, privatization and private participation in the provision of infrastructure, and the reduction and simplification of tariffs. An integral part of this process has been the liberalization of foreign investment regimes. Indeed, the wish to attract FDI has been one of the driving forces behind the whole reform process. Although the pace and scale of reforms have varied depending on the particular circumstances in each country, the direction of change has not (Green & Rob, 1996).

In 1996, global flows of foreign direct investment increased for the fifth consecutive year amounting to US \$349 billion. The global stock of FDI climbed to about US \$3.2 trillion, doubling its level of three years earlier. FDI and the total sales and assets of the foreign affiliates of approximately 44,000 transnational corporations [TNCs] worldwide grew faster in 1996 than the value of gross domestic product (GDP) and exports of the countries of world (IMF, 1997). In Latin America, FDI doubled between 1989 and 1994, while foreign portfolio investment increased nearly 20 times in the period 1989 -1993 (World Bank, 1994). Foreign direct investment flows to developing countries [LDCs] have increased nearly four-fold in the 1990s and now account for almost 40 per cent of global FDI, reaching some \$120 billion in 1997 (IMF, 1998).

Foreign direct investment [FDI] has played an important role in the economic development of Southeast and East Asia. FDI has led to a transfer of production of labor-intensive products and exports from high-wage source nations to lower-wage host nations. As lower-wage host nations have developed, they have graduated into high-wage source nations of FDI for a new set of low-wage host nations. Beginning in the 1970s, low wages and openness in the newly industrialized economies [NIEs] Hong Kong, China, Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan attracted large sums of FDI in labor-intensive industries (Asian Development Bank, 1999).

FDI is among the major forces propelling the globalization of the world economy and is a key factor in spurring economic growth in Asia's developing countries. Globalization entails increasing specialization of production and trade through international networks of production and distribution operated by multinational corporations.

In 1995 East and Southeast Asia accounted for half of the total FDI flow of \$101 billion to developing nations. The PRC received the lion's share of the flow amounting to \$36 billion, while Indonesia and Malaysia each attracted \$4 billion. The main source of FDI in East and Southeast Asia has been the region itself. Between 1986 and 1992, the four NIEs were the largest single source for the PRC, Indonesia and Malaysia. The NIEs have played a smaller role in the Philippines, where the US has been the main source of FDI. Yet, even in this country, NIEs accounted for 18 percent of total FDI (IMF, 1993).

Recently FDI in developed countries is taking place by the virtue of mergers and acquisition, concentrated mainly in pharmaceuticals and services particularly the banking and finance industry, and as a result of the spread of privatization movement and regional integration agreements such as NAFTA and MERCOSUR. (International Monetary Fund, 1992). The trend in developing countries is quite different. Only about 10 percent of worldwide mergers and acquisitions took place in developing countries and of these, almost all are concentrated in a few Latin American countries. FDI to developing countries constitutes a substantial share of total net private capital flows to these economies, about 54 percent in 1995 (Evans, 1996). Its significant role is exemplified by the fact that portfolio equity investment in such countries with the exclusion of Latin America and the Caribbean fell by half from its peak in 1993-1995, but total private flows in the same period increased (UNCTAD, 1997).

FDI into Asia and Pacific reached a formidable US\$ 87 billion in 1997 while the outflow from the region rose to US\$ 51 billion (World Bank, 1998). East and South-East Asia,

China and Hong Kong accounted for more than 90 per cent of the FDI inflows and outflows in 1997 (World Bank, 1997). China alone accounted for US\$ 48 billion of the inflow and for US\$ 28.5 billion of the outflows (Shabbir, 2000 March 20). FDI flows to South Asia rose to another record level in 1997 of about US\$ 4.4 billion mostly reflecting a 37 per cent gain in flows to India (World Bank, 1997). While the Indian volume is rising rapidly, it remains less than the FDI flows to much smaller economies such as Chile. India was considered to have potential to secure significant gains in FDI. Flows to the other economies in the region remain low. FDI into Pakistan has stagnated for some years due to administrative bottlenecks and weak economic conditions (Ahmad, 2000 November 20).

In Latin America, debt-equity swaps and privatization has been a major factor in increasing FDI flows in the 1980s and 1990s. Debt-equity swaps involve the purchase of existing organizations at values determined by the debt crisis. For example flows of FDI in 1985 - 1990 and 1993-95 under debt-equity mechanisms amounted to 55%, 75% and 31% respectively of total flows directed to Brazil, Chile and Mexico. Between 1991 and 1995, Africa attracted only two per cent of world FDI flows and five per cent of developing country flows (IMF, 1996).

Foreign aid and especially foreign direct investment has been a spectacular success in many parts of the world. Botswana and the Republic of Korea in the 1960s, Indonesia in the 1970s, Bolivia and Ghana in the late 1980s, and Uganda and Vietnam in the 1990s are all the examples of countries that emerged from crisis and endured rapid development by the meaningful contribution of foreign direct investment. Foreign direct investment played a significant role in transformation, contributing finance,

development policy, training for public policymakers, supporting reforms, and expansion of public services (Hassan, 2000 August 7).

The top emerging market recipient of FDI has been China, with remarkable increases in FDI over the past 15 years. As a result of policy changes since 1979, China received some US\$167 billion of FDI flows between 1990 and 1996 (Broadman & Sun, 1997). Countries of all shapes and sizes have been able to attract FDI flows of significant economic impact. Countries as diverse as Angola, Cambodia, Czech Republic, and Malaysia received FDI worth more than 5% of their GNPs in 1996 (UNCTAD, 1998).

Presently, the countries that had previously spurned foreign investors are welcoming them with incentive packages. Even North Korea has begun to open its doors in search of foreign investment, particularly from neighboring South Korea and Japan. In South Africa, the African National Congress has recognized the important role of foreign investors in South Africa's efforts to accelerate economic growth (IMF, 1998).

**Net Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries
(1991-97)**
(Billions of US\$)

TABLE-2

Country or Country group	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
All Developing Countries	33.5	43.6	67.2	83.7	95.5	119.0	120.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.6	0.8	1.6	3.1	2.2	3.3	3.0
East-Asia and Pacific	12.7	20.9	38.1	44.1	51.8	58.7	53.2
South-Asia	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.2	1.8	3.4	4.1
Europe & Central Asia	4.4	6.3	8.4	8.1	17.2	14.9	15.5
Latin America & Caribbean	12.5	1.7	14.1	24.2	22.9	38.0	42.0
Middle East & North Africa	1.8	2.2	4.2	3.0	-0.3	0.6	2.6

Source: World Bank (1998).

**Major Recipient of FDI
(Billions of US\$)**

TABLE-3

Country	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
China	4.4	11.2	27.5	33.8	35.8	42.3	37.0
Mexico	4.7	4.4	4.4	11.0	7.0	6.4	8.1
Brazil	1.1	2.1	1.3	3.1	4.9	5.5	15.8
Indonesia	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.1	4.5	5.8	5.8
Thailand	2.0	2.1	1.8	1.4	2.1	2.9	2.7
Argentina	2.4	2.6	3.5	0.6	1.3	2.0	3.8
Hungary	1.5	1.5	2.4	1.1	4.5	1.7	1.8
Poland	0.3	0.7	1.7	1.9	3.7	4.2	4.5
Chile	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.8	1.7	2.2	3.5

Source: World Bank (1998).

FDI Ranked by Share of GDP (1995)
(Billions US \$)

TABLE-4

Country	Share of GDP %	Share of total Investment %
Hungry	9.3	46
Malaysia	6.9	21
China	5.5	13
Chile	4.6	18
Indonesia	2.3	8
Nigeria	1.7	11
Poland	1.6	10
Argentina	1.4	8
Thailand	1.4	3
Mexico	1.2	5
Brazil	0.5	3

Source: IMF (1997).

In the 1980s and 1990s, FDI flows have shifted from manufacturing and extraction to services, particularly new capital-intensive service industries, such as telecommunications, transportation, banking, software exports, and public utilities. During 1988-92, privatization transactions in developing countries amounted to US \$56 billion. About US \$14 billion, or 25%, of the privatization proceeds were financed by external capital flows, while the balance financed by debt-equity conversions and local financing. Infrastructure and financial services accounted for three-quarters of these transactions (UNCTC, 1993).

The scale of global FDI has increased rapidly in recent years. In 1990, private investment in developing countries totaled US\$ 44 billion and by 1995, this grew to more than US \$167 billion (World Bank, 1996). During the same period, Official Development Assistance [ODA] for the developing countries fell slightly, but remains a very significant financial flow,

totaling US\$ 55 billion in 1996 (OECD, 1996). About 60% of the FDI going to developing countries between 1989 and 1994-1997 went to Asia, especially to China, India, and Indonesia (World Bank, 1997b). Latin America received 27% of the total, 6% went to central and Eastern Europe, and a mere 6% went to Africa. Similarly, the part of ODA in total financial flows to developing countries differs widely by country (Chudnovsky, 1995).

The key investors also vary from country to country. In Brazil, for example, the European Union has traditionally been the largest source of FDI in 1980s (OECD, 1987). In Mexico, the US remains the dominant foreign investor. By far the largest source of FDI inflows to China is Hong Kong, although the US, Japan, and Taiwan also represent significant shares (OECD, 1987). The macroeconomic impact of FDI varies considerably by region and country. Outside the Pacific Basin developing countries, FDI has tended to substitute for other capital flows, whereas in the Pacific Basin countries, it has been additional to domestic investment and has not, therefore, financed the balance of payments (Jones & Martin, 1997).

Flows of FDI in Europe

With the formation of European Union and the introduction of single currency Euro, volume of foreign direct investment has increased in the region. The Cross-border M&As in Western Europe became main driver in attracting FDI. Companies from both within and outside the region responded to continuing integration including the single currency, as well as to global industrial restructuring (World Bank, 1998). Western Europe as a whole recorded \$229 billion of M&A investment, compared to \$138 billion in 1997.

European Union countries accounted for over 95 per cent of the total FDI. United Kingdom was the most powerful magnet to attract FDI ((Schoenberg & Richard, 1997).

Central and Eastern European countries attracted less investment in 1998 than that in 1997. Foreign corporate investment and FDI in the region decreased by 50 per cent in 1997 (Pye & Robert, 1998). As a result of the financial and political instability, foreign acquisitions in Russia almost halved to \$2.3 billion in 1998, from \$4.1 billion in the previous year. Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary were also moderately affected by the Russian financial crisis (World Bank, 1997). Poland was the main recipient of FDI through M&As. Mergers and Acquisitions were the main drivers of attracting greater inflows of foreign direct investment in the United States of America too in early 1990s (World Bank, 1993). In 1998, foreign companies made 849 acquisitions in the United States. The amount of M&As increased to \$201 billion, more than triple the amount of \$64 billion in the 1997 (Reed & John, 1998 September).

Majority of Eastern European countries had centralized economies under the rule of Communism. Economic conditions were weak and unstable after the collapse of communism in these countries. Recapitalisation of natural and others related resources into more productive channels were the main concern in all the countries of the Eastern Europe (World Bank, 1992). The resultant short and long terms problems required strategic changes in their socio-economic systems. The replacement of centralized economic planning with a system of deregulated prices and private ownership of capital are essentially the mandate of internal political processes. However, the will of people determines the speed and extent of the dismantling of the structure of government subsidies and the state operation of enterprises.

Transnational Corporations played very important in the revival of European economies (World Bank, 1993).

Presently, the rate of capital inflows into the former Soviet bloc is inadequate for meaningful industrial recapitalization. Although foreign investment has increased relative to previous years, the high degree of political uncertainty remains a deterrent to many Western investors. Eastern European governments have attempted to allay these fears through a nearly complete deregulation of the legal framework that controlled direct foreign investment (World Bank, 1998).

