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Editorial

The very name is inspiring: the *Journal of History and Social Sciences*. It is a reminder that the discipline of History nurtured the Social Sciences. It is for this achievement that Ibn Khaldun is universally admired; and it is because of Ibn Khaldun that Islamic Historiography has acquired primacy in both: the history of philosophy as well as the philosophy of history.

The interpretation of history has been both a fascinating and a frustrating exercise. No theory, whether cyclical, linear, or even chaotic has held the field for long, with the result that that Patrick Gardiner for one, had feared that the very effort at generalization is futile. In this context it is best to point out that history has found two levels of generalization; one broadly metaphysical and the other broadly social. The metaphysical interpretation of history with such issues as teleology and determinism, have not fared better than the metaphysical interpretation of science. The sociological interpretation of history as the present issue itself testifies has been far more productive.

The first paper, by Nasreen Afzal, on the “emergence of Feminism in Britain” falls under the category of Social History, and serves effectively to illustrate how the transition from history to the social sciences took place. Nasreen Afzal’s paper also underscores that fundamentalism is not indigenous to our society, but is a trait gifted by the West. Afzal’s depiction of how Margaret Fell, not only overcame clerical opposition, but inducted religious zeal to her cause, is a lesson to be drawn upon. What has been achieved in another age or land is capable of achievement here as well. The lessons of history have in this manner been shown to illustrate the potential of social debate.

From a survey of Women’s rights struggle in Britain, we come to a paper on “Gender Discrimination in Pakistan”; written by Taniya Muhammad and Sobia Shahzad. In addition to the historical and universal causes of gender discrimination, these contributors focus on the social taboos peculiar to Pakistan, which are capable of being addressed. Their astute observation that policy-makers are imbued with the fear that investment in women’s education reduces women’s participation in the labor force links this paper to the contribution of M.Taha: “Public Policy in Multicultural Setting”.

S.M.Taha underlines the fact that occidental terms like democracy, secularism or capitalism have acquired different connotations during oriental adaption. Following on this, he focuses on Education and Population planning in Pakistan. He shows how despite resources, which we bemoan today, Population Planning failed because it was incongruent to

rural modes economy. He aptly points to the desire for male children which has caused the failure of family planning in Pakistan. The failure of the object despite resource availability was replicated in Education, because of feudal intervention.

How economic imperatives strike their own path is illustrated also in Ndu Life Njoku's paper "Smuggling as a Common-sense Business". Njoku gives a historical perspective to his findings when he observes among other things that "like modern trans-border trade, pre- colonial long distance trade linked up dispersed socio-economic units of high purchasing power". Of special interest to readers in Pakistan would be his recounting that a series of military governments brought discontinuities into economic policies, and how at the first shock of oil price reduction, Nigeria gave in to a Structural Adjustment Program, leading in turn to simultaneous State austerity and trade liberalization. Our interest shall further increase on learning that the case study is about importing used cars.

Farah Iqbal's paper on the "Development of Theory and Measuring Instruments of Narcissistic Personality" shall be found insightful to egotist and non-egotist readers alike. Her discovery that narcissism has increased alongside social networking is worthy of the widest consideration. Her concern that perfectly faithful screens distort reality shall be shared by a broad spectrum of academics. Iqbal's clinical description of a narcissist also underscores that the Great Man Theory of history can never be completely abandoned.

I have noticed that each issue of this journal is better than the last. This is reassuring to those for whom the present has always been worse than the past.

Muhammad Reza Kazimi

Executive Member,
Pakistan Historical Society

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Smuggling as a Common-sense Business: Reflections on the Dynamics of the 'Professionalization' of Informal Cross-Border 'Business' along the Lagos-Cotonou Route*

Ndu Life Njoku*

Abstract

This article dwells on the activities of members of Lagos-based 'Cross border Vehicle Dealers Associations' who smuggle motor-vehicles into Nigeria through the Lagos-Cotonou border route. As the article shows, the every day life of the associations, their economic survival struggles, quasi-political actions and local social engagements are expressions of common-sense strategies emerging around the socio-economic interests of their members. Through the associations, cross-border vehicle smugglers negotiate their position in society, modulate their relationship with authorities, and take influence in the public sphere. Yet, the history of the associations goes to show the ambivalent position between informality and formality, and the members' readiness for anti-social acts in self/group defence, as well as a sense of civic duty. Finally and interestingly, members of the associations see themselves not on the margins of the economy/society, but at its centre, taking possession of symbols of power and success.

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*(The earlier version of this paper was presented at the Int'l Conference of the African Borderlands Network (ABORNE) on *Cross-border Trade in Africa: the Local Politics of a Global Economy*, University of Basel, Switzerland, 8-11 September, 2010. I thank those participants whose comments have been useful in reworking the paper).

Introduction

Smuggling and various acts of engagement in contraband trade transaction are generally defined as un-authorized or illegal transport of goods and/or persons from one country to another in order to avoid restrictive laws and evade customs taxation (import duties), thereby depriving the state of revenue, apart from its other harmful implications. Viewed from this angle, smuggling is a type of illegitimate business transaction that falls under the commercial engagement category “which does not necessarily have to follow legal procedures to qualify to run business activities”¹ But, as Hibou rightly notes,

Custom evasion or smuggling cannot be considered in isolation as an activity which is simply illegal or criminal, but is better seen as one among a larger variety of techniques to exploit opportunities offered by the state and to gain access to the profits generated by operating between the local and international sector²

Essentially, smuggling as a cross-border business activity is a type of international trade. Yet, it is one of the terms relating to informal economic activities, notorious for their many-sidedness and imprecision³ The informal sector is, generally speaking, “characterized by people and enterprises outside the systems of formal wage labour, low productivity activities not in compliance with the formal norms, or non-waged private income derived from goods and services outside the terms of contractual employment”⁴ Informal cross-border business transactions along the Lagos-Cotonou route, like other cross-border business dealings in post-colonial Africa, must be seen as a continuation of the age-long long distance trade which is usually held to be more important than local trade in the broad historical development of pre-colonial Africa.⁵ And, interestingly, post-colonial trans-border trade retains some of

¹ Ogbuagu, C.S.A. *Igbo Business Practices in the Context of Globalization*, Ahiajoku Lecture. Owerri: Culture Division, Ministry of Culture and Tourism.2006,p.8

² Hibou, B. “The ‘Social Capital’ of the State as an Agent of Deception”, in J.F. Bayart *et al* (ed.), *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*, Oxford: Int’l African Institute, James Currey,1999,p.81.

³ Schneider, F. “Size and Measurement of the Informal Economy in 110 Countries around the World”, *Paper presented at the Workshop of Australian National Tax Centre*, Canberra, Australia. (2002)

⁴ Niger-Thomas, M. A. “Women and the Arts of Smuggling”, *African Studies Review*, Vol.44, No.2, 2001, September:p.44.

⁵ Njoku, Onwuka *Economic History of Nigeria: 19th and 20th Centuri* Enugu: Magnet Business Enterprises. 2001,p.84

the well-known features of pre-colonial long distance trade. For instance, like modern trans-border trade, pre-colonial long distance trade linked up dispersed socio-economic units of high purchasing power. This encouraged occupational specialization, implying a move away from economic self-sufficiency towards inter-dependence. Inter-dependence had/has implications for peaceful coexistence that defied/defy ethnic and political boundaries. Also, like African pre-colonial long distance trade which was dominated by men, post-colonial trans-border trade is dominated by men in most parts of Nigeria. The nature of the cross-border business, plus the tradition which has continued to confine women to domestic chores, make it difficult for majority of them to undertake long-range journeys which would keep them away from home.

Finally, like traditional long distance trade, modern cross-border trade involves multi-lateral transactions that defy geographical, political, ethnic and linguistic frontiers. The concomitant trade routes then, as they are now in trans-border trade, form something of a grid, webbing distant communities and markets into a commercial network.⁶ In a very real sense, therefore, trans-border or cross-border trade in West Africa has a long history.

At this juncture, it is necessary to point out that this study intends to use the central term “cross – border business” to refer to informal and often illegal business activities which move goods (mainly motor-vehicles, for our present purpose) across national borders, from Cotonou (in Benin Republic) to Lagos (in the Federal Republic of Nigeria).

Smuggling along the Lagos-Cotonou Route: the Background

Owing to some historical and socio-economic factors, cross-border business activity is particularly intense in the West African sub-region, with Nigeria being a key player in the very large proportion of cross-border business activities within the area. For most southern Nigerians, the commercial cities of Lagos (in Nigeria) and Cotonou (in Benin Republic) are the two major centres of cross-border business, a fact that is linked to their being (sea) port cities and border-towns , as well. As Hashim and Meagher note, “the intensity of unofficial trading activity emanating from Lagos is related principally to the position of the city as the commercial (and

⁶ Ibid.p. 86

until recently, political) capital of Nigeria, as well as to its proximity to the free ports of Cotonou and Lome” .⁷

And, of course, trans-border cooperation between Nigeria and Benin Republic is a desideratum, given, among other factors, that the Egun people (a partitioned Yoruba sub-group) live in the two border areas of Lagos and Cotonou. For West African businessmen and women of the Lagos-Cotonou axis, conditions in the parallel economy began to change toward the latter part of the 1970s. In fact by mid-1970s, the balance of cross-border business, which had favoured Nigeria throughout the colonial period, began to shift in favour of her Franc Zone neighbouring countries. The shift in the balance of cross-border business transaction was soon accompanied by a reversal of the relationship between the official and parallel values of the Naira (Nigerian currency) against the CFA Franc.

Such changes, accompanied by major policy measures in Nigeria, like protectionism in the context of the nation’s oil boom, encouraged the rapid growth of re-exports of goods into Nigeria during the 1970s and beyond. With these developments, Nigerian businessmen and officials began to import goods through the Cotonou and Lome ports in neighbouring Benin Republic. The business-men operating mainly in the southern parts of Nigeria would then bring the goods across the Cotonou border into Lagos, from where they would be pushed into the Nigerian market⁸.

To put the record straight, from the time of her independence in 1960 to the year 2000, the trend and direction of the Nigerian economy were mediated by the fact of military rule, political corruption, affluence and poverty, national indiscipline, squander mania, absence of the culture of fiscal discipline and accountability, to mention just these. The military’s dominance of governance in Nigeria has been an experiment of the greatest tragedy. Frequency of military coup d’états and successions meant change and discontinuities of policies and programmes. For instance, the 1970s were characterized by the oil boom which led to rabid government squander-mania and a decline in agriculture and food production in

⁷ Hashim, Y. and Meagher, K. *Cross-border Trade and the Parallel Trade and Finance in the Context of Structural Adjustment: A Case Study from Kano, Nigeria*, Research Report No. 113 (Uppsala: Nordiska African institute, 1999).p.34

⁸ Abubakar, Dauda “Ethnic Identity, Democratization, and the Future of the African State: Lessons from Nigeria”, *African Issues*, (2001) Vol. xxix, Nos. 1 and 2: p.35 For more information see (Hashim and Meagher 1999)

the country⁹ later, when the price for oil on the world market dropped, the military government of Nigeria under President Ibrahim Babangida instituted the Structural Adjustment Programme (S.A.P) in 1986 to redress the economy¹⁰. The SAP measures brought austerity to the country. Piloted by the military without any clear direction and faced with structural adjustment justified by the pressures of mounting economic crisis and constraints on state spending, the Nigerian leadership introduced, among other things, a process of trade liberalization. This trend of events ushered in a range of economic reforms, followed by a proliferation of semi-official road-blocks and brigandage, with civilians and government officials alike resorting to informal means of income generation (like the smuggling of contraband items) under the pressures of increasing economic austerity.¹¹

Case Study: Smuggling of Used Motor-Vehicles on the Lagos-Cotonou Border Route

As is the case with most African border areas, the Lagos-Cotonou border zone is an area notorious (that is, *in the eyes of the state*) for those clandestine trade activities that go by the names, 'smuggling' and 'black marketeering'. Today, as available evidence shows, various clandestine trade operations thrive despite the institutions of state control put in place to check smuggling activity; in fact, smuggling and black marketeering seem to have become normalized in this area. However, this additional source of worry and conflict for the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Republic of Benin is, as we shall see, also a source of considerable wealth to local businessmen and women on both sides of the international divide.

For Nigerian business men who bring in motor-vehicles into the Nigerian market, the vagaries of Nigerian economic and monetary policy, developments at the Nigerian border and in the international sphere, among others, all exert an influence on the trading behaviour

⁹ Dibua, J. I. "Devaluation and Economic Crisis: A Political Economy Analysis" in Adebayo Oyebade, ed., *The Transformation of Nigeria - Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc.: (2002) p.269

¹⁰ Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Structural Adjustment for Nigeria, July 1986-June 1988*. Lagos: Federal Government Printer. 1986 Also see Fadahunsi, A. "Devaluation: Implications for Employment, Inflation, Growth and Development," in A. O. Olukoshi, ed., *The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*. London, Ibadan and Portsmouth, N.H.: James Currey and Heinemann. 1993. And Adeoye, A. O. (1991) "Of Economic Masquerades and Vulgar Economy: A Critique of the Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria", *Africa Development*, 1991,16, 1,p.28.

¹¹ Op.cit.,Njoku 2001p.120.

of motor vehicles, a fact which produces a range of permutations in the existing dynamic of informal activities.

As Meagher has rightly pointed out,

The reality is that rapid informalization is a global rather than a uniquely African phenomenon, linked as much to market reforms as to unruly societies and non-performing states. From this perspective, a political understanding of informality must embrace the subversion of formal institutions from above through processes of liberalization and globalization, as well as forms of contestation from below. An understanding of the processes animating the organization and expansion of unofficial economies in Africa must therefore situate the phenomenon of informality within a wider global perspective.¹²

As we have noted earlier, the imposition of Nigeria's SAP in 1986 constituted a major watershed in the social and economic development of the country's cross-border business activities. The Nigerian adjustment programme was characterized by repeated and significant official devaluation of the Naira, and a liberalization of currency and import regulation. Among other things, import and export bans were imposed by the Nigerian government on a range of goods. In the case of used automobiles, those which were more than ten years old were banned from importation. From the outset, these developments constituted a recipe for acceleration of cross-border trading activity. Owing to the rapidly declining value of the naira, and given the fact that Benin Republic did not impose similar import ban on used motor-vehicles, the balance of cross-border business dealings on used vehicles began to shift in favour of Nigeria. The result was the development of a system of large-scale business activity on used motor vehicles (popularly known in Nigeria as '*Tokumbo*') and spare parts, as well as used clothing-- with all three known to be heavily dominated by Igbo trading networks at the level of import into Cotonou. In fact, according to estimates by commodity dealers, it is claimed that Igbo operators of this business constitute some 70 to 80 per cent of the direct importers of these commodities¹³. A number of reasons can be given as to why motor-vehicle smuggling occurs especially at the Lagos-Cotonou (also

¹² Op.cit., Meagher,p.13

¹³ Ibid,p.86

known as the Seme) border. Smuggling of used motor-vehicles is carried out here in order for the operators to:

- a. Evade payment of duties and other taxes.
- b. Gain a commercial advantage over fellow importers of the same goods.
- c. Acquire a financial gain by making higher profit due to non-payment of duties and other taxes.
- d. Avoid local revenue controls.
- e. Avoid bureaucratic control and processing.
- f. Avoid import licenses or permit requirements.
- g. Avoid quotas.
- h. Avoid exchange control regulations¹⁴

Apart from these, it is public knowledge that the customs officers at the Seme or Idiroko border on the Nigerian side are more of pains in the neck of many travellers, especially traders. They harass and intimidate travellers even those with the right documents. Sometimes, they deliberately create unnecessary delay, causing long traffic congestion and forcing traders to pay through their nose before being allowed to leave the border post. The Nigerian Seme border is by far the most notorious for bribery. The extortion activities at the border post and at the various checkpoints from the border up to Mile 2, Lagos, qualify for a Nollywood epic with the title 'Corruption Incorporated' ¹⁵

