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CONTENTS

S.#	Article & Author(s)	Page
1	**DETERMINANTS OF FARMERS ACCESS TO BORROWING IN FORMAL CREDIT MARKET (A CASE STUDY OF D.I.KHAN)** Mahmood Shah, Dr. Noor Ahmed	01-15
2	**INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM OF DISASTER RISK MANAGEMENT IN PAKISTAN** Shabana Faizl, Abidda Achkazai, Dr. Mohammad Usman Tobawal, Dr. Syed Ainuddin	16-29
3	**HISTORY OF KAKARI GHARI (FOLK MUSIC)** Muhammad Asif, Prof: Dr. Kaleemullah Bareach, Muhammad Ali	30-46
4	**CHANGING DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN'S KASHMIR POLICY** Muhammad Maqbool Khan Wazir, Yousaf Ali Rodeni, Surriya Bano	47-86
5	**AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION INTO SEXUAL HARASSMENT: A CORRELATIONAL STUDY** IMRAN NAAEM	87-112

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DETERMINANTS OF FARMERS ACCESS TO BORROWING IN FORMAL CREDIT MARKET (A CASE STUDY OF D.I.KHAN)

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ABSTRACT

The study is based on household level survey in two selected villages (Puroa and Yurak) of District Dera Ismail Khan in July 2001. As 10% of all households in both villages are taken as sample. The data is collected by using a pre-tested interview schedule. The objectives of the study are to review the agricultural credit policy of Pakistan to identify factors determining farmer access to formal credit and to investigate purposes of credit. Logistic regression model is used to obtain maximum likelihood estimates of explanatory variables explaining farmer access to borrowing in formal markets.

The finding of the study shows that education, age, area operated and male workers are the main determinates of borrowing in formal markets. Farmer education and age are statistically significant at 5% level. The study indicates that farmers has a limited access to the formal credit

markets as only 24% of the respondent got formal credit and 76% of farmers has borrowed from informal sources.

INTRODUCTION:

Agriculture is the mainstay of Pakistan's economy, which accounts for more than 24 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). It employs over 5O% of the labor force and is the main source of foreign exchange earnings. More than 70% of the population, which resides in rural areas, is directly or indirectly dependent on this sector.

Being a major component of the country's economy, the agriculture sector is in a position to affect the country's economic development in many ways. Among these, agricultural credit assumes a central position in the whole strategy of agricultural development of a country like Pakistan for a number of reasons. Small farms dominate agriculture in Pakistan, which constitutes 47% of the total private farms in the country.

Pakistan, like other developing countries, is primarily faced with the task improving the productivity and living conditions of its rural masses that are engaged subsistence farming.

The need for increasing credit, to boost agricultural production becomes much more important when one looks at the deplorable state of Pakistan's agriculture. For an agricultural economy, this state of affairs is a great challenge. As a matter of fact non- availability of adequate credit is not the only problem of farmers, since a majority of them of in are poor and illiterate. The also hesitate to accept new ideas/or technology. Therefore,

they suffer from the lack of technical knowledge and other agricultural support services.

Although, the volume of formal credit has expanded in real terms at a high rate over about the last 53 years, the contribution of formal credit to agricultural development has been below expectation and week (Qureshi 1992, Malik, 1993). Therefore, the extent of limited access of small farmers to agricultural credit has demonstrated the need for a systematic investigation of agricultural credit markets in Pakistan.

Objectives:

The main objectives of the study are as follws:

1. To identify factors determining farmers access to credit in formal credit markets.
2. To investigate factors hindering farmers from getting credit in formal credit markets.
3. To assess the purpose and use of credit by the farmers.

Hypothesis:

The following hypothesis are tested:

1. The higher the education the greater chances to get formal credit.
2. The larger the farm size, the greater the chance of getting formal credit.

Fac = f (Edu, Age, Area, Male worker)

$Fac = \beta_0+\beta_1 \text{ Edu} + \beta_2 \text{ Age} + \beta_3 \text{ Area} + \beta_4 \text{ Male w} + e_i$

Literature Review:

As early as 1970s there has been a consensus among Pakistan policy makers on the importance of rural credit in the process of agricultural development. It is recognized that a shift from a resources based to a science based agriculture and be facilitated through the availability of agricultural credit. Many studies have been conducted in Pakistan to examine the role of agricultural credit in different perspectives.

Khan & Khan (1969) observed that volume of the credit required increased with the size of the holding, these has important implications for financing agriculture sector.

Anjum (1973) suggested an effective supervised credit system in order to meet the requirements of agricultural sector positively.

Gerald (1974) examined the agricultural Credit market in a depressed region in the state of Sao Poulo, Brazil and concluded that the federally subsidized interest rate program reduced reedit availability to the small and risky clients who were served by the formal lenders.