Europe is a large market of 750 million consumers. It comprises both affluent and emerging economies, with the former offering immediate opportunities to increase export sales and attract foreign investment. In Central and Eastern Europe, total FDI flows in 1998 were greater than that in 1997 despite the slump in FDI flows to Russia. Investors found new opportunities to invest in most of the countries affected by the currency crisis. The devaluation decreased relative production costs, and domestic asset prices. As a result more corporate restructuring yielded scope for FDI (Barnard, 1998 August).

Foreign direct investment has been very helpful to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe [CEE]. Most of the countries have a substantial current account deficit and the inflows of non-debt-creating finance make the deficits more sustainable (Meagher & Stephanie, 1998 February). FDI flows to CEE countries climbed from US\$ 13 billion in 1997 to US\$ 16 billion in 1998 despite the effects of the Russian crisis. By contrast, other investment flows including portfolio investments decreased by 40% in 1998 (World Bank, 1998). In Russia FDI fell around 50% to US\$ 3 billion as

privatization projects stopped in the country because of political instability and inconsistent economic policies. FDI to Central and East Europe in 1998 totaled nearly \$19.5 billion. The biggest recipients were Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Hungary. Russia, which was a major recipient in 1997, experienced a 60 percent drop in 1998 and received just over \$2 billion (IMF, 1999).

The economic and structural progress of countries in transition determines the distribution of FDI flows in CEE. Bulgaria made many socio-economic and structural reforms in its economy attracting FDI flows to Bulgaria amounted to more than US\$ 500 million in 1997 (IMF, 1998). The countries of European Union and Euro-zone attracted more FDI as compared to others countries of the region. The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary and Poland are leading recipients of FDI in recent years. Over the last decade, trade relations with the European Union have increased dramatically for the countries that promote investment opportunities in the export-related industries. Over the last 10 years, natural resource rich countries such as Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan have also fetched large amounts of FDI (UNCTAD, 1999).

In other Central Asian Countries FDI flows are still minor as there are fewer natural resources and the institutional and legal environment is underdeveloped. The Ukraine, which has a huge potential market of 50 million people, has a particularly poor track record for FDI receipts (Dionise, 1995). The European Union is the largest provider of FDI in Central Europe. Especially, Germany has a leading position in providing finances. In the CIS countries the United States plays a much bigger role as large investments are made in the oil sector. These countries focus mainly on investments in export-related sectors whereas Japan and other Asian

countries although small FDI contributors to CEE, focus more on producing goods for the internal market (IMF, 1999).

The sector-wise distribution of FDI flows differs in Central and Eastern Europe. In Central Europe, the manufacturing sector is still the largest recipient. However, liberalization and privatization of public utilities electricity and telecom firms are increasing the share of the services sector in total FDI flows. The leading transition countries also attract significant foreign investment in the financial sector. In the former CIS countries around 75% of major investments are made in mining including oil and quarrying activities. Even though wages are lower than in Central Europe, only a small percentage is invested in the manufacturing and services sectors (IMF, 1999).

The prospects for FDI flows in Central and Eastern Europe are mixed. The slowdown in economic growth in most parts of the world could dampen FDI flows. Trade flows slowed down in the early months of 1999 resulting in cutbacks in investments by multinationals. The Central European countries, which are on the fast track towards EU accession, continue to improve their legal system and infrastructure towards Western standards. The efforts will have beneficiary effects on FDI flows. Other countries are trying to increase the pace of privatization but for the Balkan countries privatization was slow during the first six months as a result of the Kosovo war (UNCTAD, 1999).

A continued rise in oil prices could boost FDI flows to some of the former states of Soviet Union as exploitation becomes attractive once again. The legal status of the Caspian Sea is still a complicating factor for foreign investors. In other countries like the Ukraine and Uzbekistan, the economic and

legal environment is changing too slowly to attract more foreign investments. The economic and political problems in Russia will probably limit FDI flows to the country (ABN AMRO Bank, 1999).

FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan has traditionally been a debt receiving country. Foreign direct investment has played a comparatively smaller role in the overall economic development of the country. With the rising debt burden and stringent conditionalities attached to loans, foreign investment is emerging as an alternative course of action. The conditions of balance of payment have not been bright in Pakistan. Imports are ever increasing and the volume of exports is relatively stagnant in terms of dollar value. Industrial output is not sufficient. Difficult choices are being made to keep the foreign reserves at minimum acceptable level. Deficit financing through both external and internal means has been the policy employed by successive governments (Hassan, 2000 December 18).

In the recent years foreign exchange reserves in Pakistan have swung around US\$ 1.3 billion equivalent to approximately 4-5 weeks of imports of goods. Short-term debt has also increased from 12% of total debt in the early 1990s (Hassan, 2000 October 9). Overall the economy of Pakistan is facing the risks of stagnation and recession inflicting the whole economy reflecting a disturbing scenario. Many ASEAN, APEC, Latin American, China, India, and others countries are reaping the fruits of foreign direct investment. However, there is a severe shortfall in the inflows of foreign direct investment for Pakistan (ABN AMRO Bank, 1996).

Corruption, misallocation of financial and natural resources, and mismanagement of human resources are among the main factors for the poor economic performance of the country. Pakistan fails to attract inflows of foreign direct investment in part because of large-scale smuggling prevailing in every corner of the country (Hassan, 2001 April 2). Multinational companies feel unsecured in the existing environment because smuggled goods undermine their profitability and creditability. Current regime in Pakistan has taken many concrete steps in order to eliminate the evils of smuggling and prevent it from damaging our whole economic stability and industrial productivity (Rahman, 2000 May 6).

In our age of rapid globalization, economic sensitivity, cultural diversification, and emergence of new economies, Pakistan needs to ensure significant and continuous increase in its foreign resources and give high priority to foreign direct investment. Unfortunately, the absence of an investment climate led to boycott by foreign investors of our capital markets and others sectors. Present pessimism can change, provided investor friendly policies are framed and integrated into the channel of economy on long-term basis.

Pakistan was the first country in the Asia to adapt an agenda of privatization and liberalization. It opened up its market earlier than India. Pakistan was the first country in the region to make leading sectors of its economy available for FDI. Initially, there was sizable influx of foreign investment in shape of portfolio and direct investment (Hassan, 2000 August 28). A wide range of policies was introduced to give confidence to the local and foreign investors. The income tax, sales tax and tariff rates had been reduced for the foreign investors and constitutional protection to the foreign investors been extended. Government of Pakistan

established Board of Investment [BOI] as promotional and facilitation agency. The agricultural sector, the social sector and the service sector were made open for the foreign direct investment.

The inflow of FDI into Pakistan is small and concentrated in only few areas, mainly power sector. During 1997 FDI in Pakistan accounted for 0.2% of that of the world. It was less than 1% of developing countries and 18% of South Asian countries (Hasan, 2000 January 11). Average net inflow per year was about \$16 million during 1970s, \$103 million during 1980s and \$766 million during 1990s (Hassan, 2000 August 7).

Successive governments of Pakistan followed the policy of liberalization of economy, removed many obstacles and offered various incentives to attract the inflow of FDI but the efforts did not yielded planned results. The volume of foreign direct investment was gradually decreased due to many reasons. Many external factors were beyond Pakistan's control but the constant shift in priorities was a major deterrent. The concentration of FDI in power sector results in large foreign exchange costs and remittances. This situation creates serious economic problem for Pakistan and badly damages the balance of payments position (Hassan, 2000 December 4).

Private Foreign Investment (Net) in Selected Developing Countries of Asia

(Billion US Dollars)

Country	1990	1997
China	2.4	51.9
India	-	5.9
Indonesia	1.0	2.0
Malaysia	2.1	4.9
Philippines	.5	1.8
Thailand	2.3	8.5
Turkey	1.2	3.1
Pakistan	.3	1.1
Bangladesh	-	0.1

Source: Asian Development Bank (1998).

According to above table Pakistan exceeded only Bangladesh in attracting private foreign investment both in 1990 and 1997. Of the total inflows of \$172.9 billion during 1997, China claimed 30%, Thailand 4.9%, India 3.4%, Malaysia 2.8%, Turkey 1.8%, and Pakistan and Bangladesh each 0.07%.

Pakistan opened up the market in early nineties. The foreign investors were allowed to invest in any sector except a few. Opening up of market and initiation of process of privatization made Pakistan a suitable candidate for FDI. Foreign investment came in large volume, both as FDI and as portfolio funds. The FDI inflow to Pakistan in 1992-93 was US\$ 307 million and exceeded US\$ one billion in 1995-96. Unfortunately, because of inconsistent policies and political instability, the economy of Pakistan has been registering a downward trend.

Pakistan has received FDI of \$ 5.03 billion during the last one decade United States of America and United Kingdom were the major sources of FDI inflows into the country. Pakistan gained net US\$ 7.42 billion for both FDI and portfolio investment during the last decade. The FDI from USA was US \$ 1.93 billion and US \$ 1.17 billion from UK, while the total investment from USA and UK was \$ 3.76 billion and \$ 1.47 billion respectively. FDI inflows into Pakistan continued to be affected by international developments but in spite of all policy inconsistencies, increased by nearly four times from \$ 237 million in 1990-91 to \$ 822.6 million in 1997-98. Following the nuclear detonation by Pakistan in May 1998, the G-7 countries imposed a range of economic sanctions against Pakistan (Malik, 2001).

USA, UK, European Union, and Japan stopped the foreign assistance. The imposed economic sanctions caused a sharp decline in private capital inflows and erosion of confidence, thus affecting the pace and level of economic activity. Both the workers remittances and the flow of foreign investment suffered a setback. Net foreign private investment inflows declined by nearly 51 percent in 1998-99 to US\$ 403.3 million against that of previous year and by a substantial 96 percent over the peak level of \$ 1306 million in 1995-96. The portfolio investment was also severely affected by the external and internal shocks and declined to \$ 27.3 million in 1998-99 over US\$ 221.3 million in 1997-98 (Hassan, 2000 August 28). The declining trend was less severe in FDI inflows, which fell to \$ 376 million in 1998-99 as against \$ 601 million in 1997-98, registering a fall of 37.5 percent. The declining trend continued after the nuclear detonation and the FDI inflow was \$ 407.6 million in 1998-99 and was around \$ 480 million in 1999-2000. The country has received only \$ 199.1 million during the first eight months of the current fiscal, which is 74

percent low as compared to that of the same period a year earlier (Malik, 2001).

**Inflow of Foreign Direct Investment in Pakistan
(Million US Dollars)**

TABLE-5

Year	FDI
1984/85	70.3
1985/86	145.2
1986/87	108.0
1987/88	162.2
1988/89	210.2
1989/90	216.2
1990/91	246.0
1991/92	335.1
1992/93	306.4
1993/94	354.1
1994/95	442.4
1995/96	1090.7
1996/97	682.1
1997/98	601.0
1998/99 (July)	296.0

Source: State Bank of Pakistan (1998-99).

The above table shows that the amount of FDI rose from \$70.3 million in 1984/85 to \$1090.7 million in 1995/96. The growth rate of FDI was 25.7%. However, it decreased to \$682 million in 1996/97. The volume of FDI was at the peak in 1995/96 due to massive inflow of FDI in power sector.