Accordingly, the cost of crossing a border in (West) Africa remains very high: roughly "equivalent to the cost of travelling more than 1000 miles in-land..." ¹⁶ Thus, the protocol of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which allows for free movement of citizens of member states and goods across borders remains, for now, only a paper work. In reality, available evidence shows that, ECOWAS citizens move daily across the borders, but not 'freely'. Smuggling (going by the evidence available to this writer from the Lagos-Cotonou border) is effected by the unscrupulous

¹⁴ Ojebode, S. A. (Undated) (Rtd. Comptroller of Nigeria Customs Service) "Smuggling: the Nigerian Experience", an Unpublished/undated paper in the possession of this writer. P.16

¹⁵ Tagbo, Evelyn "Robbing in the Name of the Law", in *The Business Eye*, 9-15 March: 2009,p.18

¹⁶ IMF *World Economic and Financial Surveys: Regional Economic Outlook- Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, 2005,p.5

stakeholders involved in international trade—i.e., importers, exporters, clearing and forwarding agents and official conspirators. (Of course, it is a fact that “official corruption is an integral part of all smuggling operations”.¹⁷ Generally speaking, the illegal practices of smugglers include: under-invoicing, over-invoicing, wrong or false declaration of goods, prohibition, under-declaration of quantity, concealment, wrong classification, forging of customs documents and misrepresentation in size, quantity, weight and quality. Quite interestingly, the business of smuggling used motor-vehicles into Nigeria is secondarily affiliated to poor members of the informal sector. Thus, to officers and men of the Nigerian Customs Service at the well known Seme border, it is obvious that fighting the act of smuggling into Nigeria of used motor-vehicles is nothing short of waging a war indirectly against rich individuals (government and non-government workers, formal and informal sector operators) who are the sponsors¹⁸. According to one customs officer, “smuggling of motor-vehicles across this border [i.e., the Lagos-Cotonou border] is championed by organized syndicates who have the blueprint of what it takes and have the ability to identify loopholes to affect smuggling”.¹⁹ Those who carry out the illicit motor-vehicle business transaction on the Lagos–Cotonou border are known to be traders who, after studying the border and the various customs posts, identify weaknesses in terms of logistics, expertise and/or location. Although there are designated or approved routes at the customs border areas, available evidence from officers and men of the Nigeria Customs Service shows that car smugglers avoid such routes in common-sense preference for unapproved and hazardous routes, usually not well-manned by government officials.²⁰ The existence of a cordial relationship between a country’s customs service and the border communities is known to provide environment conducive for customs officers to discharge their duties efficiently. But, in the case of the Lagos–Cotonou border area, it is a fact that the much desired cordial relationship between the Nigeria Customs Service and the Seme border community is hardly anything cordial. According to one retired comptroller of Nigeria Customs Service, “in some places the border communities present hostile attitude toward the customs authorities. Some of the border communities prefer to support the smugglers to the extent that they join forces with them to attack

¹⁷ Op.cit.,Niger-Thomas,p.45

¹⁸ Op.cit, Ojebode,p.16

¹⁹ Oral Interview with Mr. Chris C. Osunkwo, (Public Relations Officer), Nigeria Customs Service, aged about 53 years, Tin Can Island Port, Lagos, *July 18, 2010*

²⁰ Interview with Osunkwo

officers. Such communities see customs officers as intruders into their territories”²¹

The Seme border presents an interesting case of a border where members of the border community have continued to be involved in aiding and abetting the smuggling of motor-vehicles. In the process, customs officers are told they are not welcome, rebuffed and antagonized. Some constitute themselves into double informants who assist and direct smugglers into the unapproved cross-border routes, while they proffer to officers information intended to divert their attention to different directions. Some members of the border community are also known to go to the extent of collecting tolls from smugglers for passage through their land; or demanding “something” (as one informant put it) from customs officers for divulging vital information about smugglers, their routes and activities.²²

Generally speaking, smuggling of motor-vehicles into Nigeria through the Seme border is almost a daily activity. The Nigerian smugglers, as we have noted earlier, operate through unapproved routes at night; some operate without turning on the head-lights of their vehicles because they are familiar with the physical features of their routes. This strategy makes their movement go unnoticed. Some of them pass through bridges, and rivers known to be flooded during the rainy season, carrying smuggled cars on their heads across such rivers, while customs officers would be under the illusion that such a place is impassable²³ Some of the job hazards for officers and men of the Nigeria Customs Service in trying to contain/prevent smuggling include being shot at or stabbed by smugglers. Some officers are, in fact, known to have become victims of assassination plots and planned accidents organized by smugglers²⁴.

Not surprisingly, therefore, there are many logistical difficulties in conducting research on smuggling activities at the Seme border, like most other borders in post-colonial Africa. Even more than other activities in the informal sector, the activities of smugglers are officially unrecorded and unmeasured. In spite of the difficulties encountered in conducting a study among smugglers at this border, a

²¹ Ibid.,p.23

²² Oral Interview with Chief 'X', who pleaded anonymity and this writer promised to oblige him.

²³ Ibid.,p.24

²⁴ Ibid.,p.24

major reason for the focus on informal trans-border trade activities at the Lagos–Cotonou route is that despite the institutions of state control put in place here to check smuggling of goods, especially banned used motor-vehicles, this business seems to have become normalized in this area, especially since the 1990s. In fact, it seems to have moved away from being an issue of concern to a ‘profession’ of a kind—as a means of survival and for capital accumulation. Not only smugglers of motor-vehicles but other categories of people in society too seem to be benefiting from this illegal activity, including state officials themselves. In the context of the Nigerian society, especially in Lagos which is an international border-land, it is very clear that borders, for post-colonial Africans, are nothing short of artificial colonial creations.

This study has identified two categories of motor-vehicle smugglers who participate in the Lagos-Cotonou cross-border trade. The first category includes those whose activities are largely invisible to the un-informed because the smugglers (as individuals) do not have social, political or economic identities to mark them out in the community where they do their business. In short, members of this category are said to “operate on-their-own,” and some of them are known to have mastered the business of smuggling without belonging to any group or association. As one member of this group boasted “I deal directly with senior customs officers, and they tell me when to move and when not to move”.²⁵ On the other hand, the second category refers to members of named groups or associations in which distinct identities, not as smugglers—but as motor-vehicle importers---are maintained in the eyes of the members of the public. Such separate identities in this way become active forces in the historical evolution of smuggling activities in the areas being studied. It is extremely difficult to get detailed and accurate information on the activities of smugglers from their motor-vehicle dealers’ associations and unions existing in some parts of the Lagos mainland. The associations exist in various locations in Lagos, like Agege, Ikeja, Ikorodu, etc. In other words, they exist as independent entities, even though their activities are very similar in nature. One well known example is that of Agege, Lagos. Members of the Motor-vehicles Dealers’ Association of Agege, Lagos, bring in motor-vehicles of all kinds from Cotonou into Nigeria. Of course, some of the motor-vehicles traded on by members of this association are brought in without contravening any laws in the Republic of Benin and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Yet, it is true that most of the

²⁵ Interview with Chief ‘X’

vehicles they deal on (mostly used or 'second hand' cars) are smuggled in through the Seme border in order to gain from a zero or lower rate of duty. Some members of this group have their individual trading outfits formally registered in Nigeria, with offices in Lagos and else where (say, Owerri) and formally employing staff, some of who are apprentices.

Investigations into the activities of the Agege association reveal that members meet on the last Sunday of every month. The day-to-day running of the association is left in the hands of the executive members led by the chairman and his secretary. Money for running the association is raised through members' dues and pre-registration fees, levies, fines and donations.²³ Evidence is glaring that the social, political and economic protection of the "business interest" of members is intrinsic to the association's economic and social relations.

The major difference between individual smugglers who fall under the "one-man squad" category earlier mentioned and the associational members is the preference for individual solutions to problems that arise in the course of business. For the association, solidarity among members especially in times of distress, cultivating links with influential people and using money, where necessary, to get members out of problem situations are known features. Collusion with border-town traditional authorities and state officials were found to be other effective strategies used in protecting the interest of members.²⁶ Historically, the Agege Motor-vehicle Dealers' Association is known to have been formed as an interest group to ensure the security of members in the face of government crackdown. Because it was formed for the greater interest of members in collective forms of protection, the association displays a high degree of secrecy and, at its executive membership level, a resistance to any investigation into their activities. All that a researcher is left to work on are pieces of evidence garnered from hardly cooperating members, who insisted on anonymity. In the first place, it is obvious that some of those who are members of this association are prominent Nigerian personalities. But, why would they not be? Used motor-vehicles of eight years old and above remain banned in Nigeria, and bringing such vehicles into Nigeria is an increasingly lucrative business in the face of declining consumer purchasing power in a country teeming with population. Therefore,

²⁶ Interview with Chief 'X'

the association formed by members in this line of business is intended to be used not only for the protection of members, but also as a means to control entry. With the association, more economically insecure members broaden their contacts as participation in such associations revolves around an ethic of lavish hospitality. For some motor-vehicle dealers, membership is an important means of pooling resources for loans (drawing on pre-colonial institutions of pooling resources, involving severe sanctions against defaulting on contributions),²⁷ particularly among those whose family and class based connections provide little alternative access to such resource pools. At the same time, the ability to participate in such associations requires enough in the way of surplus resources to meet entertainment obligations without obvious strain²⁸.

In fact, for businessmen and women, a remarkable diversification strategy comes with participation in associations, social clubs and friendship societies. This strategy involves an attempt to diversify ties through investment in friendship networks, which create links across community lines, or across various lines of business. Among Lagos-based motor-vehicle dealers', social clubs and associations build relations of trust, mutual assistance and exchange of information among peers through social activities such as hosting each other's ceremonies (marriages, baptisms, burials, etc.). Evidence from fieldwork shows that, members of the Agege and Ikeja Cross-border Vehicle Dealers Associations host seasonal festivities, such as Christmas parties, in which displays of wealth and generosity are aimed as much at creating important social and business contacts with guests from outside the group as they are at maintaining ties within the group. There is evidence to show that motor-vehicles brought in by non-members of the association who engage in the business are often seized as they sometimes get reported to the Nigerian security services by members of the association itself, acting as informants.²⁹ This "dog eats dog" action illustrates the fact of complicity in relations among smugglers, and between smugglers and government officials. On a number of occasions, the executive members negotiate with officers of the Nigeria Customs Service, quite apart from paying courtesy calls on traditional authorities, and engaging in some infrastructural improvements in border communities. It is obvious, however, that the interest of this association is geared more towards the protection (than the legalization) of the activities of its members.

²⁷ NNAE, AbaDist, 14/1/272, 1933.

²⁸ Op.cit., Meagher, p118

²⁹ Interview with Chief 'X'.

Yet, officers and men of the Nigeria Customs Service and other security officers know too well that “smugglers have no permanent friends and no permanent route of operation”³⁰; they move their operation at times from high risk routes to low risk routes where they may not be easily identified. As one informant volunteered, “once we notice concentration and high handedness of officers in a location, we move to where we may not be suspected or disturbed. At times we fight them back when they confront us”.³¹ Thus, the relationship between the association of motor-vehicle dealers’/smugglers’ with Nigerian state officials is based on both collusion and on opposition.

Conclusion: On the Paradox of Smuggling

In 2004, a state university in the eastern part of Nigeria officially contracted a prominent member of the Agege Motor-vehicle Dealers Association to supply some eight fairly used cars to the institution. Obviously, the state university was applying a high sense of economic wisdom by trying to maximize resources in the face of declining purchasing power occasioned by poor state funding of education. The vehicles, later used as official cars, have since continued to serve the institution, in spite of frequent breakdowns and high maintenance costs.³²

At a glance, one can deduce from the above business transaction that smuggling, despite its negative connotations, helps to generate an interesting interplay between formal and informal business activities, thereby blurring the lines between formality and informality. But, then, is smuggling developmental? From a general state perspective, smuggling is not developmental: the state is deprived of essential revenue, of course. But, from an individual point of view, a good number of used motor-vehicle smugglers in Nigeria have accumulated large capital through smuggling, with some of them taking costly chieftaincy titles. Some have gone into politics and have become ‘successful’ politicians.³³ Illegal importation of contraband goods, is, accordingly, held as a major technique “to exploit opportunities offered by the [Nigerian]state

³⁰ Op.cit.,Ojebode,p.24

³¹ Oral Interview with an Agege-based Lagos-Cotonou Cross-border car dealer, who gave his name simply as Steve, aged about 50 years, July 10, 2010.

³² Interview with Steve.

³³ Interview with Steve

and to gain access to the profits generated by operating between the local and international sector” (*a la Hibou*). This has to be so in the context of Nigeria---a country where the post-colonial state has essentially been authoritarian, personalized and absolutist in the exercise of power. The ruling elites of Nigeria who patrimonialized state power in the post-independence epoch failed to sustain the “social contract” of development and national unity. Instead, in the past 50 years, Nigeria has witnessed more poverty, collapsing infrastructures, indebtedness, instability and underdevelopment. The imposition of structural adjustment programs by government in the 1980s has not solved the socioeconomic crises of the Nigerian state. Rather, economic reforms, despite the optimism of analysts, have only exacerbated unemployment. Further more, with a decline in the capacity and legitimacy of the post-colonial state to deliver social services to the populace, coupled with the rural and urban poverty unleashed through economic adjustment, illegal informal activities, like cross-border smuggling, mushroomed, becoming central in a state where “everybody is looking for his or her own share of the national cake”.³⁴

It is a fact that, the cost of crossing a border in Africa can be very high; yet, trans-border business operators from the Nigerian informal sector seem ever-ready to weather the storm! Accustomed to, and toughened by, the harsh conditions imposed on them by the political-economy of Nigeria, especially in the years of military dictatorship, quick to react to local and international demand for trade goods (whatever these were), and undeterred neither by the many risks of cross-border business nor by distance, many itinerant informal sector stakeholders were generally inclined to become cross-border smugglers. But, by the same token, they were also on the alert for other ways to exploit the border frontier—an important meeting point of the domestic and international economy. The point being made here is that, despite the profound difficulties majority of African informal sector workers face in piecing together a livelihood on a daily basis, significant efforts—even through unconventional means—are made to engage the border as a resource for reaching and operating at the level of ‘the international economy.’

The case of motor-vehicle smuggling along the Lagos-Cotonou route helps to validate Nugent’s (2002) argument that borders are shaped as much by the everyday activities of ordinary people in ways that sometimes undergird but at other times may bypass the formal

³⁴ Interview with Osunkwo

structures of the state. Although smuggling of used motor-vehicles and auto-parts into Nigeria impoverishes the Nigerian state, its activities offer to those involved in it avenues for economic survival. In other words, viewed from the perspective of the informal business operators, though the state is deprived of resources that could be used to perform certain socio-economic functions, there is the transfer of opportunities for profit from the state to the local business operators. In this light, since individuals rather than the entire society seem to benefit, the border zone represents, for its immediate beneficiaries, an arena for survival. This underscores the fact of the paradox of illegal trans-border commercial activities as both developmental and non-developmental, especially where the state is unable to control unorthodox forms of trans-border trade activities, or where the state - unable to meet the basic needs of the populace - has failed to become a reassuring presence except for the minority who controls it. Thus, MacGaffey is right in arguing that, "while clandestine trade impoverishes the state, it brings considerable wealth to people who have no other means of acquiring it. It represents local solution to a local problem..."³⁵

The search for an excellent economic performance and social stability led African leaders to seek integration and/or cooperation among their countries, thus leading to the formation of regional organizations, such as ECOWAS. While ECOWAS, for example, is a manifestation of the awareness of West African countries that they cannot reduce poverty and external dependency without coming together, Motor-Vehicle Dealers' Associations are, at the level of the business class within the Nigerian civil society, a manifestation of the common-sense awareness of the Nigerian informal sector operators (in the business of bringing used motor-vehicles both lawfully and unlawfully into the country) that, to succeed, they also have to hold hands together. Therefore, the dilemma here is how to make the Lagos-Cotonou route "...less porous and more secure and how to curb illegal activities such as smuggling without hindering transnational movements"³⁶ as approved by ECOWAS.