Michael (1975) suggested that greater flexibility of loan payment would make small farmers more willing to use available credit.

Afzal (1979) concluded that credit has great impact on cropping productivity and boosting up the income of the farmers.

Khan (1981) started that although several measures had been taken to improve the flow of formal credit to agriculture sector, the situation was still far from satisfactory. The study reported various problems associated

with the formal credit system and suggested a number of measures for the improvement of the system.

Muhammad and Shah (1981) found that the loaning system of credit institution was not based on the actual needs of the farmers. They further stated that the structure of the society was such that resourceful farmers were getting more than their requirements while non influential small farmers succeeded to get an amount which was considerably less than their requirements.

Adam (1983) on the other hand, reported that the provision of cheap agriculture credit, a common practice in developing countries, led to inefficient resource allocation, concentration of income and poor rural financial market performance.

Khan (1986) suggested the Korean type credit system for the establishment of Agro based industries to absorb rural unemployed, especially small farmers and women and to improve delivery system of inputs needed.

Malik (1986) suggested institutional supervised credit backed by essential technology for rural development. He further suggested to finance small and medium Agro based industries in order to uplift small farmers.

Salami (1988) investigated whether formal institutional credit benefited small- scale farmers by increasing their productivity in using resources. To analyze this, multiple regression were run on farm survey data from, the Ashante Ghana. The farmers in the region mostly used traditional methods. No statistically significant difference in resources

productivity existed between samples of credit in non-credit receiving farmers.

Malik (1989) stated that the importance of institutional sources of credit had increased as compared to the non institutional sources of farm sector despite the increased importance of institutional sources of credit, the small and tenant farmers had smaller access to the institutional credit.

Carter and Wiebe (1990) had shown that access to capital and its distribution across agents could profoundly shape the structure and performance of an agrarian market economy.

Sial (1990) examined the contribution of institutional credit in terms of such things as allocative efficiency, technical efficiency and net revenue per acre on small farmers in the Punjab Province of Pakistan. The study demonstrated that availability and use of credit increased net revenue on small farms through improving allocative and/or technical efficiency.

Mbata (1991) reported that the agricultural credit regarded as a pertinent vehicle for increased efficiency among small-scale farmers. The study therefore evaluated the role of institutional credit and its impact on smal1 farmers in River State, Nigeria.

Qureshi and Shah (1992) had critically reviewed rural credit policy in Pakistan. The study reported that the formal credit has expanded at a high rate, but the relationship between the credit and the agricultural value added was found to be positive but weak and below expectation.

Suryakumai (1992) used regression analysis to investigate the impact of credit on agricultural output among scheduled tribes in

Visakhapatnam district of Andharapredesh, India. The study was based on data collected from 180 households, 90 from the developed region and 90 from the less developed region. Production functions were estimated separately for the developed and less developed region to investigate the association of various inputs and other factors with the value of gross output. The analysis showed that the provision of credit through its association with other inputs variables could improve the living standards of the tribal.

Idrees and Ibrahim (1993) examined the role of agricultural credit in the development of agriculture. The study identified the relationship between farmer's income levels, education levels and their attitude towards adopting new farm technologies. The data for the study was collected from 12 union councils in district Karak. The study showed that farmers adopted improved seeds, improved implements, farm manure and commercial fertilizers.

Himayatullah (1995) stated that between 1980-81 and 1994-95 institutional credit for the sector had registered an average annual growth rate of above 5 percent. This positive change in agriculture credit was accompanied by the establishment of new financial institutions and the adoption of credit policies to increase the flow of credit for the sector in general and for small farmers in particular.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

The required data for the study is collected through a household level survey in two selected villages of D.I.Khan. ln order to compare the results, two villages' (i.e.) Paroa and Yarak are purposively selected. ln

order to decide the sample size, a list of household was prepared in each village. Then in the 2nd stage households were selected for interview using systematic random sampling techniques.

According to district census report (Government of Pakistan, 1990) the total number of household in both villages is 764 of which 409 and 355 households are situated in Paroa and Yarak, respectively. A total of t0% is taken as a sample. Thus gave us a sample of 70. The population and sample households are given in Table -1.

Table No.1.

Population and Sample Households in the study area.

Village	**Total Households**	**Sample household**
Paora	409	41 (52.53%)
Yarka	355	35 (46.47%)
Total	764	76 (100.00)
Note) Figures in parenthesis are percentages.		