Shares of Inflow of FDI from Major Investor Countries (%)

TABLE-6

Year	USA	UK	Germ -any	Italy	Japan	Canada	France	UAE	Others
1981/82	15.5	19.9	3.6	0.02	0.43	0.30	0.19	8.4	49.8
1982/83	11.6	16.9	3.3	0.01	0.50	0.23	0.23	10.0	51.3
1983/84	8.8	16.3	4.8	-	0.45	0.21	0.10	8.2	56.8
1984/85	24.5	12.7	9.1	0.14	9.53	0.43	1.71	16.9	9.1
1985/86	24.2	8.6	2.9	0.27	4.33	-	0.55	47.9	13.5
1986/87	39.7	4.7	5.0	0.37	8.7	0.74	1.39	23.7	8.0
1987/88	28.2	15.7	11.3	0.67	8.38	0.62	3.08	15.0	12.8
1988/89	45.1	10.8	4.8	0.57	8.0	0.43	3.68	6.2	16.3
1989/90	43.4	10.5	5.2	1.75	7.45	0.42	2.77	7.3	17.8
1990/91	52.8	13.7	5.1	1.18	10.65	0.77	2.88	3.7	6.6
1991/92	63.7	6.1	6.4	0.59	5.28	0.90	2.53	3.1	11.1
1992/93	44.7	8.4	11.8	0.19	7.18	0.09	1.98	3.1	14.1
1993/94	32.2	9.0	2.6	0.08	8.38	0.34	3.13	2.1	41.3
1994/95	39.9	8.7	4.0	0.06	3.68	0.09	3.05	10.6	28.2
1995/96	29.3	29.1	2.4	0.04	7.52	0.07	1.28	4.8	18.8
1996/97	36.1	35.2	2.6	0.26	5.37	0.25	1.5	8.0	11.0

Source: State Bank of Pakistan (1998).

Country-Wise Distribution of FDI

1998-1999 (July-March)

TABLE-7

Country	US\$ Million	%
USA	115	38
Japan	44	15
U.K.	44	15
UAE	24	8
Germany	18	5
Others	56	19

Source: Economic Survey (1998-1999).

The above table shows that UK and US have been the main sources of FDI in Pakistan since 1981/82. The shares of UK and US have changed widely falling as low as 8.8% for the

US and 4.7% for UK. US participation in FDI has been ranked as number one, averaging 32.4% over the last 16 years. UK contributed 12.9%, UAE 11.6%, Japan 5.7%, and Germany 5.4%.

FDI in Pakistan consists of three elements, namely, cash brought, capital equipment brought in and re-invested earnings. The major share of FDI in Pakistan consists of cash brought in and is 55.7% over the last fifteen years. The share of capital equipment brought in remained low over the last 15 years. Hubco Power Plant project increased the share of capital equipment brought in to 55.7% in 1994. The share of re-investment earnings has been 23% during the last 15 years (Qazi, 2001 January 1).

Inflow of FDI by Type (Million Rupees)

TABLE-8

Years	Total Assets	Cash Brought in	Capital Equipment Brought in	Re-investment Earnings
1980	293.3	126.1	90.8	76.4
1981	432.8	247.7	83.7	101.4
1982	458.3	206.5	105.9	145.9
1983	534.7	391.9	15.3	127.5
1984	511.0	273.9	9.6	227.5
1985	752.1	489.9	10.9	251.3
1986	1528.3	1133.6	19.3	375.4
1987	1905.9	912.4	18.9	974.6
1988	2396.0	1344.9	315.0	736.1
1989	3768.9	1988.4	607.1	1173.4
1990	6013.4	4014.5	490.5	1508.1
1991	6441.4	4093.8	382.0	1965.6
1992	9001.5	3642.1	2975.6	2383.6
1993	11170.4	7255.8	1292.6	2652.0
1994	24013.8	7778.3	13371.8	2863.7

Source: State Bank of Pakistan (1995).

Group Wise Distribution of FDI

1998-99 (July-March)

TABLE-9

Economic Group	Million \$	%
Power	116	39
Mining and Quarrying (Oil & Gas	46	15
Chemical, Pharmaceutical and Fertilizer	40	14
Petro Chemical and Petroleum Refining	28	9
Financial Business	11	4
Transport and Storage	11	4
Others	44	15

Source: Economic Survey (1998-99).

As indicated by the above table power sector remained the main attractive sector for foreign investor for last many years. Its share was 7.6 billion in 1994 due to establishment of Hubco Corporation.

Foreign direct investment in Pakistan during the first eight months of 1999 fiscal year amounted to \$334 along very little foreign investment in stock exchange. Total amount of FDI in the world exceeded \$700 billion. Countries, including Pakistan, India and Bangladesh in South Asia do not attract FDI and are in danger of becoming marginalized (UNCATAD, 2000). For developing countries as a group, FDI may be the most important source of external finance. Their share in total FDI grew steadily until 1997 when it rose to 37 percent, but then declined to 28 percent in 1998 (Kalia, 2000).

**In Flow of Foreign Direct Investment from Major
Countries (July- February)
1999-2000 (\$ Million)**

TABLE-10

Country	Amount
USA	96.00
UK	118.00
UAE	21.00
Germany	6.30
Hong Kong	13.00
Saudi Arabia	19.00
Korea	6.50
Japan	15.00

Source: State Bank of Pakistan (1999-2000).

The above table shows that foreign direct investment from USA decreased to \$109 million against \$113 million, while FDI from UK increased by \$63 million to \$147 million in the year 1999-2000. Similarly FDI from Germany and UAE drastically decreased from \$18 million to \$6.3 million and \$2.9 million to \$2.8 million respectively. FDI from France, Japan and Netherlands also decreased. However inflows of FDI from Saudi Arabia and Korea increased in the current fiscal year.

Inflow of FDI Sector-Wise (July-February) 1999-2000
(\$ Million)

Sector	Amount
Power	54.00
Mining and Oil exploration	40.00
Chemical, Pharmaceuticals and Fertilizer	106.00
Petro Chemical and Refining	12.00
Transport, Storage and Communication	19.00
Construction Industry	12.00
Food, Beverage and Tobacco group	47.00
Electrical Machinery	1.40
Cement and Sugar	6.00
Other Sectors	19.00
Textile	5.40

Source: The News (2000 March 28).

DETERMINANT ISSUES OF FDI FOR PAKISTAN

As indicated, Pakistan liberalized and opened up its economy earlier than many countries of the Asia. However, there has been huge difference between the shares of inflows of FDI in Pakistan and other countries. The share of FDI flowing into Pakistan is insignificant when compared with the opportunities and apparent incentive package offered by the country. The inflow into the country is less than one per cent of the total FDI made globally. The lack of good governance, adhocism and deviation from announced policies are the real impediment (Hassan, 2000 December 4).

Successive governments offered numerous incentives to foreign investors but outcomes are modest and signs of economic revival meek. Successive governments offered highly competitive incentives like 100% of foreign ownership of capital, foreign investors operating their companies without enlisting in the local stock exchanges, no

limit for remittance of profits and dividends abroad, allowing disinvestments of the originally invested capital at any time, no prescribed limits for remittance of royalties and technical fees abroad by foreign investors, reduction in the tariff, reliable intellectual property laws, and constitutional protection to foreign investors.

The inflow of FDI in Pakistan is not constant. The recent trend is not encouraging. There are many integrated reasons for the sharp decrease of FDI in the country. Important strategic reasons include imposition of G-7 economic sanctions in the early June 1998 following Pakistan's nuclear testing, freezing of foreign currency accounts, stringent foreign exchange management, inability to timely resolve IPP issue, Kargil issue, and continuous tension with India (Hassan, 2000 December 4).

Political Instability

Lucas (1990) and Aharoni (1966) explained the critical role of political stability to attract FDI. According to Rais (1997) and Dogar (1991) Pakistan is suffering from economic uncertainty because of constant political instability in the country. Chaos, inconsistent policies, lawlessness, depression, and unemployment is prevailing in the country. Political stability is very essential to attracting foreign direct investment. It enhances confidence among the foreign investors.

Political uncertainty has been created by the game of musical chair played between the two major political parties. In return, political uncertainty creates doubts and wipes out overnight even the most secured foreign investment in the country. Due to political instability for many years there is Role of the Marital Law in the country. In the past many

foreign investors ignored the political conditions of the host country and suffered from heavy losses (Azfar, 1981). Political instability is the main reason for many economic and financial problems of Pakistan (Inayatullah, 1997; Shafqat, 1989).

It is the universal principle of international finance and marketing that foreign firms do not invest in the countries ranked poor on the scale of 'Political Risk'. There are many countries, which are now termed as having political risk to foreign investment. The list of such countries includes Cuba, Bosnia, Sri Lanka, and countries of the African continent (Baker, 1998). The patterns of FDI in the beneficiary countries show that they possess complete political harmony, democracy and clear political commitment.

Deteriorating Law and Order Situation

Peace, harmony and security are very essential for economic development and foreign investment. Deteriorating law and order situation badly affects the inflow of foreign direct investment in the Pakistan. According to Smith (1937, p.651) it is foremost duty of the government to provide a society free from violence and maintain role of the justice. Unfortunately law and order situation in Pakistan is not satisfactory and consequently socio-economic infrastructure is also weak.

Economy of Pakistan has suffered serious setbacks due to lawlessness. Recent increase in Kidnappings, hold-ups and riots in the big city like Karachi, the ethnic cleansing among the religious parties especially in the Punjab, and threat of sabotage of foreign installations and agitation in the remote areas of Balochistan and Northern Agencies indicate constant risky and deteriorating law and order situation in

Pakistan. No wonder that the poor law and order situation has been the main hindrance to the inflows of foreign investment. It may be asserted that Pakistan cannot achieve its targets for economic liberalization and foreign investment in that environment of lawlessness (Nadeem, 1998).

Economic Instability

Investors do not invest in a country where the economic fundamentals are unpredictable and weak contributing to economic instability. In developed countries foreign investors are assured of a growing a high economic strength that can create new opportunities for new projects (Stephen, 1972). Higher purchasing power, per capita income and creation of new projects are among the factors that can attract foreign direct investment in the country and increase positive multiplier effects on the economy of the country.

Pakistan is suffering from huge and unmanageable foreign and local debt. The internal borrowing especially from banking sector is on the peak. High rate of inflation, decreasing level of foreign reserves, persistent imbalance of payment and trade, low GDP & GNP growth rates, and policy of deficit financing are common symptoms of economic instability in Pakistan. Economic instability is main hedge in attracting the FDI in the country (Yousaf , 1996; Omar, 1995; and Kardar, 1987).

Major Economic Indicators (%)

Year	FY95/96	FY96/97	FY97/98	FY98/99	FY99/2000
GDP	6.8	1.9	4.3	3.1	4.5
Inflation	10.8	11.8	8.2	6.1	8.0
Current Account/GDP	(7.2)	(6.1)	(3.0)	(2.9)	(2.5)
Fiscal Deficit/GDP	(6.4)	(6.4)	(5.6)	(3.4)	(3.3)

Source: (The News, 2000 March).

Inconsistent Government Economic Policies

Consistency in economic policies is very essential. In the developed countries major economic policies are not changed with the fall of governments. However, Pakistan's past record in maintaining consistent economic policies has been very poor. Important national issues are decided on the will of ruling party with the philosophy to give benefits to few selected ones instead of general masses. Rationalism has given the way to discretionary power and personal liking and disliking. Frequent practice of adhoism is damaging the scope of FDI in the country. Some examples of inconsistent policies are: -

- The policy of privatization slowed down with the change of successive governments from 1990-96.
- Major changes in the design of Lahore-Islamabad motorway project.
- Project and concessions given in many sectors like power, petroleum, water and gas changed with the change in government.
- Concessions on import and custom duties

- Ever complicated Income Tax and Wealth Tax system
- Imposition of General Sale Tax.

Foreign investors have been facing a plethora of federal, provincial and local taxes and regulations. All these administrative approvals and taxes delayed the brighter scope of FDI in Pakistan. In Pakistan foreign investors have to cope with an ambitious and complex legal situation (Yousaf, 1996; Nasir, 1990).

Inefficient Government Bureaucracy

Traditionally bureaucracy in Pakistan has played a vital role in formation and administration of public policies. Bureaucracy has been in the power game of the country since its birth. Malpractices and red-tapeism have discouraged FDI in the country. A key factor to attract FDI is the existence of able, efficient and professional bureaucracy (Chowdhury, 1988; Naz, 1990). There is a huge gap between the policies and the implementation process. The mechanism of bureaucracy has not responded to the needs of the foreign investors and administrative delays are not at all conducive for attracting FDI (Shirouzo, 1993).