³⁵ MacGaffey, J. (ed) *The Real Economy of Zaire: the Contribution of Smuggling and Other Unofficial Activities to National Wealth*. London; Philadelphia: James Currey 1991, p.67

³⁶ Akindele, R. A. and Akinterinwa, Bola (1992) "The Effect of Territorial Contiguity and Geopolitical Propinquity on Foreign Policy: A Study of Nigeria's Relations with Neighbours", in Ate, Bassey E. and Akinterinwa, Bola A., eds., *Nigeria and Its Immediate Neighbours: Constraints and Prospects of Sub-regional Security in the 1990s*. Lagos: The Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, 1992, p.240.

Notes

¹Oral Interview with Mr. Chris C. Osunkwo, (Public Relations Officer), Nigeria Customs Service, aged about 53 years, Tin Can Island Port, Lagos, *July 18, 2010*

²Interview with Osunkwo

³Oral Interview with Chief 'X', who pleaded anonymity and this writer promised to oblige him.

⁴Interview with Chief 'X'

⁵Interview with Chief 'X'

⁶NNAE, AbaDist, 14/1/272, 1933.

⁷Interview with Chief 'X'.

⁸Oral Interview with an Agege-based Lagos-Cotonou Cross-border car dealer, who gave his name simply as Steve, aged about 50 years, July 10, 2010.

⁹Interview with Steve.

¹⁰Interview with Steve

¹¹Interview with Osunkwo

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Emergence of Feminism in Great Britain: From Margaret Fell Fox to Mary Wollstonecraft

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Abstract

Seventeenth century is manifested in history as the century of emergence of Feminist ideas in Great Britain. Women and Men who believed in the equality of women started speaking openly against the existing social norms. To counter traditionalists and to propagate their views, British feminists in their writings discussed and raised the issues related to women rights and proposed solutions also. In this article the early feminists and their ideals have been studied as their efforts set the stage for the debate about women's rights and growth of Feminism in Britain in the coming centuries.

Key words: Equality before God, Equal education, Marriage rights, Divorce rights, Voting rights, Civil rights

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Introduction

The two hundred years from 1600 CE to 1800 CE was a period of turmoil and transformation in the history of England. After the Glorious Revolution (1668 CE) politically England from chaotically governed country transformed into a modern Nation State and the industrial revolution changed her economy into a capitalist one.. These changes affected every section of the society especially women whose status in the society was getting diminished. Women faced new constraints in their roles as wives and daughters and patriarchy was firmly established.

During the ages of Reason and Enlightenment, individuals had been debating over the social reforms and reconsidering the changes in European society. These were the centuries in which the debate on women's place in a society went under way. Ideas of women's rights and their emancipation emerged during these eras and soon got developed into a movement. Enlightened women and men started expressing their viewpoints through debates and writings and challenged the traditionalists who tried to preserve the old social norms.

During these centuries, in England ----- Individual women and men feminists expressed their ideas through literature, highlighting the sufferings and injustices society inflicts on women, challenged the age old traditions of society regarding women, encountered the traditionalists, and demanded equal rights for women.

There is a large volume of literature written on women's emancipation in England, but in this article only the earlier text is reviewed to study the problems of women during the age of Reason and Enlightenment, and the personalities who were the pioneers of feminism in England. The main reasons for selecting these manuscripts are that these are the earliest published texts in which men and women from different backgrounds indiscriminately wrote in favor of equality for women. Moreover, in these manuscripts highly confrontational issues are raised and being the forerunners they have long lasting effects on women emancipation movement

Early British Feminists

Throughout history, religion has been used to restrain, curtail and restrict women's freedom and rights. In the seventeenth century English society, the Church was traditionally an only- male

institution and women were strictly forbidden to speak or to think of any role in the Church. The traditionalists and fundamentalist clergy were the main preachers of the idea that God did not create man and woman equal, and to prove their point they used to cite the Bible.

In spite of ferocious opposition by clergy and society the reformation movement, and new ideas regarding women's rights that have started to emerge in the seventeenth century in Europe, influenced the English feminist too. One such early feminist was **Margaret Fell Fox** (1614-1702 CE) who challenged the fundamentalists and advocated the leadership equality for women in public institutions such as the Church.

In 1652 CE Margaret Fell under the influence of George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, 'who turned her mind towards the light of Christ'¹ herself became a Quaker and later in 1669 CE they married and propagated Quakerism throughout their life. Margaret Fell Fox founder of *the Society of Friends* as an active Quaker was against all such principles which according to her were anti women such as non-permissibility of women to speak and teach in the Church. To popularize *Friends* 'belief that [Women]as well as men could receive and express, the words'² she not only helped in founding the branches of the society in England but also visited different cities throughout her life to challenge the authority of men and even of the king.³As the Quakers were persecuted she secretly started organizing women's Quaker meetings in her home *Swarthmore Hall*. In these meetings she displayed her discontent of the contemporary situation and 'encoded gender specific roles within a traditional patriarchal context'.⁴

Because of her constant demand of women's ministry she was tried and convicted several times. These imprisonments could not stop her from speaking against conservative clergy. During her five years (1663-1668 CE) of confinement at Lancaster Castle, she wrote many religious pamphlets and epistles but her most legendary work is a pamphlet, *Women's Speaking Justified* (1667 CE) challenging the clergy and proved through the scriptures the equality of women in the creation and right to speak in church.

¹ Jewell Johnson, *Daily Devotions for Women: Inspiration from Lives of Classic Christian Women*,(Uhrichsville: Barbour Publishing,2007),p.200

² Caroly A. Barros(ed) and Johanna M. Smith(ed), *Life -Writings by British Women,1660-1815: An Anthology* (Lillington: Northeastern University Press,2000), p.59

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Fell substantiated her ideas with two arguments, i.e. God has created Men and Women equal, and the attitude of Jesus towards women. One of the main arguments of Fell in the pamphlet regarding equality of man and woman before God was the incident of Adam and Eve. Margaret argued that as the sin was committed by Adam and Eve so, God had punished them equally.⁵ Thus maintained that when God has treated man and woman equal then why today men don't treat them as their equal.

The clergy, through the scriptures, used to preach that due to the physical weakness of women, God has given authority to men over women. Fell demonstrated that women might be physically weak but not spiritually. To prove her argument she pointed out that in the Old and New Testaments "it is evident that God made no difference but gave his providential Sprit, as it pleased Him, both of Man and Woman as Deborah, Huldah and Sarah."⁶ Fell further claimed that Jesus has "manifested his love to the women of Samaria, Martha and Mary her sister and several others" ⁷thus giving respect to women and demanded same from the Men.

While objecting to women keeping silent in the Church she inquired a question to the clergy that there may be widows and virgins who do not have husbands then whom should they ask.. She challenged clergy regarding not allowing women to preach by giving examples of women like Huldah, Mariam, Hannah, Queen of Sheba and Queen of Hester who preached and asserted that women are not forbidden to preach.⁸

In the context of the seventeenth century English society Fells pamphlet challenged the old social conventions advocated by Clergy. She blamed the clergy for deliberately reading certain Scriptures related to women in isolation and thus denying the women the right to speak and teach in the Church, respect and equality. Thus, a major justification specified by her for equal rights for women was equality before God. The issue of gender equality before God raised by her later attracted many radical Christians who endorsed her arguments and thus religious zeal was added to women's right movement.

⁵*The Voice*.April 6,2012. www.crivoice.org/WT-theology.html (accessed May 12, 2012)

⁶ Dennis Bratcher, "Women Speaking Justified,Proved and Allowed by the Scriptures." *CRI / Voice Institute Web site*.November 08,2011.[http:// www.crivoice.org/WT-mfox.html](http://www.crivoice.org/WT-mfox.html). (accessed December 12,2011)

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

In surroundings where women were propagated as brainless and worthless creatures of God, women were not only disrespected by society but they had lost their self respect also. Next literature under review which brought up this situation is the *Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest* (Part I in 1694 CE and Part II in 1697 CE) and *Some Reflection upon Marriage* (1700 CE) both written by **Mary Astell** (1666-1731 CE). She is considered the first woman writer who campaigned for equal educational opportunities for women.

In *Serious Proposal* Mary Astell attempted to inculcate self-respect among women. Addressing women she asked them not to have “degrading thoughts of our own worth”.⁹ She further said “our Souls were given us only for the service of our Bodies [not] ... to attract the Eyes of Men. We value *them* too much, and ourselves too little”.¹⁰ She disapproved the idea of women who considers themselves as a ‘beautiful object in their husbands homes, for painting themselves with cosmetics and have no respect for their minds.’¹¹ She further slams women who seek men’s appreciation and flattery and being contented to remain ignorant and demanded from her fellow women to disengage from prejudices and customs present in the society.¹²

In *Serious proposal*, she along with attempt to develop self respect among women, claim educational equality for women also. She advocates the idea that women were just as rational as men thus deserve the same education as men. She blamed men for not giving the same education to their daughters as given to their sons. Thus, men deprived them having an insight into the moral purpose of human life’.¹³ She asserted that any deficiency in women’s intellectual capacity is because of lack of education and social opportunities for improving their minds.¹⁴

She considered education as the “most effective means”¹⁵ for the progress. She proposes a plan, for the establishment of an

⁹ Mary Astell, “A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest: in Two parts.” “ *internet Archives*” March 10, 2001. <http://www.us.archive.org/details/seriousproposal00aste.pdf> (accessed January 18,2012),p.11

¹⁰ Ibid.,

¹¹ Cynthia B. Bryson, “Mary Astell: Defender of the Disembodied Mind.” *Hypatia*,vol.13,No.4 (Autum,1998),p.42

¹²Op.cit.,Mary Astell, “*A Serious Proposal*”, p.15

¹³ Ibid.,p.51

¹⁴Juliet Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, (New York: Pantheon Books,1984),p.64

¹⁵Op.cit.,Mary Astell, “*A Serious Proposal*”,p.51

educational institution for women. While explaining the purpose of the institution she states:

“One great end of this Institution shall be, to expel that cloud of ignorance which Custom has involved us in, to furnish our minds with a stock of solid and useful Knowledge, that the souls of Women may no longer be the only unadorned and neglected things. . . . Such a course of Study will neither be too troublesome nor out of the reach of a Female Virtuoso”.¹⁶

To increase their intellectual learning and understanding Astell recommends women to read the writings of Descartes, Malebranche, Arnauld’s *Port-Royal Logic* and Locke’s *Essays concerning Human Understanding*.¹⁷

Regarding the denial of education to women, she asserts that when “God has given Women and Men intelligent Souls, [then] why should they be forbidden to improve them?”¹⁸ Astell encourages women to study and gain knowledge in order to ‘better serve God and be more productive friends and companions to their husbands and families’.¹⁹

Another very contentious subject of the eighteenth century— Women status in marriage_ is the topic of *Some Reflection upon Marriage* published by Mary Astell in 1700 CE. In “the eighteenth century” marriage was considered as the institution of heaven... too sacred to be treated with disrespect, too venerable to be the subject of Raillery and Buffoonery”.²⁰ But Astell thought as a lot of nonsense has entered this institution, all married couples are unhappy. She wrote with the determination, to prevent future damage in marriages.²¹

Astell explains in detail the reasons for an *unhappy marriage*. According to her the sad marriages are because of 'ill-choice or reckless actions of those who are in it'.²² She insists that men and women marry for different reasons. According to her, men marry for

¹⁶*Ibid.*,

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp.20,84,119,144,148

¹⁸*Ibid.*,p.53

¹⁹*Ibid.*,p.64

²⁰ MaryAstell, “Some Reflections Upon Marriage.” *Internet Archives*. August 01, 2011.

<http://www.us.archives.org/details/somereflectionsu00aste.pdf>.p.4

²¹*Ibid.* p.10

²²*Ibid.* p.12

money and the love of beauty, whereas women have no right to choose but to reject or accept men for marriage.²³ Another reason emphasized by Astell was the rude attitude of man towards his wife.²⁴

In *Some Reflection upon Marriage*, she analyzed the man-woman relationship in marriage. Considering women's subordinate position in marriage she questioned "If all men are born free, how is it that women are born slaves? As they must be if the being subjected to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary Will of Men, be the ideal Condition of Slavery?"²⁵ She criticizes the unreasonable position of man and insists that for a happy marriage women are to be treated with respect, not by Flattering. ²⁶ She tried to convince women that uneducated women [will] have the patience to endure a continuous outrage, anger and insolence of men but training can give her Knowledge and confidence of her mind and firmness as a result, nobody can then make her enter into marriage.²⁷ Thus encouraged women to become a master of herself.

Astell's ideas about women's education and marriage were considered too modern for seventeenth century England for which she was severely criticized by the conservative forces of the society.

The eighteenth century was the age of Enlightenment in which logical reasoning evolved in England and many practical, wise and prudent men like **Jeremy Bentham** (1748-1832 CE) propagated and defended the rights of women.

In this century the important issue was the women's enfranchisement. The theory and demand of suffrage right for women was originally debated by Jeremy Bentham in his book *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789 CE). This book contains his revolutionary view of efficient program on the organization of the government. Regarding that he advises government that government reforms should be dictated by the principle that the new system will assist the enjoyment of the majority of the people affected by it.²⁸

²³Ibid.p.,51

²⁴ Ibid.,p.54

²⁵Ibid., p.28

²⁶Ibid.,p.50

²⁷Ibid.,p.200

²⁸John Bowring, "*Works of Jeremy Bentham*" (London: British Library,2011(rep)),p.450

Bentham was among very few nineteenth century men who favored women right to vote. He publicized female suffrage in his book *A Plan for Parliamentary Reform* (1817 CE) in which he called for, universal manhood suffrage [including women], annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, payment of MPs, and a secret ballot. Being a utilitarian [happiness for all] while addressing management, Bentham informs that the duty of government is to look for the happiness of all so he advises the government to develop the elective suffrage to the female sex.²⁹ He sees no reason for excluding women from the electoral process therefore he firmly supported women right to vote, and criticized men for preventing women to vote and to share constitutive powers with women.³⁰

He refuses to accept the man's understanding that admitting a soft sex [women] into power corridors would lead to confusion.³¹ He was astonished at the double standards of English society in which highest power position was given to a woman while England refuses to give even the smallest share of the constitutive power to women. While citing the examples of Queen Elizabeth and Ann, he claimed that not in two male reigns England was as wealthy as in the two female reigns. He along with England, criticized other European nations like Russia, Austria, Sweden, Portugal and France who had female monarchs, but neither of these European countries allows women to vote.³²

In spite of strong criticism from his fellow men, he in 1830 CE wrote another book *Constitutional Code* and reasserted universal suffrage [including women], annual parliaments and vote by secret ballot. He also suggested that to have an efficient government there should be no Kings, no House of Commons, and no established Church'.³³ Bentham points out women are excluded from political rights not because their intellects are poor but because men lack the maturity to work seriously and effectively with women.³⁴

Another sensitive issue of the eighteenth century raised by Bentham was marriage and divorce rights of women. Earlier Astell had raised her voice on the status of women in a marriage but Bentham in the book *Principle of the Civil Code* went one step forward and discussed

²⁹Jeremy Bentham, *Plan for Parliamentary Reform*, (rep), (London: General Books,2009),p,201

³⁰Ibid.,p.108

³¹Ibid.,109

³²Ibid.,p.110

³³Ibid.,p.111

³⁴ Mariam Williford, "Bentham And Women's Rights." *Journal of History of Ideas*, Jan-Mar,1975,p.170

not only in detail about marriage problems but also about the separation problems and raised questions regarding the status of women in marriage and divorce. He considered Marriage a contract between Men and Women and regarded marriage a guarantee of the community which leads to the foundation of civilization.³⁵

During Victorian times, marriage was considered sacred; therefore, the Church of England regarded divorce as an offense against God's will and was particularly against it. It was very difficult to get divorced; therefore, couple usually opted for separation. There were three situations for separation. First, if the marriage will be in a state of non-effectiveness, because of insanity or incest, the church would grant a divorce, and permits the divorcee to remarry, but converted their children into illicit issue. Secondly in the case of adultery or physical violence in the union, the church permitted divorce but remarriage of divorcees was not sanctioned. The third way was, first enter the separation from church and then sue the spouse for adultery. The case was set up before parliament which then allowed the couple to divorce. In this, category, the children were not declared, as unlawful.³⁶ The process was very expensive and abusive; therefore it was avoided. Though wives were the victim in the union, they were not allowed to apply for divorce, as this right was only given to men. Bentham in his writing tried to convince the nation that to save women from men's brutality divorce laws should be drafted.

His plan to secure divorce was objected to by the church and traditional elements of the society. Regarding the idea that the natural separation would encourage husbands and wife to pursue another partner; this corresponds connection is extinct; he opines that prohibition serves to stimulate inconstancy rather than to prevent it.³⁷ According to his viewpoint loose laws of dissolution of marriage will provide less wandering fancies than that of conjugal captivity as man and woman would make sincere efforts to keep their marriage intact.³⁸ Another object of the conservatives was that it will 'introduce negligence and disorder in their family life'. He believed that, instead of forceful union, the caring for their child would help to retain the affection among married persons.³⁹ To the objection; easy divorce will give the stronger of the two parties an

³⁵Op.cit, Bowring,p.349

³⁶Ibid.,p.350

³⁷Ibid.,p.350

³⁸Ibid.,p.353

³⁹Ibid.,p.354

inclination to maltreat the feeble, for the purpose of constraining its consent to the divorce, he proposes that in case of maltreatment laws should be drafted to curtail violence and to give right for asking the divorce to the maltreated party and not to the other.⁴⁰ Another very strong opposition to divorce was the negative effect on the mental health and future of children. Challenging this notion, he believed that, in case of divorce, parents will continue to look after the education and other necessities of life of their children and hope that their love and care for the children will prevent them to enter into a new union. He concludes that dissolution of marriage must be submitted to some formalities and conditions should be given to the husband and wife for rethinking so that it can be prevented.⁴¹ He proposes the involvement of magistrate in the process of divorce and also demanded that laws should be drafted so that the process of divorce can be improved and delay between the demand for a divorce and the divorce itself could be stopped.⁴² Because of costly (500 pounds sterling) and complicated process of divorce Bentham suggests that such laws to be drafted that will make the process of divorce stress-free and inexpensive.⁴³

In the eighteenth century, no legal protection was available to the woman against the wrong doings of men. For example as a woman gets married she would lose all her property rights as her property involuntarily became her husband's and he would receive all profits from it. The husband had a right to beat his spouse, and there was no legal protection for all such women. If a married woman left the house to take refuge abroad, her husband could stick her out, without needing a court order. Against this position, he demanded special laws for the protection of women's resources.⁴⁴ Thus, Bentham in spite of strong criticism by the conservatives raised very sensitive social issues of his time and spread the idea of equality for women through his writings.

The leading woman feminist writer of eighteenth century England who demanded greater equality for women is **Mary Wollstonecraft** (1759-1797 CE). Her views were not only based on her life experience⁴⁵ but the international radical ideas of freedom and equality voiced during the American and French Revolutions also

⁴⁰Ibid.,p.355

⁴¹Ibid.,p.360

⁴²Ibid.,p.354

⁴³Ibid.,p.362

⁴⁴Ibid.,p.370

⁴⁵ For further information see *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography* by Eleanor Flexner. Baltimore: Penguin Books,1972.

mesmerized her. Because of her abusive father she left her home at an early age and came to London. Here she met Richard Price, who was a staunch supporter of the French Revolution and very soon she became part of his group. The discussions among the group members aided her to understand the ideas of freedom and equality and eventually she also became a supporter of French Revolution.

With the commencement of the French Revolution, the ideas of freedom and equality started proliferating in England and the traditional section of the society tried to defend their ancient traditions, sternly criticized the Revolution. Edmund Burke was one such opponent who in *Reflection on the Revolution in France* (1790 CE) disagreed with the revolution and its ideas. Wollstonecraft in defense of the Revolution wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Man* (1790 CE) as a letter in which she challenged the old conservative philosophy of men and argued that society should be based on the principles of freedom and equality. She demanded from men the rights for poor and disadvantaged group of the community including women.⁴⁶ With the progress of French Revolution she became more involved and in 1792 CE she travelled to Paris and participated in demonstrations and street agitations. In 1791 CE two events took place in France that provoked Wollstonecraft to write *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792 CE). The first was the laws regarding the rights of women mentioned in the new French Constitution, according to which, women were excluded from all areas of public life and citizenship rights were granted only to men. The other reason was the report of Charles Maurice on women's education, which he presented to the French National Assembly, suggested a restricted sort of education for girls which should be focused to make her more submissive.⁴⁷

These developments shocked Wollstonecraft as they were against the ideology of revolution. She challenged this inequality shown to women in *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. She used American and French Revolutionary ideals of equality and freedom in her writing and insisted that women were born equal to men. She claimed that inequality was a social creation based on prejudice. To end this inequality she not only suggested that girls should be provided the same education as given to boys but took one step

⁴⁶ Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Men, in a letter to the right Honourable Edmund Burke*, London: Joseph Johnson, 1790, reprint in 1960, p.2

⁴⁷ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, (rep), New York: Bartleby, 1999, p.4

forward to this demand which was earlier put forward by Mary Astell, she demanded equal employment opportunities for women.⁴⁸ Wollstonecraft in *Vindication* discusses in detail nature and necessity of education for women. She professes the rights of women to equality in education. She dedicates her book to Talleyrand-Périgord, the Bishop of Autun, asking him to reconsider his ideas about the education of girls and women. In her dedication Wollstonecraft states that the main goal in her book is based on the simple principle that if the woman is not prepared by education to become the companion of the man, she will finish the advancement of knowledge and talent.⁴⁹

She in her writing criticizes the traditional views of the population regarding women's education and condemns the restrictions imposed by the community, on women to keep them ignorant and dependent.⁵⁰ She argued against the notion that women were not rational creatures and were the slave of their passion.⁵¹ She blamed parents for bringing up their daughters in such a way that they become obedient and timorous.⁵² She insists that if 'girls were encouraged from an early age to develop their minds, it would be seen that they were rational creatures and there was no reason whatsoever for them not to be given the same opportunities as boys with regard to education and training.'⁵³ In her opinion education means learning to think and reason and the object of education is to enable the individual to attain independent life. She demanded equal educational opportunities for women so that they should be able to think and act independently.⁵⁴

Wollstonecraft blames society for 'imparting disorderly quality of training' to women as compared to men who receive education with a 'degree of exactness' as a result, women could not develop their understanding and could not do things as men do.⁵⁵ While condemning the restriction imposed by society on female education she compares such educated women with those military soldiers who are sent to war fronts without proper training and knowledge. She opines that soldiers and women are comparable as having

⁴⁸ Carol H. Poston, *Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: An Authoritative Text, Background, The Wollstonecraft Debate, Criticism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988) p.27

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.1

⁵⁰ Millicent Garrett Fawcett, *Women's Suffrage: A Short History of a Great Movement*, New York: The Dodge Publishing, n.d., p. 12

⁵¹ *Op.cit.*, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, p.25

⁵² *Op.cit.*, Poston, p.32

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.11

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.11

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.15

limited intelligence not enough to carry out their respective occupation. She asks where is then the sexual difference, when the training has been the same? In her view, all the differences arise from the liberty available to the soldiers [men] which enables them to make the history of life which is not available to women.⁵⁶ She maintains that let give women equal education and liberty [as men] to improve their intellect and then measure them on the intellect scale with men.⁵⁷

Wollstonecraft sternly criticizes the attitude of men and society in general regarding women's character, education and repression of men. She to the point that women don't have sufficient strength of mind to obtain the name of honor argues that as women are told from their infancy that, a 'little knowledge of human weakness, cunning, softness of temper, outward obedience and a meticulous attention to a puerile kind of morality will assist in finding a husband and should they be beautiful, everything else is needless'.⁵⁸

Male writers like, Milton, Rousseau and Dr. Gregory who had projected women as weak spirit beings were severely criticized by Wollstonecraft. She encounters them for propagating the idea of women being made to please, men by declaring their thinking as a disgrace and an insult to the one half of the human species. She boldly says that pleasing is only useful to a mistress [not to] the chaste wife⁵⁹ and demands the same criterion of the virtues and regard of men to the women in their mind.⁶⁰

Arguing the case for women Wollstonecraft says to the people that don't treat them [women] like slaves, or like the brutes who are dependent on man, but improve their understanding, give them salutary, sublime curb of truth and let them attain conscious dignity by feeling themselves only dependent on God and advises that it's time to make them part of the human species.⁶¹

She not only demands the same kind of education for girls but proposes co- academic schooling system. She pronounces that the regular training will enable women to remain single, instead to unite snobbish, brutal, arrogant man⁶² who she describes as overgrown

⁵⁶Ibid.,p.17

⁵⁷Ibid.,p.60

⁵⁸ Ibid.,p.2

⁵⁹ Ibid.,p.35

⁶⁰ Ibid.,p.41

⁶¹Ibid. p.40

⁶² Ibid.,p.53

children.’⁶³ This idea was too revolutionary and for this she was severely criticized. She insisted that rights are based on the human mind and collective human virtues, which are empowered by God. Because people tend to use logic to justify injustice rather than promote equality, a vindication of the rights of women is needed.⁶⁴ Her treatise caused an uproar in England and was not only called ‘a hyena in petticoats’⁶⁵ but were physically attacked also. So to save her life she moved to France.

Conclusion

The role of women in Church, specially the topic of women ministry, has generated a great deal of debate in recent years. This debate is not recent, especially the leadership role of women in church. Hugh Barbour very rightly said that Margerate Fell Fox is not a feminist in the modern sense as this term did not exist at that time as it came into use in 1890s in England. In his view she did not speak for women’s rights but instead for them.⁶⁶ Argument for women ministry and equality before the god were the major justification for the equal rights for women in the seventeenth century.

Mary Astell used valid reasons to show how prejudice and customs bar women from developing analytical capacities given by God. She created the image of educated women who can choose to live alone; paving the way for the thesis of empowerment of women which has spread in the eighteen century. . She is hailed today as one of the first feminists chiefly because of her outspoken beliefs concerning the education of women and her thoughts concerning marriage.

Similarly the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft generated thought in the minds of women that they should not be only taught to obey and satisfy their spouse rather enables them to act and think for themselves.

Jeremy Bentham set off the debate over the rights of women in marriage and their right to divorce led to the awareness among women in the society and demanded control rights in marriage and divorce, property rights, voting rights and educational rights. Though his suggestions and thoughts could not be implemented during his life, but his radical ideas regarding changes in status of

⁶³ Ibid.,p.13

⁶⁴Op.cit., Fawcett,p.15

⁶⁵Ibid.,p.16

⁶⁶ Hugh Barbour and William J. Frost, *The Quakers*, New York: Green wood Press,1988,p.55

women influenced and inspired future thinkers and feminists. He caused another generation to strive for women part of inequalities.

These earlier writings demanded Social and religious equality of women and men and aided women's emancipation movement and equipped the women to fight for their rights but also prepared the male dominated society to give women their due rights. As a result, in the coming centuries women gained new legal rights regarding property, marriage, education and power to vote.

These feminists raised issues three hundred years before modern wave of feminism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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“An Overview of the Development of Theory & Measuring Instruments of Narcissistic Personality”

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Abstract

Narcissism is a characteristic that has important consequences on the thinking, feeling and behavior of a person. Narcissism began its theoretical evolution with Freud who explained the narcissistic drive. It expanded by the work of Kernberg and Kohut who directed narcissism in two dimensions: deficit driven psychological structure and lack of childhood mirror. Theorists like Copper, Beck & Freeman, Benjamin, Gunderson, Akhtar and Stone worked on the developmental aspect of narcissistic character. Bursten and Million identified the types of narcissistic personalities. While the theoretical construct of narcissism was developing Raskin& Hall, Emmons and Raskin& Terry gave their contribution in the development of appropriate narcissistic measurement instruments, known as Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI). Further after the analysis and measurement of narcissistic theories, recent trends of narcissism were enlightened to see the dimensions of narcissistic personality in the modern world. At the end salient features of narcissist that make them different from others were also explained that are: Attitude towards themselves, marital relationship, Relationship with children, Interpersonal relationship, Co-workers & Social acquaintances and Health and Treatment.

Key Words: Narcissism, Developmental Analysis, Narcissistic Personality Inventory, Psychological Structure

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The term 'narcissism' originated from the Roman poet Ovid's *Metamorphoses*¹. In Ovid's myth, Narcissus falls in love with his own reflection in the water. The riches of life pass him by as he devotes himself to continuous self-admiration. Finding that the object of his love cannot love him back, he pines away and dies, and much later this myth evolved into a highly specialized psychoanalytic term.

Narcissism began its modern usage as a clinical construct, and today when most individuals think of narcissism they probably think of it as it relates to clinical theory. Narcissism has a complex history in the literature, beginning with a strong focus on abnormal self-focused sexuality. One of the earliest known clinical references to narcissism came from British sexologist, who used the term "Narcissus-like" to describe the paraphernalia of kissing or otherwise being sexually attracted to oneself. He used the term narcissism by conceptualizing it as autoeroticism, that is, sexual gratification without stimulation or evocation by another person.²

The concept of excessive self-love, excessive self-involvement, excessive self-centeredness, etc. became synonymous with the word narcissism, derived from the above-mentioned name of a handsome young man *Narcissus*. There are various theories by different researchers for explaining the dynamics of narcissism.

Freud's Approach

Narcissism grew into a more complex and far-reaching psychological variable when Freud spoke of narcissism in several ways, such as: Firstly he termed it as "narcissistic libido" (self love) that it is a normal phase of development standing midway between autoeroticism and object love. During the transitory period, initially diverse and unconnected autoerotic sensations were fused into what was experienced as one's body, which then become a single, unified love-object.³ A few years later secondly Freud⁴ from a more developmental perspective explained narcissism as normal maturation phase of healthy development in all children, that before

¹Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book III. Published online by Daniel C. Stevenson, Web Atomics. Full text accessed online June 1, 2007: <http://classics.mit.edu/Ovid/metam.3.third.html>.

² Ellis H, Auto-erotism: A Psychological study, *The Alienist and Neurologist*, 1898, Vol.19,p.270

³Freud, S. Three essays on the theory of sexuality. In J. Strachey (Ed.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 7, p.135-243). Hogarth Press Ltd: London. (1905/ 1953).

⁴Freud, S. *On narcissism: An introduction*. In J. Strachey (Ed. and Trans.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 14, p.67-104). London: Hogarth. (1914/ 1957).

children are able to invest their “*libidinal*” energy in other people, they go through an adaptation period of *primary narcissism*. This first phase became the initial repository of libido from which emerged not only the love of self but love in general. Healthy development consists in a departure from primary narcissism. However, when individuals’ love objects are unable or unwilling to return the love, they start plainly seeking themselves as love-object and regress to an unhealthy state of narcissism, called *secondary narcissism*, in order to love and gratify themselves as a compensatory mechanism and may be termed as narcissistic.

Later thirdly Freud described narcissism as the “narcissistic libidinal types”, he defined them as: *The main interest is focused on self-preservation; the type is independent and not easily overawed,... people of this type impress others, being personalities; it is on them that their fellow-men are especially likely to lean; they readily assume the role of leader, give a fresh stimulus to cultural development or break down existing conditions.*⁵ Freud’s description of the narcissistic libidinal type, brief though it is, corresponds much more closely to the DSM-III portrayal of the narcissistic personality than do several contemporary characterizations that narcissists self-investment is more likely to be a product of parental overvaluation than of parental devaluation.

Thus Freud’s contribution to modern social psychological theories regarding narcissism cannot be overlooked. For example, Freud’s focus on the narcissistic drive to regulate the self using interpersonal tactics is one that continues to manifest itself in the modern social psychological literature.