Weak Infrastructure

Availability of better infrastructure conditions plays very essential role to attract FDI. Pakistan does not possess optimum infrastructure facilities like power, communications, gas and water. All these factors are important ingredients for a healthy business environment. Pakistan has only 18% of paved roads in good conditions as compare to 50% in Thailand, 31% in Philippines and 30% in Indonesia (Vernon, 1966).

Uncertain Local Business Environment

There are many factors that create uncertainty in the local business environment. Role of black money, corruption, bad governance and lack of accountability spirits damages the chances of FDI in the country. Shortage of professional personals like consultants, engineers, accountants, and management experts are essential for the making of FDI possible and easy in the country. Availability and reliability of raw materials are also important to attract FDI (Hassan, 2001).

Unskilled Labor Force

A disciplined, educated, professional, and healthy labor force is very essential to attract the flow of FDI in Pakistan. Comprehensive Labor Laws are also important ingredients. Pakistan is lacking in the field of skillful labor, which is one of the major obstacles for attracting FDI (Hassan, 2000 September 25).

Poor Quality of Life

Quality of life along with positive cultural taboos and beliefs is essential to attract foreign investment. The majority of the foreign investors are accustomed to liberal and conducive environment and lifestyles. Level of cultural sensitivity, barriers and diversity make great difference in creating life quality of business executives (Davidson, 1980).

Measures to Attract FDI in Pakistan

Confidence of foreign investors in the policies of the government stands completely shaken because of lack of

consistency and continuity in the policies of respective governments. It is high time to make efforts to restore the confidence of foreign investors immediately in order to promote FDI in the country. Expatriate Pakistanis can play a major role in making investments in their country. More incentives along with full protection may be given to overseas Pakistanis and the issue of their foreign exchange accounts may be resolved on priority basis.

There is an urgent need for the skilled and technical manpower in the country in order to facilitate the flows of FDI in the country. Technical education may be made compulsory at secondary levels through out the country. Banking industry can play useful role to attract foreign direct investment in the country. A substantial amount of funds is lying with the nationalized commercial banks. These funds may be granted to prospective local investors on easy terms in order to create conducive environment for investment.

There is the absence of good governance in the country. It is supposed to one of the pivotal factors preventing new investment in the country. Efforts should be made to harmonize the governmental policies. Stake of country may be preferred on personal gains, party alliances and regionalism and politics of compromises may be discouraged (Bashir, 2000, March 20).

So far, there has been relatively small foreign participation in the sectors of Gas, Insurance, Stock exchange and Banking in the country. Efforts may be made to attract more foreign direct investment in all the sectors. Political stability and satisfactory law and order may be ensured. Socio-economic policies may be changed in order to attract continuous FDI

in the country. In this connection, experiences of Latin American countries may be utilized.

A number of measures including industrial productivity, reduced cost of doing business and investment in human resources development promote an attractive environment for FDI. A number of measures may be taken to maintain attractive environment for FDI: -

- Seek the help of overseas Pakistanis and motivate them to make foreign direct investment
- Strict compliance of the laws of child labor employed in exports business
- Reduction in the deficit financing
- Stable law and order situation and rule of law
- Stability in the political system
- Control of corruption and maintain justice and traditions of accountability
- Consistency in the economic planning and implementation programs
- Correction in the imbalance of macroeconomic strategies including balanced policies of liberalization, deregulation and privatization
- Promotion of export-oriented industries
- Correction in the foreign currency management
- Clarity in tax and custom management and operations systems

- Minimum role of the bureaucracy in the administration of FDI
- More and swift credit facilities to foreign investors by the banking and non-banking sectors
- Constitutional security to foreign investors
- Compliance of intellectual and property laws
- Minimized ambiguity in the labor laws
- Availability of better, reliable and swift services in all the areas of infrastructure
- Adapt measures to build confidence
- Maintain reliable legal system
- Abandoning the policy of isolation

CONCLUSION

Love, liberty and free choices in markets all are precious and closely related commodities. As Stalin said about the rationing of liberty, there is also a natural rationing of capital to the most deserving ones. It appears that capital flows to the places where it is properly respected, allowed to flourish, free to move, and jealously safeguarded. Burdensome tax systems, lengthy procedures, cumbersome rules, and apathetic attitudes create disrespect for the capital and like love cannot live in a severe heart, capital flies away from harsh environment. Arts, sciences and useful skills, all evolve and wealth of nations accumulates in peace times. Accordingly, capital blossoms in peace times and likewise

FDI dies in the domains of political instability, war and crisis.

Foreign direct investment has played a significant role in free trade transformation, contributing finance, development policy, training for public policymakers, supporting reforms, and expansion of public services. FDI is an increasingly important engine for sustainable development in many countries. Controlled inflows of foreign direct investment are essential to economic growth in the age globalization. The countries that have taken steps to liberalize their economic policies have not only witnessed rapid increases in FDI flows but also experienced the gains of integrated international production, including higher relative wages, access to improved management techniques, new technology, and marketing links. FDI recipients have also benefited from the additional economic activity, creating employment and extra tax revenue.

Patterns of global FDI indicate that FDI was largely influenced by a number of factors in the host countries including market size, mergers and acquisitions, availability of low wage skilled labor, hospitable policies, privatization, restructuring, availability of natural resources, conducive institutional and legal framework, and exports-oriented economies. Regional alliances reduced both psychological distance and cost of doing business while simultaneously decreased both tariff and non-tariff barriers for access to large markets. Reduced psychological distance in terms of cultural proximity, diversity and liberal life styles created beauty in the eyes of foreign investors for the recipient countries.

Inflows of FDI may tend to stabilize the currency of host country, while outflows particularly at the times of

recession, stagnation and imbalances of payment may develop serious downward pressures on it, eroding the profitability of foreign investments in terms of international currencies. FDI brings fresh air and new blood to the economy of a host country. However, it tends to inflate assets prices and create bubble effect in the economy, which if unchecked may along other disturbing factors eventually produce economic collapse. Similarly, like kitchen appliances of household, certain industrial or service sectors of a nation are never meant for the ownership of foreign investors.

Foreign direct investment has been the driving force for high economic growth in many countries of the world and has changed the basis of national competitiveness by transfer of technology, mobilization of natural resources and introduction of new ways of managing business. Foreign investment is an effective course to speed up industrialization without creating debt problems. Foreign direct investment can provide a stimulus to competition, innovation, savings, and capital formation, and through these effects create jobs and accelerate economic growth. FDI stimulates production improvements, contributes to technological advancement, boosts manufacturing employment, and generates more exports.

Determinants issues for host countries include political stability, role of government and bureaucracy, trade policy, intellectual property rights, competition policy, size and accessibility of local markets, skilled labor force, comprehensive legal system, corruption and concept of accountability, infrastructure and support services, government rules, regulations and incentives, and not the least political stability.

Pakistan liberalized its economy earlier than India but failed to gain substantial increase in inflows of foreign direct investment. A long list of severe issues has determined the failure. The long list of determinant issues entails inconsistent policies, political instability, lack of infrastructure—roads, ports, insurance and banking channels, wealth tax, smuggling, exports quota system, amnesty schemes, cultural intolerance, freezing of foreign accounts, anti-dumping duties, corruption, ad hoc policy culture, nepotism, IPP issue, concentration of FDI in power sector, CTBT issue, Kashmir issue, lack of good governance, poor law and order, lack of new nation-wide projects, lack of good governance, plethora of federal, provincial and local taxes and regulations, nuclear testing, lack of able, efficient and professional bureaucracy, and shortage of professional persons like consultants, engineers, accountants, and management experts.

Pakistan came into being for the people of diverse ethnic settings to live in harmony, and be useful and multiply. However, ethnic riots and power struggle are taking the toll and creating serious law and order issues, thus hindering the inflows of FDI and badly hurting healthy business pursuits in the country. While life is short, and time and tide wait for none, Pakistan is still suffering from the basic barricade of FDI inflows, political instability. More than half century has passed since its birth and while many caravans of communities and societies have made their way to prosperity and civilization, the unfortunate nation is still standing at the crossroads of political uncertainty.

The country experimented Presidential rule, Parliamentary System, Martial Law, Basic Democracies now reborn as Devolution Plan, a number of constitutions, and then a number of critical amendments attempting to create balance

of powers among various institutions of state powers, President, Provinces, Prime Minister, Judiciary, Armed Forces, Security Council, National Assembly, and Senate. Present government has explicitly determined its concern for consistency and continuity of economic policies and stability of political system in the country. It may be prayed that finally the intellectuals, decision makers, politicians, human rights and civic society activists, and provincial autonomy vanguards in the corridors of power reach a workable strategic consensus on complicated issues of balance of powers in order to let the life evolve, useful arts inculcate and sophisticated business grow on this part of the Earth planet.

Human settlements and hence economic growth without Water is impossible. Water is divine and omnipresent. Life originated here. It is extensively used in productive processes of our bodies, agriculture and industries. Future pundits are predicting wars over the issue of holy Water. As a matter of fact, the provinces of Pakistan are already fighting over their share of water and if sustainable water reservoirs are not created immediately, civil war may begin. Water crisis is both an issue for ongoing productive efforts and an opportunity for FDI in sustainable water resources.

Government of Pakistan has deregulated fuel and power prices in lines with its understanding with WTO, IMF and World Bank. However, ever rising fuel prices and power charges are increasing the cost of production and hence destroying the competitiveness of local agriculture and industry in both exports and imports markets. Deregulated fuel and power prices are creating a paradoxical situation of promoting industrial development while simultaneously destroying local industries and agriculture. Both foreign and local investors may find investments in Pakistani industrial

and agriculture projects entirely infeasible at the face of trends in power and fuel prices.

Indian sub-continent missed Industrial Revolution. However, India has reasonably entered into Information Age and become a large production center of software. New Information Technology Policy in Pakistan has ventured upon the development of IT industry and Software Exports. A very comprehensive incentive package including fifteen years tax holiday, duty free imports of computer components, establishment of technology parks and incubators, creation of venture capital fund, development of Action Learning Centers of Excellence, Plans for National Accreditation and Testing Body, and Promotion of Internet use, all are intended to make Pakistan a production center for software exports on the footsteps of Ireland, India and Israel.

However, the success of Ireland, India and Israel in part lie in their democratic culture of ideas generation and participation, and logical thinking. Pakistan has the same genetic code as that of other successful countries, however, unfortunately, it seriously lacks democratic spirits in our social and political life, and workplaces hindering the free flow of innovative ideas. If poorly administered, IT policy may result in money laundering, tax evasion by the parent companies of software firms, duty evasion by computer vendors through software companies, and planned misappropriation in venture capital owing to the intangibility of software products.

Recent IT exhibition in Karachi has resulted in signing up of MOU between Pakistani software and Singaporean and German firms however at the huge sum cost of organizing such fairs. Similarly, web design, Java and C++ are being

taught at local institutions like the corner shops in the country without real academic and professional standards. It may be rightly feared that without rigorous standards for quality education and thereupon, professional software production, the real contribution of the graduates of such programs may be seriously undermined.

The country may promote investments in information technology, and high-tech, agro-based and exports industries. Textile Vision envisages elimination of US quota system soon and consequently a boom in Pakistani textile exports. Accordingly the government may encourage FDI through comprehensive incentives package, in new and BMR projects of textile industry in order to properly meet the opportunity. Global patterns of FDI have been driven by the complex interaction of technological change, evolving global corporate strategies and major policy reforms in individual countries. A set of consistent and prudent national investment related policies combined with other determinant factors notably political stability, Water and Power, and sophisticated technology skills may attract more FDI, thereby facilitate rapid industrializing, increase jobs opportunities, boost exports, and manage balance of payment and external debt problems of Pakistan.