Kernberg Approach:

The clinical study of narcissism expanded by the work of Kernberg, He wrote extensively on narcissistic disorders, believing that they were a subtype of borderline personality disorders. He described eleven characteristics of a narcissistic personality which later were extremely influential in formulating the diagnostic criteria: i) Excessive self- absorption. ii) Superficially smooth, appropriate and effective social adaptation covering profound distortions in internal relations with other people. iii) Intense ambitiousness. iv) Grandiose fantasies existing side – by – side with

⁵Freud, S. Libidinal Types, In J. Strachey (Ed.) Collected Papers, (Vol 5,p. 263)Chapter XXIII. Hogarth Press Ltd: London. (1931/1959)

feelings of inferiority. v) Over dependence on external admiration and acclaim. vi) Feelings of boredom and emptiness. vii) Endless search for gratification of strivings for brilliance, wealth, power and beauty. viii) Incapacity to love to be concerned or to be empathy toward others. ix) Chronic uncertainty and dissatisfaction about oneself. x) Exploits and ruthlessness toward others. xi) Chronic, intense envy, and defenses against such envy e.g., devaluation, omnipotent central and narcissistic withdrawal.⁶

Kernberg work was influential in research on narcissism as a continuous dimension that in the extreme is pathological. He himself rejected the continuous view of narcissism and defined normal adult narcissism “as the libidinal investment of the self”. Normal narcissism involves an integration of “good and bad self-images into a realistic self-concept” in contrast to the highly unrealistic perfect self-image of pathological narcissists.

Kernberg saw narcissism as resulting from a pathological development of internalizations of the self and caregivers. In pathological narcissists the normal tension between actual self on the one hand, and ideal self and ideal object on the other, are eliminated by the building up of an inflated self concept within which the actual self and the ideal self and ideal object are confused. To pathological narcissists anyone outside of this real self / ideal self / ideal object fusion is seen as basically dishonest and unreliable. Their greatest fear is dependent on other people, because that would potentially subject them to the danger of being exploited, mistreated, and frustrated.

As a result Kernberg describes narcissism (at least in adulthood) a defensive or deficit-driven psychological structure. And it is seen as a defense against abandonment.

Kohut Approach:

Like Freud he too believed that narcissism was a healthy and normal part of development and “neither pathological nor obnoxious”. However, unlike Freud, Kohut rejected the traditional Freudian and Kernbergian thesis that narcissistic self-investment results from a defensive withdrawal of object-love attachments following a pattern of chronic parental coldness or vengeful spite. This classical view

⁶Kernberg, O. *Borderline conditions and pathological narcissism*, New York: Jason Aronson, 1975, p.361

contends that narcissism is a result of developmental arrests or regressions in earlier points of fixation. Thus, the future narcissist, according to standard analytic Metapsychology, regresses to or fails to progress through the usual developmental sequence of initial undifferentiated libido, followed by autoeroticism, narcissism, and, finally, object-love. It is not the content as such but the 'sequence of libidinal maturation that Kohut challenges. He believes primitive narcissistic libido has its own developmental line and sequence of continuity into adulthood. So, it does not "fade away" by becoming transformed into an object-libido, as contended by classical theorists, but unfolds into its own set of mature narcissistic processes and structures. In healthy form, for example, these processes might include behaviors such as humor and creativity; similarly, and most significantly, it is through this narcissistic developmental sequence that the cohesive psychic structure of "self" ultimately emerges.

Pathology in narcissistic development, according to Kohut, occurs as a consequence of failures to integrate one of two major spheres of self-maturation, the "grandiose self" and the "idealized parental image." A healthy developmental sequence of the idealized parent occurs with a gradual realization of the fallibility of one's caretakers. This realization leads to the internalization of a healthy superego and with it a sense of ideals that we can strive to reach throughout our lives. However, the process might be interrupted prematurely by a *traumatic disappointment in the admired adult* and if so, the idealized parent image *is retained in its unaltered form, is not transformed into tension-regulating psychic structure, but remains an archaic, transitional object that is required for the maintenance of narcissistic homeostasis.* The grandiose self in its most rudimentary form includes everything pleasant, good, and perfect and in this early stage everything that is *unpleasant, bad, and the imperfect* is perceived as outside of the self. He believes that there could be unhealthy expressions of the grandiose self that could develop when individuals failed to integrate grandiose ideas of themselves with realistic views of their failures and shortcomings. He felt that this was caused by a traumatic interruption of the healthy narcissistic development through parental *rejection and overindulgence.* As a result, narcissists would expend much energy in seeking affirmation from people and being overly vulnerable to criticism and rejection.

What is notable is that Kohut's is a developmental theory of self and not a personality characterization. Nevertheless, it leads to a clinical picture that at variance with those of Freud and Kernberg. The

features that emerge from Kohut's descriptions are (a) low self-esteem, (b) tendencies toward periodic hypochondriasis, and (c) feelings of emptiness or deadness.⁷

Bursten's Approach:

Bursten presented the four personality variants within the narcissistic grouping, speaking of them as the i) Craving narcissists as "changing, demanding, often pouting and whining", ii) Paranoid narcissists corresponds with "general description of the paranoid personality", iii) Manipulative narcissists encompass as "antisocial personalities in the DSM" and iv) Phallicnarcissists are "exhibitionistic, reckless, cold and arrogant."⁸

Cooper's Approach:

Cooper has written extensively on different facets of the narcissistic character, describing aspects of its development, the central role of an integrated self-image, and its intertwining with masochistic like tendencies. Speaking of the importance of an integrated self-image, he writes: "A vital aspect of normal self-development is the achievement of an internalized, integrated self image"⁹

He described narcissism as frustrations of narcissistic strivings that lead to reparative attempts to maintain omnipotent fantasies, where self-esteem takes on a pathological quality when an individual begins to derive satisfaction from mastery of his own humiliations. Further he stated that the diagnostic features of a narcissistic personality are a caricature not a clinical picture. The core issue is a conflict over self-esteem in defense of self-inflation. This grandiosity is more or less fragile or becomes more or less pathological unrealistic when threats to self-esteem and self-representation are present in the form of critical tasks beyond one's capacity, etc.

Beck and Freeman's Approach:

Contributing the insightful analysis of the narcissistic personality from a cognitive point of view, Beckman and Freeman stated that,

⁷Kohut, H. *The analysis of the self: A systematic approach to the treatment of narcissistic personality disorders*. Madison, CT: International Universities Press,1971,p.150

⁸Bursten, B. (1973). Some narcissistic personality types. *International Journal of psychoanalysis*. 1973, Vol.54: -pp.- 287-300 pp. 289-290

⁹Cooper, A.,. *Further developments in the clinical diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder*. In E. Ronningstam (Ed.), *Disorders of narcissism: Diagnostic, clinical, and empirical implications* (pp. 53-74), Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, Inc.1998,p. 55

their main strategies consist of doing whatever they can reinforce their superior status and to expand their personal domain. Thus, they may seek glory, wealth, position, power, and prestige as a way of continually reinforcing their superior image. Their main effect is anger when other people do not accord them the admiration or respect that they believe they are entitled to, or otherwise thwart them in some way. They are prone to becoming depressed, however, if their strategies are foiled.¹⁰

There attempt was made to present the view of clinicians, theoreticians and social thinkers.

Gunderson's Approach:

Another important contributor to the narcissistic personality literature' is Gunderson. He suggested that "Narcissistic patients are usually talented and have sustained periods of successful academic employment, or creative achievement, This is frequently a source of their sense of superiority, It is also a reason why they are more apt to appear in private practice settings than in either institutions or clinics. They believe that because of envy other people have set out to hurt they spoil their work, diminish their achievements, or criticize them behind their back. Feelings of devaluation/or contempt may occur to many people but are especially evident to anyone why they believe has betrayed or otherwise disappointed them. These become sustained attitudes of dislikes or dismissal.¹¹

Akhtar's Approach:

Akhtar indicates that narcissists appear overtly grandiose, exploitative, seductive and articulate. Covertly, however, they are doubt-ridden, envious of others; chronically bored corruptible, and unable to love. Further he formatted for differentiating the overt from the covert is an extremely helpful distinction owing to the disparity that exists among many narcissists between their self-presentations and their intra-psychic doubts.¹²

Stone's Approach:

¹⁰Beck, A.T and Freeman, A..*Cognitive Therapy of Personality disorder*. New York: Guilford Press,1990 ,p.32

¹¹Gunderson J, Ronningstam E, Identifying criteria for Narcissistic personality disorder. *Am I Psychiatry* ,1991, Vol. 14,p. 920

¹²Akhtar, S, *Broken Structures: Severe Personality Disorders and Their Treatment*. Northvale, NJ: Jason & son,1992,p 65

Another astute contemporary theorist Stone further amplifies the divergent backgrounds and psychic states of the narcissist as the following:

“Narcissistic traits can develop, curiously, when there are deviations from ideal rearing on either side: pampering or neglecting; expecting too much or too little. But compensatory feelings of a similar kind can arise where there has been parental indifference and neglect, for in this situation a child may develop an exaggerated desire for "greatness" by way of shoring up a sense of self-worth in the absence of the ordinary parental praise. Whereas the overly praised child may regard himself as better than he really is, the neglected child may present a dual picture: an outward sense of (compensatory) specials covering inward sense worthlessness.”¹³

Benjamin’s Approach:

Benjamin formulated a complex analysis of the narcissistic character. She describes the narcissistic personality as follows:

“There is extreme vulnerability to criticism or being ignored, together with a strong wish for love, support, and admiring deference from others. The baseline position involves non-contingent love of self and presumptive control of others. If the support is withdrawn, or if there is any evidence of lack of perfection, the self-concept degrades to severe self-criticism. Totally lacking in empathy, these persons treat others with contempt, and hold the self above and beyond the fray.”¹⁴

Million’s Approach:

Million, stated that “the narcissistic personality is found in the excessive unconditional parental valuation of the child. This could account for the unjustified sense of self worth, disdain for the rules of social conduct and expansive sense of self importance. Similarly, parental overindulgence and failure to set limits could account for the lack of a sense of respect for others and the absence of self-

¹³Stone, M.H. (1993). *Abnormalities of personality. Within and beyond the realm of treatment.* New York: Norton,1993,p.55

¹⁴Benjamin L, *Interpersonal diagnosis and treatment of personality disorders.* New York: The Guilford Press,1993,p.72

control.” In short narcissism is the product of home environment. This has finally presented the following four types of narcissistic personalities: i) Unprincipled narcissist. ii) Amorous narcissist. iii) Compensatory narcissist. iv) Elitist narcissist.¹⁵

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual:

Research on narcissism began to accelerate in the 1980s the spike in research occurred after narcissism was included as a personality disorder in the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-III)¹⁶. A clinical description of Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD) includes grandiose views of the self, an active fantasy life involving personal success, the assumption that one is unique or “special,” an arrogant attitude and desire for admiration, a sense of entitlement and envy for others’ success and possession and little empathy for others and willingness to exploit them.

While these DSM criteria were developed with consideration of the clinical literature, it is interesting to note two significant exclusions. First, some of the clinical theorists discussed above mention the possibility that narcissists can be hostile or aggressive, and some also mention the oscillations from grandiosity to depression (i.e. Fragile or unstable self-esteem). However, the diagnosis of NPD instead focuses on narcissism as exclusively excessive, presumably stable, self-regard. Second, Freud, Kohut, and Kernberg all saw some expressions of narcissism as an important and adaptive part of healthy psychological development, but the DSM seems to pathologize all expressions of narcissism without consideration of normal aspects of it or developmental processes.

Raskin and Hall’s Approach:

Until 1979, research on the clinically important construct of narcissism was hampered by the lack of an appropriate measurement instrument. Raskin and Hall developed the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) with the assumption that narcissism like all other normal personality traits is a normal personality trait, which has later that became the most widely used measures of narcissism. The NPI was developed using the DSM-III criteria for the

¹⁵Millon, T *Manual for the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory-III (MCMI-III)* 3rd Ed. Minneapolis, MN: National Computer Systems,1994,p.189

¹⁶American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental-disorders* (3rd ed.). Washington DC: Author. 1980,p.280

narcissistic personality disorder. Dichotomous items representing narcissism were piloted on undergraduates and an internal consistency and item-total correlation strategy used. A series of published and unpublished follow-up studies produced a 54-item instrument. Each item is a pair of statements, one considered narcissistic, and the other non-narcissistic.¹⁷

Emmon's Approach:

Emmons performed a principal component analysis with oblique rotation on the 54-item NPI and extracted four components, which he labeled Leadership/Authority (LA), Superiority/Arrogance (SA), Self-Absorption/Self-Admiratio (SS) and Exploitativeness /Entitlement (EE).¹⁸ Because results based on dichotomous items have been considered unstable due to possible extreme item endorsement splits, Emmons performed a second study using principal-axes factor analysis on a different sample. The same four factors emerged. Exploitativeness /Entitlement have been by far the most associated with maladaptive behaviors and psychopathology.¹⁹

Raskin and Terry's Approach:

Raskin and Terry reviewed Emmons' pattern loadings and argued that, for several items loading on the same factors seemed to address different conceptual dimensions; Emmons had used a conservative selection criterion in retaining only four factors. So they derived seven components: 1) Authority, 2) Exhibitionism, 3) Superiority, 4) Exploitativeness, 5) Entitlement, 6) Vanity, and 7) Self-sufficiency from factorial analysis. Thus after dropping few items from the original NPI it now based on a total of 40 items. Reliability was found to be .84.²⁰

Recent Trends of Narcissism

Recently researchers have described narcissists as: they lack empathy, yet they strongly desire social contact, as others serve as

¹⁷Raskin, R. N., & Hall, C. S., *A narcissistic personality inventory. Psychological Reports*, 1979, Vol. 45, p.590

¹⁸Emmons, R. A. Factor analysis and construct validity of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 1984, Vol.48., P.293

¹⁹Emmons, R. A., *Narcissism: theory and measurement. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52(1) P.13

²⁰Raskin, R., & Terry, H., A principal components analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and further evidence of its construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1988, Vol.54(5) .p.892

their primary source of admiration and attention. Because they are unable to regulate their own self-esteem, they must rely on external sources for affirmation.²¹ Thus, narcissists engage in a variety of strategies aimed to maintain their inflated egos, such as exhibitionism, attention-seeking behavior, dominance and competitiveness in social situations all of which are characteristics of narcissism.²²

It is common for older people to complain about “kids these days,” describing the younger generation as self-centered, entitled, arrogant, and disrespectful. As a bromide set at a particular time, it is difficult to tell whether these perceptions are a function of age or of a generation. Recent research supports the often-made assertion that the millennial generations, those in college from the early 2000s to late 2010s, are more narcissistic than previous generations.²³ This increase in narcissism has occurred alongside the increased usage of social networking sites (SNSs) such as MySpace and Facebook, which have now amassed over 100 million users between them.²⁴ SNSs appear to be particularly popular among Millennials, with over 90% of college students having Facebook profiles.²⁵ The concern is that SNSs may reinforce, or even create, narcissistic tendencies because they offer a convenient outlet to display pride, self-promote, and accumulate large numbers of superficial friendships.

Thus at the end after analyzing all the theories on narcissistic personality, it is quite evident that it is divided into four dimensions that are: 1) Psycho dynamic theorists 2) Object-Relation theorists 3) Behavioral and Cognitive theorists 4) Socio- Cultural theorists.

Psycho dynamically oriented theorists conclude that the narcissistic disorders are the product of emotionally unhealthy parent – child relationship. The cold and callous mother/father produces a sense of

²¹Campbell, W. K., Rudich, E., & Sedikides, C, Narcissism, self-esteem, and the positivity of self-view: Two portraits of self-love. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 2002, Vol.28: pp. 358–368. P.360

²²American Psychiatric Association *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed., Text revision). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.2000,p.199

²³Twenge, J. M., Konrath, S., Foster, J. D., Campbell, W. K., & Bushman, B. J.(a) Egos inflating over time: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of the Narcissistic personality inventory. *Journal of Personality*,2008, Vol. 76(4): pp. 876–901. P.879

b) Further evidence of an increase in narcissism among college students. pp. 919–928 p.921

²⁴Kwon, O., & Wen, Y, An empirical study of the factors affecting social network use. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 2010, Vol,26: pp. 254–263. P.256

²⁵Ellison, N., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C, The benefits of Face book “friends:” Social capital and college students’ use of online social networking sites. *Journal of Computer – Mediated Communication*, 2007, Vol,12: pp1143–1168. P.1146

rejection and unworthiness in child with he result that such a child spends his life defending himself that he is good and loved child and he deserves admiration and attention from all others around him.

Object-relation theorists are basically psycho-dynamically oriented. They are as a matter of fact both derivatives and deviationists. They give much more importance to the mother – child relationship. According to negative relationship between mother-child relationship has negative impact on the growing negative personality of the child. Generally they suggest that such a child develops a grandiose self-image, consequently, illusion of self-sufficiency and freedom from parental restriction is reported. Such a child is much prone to narcissistic personality tendencies.

Those who give importance both to behavioral and cognitive aspects or personality development do not approve the extreme sides of child-rearing practices. Too much extremity of approach to the child is held to be a responsible factor in the development of narcissistic disorder. Maybe first born/the only born child who is generally over-loved is said to be prone to the development of narcissistic tendencies.

Socio-cultural theorists hold that, narcissism is held to have links with fading interest in one's culture. That is, where individualism is preferred to collectivism, where new values are getting recognition, narcissistic lifestyle is very likely to gain strong ground.

Salient Life Features of Narcissist:

After an exhaustive analysis of Narcissistic Personality theory and its measurement, efforts are made to identify his salient life features that are different from all others:

- **Attitude Towards Himself:**

According to a research,²⁶ the narcissist is a type 'A' person. Like type 'A', he is a workaholic person. He is an achievement-oriented person also. As a result of this achievement orientation he is successful in the profession. Behind the attempt to achieve success in the profession is his craving for admiration from his wife, colleagues, and boss. Such his achievement records are much more impressive than others' (Type B people), he aspires to dictate people and to make people accept that he is a talented person; his vision and

²⁶McDonald, C.D.,&Waternaux, C.M, *Narcissism and Type A personality: Association in expert, clinical, and non-clinical studies. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans.LA 1989,p.175*

wisdom are much ahead of the common people of the present century. In short, he is chiefly concerned with admiration i.e., The outcome of his investment (whatever time, money, energy he has given to his work, wife, colleagues and boss).²⁷

- **Marital Relationship:**

Although a narcissistic husband may feel disdain and negative attitude towards his wife, he feels entitled to get the attention of his wife, he feels entitled to nurturance from his wife. When frustrated, he withdraws his love and attention, and resorts to rage and projection. He wants to get all those things that are good and satisfying from his wife without any feeling of reciprocation. At the same time, he expects his wife to behave in a subordinate way. He devalues his wife because she does not live up to his expectations. He finds very demeaning to live his life with her that is why, perhaps, he starts taking interest in other prettier women.

On the other hand his wife presented a picture of her husband as an affable, self-satisfied and somewhat disdainful young man".²⁸

- **Relationship with Children:**

A narcissist prefers his children to his wife. At the same time, the spell of self-greatness likes children to address him "yes boss" and not "yes daddy".

- **Interpersonal Relationship:**

According to a research²⁹ narcissist are a person that "has many friends but they turn over quickly, and no one relationship lasts very long. People get tired of his continual self-promotion and lack of consideration for them. The friend refused, criticized the patient's self-centeredness; and the patient enraged, decided never to see this friend again." Further researches³⁰ have evidence that narcissist's interpersonal relationships overt lack depth and involve contempt for and devaluated of others while covertly containing intense envy of others and hunger for acclaim. It also concludes that difficulty in

²⁷Thoresen, C.E., & Powell, L.H, Type A behavior pattern: New perspective on theory, assessment, and intervention. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 1992, Vol. 60:pp.595-604. P.560

²⁸Millon, T., *Modern Psychopathology: A biosocial approach to maladaptive learning and functioning*, Philadelphia Saunders, 1969,p.95

²⁹Akhtar, S. and Thompson, J.A. Jr., overview: Narcissistic personality disorder, *American Journal of psychiatry*, 1982, Vol.139: pp.12-20. P.15

³⁰Rhodewalt F, Morf CC, *Self and interpersonal correlates of the narcissistic personality inventory: A review and new findings. Journal of Research in Personality*, 1995, 29(1):pp. 1-23 .p.5

interpersonal relationships is another central characteristic of narcissism.

- **Co-workers & Social acquaintances:**

Although narcissist enjoys happy relationship with his colleagues and social acquaintances, the relationship does not last long. Narcissist himself knows that most people view him as “self centered, cold and snobbish”.

He admits his failure to maintain intimacy and social commitments on the ground of being all the time concerned even about his petty benefit. In short, he is alive to himself and dead to all others even at the cost of great monetary loss to others. He pretends to be a social person. He likes the company of those who admire him and sing an ode to him. He “prefers the pleasure of his own company to that of others”³¹ Narcissist does not tolerate criticism or frustration. He reacts with bouts of rage, shame or humiliation,³² indifference,³³ and hostility.³⁴ In short, he does not maintain social terms, and does not know reciprocal responsibility.

- **Health and Treatment:**

Temperamentally, the narcissist does not seek psychological treatment because he considers himself perfectly well; he considers that he is not in need of change. One who enters treatment often does so at the insistence of another person such as husband or wife. Narcissist seldom enters in the clinic. If at all he goes to a clinic, he goes with the full feeling of self greatness. To him, it is degrading to stay in queue because he is above the social rules. The physician should give him due attention because he is a VIP. Moreover, he is on the lookout to successfully manipulate the physician to treat him according to his personality i.e. he is first a VIP then a patient. He should not be given prescription to go to the medical store for the medicines because it is degrading to go to medical store, secondly, he is entitled to get both physician’s attention and medicines with respect. He is also very likely to terminate the therapy prematurely.

³¹Millon, T. *Modern psychopathology: A biosocial approach to maladaptive learning and functioning*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders.1969,p.50

³²Gramzow, R, & Tangney, J.P, Proneness to shame and the narcissistic personality, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 1992, Vol. 18:pp. 369-376 P.371

³³Messer, A., Narcissistic people. *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, 1985, Vol 19(9), 169-184. P.171

³⁴Emmons, R.A. , Factor analysis and construct Validity of the narcissistic personality inventory. *Journal of Personality and Assessment*, 1984, Vol. 48: pp.291-300. P.294

Narcissists are easily diagnosed but difficult to treat³⁵ and very few of them respond well to treatment. According to researchers³⁶ psychodynamic therapists seek to help narcissistic persons to uncover their basic insecurities and defenses whereas other researchers help a patient that combines confrontation and interpretation.³⁷

Conclusion:

It may be summarized that narcissistic personality disorders can be understood from two opposite perspectives. The first perspective is psycho-analytic theory which suggests that personalities are compensating for inadequate affection and approval from their parents in early childhood. The second perspective is a social learning perspective which holds that narcissistic personality disorders are the product of home life, created by parents who have inflated views of their children's intelligence, achievements, and beauty of face, figure and complexion.

³⁵Fabrega, H., Ulrich, R., Pilkonis, P., &Mezzich, J. E. , Pure personality disorders in an intake psychiatric setting. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, 1992, Vol. 6, pp 153-161.p. 155

³⁶Masterson, J.F, *The narcissistic and borderline disorders*, New York: Brunner/Mazel. 1981,p.350

³⁷Beck, A.T and Freeman, A., *Cognitive Therapy of Personality disorder*. New York: Guilford Press,1990,p.194

Normative Analysis of Gender Discrimination in Pakistan

Taniya Muhammad*
Sobia Shahzad**

Abstract

This study aims to explore the causal relationship among variables responsible for gender inequality in Pakistan. The study evaluates the underlying causes of gender-related problems. In addition to that, the research focuses on the social, political and organizational responses towards gender discrimination in Pakistan.

Gender Discrimination is exceptionally an important subject in most of the organizations in Pakistan where hiring and firing and professional acknowledgments are given on the basis of Gender. Moreover, the common problems like workplace harassment, for-granted attitude of men towards women and unnecessary family pressure on women are primarily the outcome of socio-cultural values in Pakistan. These features are discussed in detail to examine the causes of Gender Discrimination in Pakistani Society.

The theme of gender discrimination in Pakistan poses tough challenges for researchers as the environment for conducting research and obtaining natural opinion from communities and organizations are not as simple as in liberal societies and cultures. In Pakistan, one has to cut across taboos, norms and family values to get the factual causes of gender inequality. Women in Pakistan are largely considered subservient to male members of the family irrespective of her financial independence. On the other hand taboos in Pakistani society hinder emancipation of women in real terms which can be felt and practiced.

Under such environment, the study carries added significance for the policy makers and other independent researchers.

Keywords: Gender discrimination, Pakistani society, gender policy

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Introduction

The terms 'Gender' and 'Discrimination' are understood differently in various societies and cultures. The debate on gender discrimination in the west raises issues with greater degree of variation from the East. This is, probably, because of the historical evolution of cultures and societies in which the status of women is defined. So the variations in societies and culture also establish variations in the status of women. As the world moved towards the common standards of human rights, at the end of World War II debates related to gender and gender biases or discrimination were taken into consideration. Since then, global organizations had been continuously striving hard to improvising women's status in different countries. These efforts were met with regional values and cultures that deter those efforts. Pakistan is one of the countries where social taboos and traditions largely determine the status of women.

Aims & Objectives

In nutshell the object of this study will focus on following points:

- To analyze the impact of social values in Pakistan on women.
- To explore the factors and circumstances under which Pakistani women perform more household responsibilities than men.
- This study aims to analyze the work place environment in Pakistani organizations that deem more favorable for men than women.

Research Statement

Women in today's world, is overburdened with triple duties of housekeeping, coping up with financial hardship and reproduction which is considered as her utmost duty. Her household service and reproductive roles for her family remains largely unacknowledged. Still she suffers with depression, fear, restrictions and doubts. Even though Islam provided women with the just laws 1400 years ago, which no other religion can ever declare, but unbelievably in Pakistan women is the most exploited part of the population. Where ever they try to come up for their rights, their families and relatives restrict them. Not only outside the house, but in the house as well, women's status is piteous. In Pakistan, women constitute 51% of the total population, hence they should have more dominating role in the society as compared to men.

The Constitution in Pakistan provides equality in all aspects but unfortunately gender equality has always been furnished under what we say “socio-religious” or “socio-cultural taboos”. These conditions limit women’s rights at every level in social norms. So underlying efforts made by feminists, scholars or any other social groups has also been largely affected. This article raises few questions as keeping in view the current status of women in Pakistan.

Plenty of literature has been produced on women’s rights in Pakistan. In civilized nations men and women are treated equally. However, the gender difference draws certain lines and limits that are considered as discrimination according to feminist theory’s point of view. This discrimination stems out of historical processes worldwide where men are assumed caretaker, bread earner and decision maker. This eventually restricted the space for women to participate in the social economic and political activities. Men’s patriarchal habits have been converted into customs and then became our system.

Furthermore, women prerogative seemed seriously demoralize in front of men’s role in the society. This relationship gradually turned women into a subservient entity to men. Natural theory of gender difference though claims that God has created men and women with difference which has now transcended into social and cultural practices in every culture. Oriental and occidental values are sharply diverse on gender status. In Indian civilization, woman is a symbol of respect, dignity, honor and family integrity and also the caretaker of domestic responsibilities.

Contrary to that women are not even allowed to take part in the decision making which involve their own selves. They are not allowed to participate in the important issues of their family as well. In Pakistan woman does not enjoy liberty as compared to the west. In Pakistani society, a woman is not supposed to argue with parents and in-laws.

Aforementioned discussion opens multifold and complicated issue of gender discrimination in Pakistani society. The objective of the study is to trace the root cause of gender discrimination in Pakistan. There are certain limitations of the study. The theme of the research, of course, covers all Pakistani women. Secondary data and literature on the theme is rich enough to encompass the issue in appropriate manner.

Research Methodology:

Gender discrimination conceptually is a global phenomenon but its practical manifestations are varied in different parts of the world. Therefore research methodology which has been applied to investigate the issue may be different from those used in the western researches. Gender discrimination can be examined through social perspectives, economic perspective and policy perspective.

This paper focuses on gender discrimination, in particular, social political and economic environment in Pakistan. In this context, social values, religious beliefs and taboos are important determinants besides policy instruments. It is therefore, necessary to understand the complex social system of Pakistan in which women exist.

In pursuit of the objective of this study, there are certain methodological issues because of the particular social structure of Pakistani society. Religion, culture, social norms, taboos and family values all play very important role in determining the status of women in Pakistani society. Such complex issues cannot be fully understood through empirically designed methods; therefore, in this study heavy reliance is on the normative framework which may provide plausible explanation for the causes of gender discrimination in Pakistan. Here, questions raise in this research are beyond the limits of hypothetically constructed research design.

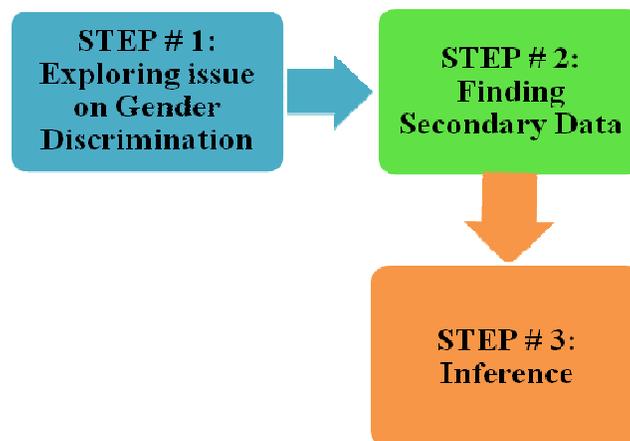


Figure # 1: Strategies

Literature Review

Abundance of literature has been produced on the theme of gender discrimination. Government documents, independent studies, data and papers prepared by nongovernmental organizations are abundant. International studies by intergovernmental organizations, like World Bank, Asian Development Bank, UN and International Human Rights provide empirical data that explain the condition of women in Pakistan.

Here, the researcher has reviewed diverse literature that helps in answering the questions raised in the subsequent study the patterns for gender equality and power in any society can be estimated by slightly social structures and values distributed among human beings. In case of Pakistani women, the most valuable creature 'women' is of most denied, oppressed, social class increasing their dependency on male counterparts and decreasing self esteem. Marriage to Quran in this modern era is practiced in rural areas of Pakistan which majority restrict female property to the family. As a result one can see an increase in cases of Adultery and Prostitution and girls running away from homes with the man of their choices, in which all area rebellion acts made by traumatic souls and minds. As Amartya Sen describes in his article, "Many faces of Gender Inequality" that there are seven difference types of Gender equality. 'Nativity inequality, Special opportunity inequality, Mortality inequality, Ownership inequality, Basic facility inequality, Professional inequality and Household inequality.'¹ Levels of gender disparities in urban towns as compared to rural areas are somehow smaller but higher in interior parts of different provinces in Pakistan. The most gender inequalities show high ratios in educational patterns between girls and boys. Report highlights 52% primary net environment rate for girls the figure varies among provinces depending upon their geo-political conditions.

Pakistan Social And Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) shows only 45 percent of literate women in Pakistan as compared to 69 percent literate males. For example, 31% girls aged between 5 – 9 years attended primary school in rural Baluchistan. Miserably, the literacy rate for population aged 15 and above is only 56 percent

¹ Amartya Sen, "Many faces of Gender Inequality", *India's National Magazine*, (2001) volume 18 - issue 22, The Hindu.

with males having 59 percent and females having only 44 percent literacy rate.²

In Human Development Report Pakistan is placed at 136th position for having just 49.9% educated populace. The primary education completion rate in Pakistan, given by Date Center of UNESCO, is 33.8% in females and 47.18% in males, which shows that people in the 6th largest country of the world are unable to get the basic education.³

Early age forced marriages of girls deprive them of education at higher level. As a result, girls marry at a very young age never gets a chance to educate themselves, they have to bear with the process of reproduction and lack decision making power at household level. Most of them do face domestic violence in their daily routine.⁴

In Pakistan, the number of organizations working on gender equality made significant progress in raising awareness which somehow shows not much but better success patterns in bringing attention of policy makers & general public towards women. However these organizations must be drawn upon other studies on gender disparity for step ahead. For instance, Robert Johnson has brought astonishing findings that the diminishing gender disparity at school level did not show much improvised results of gender equity and also in workforce and the gender shares in terms of national income.⁵ On contrary, if gender based targets and indicators are achieved, the goal to link gender equality and empowering women are still unable to achieve real progress.