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MANIFESTATION OF DEPRESSION AND ANXIETY IN HYSTERECTOMY CASES

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Abstract

The present research evaluated depression and anxiety in patients undergoing hysterectomy during their pre-surgical and post-surgical phases. A pre-post research design was used. Sample considered of 50 hysterectomy patients, selected from the Gynaecology Department of Lady Willingdon Hospital of Lahore, Pakistan. Each subject was individually administered Depression Scale and Anxiety Check-List twice; i.e. 1-7 days before and 1-7 days after surgery. All the hysterectomy patients seemed to experience more depression ($t=-2.55$; $df=48$; $*p,0.05$) and anxiety ($t=-5.74$; $df=48$; $*p,0.05$) during their post surgical phase as compared to their pre-surgical phase probably due to the psychosocial and cultural misconceptions and biased attitudes attached to "loss of uterus" in Pakistani society where a woman's status and role primarily revolves around her reproductive capacity. Research findings also indicate significant negative relationship between manifestation of depression and anxiety and emotional support provided by the spouse and family.

Statement of the Problem

The present research is an attempt to investigate depression and anxiety as experienced by patients undergoing hysterectomy during their pre-surgical and post surgical phases.

Introduction

Hysterectomy is the surgical removal of the uterus. The uterus is a muscular, hollow pear shaped organ and is firmly anchored in the body by a number of ligaments. The organ itself consists of a thick muscular wall inside which is a thin lining, the endometrium (Atlas of the Body, 1980).

A total hysterectomy is the removal of the uterus and the cervix. A total hysterectomy may be abdominal or vaginal depending upon the route of removal of the uterus. Because vaginal hysterectomy has a lower morbidity and a more comfortable post-operative phase than the abdominal hysterectomy, there is a trend towards the former where it is suitable (Lewis & Chamberlain, 1991). A subtotal hysterectomy means that the cervix is not removed. This is an old fashioned procedure and is rarely practiced nowadays. According to Tindall (1973) the sub-total operation does not disturb the anatomy and length of the vagina and coitus is therefore not effected.

A total abdominal hysterectomy with bilateral salpingo-oophorectomy involves removal of the uterus, both tubes and ovaries. A radical hysterectomy (Wertheim's hysterectomy) includes removal of the uterus, both tubes and ovaries and lymph nodes of the pelvis. This procedure

is performed when there is gynaecological cancer (Lewis & Chamberlain, 1991).

A total abdominal hysterectomy with bilateral salpingo-oophorectomy and a radical hysterectomy effect estrogen levels as both procedures involves removal of the ovaries. Surgical menopause occurs due to these procedures and female sexuality may be effected due to decrease in the production of estrogens.

Most gynaecologists find that total hysterectomy is followed by less postoperative disturbance than is subtotal hysterectomy. The procedure is indicated when rapid enlargement of the uterus signals possible malignancy. In addition, hysterectomy may be done to resolve any of the following: abnormal uterine bleeding that may lead to anaemia, pelvic pain and secondary dysmenorrhea, urinary symptoms or uterine growth after menopause (Forrest, 1994). Removal of the uterus only does not physically interfere with sexual activity, but since it eliminates the possibility of childbearing, it is avoided in younger women if more conservative treatment is feasible (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 1993).

Traditionally, a woman's capacity to create, bear, and nurture a child is the very essence of her womanhood (Ashurst & Hall, 1989). Thus, the loss of the uterus via hysterectomy carries significant negative repercussions especially in the case of women from developing countries such as India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. As this surgical procedure results in the loss of reproductive capacity it is avoided in younger women even at the cost of their lives. The psychosocial and cultural importance of the uterus and the consequences of its removal have meaning

because the uterus is central to a woman's sense of wholeness and well being (Ashurst & Hall, 1989). Even for women who do not wish to have more children the uterus is not an organ to be discarded lightly. The very knowledge that she is 'normal' and the recurrent evidence of this by way of menstruation, are psychologically if not physically important (Tindall, 1993).

The psychological importance of the uterus and the results of its malfunctions are significant because the uterus is an organ associated with fundamental aspects of 'being well' as a woman (Ashurst & Hall, 1989). The side effects of this surgical treatment invariably cause some loss of function such as cessation of menstruation, infertility and hormonal imbalance. These changes may in turn influence sexual functioning. Patients may also experience general feelings of malaise which are threatening to females especially, in a traditional society where females are supposed to live within the four walls of their houses and bear children. Jochimsen (as cited in Branolte-Bos, 1991) found that 82% of hysterectomy patients reported a poor body-image which may be attributed to the importance attached to this organ. The socialization process instills the value of the uterus and its functions and of the body as a whole which may lead to perceptions of poor body image and inadequacy.

Gynaecological cancer like breast and uterine cancer may be experienced as a serious assault on female identity. It may also have a connotation leading to feelings of shame, embarrassment or ignorance (Branolte-Bos, 1984). At a socio-cultural level, gynaecological cancers may threaten the female image. Negative feelings about body-image and self-esteem may also effect a woman's sexual identity.

Studies (Ohkawa, Tanaka, Morikawa, Takeda & Katoh, 1992; Laliniec-Michaud & Engelsmann, 1985) suggest that a high proportion of women experience depression after hysterectomy. Wren (1978) suggests that the possible cause for regret in women for the loss of their uterus is related to the concept that the uterus is the source of a woman's femininity and the loss of this organ makes her less of a woman.

Many women are surprised to find that after they have undergone hysterectomy they feel 'spoiled' and less valuable (Lewis & Chamberlain, 1991). Hysterectomy has traditionally been regarded as having an adverse effect on women's sexuality because it is thought to reduce their sense of femininity (Gath et al as cited in Lloyd, 1991). Women are referred to psychiatrists much more commonly after hysterectomy than after any other operation (Tindall, 1993). According to Roeske (1978) the most frequent psychopathological reaction is depression because a mourning process occurs as a woman reintegrates her gender identity after the operation. Nonetheless, it requires a strong social support system and inner strength.

A woman's capacity to create, bear, and nurture a child is the very essence of her womanhood (Ashurst & Hall, 1989). Pakistan is a country with a birth rate of 3.1%, the highest in the world. Mainly parents, especially the father, desire a large family and, in particular a large number of sons in Pakistan (Mubasher & Sathar, 1997). As hysterectomy results in the loss of reproductive capacity it is avoided in younger women mainly because great importance is attached to having sons in Pakistan. Hysterectomy if performed in younger women is like a death-knell as it

signals an end to their capacity to produce children particularly sons.

A woman who is unable to produce children is viewed as being incomplete and is assigned a low status within the family as well as society. Her inability to produce children isolates her and raises doubt about her self-worth. This may cause the woman to reassess the meaning and purpose of her marriage (Khalid, 1996). Loss of the ability to bear children may also result in increasing family pressures and at times divorce or re-marriage of the husband.

Depression is one of the most common adult psychological problems. Depression may occur in combination with medical illness for both physiological and psychological reasons. Depression is a common reaction to a serious medical event, such as major surgery and can be an early symptom of a medical disease (Miller, Norman & Dow, 1988). Nearly all people who become physically ill have to make some degree of psychological adjustment. Minor disturbances of mood may be common, however for some patients the psychological consequences are maladaptive in various ways (Lloyd, 1991).

Lipowski (as cited in Lloyd, 1991) describes threat and loss as two of the five major categories of the meaning of illness. When an illness is perceived as a threat the patient focuses on the anticipation of physical or psychological damage. This perception is highlighted when there is considerable doubt concerning the nature of the illness and its outcome. Thus, the perception is greatest during the period immediately following the onset of acute illness or when an established illness takes an unusual course with the

development of new and unexpected symptoms. Anxiety is then the commonest emotional accompaniment.

According to Lipowski (as cited in Lloyd, 1991) loss refers to either an anatomical or symbolic loss associated with illness. Anatomical loss of body parts, for example, amputation, mastectomy or colectomy requires major psychological adjustment but a symbolic loss is no less important if illness involves irreparable damage to self-esteem, status or pursuit of cherished goals. Lipowski (as cited in Lloyd, 1991) states that the subjective significance of the part of the body affected is a crucial factor in determining the emotional response and coping behaviour. The more highly valued the body part or function the more intense the psychological reaction. Thus, it has been argued that loss of symbolically significant organs like the uterus or breast will carry major emotional repercussions for women across the globe.

The reactions experienced by women undergoing hysterectomy are similar to those of bereavement; that is: an initial phase of disbelief that it has been removed, followed by sadness and depression (McPherson & Anderson, 1987). Freud (1909/1950) in his major work on depression, "Mourning and Melancholia" described both normal mourning and melancholia (depression) as responses to the loss of someone or something that was loved. Psychodynamic theories emphasize the concept of loss as a precipitant of depression, with particular emphasis on the experience of a lost love object.

Beck, Rush, Shaw, and Emery (as cited in Miller, Norman & Dow, 1988) have also argued that the experience of

significant loss can predispose someone to depression by activating depressogenic cognitive schema.

The effect of other "loss states" such as child birth where the foetus breaks its special link with the mother, and hysterectomy where the capacity to bear children is lost have also been studied (Barker, 1992). Depression has long been associated with the concept of loss (Freud & Bowlby as cited in Barker, 1992) and a relationship between certain losses and the onset of depression has been observed by a number of researchers (Barker, 1992). Changes in health status are often referred to in the context of the experience of "loss". People experience loss when there has been the loss of a relationship through death or separation, failure, removal or alteration of body parts, whether external or internal; or an alteration in physical, psychological or social functioning. Such experiences may be acute or gradual, temporary or permanent, obvious to others or possible to conceal (Adams & Bromley, 1998).

Freud (as cited in Ahmad and Munaf, 1991) states that the fundamental determinant of automatic anxiety is the occurrence of a traumatic situation; and the essence of this is an experience of helplessness on the part of the ego in the face of an accumulation of excitation, whether of external or of internal origin, which cannot be dealt with. Anxiety is the response of the ego to the threat of the occurrence of a traumatic situation. Such a threat constitutes a situation of danger. Internal dangers involve separation from, or loss of, a loved object, or a loss of its love - a loss or separation which might in various ways lead to an accumulation of unsatisfied desires and so to a situation of helplessness.

Baum (1995) suggests that surgical procedures like hysterectomy are emotionally stressful and may lead to depression and anxiety in females undergoing this procedure. The removal or alteration of body parts, which are symbolically significant for traditional femininity, may cause major emotional repercussions to the females whose femininity and role-identity seems to be threatened by such procedures. The uterus contributes to a woman's sexual, reproductive and social identity. They are related to the concepts of femininity, sexuality, procreation and motherhood and are necessary parts of a woman's body-image (Ashurst & Hall, 1989). The present research is an attempt to investigate depression and anxiety as experienced by patients undergoing hysterectomy during their pre-surgical and post surgical phases.

Umegaki, Minami, Katou, Kawasaki, Fukunaga and Shimizu (1992) studied the changes in the psychological status of 63 patients who had undergone a simple hysterectomy procedure in Japan. They administered the Spielberger's rating scale "The State - Trait Anxiety Inventory" (STAI), Self-Rating Depression Scale (SDS), Maudsley Personality Inventory (MPI) and the Baum Test. Ratings obtained show a significant decrease in anxiety post operatively but no significant change in depressive mood during the pre-operative period. 75% of the patients manifested psychological fragility or lability in the Baum test. Research findings suggest that depressive mood affected strictly the psychological status in post-operative period more than anxiety. It is also suggested that depressive mood during the pre-operative period is responsible for the post-operative psychological disturbance.

Ohkawa, Tanaka, Morikawa, Takeda and Katoh (1992) studied psychosomatic reaction to hysterectomy in Japan. Subjects (N=120) who had undergone simple hysterectomy were examined before and as long as one year after the operation. Anxiety scores of the subjects were high before surgery and rapidly declined postoperatively. High scores on depression were observed before and two weeks after the operation. A close correlation was observed between the results of psychological tests and the number of psychological symptoms. Psychosomatic disorders associated with hysterectomy are characterized by various symptoms but mainly by a depressive state. Less psychological and physiological symptoms were observed 6 months after the hysterectomy.

Thornton, McQueen, Rosser, Kneale and Dixon (1997) conducted a research in the U.K. which investigated changes in negative mood states of women undergoing hysterectomy. A sample of 89 women responded to a questionnaire 3 weeks before surgery. 54% of the sample reported anxiety and 26% reported depression at clinical levels during the preoperative period, with an additional number (n=16 anxiety; n=19 depression) at borderline status. Clinical levels of anxiety significantly decreased postoperatively when measured 2 and 6 months after surgery. Levels of depression at these times were respectively 13% and 11% of the sample that provided postoperative information. These data confirm previous reports of high levels of negative mood states in patients referred for surgical hysterectomy. Analysis of individual profiles indicated that 83% of those with clinical levels of anxiety showed improved status after surgery.

Methodology

The present research followed a Pre-Post Testing design. A true experimental design could not be used because the variables of interest: depression and anxiety in patients undergoing hysterectomy were pre-existing in the population and thus could not be randomly assigned nor manipulated by the researcher. The current research made use of the non-probability purposive sampling technique because the sample was purposively selected on the basis of certain characteristics i.e.: type of surgery (hysterectomy). Probability sampling could not be used because the probability of occurrence of each element could not be specified as the sample (patients undergoing hysterectomy) was not normally distributed in the population and willingness and availability of the sample could not be specified.

The sample consisted of 50 hysterectomy cases. All the hysterectomy cases (N=50) were selected from the Gynaecology Department of Lady Wellington Hospital of Lahore, Pakistan. The researcher selected only those patients who voluntarily participated in this research project and whose age was between 30 to 60 years. It may be argued that there is sufficient clinical data that suggest that incidence of this type of surgery is highest in this age range across the globe (Baum, 1995). Moreover, the researcher selected only those patients who had been married for 10 or more years, with at least one child. 84% of the cases underwent a total hysterectomy and 16% a total abdominal hysterectomy with bilateral salpingo-oophorectomy.

The mean age of the sample (hysterectomy patients) was 42.4 years. The level of Education ranged from 1-16 grades. 64% of the sample was uneducated, 16% were between grade 1 to 10, and 20% between grade 11 to 14. 36% of the sample were working and 64% were non-working women. 8% of the sample had 1-2 number of children; 45% had 3-4; 27% had 5-6 and 8% had 7-10 (See Table 1). It may be argued that in Pakistan a woman's role as a home-maker and mother is emphasised and she is usually economically and emotionally dependant on her male counterpart as her protector and provider, such as, the father, husband, brother or son. Level of education is low and women attach great importance to their role of child-bearing. Social support networks are important in recovery and adjustment to the fact that she has lost the ability to bear children which was previously her focal role and has become "barren". Lack of confidence in oneself and poor social and economic skills may also be factors that often contribute to a patient's lack of psychological and psychosocial adjustment to hysterectomy.

Table 1
Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample (n=50)

Variables	Hysterectomy Cases N=50	
	Frequency	Percentage
Subject's Age :		
30-39 (years)	14	28
40-49	30	60
50-59	5	10
60-	1	2
Level of Education :		
Illiterate	32	64
Grade 1-10	8	16
Grade 11-14	10	20
Grade 15-16	0	-
Occupation :		
Working	18	36
Non-working	32	64
Marital Status :		
Married	50	100
Duration of marriage :		
10-15 (years)	7	14
16-20	12	24
21-25	14	28
26-30	15	30
31-35	1	2
36-40	1	2
Total Monthly Income :		
1500-6499	10	20
6500-11499	22	44
11500-16499	5	10
16500-21499	13	26
21500-26499	-	-
26500-31499	-	-
No. of Children :		
1-2	4	8
3-4	23	45
5-6	19	27
7-8	1	2
9-10	3	6

Note: Percentage of each sub-classification is based upon the total number of subjects in the hysterectomy group (n = 50)

Instruments:

Depression Scale, Anxiety Check-List and Personal History Questionnaire were constructed. The rationale for the Depression Scale was derived from DSM IV (1994) and Beck Depression Inventory (1993). It measured the severity of depression in each patient during their pre and post surgical phases and consisted of 19 items. The rationale for the Anxiety Check-List was derived from DSM IV (1994) and Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (1951) and consisted of 55 items. Items pertaining to physical, psychological and social symptoms experienced during this stressful period were included in the Scale and Check-List. Each item was scored on a three point scale ranging from 0-2. A score of 0 indicated absence of the symptom. A score of 1 indicated occurrence of the symptom with mild severity. A score of 2 indicated occurrence of the symptom with greatest severity.

Procedure:

Official permission was sought to draw sample from the Gynaecology Department of Lady Wellington Hospital of Lahore, Pakistan.

After obtaining informed consent from the patients and assuring them of confidentiality, the researcher first administered the Personal History Questionnaire to collect demographic information from the patients. The Anxiety Check-List and Depression Scale were individually administered by the researcher to the hysterectomy patients. Each patient was evaluated on the Depression Scale and Anxiety Check-List twice: during the pre-surgical

phase (1-7 days prior to surgery) and post surgical phase (1-7 days after surgery).

Results and Discussion:

Research findings (Table 2) suggest significant difference in depression ($t=-2.55; df=48; *p<0.05$) of hysterectomy patients during the pre-surgical and post surgical. It can be observed that greater depression is manifested in the post surgical phase by patients undergoing hysterectomy ($M=12.48$) as compared to their pre-surgical phase ($M=10.44$) (See Table 2). According to Lipowski (as cited in Lloyd, 1991) anatomical loss of body parts which have a symbolic significance are a crucial factor in determining emotional response. As the uterus is a highly valued body part, its loss carries physical and emotional repercussions and may result in intense psychological reactions across the globe. It can be argued that in Third World countries like Pakistan, great importance is attached to the females' capacity to bear children because in such traditional societies females are "perceived" as "reproduction machines." Patients who have undergone hysterectomy have to come to terms with their incapacity to bear children, which can threaten their self-worth. Researches conducted by Ohkawa, Tanaka, Morikawa, Takeda, and Katoh (1992) and Roeske (1978) suggest that high levels of depression are observed before and after surgery.

Table 2

*Pre and post scores of hysterectomy patients on the Depression Scale.

Depression Scores	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>t</u>
Pre-Surgical Scores	50	10.44	4.31	0.80	-2.55*
Post-Surgical Scores	50	12.48	3.71		

t=-2.55; df=48;*p,0.05

Current research findings ($t=-.5.74; df=48; *p<0.05$) also indicate significant difference in anxiety in hysterectomy patients during the pre surgical and postsurgical phases. The current results indicate that pre-surgical anxiety ($M=13.38$) is low as compared to post-surgical anxiety ($M=27.10$) (See Table 3). Easterday, Grimes and Riggs (1983) state that nearly one-fourth of all women develop some psychological morbidity after undergoing hysterectomy and women are much more commonly referred to psychiatrists after hysterectomy than any other operation. According to Wilson-Barnett (1992) medical procedures evoke anxiety and discomfort and many patients remain inadequately prepared to face this experience. This significant difference indicates that anxiety does not decrease post operatively and is a common reaction to the fear of the unknown. It may be argued that in a society like Pakistan women are viewed as "breeding machines" due to which loss of an organ vital to femininity, inability to fulfill the "role identity" demanded by the prevailing culture, incapacity to bear children and physiological changes accompanying the surgery might cause post-operative anxiety to increase. Moreover, there is

no concept of couple therapy or sex-education in Pakistani society which could help the patient grapple with her fears and misconceptions about her sexual role and function after hysterectomy.

Table 3

Pre and Post Scores of hysterectomy patients on Anxiety Check-List.

Anxiety Scores	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>t</u>
Pre-Surgical Scores	50	11.38	10.86	2.39	-5.74*
Post-Surgical Scores	50	27.10	13.00		

t=-5.74; df=48;*p<0.05

Research findings indicate that both pre and post depression and anxiety is highest for patients in the lowest income brackets (earning Rs.1000-6499 per month). It may be argued that unavailability of financial support and concern about the expense of the surgery is an important factor which may play a part in increased symptomology. Lower socio economic status is usually accompanied by minimal or absence of education and awareness which may increase level of depression and anxiety.

Table 4**Pre and Post Depression Scores of Hysterectomy Cases according to Total Monthly Income.**

Total Monthly Income	Means of Pre-Surgical Depression Scores	Means of Post-Surgical Depression Scores
1000-6499	9.27	13.36
6500-11499	11.17	12.91
11500-16499	7.00	10.80
16500 & above	11.07	12.30

N = 50

Table 5**Pre and Post Anxiety Scores of Hysterectomy Cases according to Total Monthly Income.**

Total Monthly Income	Means of Pre-Surgical Anxiety	Means of Post-Surgical Anxiety Scores
1000-6499	16.95	32.45
6500-11499	13.56	29.91
11500-16499	11.00	23.20
16500 & above	9.92	22.00

N = 50

The period before surgery appears to be of maximum stress for most women and counselling particularly before and after surgery may help to lessen apprehensions (Jamison, Wellisch & Pasnau, 1978). Table 6 and 7 indicate the presence of a significant negative relationship between pre surgical depression and anxiety and emotional support given by the family. Further analysis also reveals a significant negative relationship between depression (pre

and post surgical) and anxiety (post surgical) and emotional support given by the husband.

Table 6

Correlation between pre and post depression scores of hysterectomy cases and emotional support (husband and family).

	Husband's Emotional Support	Family's Emotional Support
Pre-Surgical Depression	-.072	-.071
Post-Surgical Depression	-.012	-.103

Table 7

Correlation between pre and post anxiety scores of hysterectomy cases and emotional support (husband and family).

	Husband's Emotional Support	Family's Emotional Support
Pre-Surgical Anxiety	-.093	-.139
Post-Surgical Anxiety	-.088	-.143

According to Jamison, Wellisch and Pasnau (1978) the effect of surgery on the female self-concept and role of social support in recovery are related. Low levels of support from family and spouse indicate poorer outcome. Counselling of family members may help in effective coping with stress they may be undergoing due to the illness of the patient. Attention must be paid to the needs of the patients in terms of psychological and emotional

support after surgery, which may result in decrease in depression and anxiety.

Due to lack of emphasis on psychotherapeutic interventions and rehabilitation programs many patients may overlook the psychological aspect associated with their surgery. The professionals too are too busy and even tight-lipped about these crucially important areas pertaining to the rehabilitation of hysterectomy patients. Intolerance for psychological diseases may also inhibit females from expressing their true feelings. Counseling, rehabilitation and psychotherapy may help in relieving psychological stress felt by the patient. This is all the more important in the cultural context of Pakistani society, where lack of education or awareness and social concern for the welfare of the 'oppressed' female is not given due attention. In Pakistani society, females are occupied with fulfilling the multifarious roles assigned to them by society. Due to this their health suffers which is compounded by a blatant disregard for their welfare, even in their hour of need such as recovering/recuperation from major surgery. It is suggested that sharing of apprehensions by the patient with their families may serve to reduce the patient's anxiety and depression and assist her recovery.

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Portrayal of Woman in Print Media A Bibliographic Essay

Faiza Latif

In the research of literature on media and women, we have observed that though women have been considered very important segment of the societies all over the world and in the field of mass communication as well as in media studies women are considered an attractive field of research but unfortunately, very few experts have conducted scientific research on the relationship between media and women. "The survey of the literature on women and media brings out the fact that there has been an agreement all over the world that the images of women projected through the media tend to reinforce the traditional attitudes and often present a degrading and humiliating picture of women, which may be true for certain cultures and societies, but does not reflect the changing attitudes and the desired role of men and women as demanded by the modern age. Social scientists, researchers and international agencies working for the emancipation and welfare of women are aware of the fact that image of women projected by the media constitutes a major obstacle to eliminate the discrimination against women throughout the world, and is a main factor in preserving the traditional sexist attitude towards them.