Another study of Elaine Zuckerman , Marcia Greenberg proposes conceptual ideology which ensures that gender based issues are focused on three core rights which need to guarantee to women.

- a) Right to participate in policy making and also the allocation of resources.
- b) Right to give equal resources and services both at public and private circle and last but not least.

² Pakistan Social And Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM)2011,available at www.statpak.gov.pk

³ <http://www.einfopedia.com/pakistan-education-problems-and-solutions-of-pakistan-education.php>, accessed on 12July 2012

⁴ Robert Jensen and Rebecca Thornton (Jul., 2003) Early Female Marriage in the Developing World , Gender and Development, Vol. 11, No. 2, Marriage, pp. 9-19 , Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Oxfam GB

⁵ Robert Johnson, Not a sufficient condition: The limited relevance of the gender MDG to women's progress, Gender & Development Volume 13, Issue 1, 2005 pages 56-66

- c) Right to build a society depending upon gender equity for maintaining peace.

Thus in a way all the above mentioned rights assert helpful framework in achieving post conflict reconstruction successfully so to strengthen women's rights.⁶

The rural Pakistan can be characterized as pre-modern and its values are male dominated. Women are not yet emancipated from male domination and they consider as administered entity in the rural society. In Pakistan there is another issue of understanding the citizenship rights. Pakistan's society is not yet mature enough to understand the concept of citizenship and is unaware of the rights given by citizenship.

Pakistani NGOs can learn lessons from Nepal. Nepal has made progress through NGOs in creating awareness about women's citizenship rights and women empowerment⁷. But still many women are not fully aware of importance of citizenship and they are dependent on their male counter parts in many areas like; freedom to obtain quality education and obtaining jobs. Ethnic minorities, children, refugees and trafficated women are making remarkable ratios in targeted population. International NGOs are now a days working hard bringing change in Nepali women's life.⁸

In Pakistan, during recent by-election in Kohistan, all contesting parties are agreed to not allow the women to cast their vote. State institutions like police, judiciary, political parties, civil societies and even women organization did not raise voice on this illegal act. This indicates prevailing mindset of people on one hand and government's tacit acceptance on the other hand. This is the clear denial of women citizenship.

Fiona Leach suggested that effective implementation of state laws regarding gender mainstreaming can be the only way to combat male chauvinistic mindset that deprive women from the right of vote, right of education and other citizens' rights equal to men. She suggested a strong role of donor agencies and banks to lend money

⁶ Elaine Zuckerman , Marcia Greenberg The gender dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction: An analytical framework for policymakers, Gender & Development Volume 12, Issue 3, 2004 pages 70-82

⁷ Brenda Bushell Women entrepreneurs in Nepal: what prevents them from leading the sector? Gender & Development Volume 15, Issue 2, 2007 pages 549-564

⁸ Mona Laczó, Deprived of an individual identity: citizenship and women in Nepal, Gender & Development Volume 11, Issue 3, 2003 pages 76-82

to women entrepreneurs to lift up the conditions of women. Due to ineffective policy approaches, the implemented educational programmes proven not to be long lasting. It's mainly because of mis-interpreted gender relation or so called the failure to understand the term or nature of Gender.⁹

In Pakistan, the dilemma is that women are possessing access to government social benefits schemes including safety-nets, poverty alleviation schemes and micro-credit etc. It's mainly because majority of women are unable to avail national identity card which is the preliminary requirement for any citizen right to be acquired.

According to CEDAW Report 2007, Pakistan Bait-ul-Maal and Zahaf foundation do not have any women representative; the provincial Bait-ul-Maal committee had only 2 women out of 12 members.¹⁰

The era of 1980s in Pakistan, was worst for feminist move. General Mohammad Zia-ul Haq, the military ruler of Pakistan, policies was not at all feminist friendly. These were rather oppressive to any enlightened initiative. Qanoon-e-Shahadat (law of evidence) and 'Qasaas and Diyt' were interpreted according to rulers' convenience without any debate in society and even in the parliament. The absence of dialogue during the eighties had a deep impact on women status in Pakistan.

Andrea Medina & Rosas suggests that women's movement since the time of its inception facing tensions and feminist's views have only been articulate macro level but not grass root levels.¹¹ However in Pakistan, initiative for feminist dialogue at grass root level in the country side seems impossible when one think about the society of Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In the election of 2008, one woman from poor agriculture labor class contested for Provincial Assembly seats and she could not secure vote up to three digits. The fact of the matter is that social institutions and government policies failed to crack the taboos and values of Pakistani society in which women are considered as second class subservient entity.

⁹ Fiona Leach, Gender implications of development agency policies on education and training International Journal of Educational Development, Volume 20, Issue 4, July 2000, Pages 333-347

¹⁰ Undermining CEDAW in Pakistan; Second Shadow Report, April 15 2007, Shirkat Gah, Lahore

¹¹ Andrea Medina Rosas, Shamillah Wilson The women's movement in the era of globalisation: does it face extinction? Gender & Development Volume 11, Issue 1, 2003 pages 135-141

Kelleher & Rao suggested that Development organizations could be successful in supporting women only if they can adopt two approaches of bringing gender mainstreaming in organizational structure and culturally designed gender techniques. Most of the development organizations failed only because they lack understanding with social institutions in terms of 'gender'.¹² In Pakistan these initiatives must be launch now that commences a national debate for a sound policy for gender equality. These initiatives may extend to other South Asia's countries as South Asian women always found themselves subordinated in all aspects of life and only depending upon their males. Some perceptions and trends are common among South Asia's countries. These issues are common and provide a strong base for regional organizations to work for gender equality.

Gender-focused Policy Reforms

The current representation of women in National Parliament and Provincial Legislatures is ensured with 17% seats reserved for women. Women occupy 22.2 % seats in the National Assembly, 17% in the Senate of Pakistan and 126 out of 728 seats (17.6%) in the Provincial Assemblies.¹³

Being supreme institution Parliament's role is paramount to protect the rights of the citizens of the state. Parliament is also the supreme institution of policy making. Parliamentarians represent all segment of society and fully aware and in several cases are the part of the gender discrimination in Pakistan. Women seats are now considerably increased during President Pervaiz Mushurraf's tenure. However, the attitude of parliamentarians towards gender-focused policy making is astonishingly poor. Bills related to gender discrimination are pending in the parliament. It is pertinent to mention those bills which can improve women's condition in Pakistan.

Content Analysis

The content on the theme and context of Pakistan both suggest complex set of causes. No doubt, religion and culture played an important role in women's status. But this cannot shift the burden

¹² Aruna Rao , David Kelleher, Institutions, organisations and gender equality in an era of globalization, Gender & Development Volume 11, Issue 1, 2003 pages 142-149

¹³ Shirkat Gah - Women's Resource Centre (Sgah) Women's Rights in Pakistan- Status and Challenges October 2012 www.shirkatgah.org

from institutions responsible for gender parity. Parliament, executive and judiciary together failed to perform policy formulation, policy implementation and justice respectively on issue of gender parity in the society. Nongovernmental organizations and international organizations have made several attempts through advocacy campaigns but hardly bring change in the status of Pakistani women.

Before the feminist movement in 1970, gender issues from social stratification perspective was almost silent. The class positions of those women who are not participating in economic activities are placeless. Feminist movement identifies three main forms: 'liberal feminism', 'socialist feminism', and 'radical feminism. But these ideas are clothed in ideological language and in Pakistan seem self contradictory.

To understand the position of women in Pakistani society, we need to understand the society first. The best way to explain the interplay of forces that determine the position of women in Pakistani society is to see through three broader class divisions: producing class, owning class, and decision-making class while other factors, like house hold, values and culture are hold constant.

In Pakistan, women's status is vulnerable because of the taboos and mindset of the society as a whole. Literature and media reports reveal that incident of violence has been increased against women. In 2009 it is estimated that up to 13% violence has increased against women. This includes 472 honor killing cases where 91 occurred in Punjab, 220 in Sind, 32 in NWFP and 127 were reported in Baluchistan.

HRCF states in one of its reports that in rural Punjab 80% wives fear violence from their spouse and wife beating is admitted among 50% of urban areas. Therefore, there should be a domestic violence law for women; surprisingly it does not exist. The bill is waited to be tabled in the parliament since 2009.

Injustice is considered as the major cause of violence in any society. This can be related to prove the cause of 8548 cases of women's murder and assaults. This is disastrous. According to women advocates, forceful and unjust principles made by male decision makers of Jirgas, Panchayats and various Baradries are the causes of women abuse. Here, violence in terms of early, forced marriages and stoning must not be forgotten.

In 1997, labour force survey has reported 13.6% active women and 70% men. However, it was claimed that the data provided by the male members of the families and the male enumerators was grossly under reported. Culturally, women's contribution to the family income is considered as a threat on the ego of male members. And this was reported as a major cause of problem in data collection process.

Policy makers have expressed the fear that investment in women's education reduces women participation in the national labor force. In comparison with the last review, presently in Pakistan, Female labor force participation is around 15% but still lesser than other under developed countries. However, rise in education level may lead to more opportunities for Pakistani women.

In 1980s, (WAF) Women Action Forum was formed. Its agenda was to empower women's status in the society. On the basis of Zia government laws, which were discriminatory, WAF raised a very important question. The purpose for raising the question i.e. "Why women and men can't equally participate in economic affairs of a family?" was to expose the misinterpretation of Islamic Law and what role it plays in a modern state. Another purpose was to bring women to politics of the country as well.

Conclusion

Being a traditionally patriarchal society, men are decision makers and women feel subservient to them.

Husband and wife working in same office and same department on their return from work have totally different approach towards family and households. Husband watches TV while wives are bound to cook, look after children and family. Same is the case with single women, they also return home exhausted, bound to perform her household duties. At office even, women have to prove every moment that they are far better off than man and have to work harder and more to prove their capabilities.

This research concludes that the religion has been used wrongly to cover traditions and taboos which maintain gender disparity in Pakistani society. Until Pakistan achieves the target of gender mainstreaming and closes its gender breach in well-being of culture, it decrease obstruction to female work force contribution, its fiscal intensification and growth will endure.

Policy makers in Pakistan must understand now that women's value is more than what we have taken for granted ; of a creature whom we just assigned to fulfill daily household chores , if a professional then she needs to support family and if illiterate then to face hardships in many ways. It's easier to explore policies and form agenda towards betterment of women which enhances their importance in terms of 'gender'. It is essentially needed to articulate practical measures that can improve prospects towards relation between a man and a woman which in turn will have larger impact on resolving issue of gender discrimination in Pakistan.

Here not only policies, agenda or reforms work thus a bold and clear vision is required that recognizes women of colours, women having heart and souls or women coming out of constraints and risks of harassment , violence and oppression.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of above normative analysis we suggest following recommendation for the improvement of social environment in a country like Pakistan.

- Primarily, it is the government policy that needs to become more stringent in order to deal with the huge issues like Karo Kari, preference for the male child, and acid throwing etc. It is also the government policy that needs to become more rigorous to deal with all the other social and economic issues faced by Pakistani women.
- Education & awareness of society about women rights is extremely essential. Electronic and social media can play an strategic role in this awareness.
- People need to educate themselves in order to accept women's identity and their aspiration. They must remove superiority complex and gender discrimination. Respect & education are absent to accept women services and wishes.
- Creating awareness in the society that women have stepped out for work to support their family and unlike male colleagues are looking out at the households and office work simultaneously.
- People should change their thinking about working women by creating awareness that now we cannot survive in an era where single handed earnings can finance a decent life style of a family, therefore, it's necessary that both husband and wife must work together to earn their family's living, Moreover a woman working outside is very respectable as she is struggling to give better living to her family and this must be acknowledged by our society.

**Public policy in multicultural setting
A case study of Pakistan**

S. M. Taha*

Abstract

Is public policy a product of culture and social values? Do economically viable but culturally insensitive government interventions produce desirable results? These questions are the focus of this study. The paper explores the causes of public policy failure in Pakistan through a cultural perspective. Considering the historical process in the pre and post partition subcontinent, the study attempt to argue that only bureaucratic and economic consideration do not ensure optimal results of any government intervention.

This paper takes two areas where the government interventions had met with successive failures, one is education and the other is population control. This study reveals that in addition to managerial causes, policies were not aligned with the cultural and social norms of people for which they were made. Policy makers were well aware of the significance of population control program in 1970s and literacy program in 1980s but the implementation strategies of these programs grossly ignored the cultural and social values of the people. Both programs ended far behind the targets.

This study proposes a model of analysis that explains the interplay of various stakeholders in Pakistan. The study also reveals that the pattern of power politics in Pakistan also contributes in the policy failure in all public sector domains. The findings of this study and particularly the model are applicable to other policy areas where government faced successive policy failures.

Key words: public policy, Politics, economy

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Pakistan is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country. It's national identity is fragmented. These identities are unfortunately supported by the claim over respective federating units as theirs homeland. Sixty five years of Pakistan's history reveals that lack of Pakistani nationalism as a one nation causes successive public policy failures¹. This paper provides an overview of Pakistan's socio-economic and political climate under which policy makers and the policies they made did not achieve the desired results.

On the theme of Pakistan's public policy a very limited literature is available specially on political economy and society of Pakistan. So, for the development of theoretical model to understand the policy failure in Pakistan through social and cultural context this study used the literature produced by western scholars.

The literature on public policy is largely produced in the west and mainly driven from occidental intellectual sources. However, the oriental intellectual heritage deals with the subject of political philosophy in a great detail through which rationale for public policy could be driven in proper contextual framework². Tracing the intellectual basis of the subject is beyond the scope of this paper but the point is that models and theories of public policy which are evolved and have already been proved successful in western socio-economic and political climate may not necessarily work in other parts of the world.

The field of Policy Analysis has assumed its present shape by a series of scholarly works from H. A. Simon's *Administrative Behavior*, 1947 to the Weimer and Vining's book *Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice*, 1999. They present Positivism, Critical theory and Constructivism as important paradigms in social inquiry. Critical inquiry is influenced by these approaches and the public policy literature focuses on its merits and demerits³. But the fundamental question needs to be addressed is that what is the ideological foundation of the state and its system? For example, federalism, democracy and capitalism constitute fundamental features of public policy in United States. Similarly in Europe, Renaissance, emergence of State System (1648), Secularism, French Revolution and Nationalist movements in Italy and Germany in mid-19th century had

¹ Rounaq Jahan, "Pakistan: Failure in National Integration." New York: Columbia University Press, 1972, pp.27-30

² Peter R. Blood, (ed), "Pakistan a Country Study." Washington: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1994, see chapter one.

³ Parsons Wayne, "Public Policy.", Aldershot: Edward Elger Press, 1995, pp.45-47

influenced the evolution of public policies in the countries of Western Europe.

The terms such as democracy, secularism or capitalism are also found in the constitutional and academic literature produced in South Asia. But their historical evolution gave them interpretations different from the west. It is therefore stated that the concept of Public Policy is largely driven from the historical forces that also provide the structural argument for policy making. My argument is that any model or theory of Public Policy can appropriately work in the same contextual framework in which they evolve. Model that lacks the historical and ideological foundation of the state may not comprehend the complex structure of society and culture of that state.

This argument is used to analyze two policy areas in this study; one is education and other is population planning. Reason of selecting these areas is two folds: first, earlier models to improve these human development indicators have been met with failure in the past as they lacked the contextual framework of the problem; secondly, these two areas provide the structural reasons for economic failure.

Focusing on failures, the reason of failure can be overlooked if we have missed historical evolution of society and politics. Therefore a brief historical background is necessary.

Historical Background

In the recorded history of Sub-continent, there is no evidence of Muslims' presence in this part of the world before 712 BC. In 712, the southern province of present Pakistan, Sindh, was conquered by Muslims from Arabia. However, the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule in India starts from mid of 12th century. Muslims ruled over subcontinent till 1857 when the subcontinent came under the British Raj. Eight hundred years of Hindu Muslim interaction at various levels and continuous migration from Central Asia produced multi ethnic heterogeneous culture in the subcontinent⁴. The presence of Muslims in significant number in the subcontinent and reciprocal adoption of hindu-muslim's cultures shapes India's society and its complex structure⁵.