The purpose of bibliographic essay is to know that what type of research has been done in the area and what has been found in previous studies because researchers often spend time on collecting data that are already available. So, the study of available literature saves time and money. Through literature review, the researcher can know that what has not been already investigated. (Agostino, 1980).

Following are the summaries of the reviewed literature from the primary research studies.

In a study of four magazines; having largest circulation and directed to and read by women (Ray, 1972), has found that the fiction contents in the magazine place women's prime responsibility in home; if employed they are shown in traditionally female jobs and professions which tend to be less skilled and less rewarding. Volunteer work or part time work is encouraged for married women and mother of growing children. Two of the four magazines to some extent present profile of successful women in vast variety of fields, including non-traditional occupation, and women are not restricted to domestic roles. But the orientation of the readers, express through readers correspondence reveal, that the majority of the readers favour the role of home makers. Work is presented as an opportunity to meet men and job descriptions are glamorised and romanticised. It was found that there is a sharp decrease in the number of career women appearing in the fiction from 1939 to 1949.

In a study of Egyptian middle-class women's magazines, Suleiman (1974) detected a tendency of the characters portrayed to assume Western rather than Egyptian attitudes, and found a generally equal treatment of males and females, although the relationships between men and women were depicted as relatively formal. A rather less gloomy picture emerged from an analysis of the women's page in two newspapers and of a women's magazine over the period 1965 to 1976. He detected an increased interest in women's activities in economic and cultural fields and a generally wider range of topics being treated; but at the same time, the percentage of advertising in all three papers had increased and the concerns and interests of only urban middle-class women were considered.

Ray (1975) latter found that by the end of 1950 career women were, completely replaced by young house wives, whose interest were home and children oriented.

In Pakistan, Habib (1975) observed that the media in general are said to present women exclusively in the stereotyped roles of house wife, mother and consumer, of advertised goods, while as far as development is concerned, women are very rarely spokespersons of their own problems.

Sreberny (1978) concluded that the media were found wanting in terms of active support in reflecting new roles for women and men. Little communication was addressed specifically to women Content analyses revealed a limited number of female images, stereotypic in nature, which seemed to run counter to the national development goals articulated at that time. (Sreberny, 1978). Magazine analysis revealed that the most popular women's weekly, *Zan-e-Ruz*

(*Woman of Today*), with a circulation of over 100,000, was found to present three main types of story. First were direct translations or plagiarism's of Western teenage romances, with blonde, blue-eyed images and foreign names. Second were Iranian-based fantasies, in which the village girl finds love, excitement and a rich husband in the city. Third were cautionary stories in which adventure-seeking girls are betrayed by men, ending up in the streets or in a brothel.

In a study, Gallagher (1979), titled as the "Portrayal and Participation of Women in the Media", based on a review and analysis of researches and action programmes world wide, relating to both the portrayal of women by the mass media and to their participation in the industry. "Overall media treatment of women can best be described as narrow. On films, in the press and the broadcast media, women's activities and interests typically go no further than the confines of home and family. Characterised as essentially dependent and romantic, women are rarely portrayed a rational active or decisive. Both as characters in the fictional media contents, and as news makers in press and broadcasting, women are numerically represented—an absence which under lines their marginal and inferior status in many spheres of social economic and cultural life. Prevalent news values define most women and most women's problems as unnewsworthy, admitting women to coverage primarily as wives, mothers or daughters of men in the news. In their own right they make headlines usually only as fashionable or entertainment figures. Much media advertising directed at women as consumer is condescending in tone, and manipulative in intention, as the bait through which products are advertised. Women are exploited in terms of their sexuality and physical appearance. Underlying practically all media images of

women, though characterised somewhat different from one country to another in as dichotomous motifs which define women as either perfectly good or wholly evil, mother or whore, virgin or call girl, even traditional or modern.

Ceulemans (1979) collected and analysed the research material on the topic of Mass Media; Image; Role and Social Conditions of Women. The images of women in the advertising reveal that women are considered as the major consumers and advertising manipulates the female image in order to persuade women to buy; at the same time women are used as a bait to attract the opposite sex.

Goffman (1979) concludes that women are weakened by advertising portrayals via six categories: relative size (shown smaller or lower, relative to men), feminine touch (women constantly touching themselves), function ranking (occupational), family scenes, ritualisation of subordination (proclivity for lying down at inappropriate times; women using bashful knee bends, canting postures, puckish, expansive smiles), and licensed withdrawal (women never quite a part of the scene, possibly via far-off gazes).

Allouche (1980) to find out the image of woman in the Lebanese press between 1935-75, concludes "Weekly magazines though they give woman more space than dailies, still restrict her sphere, to feminine activities and keep her away from man's world, i.e. from the area of leadership and major decisions. As an argument for woman's sexual discrimination, her biological functions and emotional nature is over emphasised. This natural difference is the arm they use to legitimise for men polygamy and other privileges. While women are called

upon to vow eternal faithfulness to their husbands, and to consider love and devotion to them as a duty.

Gallagher (1983) pointed out that although the social situation, the role of the media, and the status of women have all changed dramatically in Iran since the studies to be reported here were carried out (in 1978), they are presented as having immediate relevance to the overall regional review, in that they reflect the nature of the women-and-media relationship in that country at a historically recent point in time. Later changes have yet to be documented.

Kapoor (1986) remarked that the Pakistani Press, especially Urdu newspapers and magazines, contains biased reporting on matters concerning women. Crime is given a great deal of coverage and accounts pertaining to women have a heavy slant in favour of the oppressor. The brother, father or cousin who murders a sister or mother is given implicit or explicit applause for upholding honour. There is no distinction between adultery and rape: moral laxity on the part of the woman is held to be the cause of both. Women are thus made to hold the ultimate responsibility for the ills of society. There are a few English language newspapers / magazines which are partially staffed by a handful of enlightened and emancipated women. Their articles are exceptions to the general pattern. In feature articles, news coverage and editorials, human rights and the constitutional/legal as well as social/cultural problems of women are often dealt with in a responsible manner. In the vast majority of the Urdu press, however, the social paradox outlined at the beginning is fully manifest. Apart from the slanted news coverage that has already been referred to, the establishment press carries little news about the achievements of women in productive work.

Newspaper fare for and about women falls into a few major categories. Firstly, there is that aspect in which a woman is portrayed as the docile, home-loving, sexless, holy mother, daughter, sister and wife who, interestingly, carries on her assigned role in the home and nurtures the family dutifully. On the other hand, there is little or no favourable coverage of women's demonstrations against laws which violate their essential humanity. Woman as the object of male desire is the second aspect of press coverage. Thus a large quantum of reading matter is devoted to the question of increasing the desirability of women. Articles on how to improve one's complexion, removal of undesirable hair, etc., abound. Lastly, women are used as saleable commodities to increase circulation and the sale of products. Large photographs, often in full colour, of women from the elite, are splashed across the front pages. Often, they carry degrading captions.

Smith (1989) regarding advertising in print media said that the results of more than a dozen studies, almost all conducted in the 1970s, have shown the messages of advertising to be astonishingly similar: Woman's place is in the home; women are dependent upon men; women do not make independent and important decision; women are shown in few occupational roles; women view themselves and are viewed by others as sex objects.

Perveen (1986) pointed out that the photograph of a woman in our newspapers is just a mean of making the money. They publish colour photographs of women whether these are required or not. The condition of our journals and magazines is also not different. They are also flooded with such pictures in most of the journals, short stories conflicting with *Islamic* teachings can be seen. In an *Islamic* state a women should not be used as instrument for

earning the money. The government should raise all the mass media on *Islamic* foundation. If the mass media remain the tool for commercial benefits it will be impossible to realise the objectives of an *Islamic* state. As the mass media in *Islamic* state are the representative of *Muslim Ummah*, it is their obligation to would themselves according to the *Islamic* ideology.

The magazines that are most read in Algeria, observed Abu Nasr (1992) are the French ones. These magazines convey an "absurd" image of women that does not correspond to the reality the majority of women live in. It only corresponds to the reality of women belonging to the privileged classes who are not at all representative of the feminine condition in Algeria. These women's magazines, the author adds, do not propose "reality" but "sentimental dreams" and "evasion". They portray women as seductress wholly concerned with love, submissive to man, and totally apolitical. Moreover, these "foreign" revues do not only aim at making women dream, thus, distancing them from the "true" problems they confront, but they mainly "glamour" occidental clothes and products. This process is very successful in Algeria, Hammouche comments, because many of "our" women make regular trips abroad to renew their wardrobes in order to remain "eternally young and pretty." Thus the feminine press, he declares, is a "social product" carrying enormous economic interests, because it addresses the people to whom it denies simultaneously a "real and autonomous economic and social insertion." The reason why the foreign press has a considerable audience in Algeria says Hammouche, is due to the fact that there in no local feminist press, except for the Al-Djazaira revue. Another reason is the portrayal of the Algerian woman as a culturally alienated woman, who

easily and comfortably identifies herself with the "seductress image" whose life is only concerned with beauty questions on one hand and with the universe of love and passion on the other. This observation may be true of other North African countries as well as Lebanon, in other words, the Francophone countries of the East.

Khokhar (1995) observed that almost all the *Islamic* journals in Pakistan have been published by the various religious groups. Being the mouth organ of their own sect, these magazines projected various issues in lieu with their own school of thought. Their contents ranged from purely religious matter to the social issues but with a typical religious shade. The women's issue too has no exception to this. Though these periodicals did not address the women's portrayal specifically yet a bit attention was given to their rights with only 4 percent of the total contents. It was too had no comparison with the women folk in this country.

Niazi (1995) explained that "The *Islamic* Concept of Journalism" is purely based on the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. *Islamic* principles about projection of women, derived from the *Qur'anic* verses and *Ahadith* are prohibition of dissemination of obscenity, sensitivity about chaste women, molestation, curiosity about one's privacy, publication of news not duly investigated, and publication of any type of indecent matter. False propaganda, accusation, publicity of illicit crimes, matter provoking evil deeds, publicity of nude women, mixing of the both sexes openly, dancing and coquetry of women and dissemination of bad habits are also obscenity and it should strictly be avoided. Journalists should safeguard the chastity of pious women. Anything against them must not be published until it is witnessed and supported by four persons. False accusations should not be accommodated at any cost. Media men should not

humiliate or ridicule any man or women. They should not insult, irritate or criticise any women. Any bad name on any woman should not be labelled. It is also essential not to interfere and intrigue into the private life of others. Journalists should not over hear, peep into others, or spy on any person. God has forbidden curiosity and undue probe into others' affairs. They should sift and sort out the news with a sense of great responsibility because it is possible that anyone may have concocted it for one's own and or some mischief. God has forbidden the publication of absurd, false, seductive, and misleading matter. This matter might be about such social activities as are against the spirit of *Islam*. *Islam* prohibits mix gatherings, sports and entertainment of man and women together and its publication too.

Butt et, al (1996) studied the portrayal of women in general press is practically non-existent with the exception of magazine sections and limited news. The women's specialised press offer an over-whelming portrayal with either fantasising or distressful cases and exhibit a lack of realism. Moreover, there is a low level of coverage regarding women in comparison with the level of their performance in rural production, female education, health etc. The specialised press seems to be unaware of the needs of the female communities and does not address the various tiers in a positive way, whereby a variety of skills, trades and welfare programs are displayed, explained and taught to portray the women in a positive realistic and comprehensive manner, the real contribution of women in different fields of our society should be projected by our media and this projection would be a milestone for the progress and development of our women as well of our country.