⁴ Hamza Alvi & John Harris, South Asia: Sociology of Developing Societies, Monthly Review Press, 1989, see introduction

⁵ Abulhasan Ali Nadvi, Tara Chand, The Impact of Islam on Indian Culture, Payan-E-Insaniyat Forum, 1995, New Delhi, pp. 15-17

The advent of British rule in the subcontinent was a third party intervention. The British soon sensed that administering vast masses and land of the subcontinent from overseas administrator was impractical and perhaps impossible. They decided to breed a class among the local Indians to serve on behalf of their British masters. The idea of limited self-rule emanated from exigency of local administration and deteriorating economy of the homeland. The provision of local participation in the administration alarmed both communities, Hindu Muslim, about their role in the state affairs in future. The very idea of majority rule in democracy was not favorable to the Muslim community of undivided India. Indian Muslims and their leadership turned the tide of events where the religion had become the focal point of their politics by the end of the First World War. Eventually religion became the ideological rationale for the creation of Pakistan⁶. However, religion as a basis of nation was misconceived rational for the creation of a state. Example of the creation of Bangladesh later on in 1971 is sufficient to support my point. Religion failed to bind the two parts of the country.

British rule (1857-1947) profoundly shaped the modern political ideas in the subcontinent. However the pattern of colonial style policy making and administration cast deep impact not only on the economy of this region but also shaped administrative mentality particularly in Pakistan⁷.

Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947. British legacies remained at the center of Pakistan administrative set up. Haphazard bureaucracy, organized feudal and tribal set up in West Pakistan and growth of military power were the main feature during the formative phase of Pakistan (1947-1958) through gradual and systematic infiltration, have become permanent actors of political process in Pakistan⁸. On the other hand, eastern wing of Pakistan had different set up from the Western part. Bengalis (people of East Pakistan) were more revolutionary in their political behavior. Feudal class was virtually non-existent and the leadership basically evolved from the educated middle and lower middle classes. The revolutionary character of East Pakistan posed a threat to the power elite in West Pakistan.

⁶ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Religion and Politics in Muslim Society: Order and Conflict in Pakistan*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1983, pp.3-4

⁷ Mustufa Chowdhury, *Pakistan: Its Politics and Bureaucracy*, Associated publishing house, New Delhi, 1988, pp.31-33

⁸ Korson J. Henery, (ed), "Contemporary Problem of Pakistan.", Boulder: West View Press, 1993.p.54

In the sixty-five years of history the State of Pakistan exercised three institutional controls; that is, bureaucracy, military and political parties. Out of sixty three years, military ruled the country directly for twenty-five years. Political leadership in Pakistan showed poor performance in governance and economic growth in the country⁹. In the formative phases of Pakistan, few attempted to put the country on the right track but the bureaucratic forces did not let them do that. Liaquat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of Pakistan was shot dead in a public address in which he was going to announce Land Reforms. Successively, two other premiers, Chaudhary Mohammad Ali and Nazimuddin were forced to resign by strong feudals and bureaucracy in mid 1950s¹⁰.

Political instability since the very inception of Pakistan produced a damaging impact on the future development. Critical issues like human development, constitution making and national integration were grossly neglected in the first ten years of Pakistan¹¹. Parliamentary debates during 1965-1970 reveal that the separation of East Pakistan was the outcome of failure of national integration among the federating units of Pakistan¹². The basic grievances of the people of East Pakistan were related to public policy areas, political participation and proper allocation of resources. There were plenty of evidence that the prevalent disparity between East and West Pakistan was a deliberate act of the power elite in West Pakistan. Some studies suggest that the nature and pattern of society and politics in East Pakistan were deemed as potential threat for the political elite of the West Pakistan¹³.

In order to analyze the role of public policy in post 1971 Pakistan, it is inevitable to understand the role of political elite and their strategies in political process. To describe the process of struggle for power in Pakistan I have developed a model. It is unwise to claim that the model covers every aspect of the political process. However, it does cover major trends of politics in Pakistan.

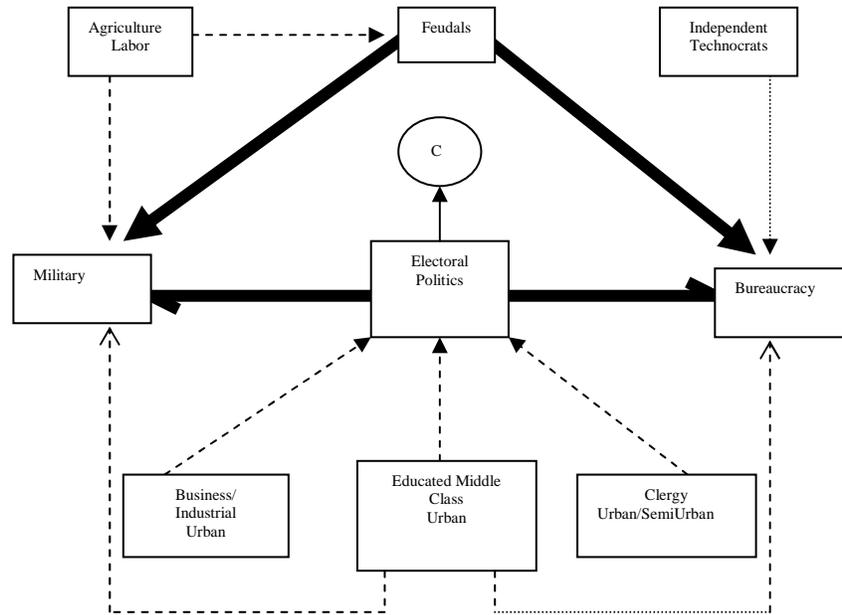
⁹ K. K. Aziz, "Party Politics of Pakistan, 1947-1958". Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976, pp127-130

¹⁰ Khalid B. Sayeed, Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 2nd edition, Pakistan Publishing House, Karachi, 1960, pp.69-70

¹¹ Shahid Javed Burki, "Pakistan: A Nation in the Making". Boulder: West View Press, 1991, pp.169-17

¹² Zulfiqar Khalid Maluka, The Myth of Constitutionalism in Pakistan, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995, pp-57-60

¹³ Syed M. Taha, *Failing Conflict Management between Federation and Unit: An Analysis of Conflict Management between the Federation of Pakistan and East Pakistan*, International Journal of Independent Research and Studies, Vol. 1, No.3 (July, 2012), P.109



Description of the Model

The dominant feature of this model is a triangular formation among three power blocs: Feudal, Military and Bureaucracy. Power lies at the center of this iron triangle. Feudal in Pakistan, I would define, are those who hold agricultural land untaxed, control the means of production and influence the will of people (subject). This class of ruling elite soon sensed the danger in the growing state machinery. They realized that extended role is essential for their privileged position in new set up. Iron triangle shows their expansion downward to the bureaucracy and military. Especially the formation of military is heavily based on countryside population. The people of urban areas have less passion for armed services. 85% of officers belong to the feudal class and 95% soldiers are recruited from agrarian class. Smaller triangle shows that the agrarian class is subject to feudal land lords. On the other hand Feudal class gradually transformed into absentee land lord, a process in which they moved from rural to urban areas and became directly active in politics. The model shows an inner overlapping around center. They started sending their children to overseas for higher education and paved the way for their participation in bureaucracy and politics in future.

Considerable portion of this class got their education from reputed universities in Europe and America.

From the Bottom line of the triangle there is an opening for electoral politics in the real sense for the actors out side the triangle. The actors outside the triangle are classified in three broader categories: Business/labor class (urban-based), Educated Middle Class (urban-based), and clerical class (semi urban and urban). Business and Clergy classes have been trying to enter in the electoral process for their own status positions. The educated urban class adopts two-pronged strategy to penetrate in the triangle. One, through the competitive exam CSS (Central Superior Services) gain position in the bureaucracy, and the other through small portion prefer to join services in officer cadre of the Armed forces. With the growth of urbanization, cities became the main center of political activity that provides incentives to middle class to participate in the process of power struggle. One the right hand side of the triangle there is a small group of highly qualified technocrats. They are rightist in their political behavior. They do not get directly involved in the struggle for power rather they wait for government calls and lend their services from time to time.

Each power square has its own fleet of Policy makers and policy analysts who make and analyze policies form their own positions in the triangle that generally lacks the concept of public services. Robert Formaini's skepticism about public policy, to great extent, reflects the state of public policy formulation in Pakistan. He writes:

“...justified public policy, a dream that has grown ever larger since the Enlightenment and that, perhaps, has reached its apogee towards the close of our century, is a myth, a theoretical illusion. It exists in our minds, our analyses, and our methods only because we seek to find it and, typically we tend to find that which we seek.”¹⁴

Public policy practices in Pakistan are exactly what the power elite tended to see. They always take the partial view of policy and promote that policy which safeguards their own position. Their reactionary behavior maintains the status quo in Pakistan since its creation.

¹⁴ Robert Formaini, *The Myth of Scientific Public Policy*, Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ, 1990, p.54

Now let us take the two examples of Policy decision in the area of Population Planning and Education.

Policy Failures in Population Planning

Few countries have a more serious population problem than Pakistan. Policy planners were thus delighted when, in 1973, Pakistan was chosen as the laboratory for a massive experiment in the 'inundation' approach to family planning. Using \$58 million in U.S aid as well as local resources, the plan aimed to provide birth controlling devices at a price so low (2.5 cents for a month supply) so that poorest people could afford them. The flood of birth control devices was to be followed by the teams of 'continuous motivators', who were to visit each household three or four times a year to give encouragement and instruction¹⁵.

Five years later the program appeared to be a total failure. The birth rate had gone up. Only 9% couple in the country used birth control devices and only 6% practiced it regularly. Why did it fail? Poor execution was one of the reasons, but the real flaw was contextual. The program and its objectives were not in accordance with the traditional values of agrarian society and did not adjust with typical cultural, religious and social norms. In rural areas of Pakistan, each child, male and female, begins to support family by performing household duties and even by earning since he or she reaches the age of 8 years. They usually perform goats tending or chickens, running errands, driving a bullock cart or engage in rural-based small industries like carpet weaving, brisk making or wood cutting. Moreover, in a value-based rural society children (boys) were and still are a source of social prestige.

Data of population growth during the period of the program show that Pakistan's family planning program and population control policies have failed resoundingly. A variety of factors which explain high fertility rates in Pakistan are constantly overlooked by policy makers. One major factor is the early marriages of females in Pakistan. More than 50% of Pakistani women marry before the age of twenty¹⁶.

A second factor is the low schooling of women. Statistics indicate an inverse association between women's schooling and children borne

¹⁵ Pakistan Economic Survey, 1975, See introduction

¹⁶ Hasan Pervez, "Pakistan's Economy at the Crossroads." Karachi: Oxford University Press, pp.38-40

by women between the reproductive years of 15 to 49. There is common observations that in urban areas of well-educated women have fewer children than the women of rural area since they have access to many more economic opportunities, and thus have less time for bearing and raising children¹⁷.

Thirdly, and related to the poor education of women, is low access to contraceptive use. The poor organization of the family planning organizations, the limited outreach, and the social and cultural norms held the program far from the desired results.

Fourthly, the poor income levels of Pakistani society have resulted in an increased demand for children for source of income generation in future.

The desire for having more boys has been neglected in the assessment of the program in explaining the high growth rate in Pakistan.

Policy Failures in Literacy Planning

The second example from education sector produced more or less same results as we seen in population planning. In 1985 Prime Minister Mohammad Khan announced his Five Point Program under which *Nai Roshni* (New Light) schools were to be established in rural areas. Government planned for twenty thousand schools. Teachers' training program, extra benefit for serving in the rural areas, extra credit incentive for students were included in government planning¹⁸. The sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) already made investment in human resource development a part of its basic economic framework, and during this plan the ratio of education expenditure to GNP increased to 2.02 % from an annual average of 1.5 % during the previous regimes. However at the end of sixth year plan only marginal improvement was registered and *Nai Roshni* Program was declared as failure¹⁹.

Again the reason of failure can be seen through the model. Rural areas are usually the strong vote banks of feudal class in electoral

¹⁷ Sohail Jehangir Malik & HinaNazli, *Population, Employment, and the State of Human Resources* in Shahrukh Rafi Khan (ed), *The Fifty years of Pakistan's Economy*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1999, pp. 287-290

¹⁸ Craig Baxter and Syed Razi Wasti, (eds) "Pakistan Authoritarianism in the 1980s." Lahore: Vangaurd, 1991, pp-120-121

¹⁹ Ishrat Husain, "Pakistan: The economy of an elitist State." Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp-18-182

politics. Any attempt to change the social status quo is hampered by the feudal class. The link between awareness through education and Feudal concerns over it was very obvious. As the awareness increases Feudal's hold over masses decreases. Through its triangular presence Feudal class successfully hindered the monitoring mechanism of the Nai Roshni program, and provided altered statistics that showed the encouraging results the program²⁰.

The value of human development in Pakistani context is specifically stated as a Principle of Policy. In chapter 2, Section 38 (Promotion of Social and Economic well-being of the People) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, " The State shall:

- a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas;
- b) remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period;
- c) make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit;
- f) enable the people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods, to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the services of Pakistan²¹.

The constitution of any nation is the basic agreement among its people and between its people and its leadership to pursue basic, common goals in a proscribed fashion. In the constitution of Pakistan, human development has been given constitutional status. However human development indicators are not at all impressive.

Conclusion

Market Forces and Public Policy Failure

Another interpretation of successive public policy failure locates in economic fragility. We can see that failure in consistent development in Pakistan lies in market competition and government intervention. Economic managers under the influence of various regimes remained confused about the role of public policy to ensure the participation of private sector. The size of the role of public and

²⁰ Pakistan Economic Survey, 1986, see introduction

²¹ The Constitution of 1973, Islamic Republic of Pakistan, read chapter 2, section 38.

private sectors has not decided as policy instrument. Regimes motivated through personal interests rather than national interests, switched over public and private sectors without long-term planning.

The literature on public policy suggests a vital role in the private sector profit generation. Pakistan's policy makers can enter into different public policy areas where they can generate private profit making. Foremost requirement for the private profit is the presence of stable and creditable macroeconomic and regulatory instruments. The second prerequisite for private profit is infrastructure for production such as power, water, gas, telecommunications, highways, railways, ports, etc, helps reduce the cost of production, distribution and trading of goods and services. The third requirement is the availability of skilled human resources based on market demand. Fourth is the investment friendly environment must provide to all scale of enterprises.

Finally, public policies must focus on basic needs such as power generation, drinking water, health of the population, shelter, planned urbanization, environmental pollution and law and order situation. Investment in such areas maximizes the size and profit of private sector.

Since the early 1990s macroeconomic stability in Pakistan has become fragile, law and order and security situation has deteriorated, governance structure has weakened and corruption has become rampant. Availability of demand based human resource has reduced because of the low development in the country. Shrinking employment opportunities lead to migration of skilled and labor force from the country²².

Another very important area which contributed to the policy failure in Pakistan is revenue generation. Pakistan is among very few countries where agriculture income is out of the tax net. Underestimated and short of target of revenue generation every year ceased public policy intervention in private profit.

What does the above picture suggest? Public policy has been used in Pakistan to create uneven conditions in which only a small select group of well-connected and influential businessmen and big land lords derive large unearned profits or rents for themselves and their families. The irony is that unlike the past decades when these rents

²²Looney, Robert E, "The Pakistani Economy and Economic growth and structural Reforms." Connecticut: Praeger, 1997, pp. 39-42

were saved and invested in the economy, the recent trend is to transform these into dollars and keep profits in foreign currency accounts or in overseas banks.

The only viable solution in my opinion is to alter the public policy mix in a way that gives rise to stability, and predictability in the given socio-cultural environment, reduces cost of doing business for the majority, enhances productivity in all sectors of economy including rural areas, and fosters competition and a level playing field for all. This approach of public policy will improve the efficiency of the resources use and lead to higher levels of out-put with the same given resources. It will also help in opening up more rooms for grass root politics and certainly reduce clustering around center of power.

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