Seema Pervaiz¹ pointed out that in our society, women, because of the social deprivation and home confined interest in life, are influenced by the media to a great extent. For them, in most of the cases, media remains the only contact with the outside world. Many studies on mass media have proved that the media play a vital role in conserving or reinforcing the existing views and attitudes of a society. It acts as a strong force in maintaining the status quo, in the roles of different segments of the society. The fictional characters portrayed through the popular media serve as a model or identificant object for a large number of people. The analysis of media contents in this study reveals that the media project and image of devalued, inferior and economically and emotionally dependent woman. In spite of being the central character of the fiction, in most of the cases, she has no real human value. The media tries to put too much emphasis on the description of her beauty, jewellery, clothes and physical appearance. It conveys that she does not have enough inner human qualities to stand without the crutches of such super imposed decorations. A healthy human approach in projecting a character should be that you accept a person and make human contact with her or him, because of the personality characteristics; but the image of women projected through the media generally lacks good human qualities. What we find is just a cluster of attractive physical features. The value of women characters as good human beings becomes secondary, and the aspect which gets real projection is that she is a cluster of big attractive eyes, long black hair, good proportionate figure, nice and costly jewellery. She is being put in a well decorated

¹ Seema, Pervaiz. *Analysis of mass media appealing to women*. Islamabad: National Institute of Psychology. (Un dated)

surroundings like a show piece. Incidentally if she is not rich than she is shown in naturally attractive surroundings like mountains, farms or rivers. It is revealed from the survey of the related researches that emphasis on the physical beauty of women is a universal concern of the media.

Media in American and European countries also emphasise on the physical beautification in woman's image and use her as sex symbol. Because of cultural taboos and censorship; media in our country does not project women as a sex symbol very explicitly; yet in a subtle style tries to project her sexual attraction. When we review the international media from the point of view of women's status, we find similar attitudes and inclinations as it is in our media; but there is a significant difference in the intensity of the expression of the attitudes towards women's position and status. The aspect which gets maximum projection in women's portrayal is her emotional dependency passivity and other directness. In most of the cases she needs emotional support and love to lead a good life. She is not responsible for the things happening around her and she never takes charge of her life. Somebody else decides for her on important occasions. It may be father, husband, boy friend or for that matter the luck. She does not try to change the circumstances according to her own conveniences if she loses the sympathy of the viewers, audience or readers. Active manipulation for transforming her own life is always discouraged by the media. The media tries to establish that good things can happen only by chance. Emotional and social exploitation of women is an other salient feature of women's projection on the media. This tendency has also been found in the research studies of other countries. It is always she who sacrifices

for her husband, father, brother or for children. She is being deprived of her rights and pleasures on the name of clichés such as sacrifice, humanity, sincerity and devotion. On the name of maternal love i.e. *mamta*, she sacrifices all her comforts and for the matrimonial happiness she will go through all kinds of pathetic situations. The analysis of woman's image in the popular media reveals that romance is the full time job of the young woman in our society. This is another sugar coated style of devaluing woman as human beings. Her beauty and capabilities remain waste unless she is chosen by or for a member of the opposite sex. She is always in search of he. In spite of so much emphasis on romance she is discouraged to take initiative in the expressions, and the passivity in the whole affair is always appreciated. In certain cases if she tries to take initiative in selecting some body for romance, she immediately falls in the category of bad women. The heroine receive sympathy while indulged in a romance, where as the other woman, for the same type of behaviour, will get a negative labelling just due to the difference in the strategies. The initiative by a woman in the expression of love is not appreciated. The analysis reveals that women's role as an independent economic unit gets least projection at the media. As a rare case if a woman is shown as a working woman, it will always be supported by some justification. She is portrayed as working woman only under certain socially negative circumstances, such as parental loss, broken home, or some other social mishap. In a normal social condition she is not supposed to work for the sake of economic productivity only. Her economic independence is not taken as a praise by the other people around her. She is hardly shown as doing a job just for the sake of job. The working women portrayed through the media are generally shown in low

status jobs and it is very rare that they received social approval from their significant others.

Simorgh² observed that one difference that emerges in newspaper and magazine advertisements is the extensive use of advertisements lifted from western campaign. The majority of these are advertisement of foreign products, mainly perfumes and cosmetics. Or else, locally produced beauty products employ images of foreign, white models. Invariably these are highly suggestive in posture and dress. Close-ups of open mouthed women with hair flying and dreamy eyes are superimposed on bottles of perfumes. These women are transformed into sex symbols. The message here is seduction by the woman through the advertised product. Again the two are interchangeable and the women, by implication, is as much an object for possession as the purchasable commodity on sale in shops. Cloths that reveal the body are utilised to the extent that the scissors of censor board will permit. This is greater in magazine than in television commercials. Often bare legs and off-shoulder dresses are covered by lines and designs to suggest dress material. Where men only are depicted, as in 'TJ's Fashion Garments for men, the campaign is unabashedly macho, with slogans like 'The Combat Club' or 'Though, give a macho soft leather look'. Women and men are rarely shown together, but where they are, the socially structured supremacy of the male is evident in posture and attitude. The man is placed above and literally looks down at the woman, or the man is leading with the woman following him. There is a disdain and detachment in the male for the female, or simply, the women is a

² Simorgh. *The portrayal of women in the media of Pakistan*.
(un dated)

background spectator to the central drama in which the man plays the key role in a social or a family situation. In the rare interaction between men and women, again the man is shown in a protective or custodial role. This once again establishes the gender hierarchy within patriarchy.

Besides, there are certain published and unpublished reports, resolutions, and recommendations of different meetings, symposia and seminars held on the topic of portrayal of women in the mass media.

Mrs. Helvi Spila, Secretary General of International Women's Year in her opening speech at the Media Workshop for Journalists and Broadcasters (Mexico City, July 1975) referred the following three most common women's stereotypes: The "dumb blond" woman who is laughed at by men for her lack of education and whose sexual endowments generally place her in the "desirable" but not "marriageable" category. The "nice girl" the virginal woman with whom the hero falls in love and marries. This stereotype has the qualities of a good servant. Cheerfulness, dutifulness and obedience to the desire of her husband. The middle class working woman who seeks to free herself either of the previous stereotypes and who seeks through her work to reach parity with the males. This newly emerging image is identified as domineering, sharp tongued, unattractive and castrating. This image has emerged as a result of pressure from a growing number of the unsatisfied viewers; but is presented in a distorted way, which arouses more suspicion than sympathy for the women concerned³.

³ *Media Workshop for Journalists and Broadcasters*. (1975). Mexico City.

The International Year of Women (1975) and the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85) brought out special efforts in the shape of researchers, as well as seminars, workshops and round table discussions, to mobilise all forces in order to change this image and replace it by a truthful, honest and desirable representation of women. Following are the resolutions and recommendations of the UNESCO sponsored meeting:-

The media workshop for Journalists and Broadcasters, Mexico City (July 1975) observed that there is a tendency in the media to "project a stereotyped image of women, reinforcing traditional concepts of the roles of women, prejudicial to aspiration for improved status, rights and participation in society". The Regional Seminar on Women and Media at AIDB, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, November 1980 declared in the policy statement "The media should be used more effectively in raising self awareness in women of their inherent and acquired capabilities and of their roles in society as active participants in development." It further says "Vigilance must be exercised in monitoring the portrayal and depiction of women in media". The Director General of UNESCO, while formulating the resolution for the World Plan of Action adopted by United Nation's World Conference of the International Women's' Year held in Mexico City (July 1975); expressed "The Conference condemns the degrading exploitation of woman as sex symbol and instrument of economic interests by certain media of social communication." He further stressed "The conference request governments, and responsible organisations to promote and encourage in the mass communication media of their countries, the projection of a dignified and positive image of woman, divesting them of their role as vehicles

for publicity and as targets for the sale of consumer goods, with a view to bringing about changes in the attitudes and ways of thinking of both men and women and their full participation in society"⁴.

There is a need to change the existing images of women in the media: that their portrayal as victims and as powerless persons; as stereotypes of the housewife and / or temptress; and as creatures limited to the domestic sphere. There is also a need to make women more "visible" to make their voices heard and views recognised. Print media must reflect the multiplicity of women's roles, lives and views⁵.

Nowhere has the duality of recent trends been more clearly demonstrated than in the area of violence against women. There is currently unprecedented coverage of the issue focusing on domestic violence and rape. Through all forms of media and communications, there has been a shattering of past myths and taboos, as well as of the silence imposed on victims and those who have suffered with them. This development is significant in that it is impossible to tackle the issue on a public scale as long as it remains restricted to the private domain. However, an adverse effect is that violence against women can also become glorified, and in many instances is even used as titillation. This trend is most notable in the commercial film industry and in television dramas, as well as in the Urdu-language press, where there is no code of ethics requiring journalists to protect the anonymity of female victims of violent crimes. There is a very real danger that the widespread coverage given to such violence in the media, in the absence of

⁴ *UNESCO Report*. (1980).

⁵ *Kuala Lumpur Workshop*. (1992).

gender-sensitisation of media personnel, will de-sensitise the public to these issues⁶. In the case of women, in particular, media has played an insidious role in reinforcing their oppression and subordination in our society. This has been done through media's portrayal of women and the messages contained therein which have, in a number of ways; adversely influenced social attitudes and social behaviour, especially of males, with a negative impact on women and girls⁷.

Women are noticeably absent from the senior ranks of the mass circulation Urdu-language dailies which play a crucial role in shaping societal attitudes as well as from the smaller circulation provincial vernacular press. Although the independent press practices self-censorship and a code of ethics, that is demand appropriate, the outlook varies across newspapers. For example while some shun projecting violence and gore, others highlight it on the grounds of the public's need to know. The main matter of concern is the manner of the projection of women. Even when they are not directly undermined, it is often conveyed by insinuation of privacy of women victims of rape, wife-battering and humiliation through the printing of their names or photographs or both, always without their permission. The poor who cannot raise objections are particularly and doubly victimised and often made outcast⁸.

⁶ *Fourth World Conference on Women*. (1991). Beijing.

⁷ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women*. (1998).

⁸ *National Plan of Action for Women*. (1998). Islamabad.

Conclusion

We can sum up the reviewed literature that research work done by western scholars focus on the media which portray women as saleable commodities to increase their circulation and to increase the sale of the products they advertise. Such studies reveal that in the west, print media portray stereo type roles such as office secretary, receptionists, telephone operator, nurse, teacher and rarely as active and decisive executive. These studies also emphasize the need for equal rights and the equal opportunities in all walks of life. Such studies have been conducted mostly by the feminist scholars with motive to exploit the feelings of the women against the status quo and to become the champion of the women's right or to achieve some other vested interests. The researches conducted on the subject under study in developing countries highlight that women have their prime responsibility at home as docile home living, sexless, holy mother, daughter, sister and wife who interestingly carries on her assigned role and natures the family dutifully women is considered as consumer of advertised products. Also she is portrayed as an appeal for the promotion of consumers products.

The women's role as seductress wholly concerned with love, submissive to man and apolitical, is also portrayed in the print media of developing countries. Media also portray those women who make regular trips abroad to review their wardrobes to remain eternally young and pretty.

The studies conducted in Muslim countries generally conclude with emphasis on the observance of Islamic values for example curiosity about one's privacy publication of news without investigation and publication of indecent matter be discouraged. These studies also reveal the discriminated image of women in the media but suggest no remedy or solution of the problem.

In Pakistan, the studies conducted in this regard also focus on the negative image of the media but suggest no solution or strategy of the problem through *Islamic* perspective. We see no study in which portrayal of women in media is analysed from the perspective of the 'Status of women in *Islam*' or in which strategies are devised for the media of a Muslim country to project the image of women according to her status given by *Islam*.

Published and unpublished reports, resolutions and recommendation of different meetings, symposia and seminars on the subject reflect the observations of the participants and conclude that there is a need to change the existing images of women in the media; that their portrayal as victims and as powerless persons as stereotypes of the housewife and temptress; and as creatures limited to the domestic sphere; that there is also a need to make women more visible to make their voices heard and views recognized; that the print media must reflect the multiplicity of women's roles, lives and views.

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