ECONOMETRIC MODEL:

ln order to identify the variables that determine the farmers access to formal credit, binary choice models are used. A binary choice model assumes that individuals are faced with a choice between two alternatives and that the choice they make depends upon the characteristics of the alternatives. Binary choice models include a linear probability model (LPM) probit model and logit model. (Maddala, 1983)

Since, the theoretical justification, for employing the probit model is often rather limited and the logit model is considered somewhat more appealing model specification, it is thus relevant to use the logit model (Pindyk and Rubinfeld, 1976). ln logistic regression, a simple logit model, we directly estimate the probability of an event occurring. Since our dependent variable has two values (i.e.) one when farmers receive formal credit and zero when they do not, and that it can be predicted from a set of independent variables, the logistic regression model can be written as

$$\text{Pi F (Zi)} : ei^{z}/(1 + ei^{z}) = 1/I + ei^{-zi}) - \quad \text{eq(1)}$$

$$= ei^{z} = \{ \text{ pi / (I-Pi)} \quad \text{eq (2)}$$

Taking natural log on both sides of eq (2) we get

$$\text{Zi: ln (Pi/I-Pi)} \quad \text{eq (3)}$$

Based on eq 3, Zi is related to the explanatory variable (Xi) as a linear combination expressed as follows.

Note) where pi is the probability that an individual will get formal credit and (I-Pi) is the probability that he will not get.

$$Zi = \alpha + \beta \sum X_i + ei$$

$$Zi: \beta + \beta_1 \text{ Edu} + \beta_2 \text{ Age} + \beta_3 \text{ Area} + \beta_4 \text{ Male W} + ei$$

β_o: Intersect or constant.

β_1: Coefficients of explanatory variables.

X_1 : Education of a household head (Years)

X_2: Age of the household head (Years)

X_3: Area operated by the household (acres)

X_4 : Number of adult male workers in the household.

e_i : Error term.

ANALYSIS:

As discussed in section (Methodology), logistic regression was used to identify factors determining farmer access to formal credit. The maximum likely hood estimates of the logistic regression model are given in table-2.

TABLE – 2

Factors Determining Farmer's Access to Formal Credit

Constant/Indep	**Maximum likely hood estimates of logic model**	
Variable	**Coefficients**	**t-ratios**
Constant	-0.08***	-2.93
Education	0.20**	2.50
Age	0.42**	2.60
Area Operated	0.55*	1.92
Male Worker (Adult)	0.45	0.90

-2 log likelihood	32.98
Chi-squared	130.80
Sample size	76
Overall performance of the model	60%

Note: - *, **, *** shows 10%, 5% and 1% level of significance respectively.

According to the estimated coefficients, farmers education and experience (captured by age variable) are the most important determinants of borrowing in formal credit markets, coefficient of both these variables

are statistically significant at least at 5% level other variables including area operated is significant at 10% level. However adult male worker is not significant.

The result of logistic regression given in the table 2 supports our hypothesis.

The first hypothesis states that higher the education greater the chances to get formal credit thereby showing a positive relationship between farmer education and his access to formal credit. The estimated coefficient of education variable is positive and statistically significant at 95% level of confidence. It confirms our first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis states that the larger the farm size the greater the chance of getting formal credit. Area operated by the formers was used as a proxy for farm size in the logit model. The estimated coefficient of operated area is also positive and significant at l0o/o. This implies to the acceptance of the second hypothesis as well.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Education, experience and age are to borrowing from formal sources. borrowing in formal credit sources. the important determinants of farmer's access Area operated also determines their access to.
2. There are many imperfections in the existing formal which it does not clear the market. Requirements sureties make it difficult for farmers to get loans from credit market system due to of collateral and personal formal markets.

3. There exists a dual credit market system. The vacuum left by formal credit sources is filled out by the informal sources. The latter thus serves as a complimentary market.
4. All credit institutions must ensure that small farmers are given due share in their credit operation.
5. The loaning procedure of the credit institution should be further simplified for the benefit of farmers.
6. To avoid unnecessary delay, credit disbursement should be made quick, so that it is available at time needed by the farmers for the purchase of agricultural inputs.

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INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM OF DISASTER RISK MANAGEMENT IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

The world historical data on disasters indicate that their number is increasing. The profound increase in the damages of earthquakes, floods and cyclones are inevitable due to population growth particularly in Asian context. In the 2005 Kashmir earthquake, communities in Pakistan were severely affected along with economic and social losses. This event has stimulated the policy makers and planners to establish Disaster Management Policy in the country from the national level to the district and community levels. The prime objective of the paper is to analyze the strengths and weakness of institutional mechanism of disaster risk management. The response to recent natural disasters in Pakistan after the establishment of Disaster Management Authority in country indicates a wide gape between the policy and implementation. Natural disasters are handled at provincial levels and the disaster management institutions are

not yet established at the local levels that exacerbated the people's vulnerability to a considerable level. Without established of these institutions, risk reduction may not take place at local levels.

Keywords: Institutional Mechanism, Risk Management, Strengths, Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

The global disaster data base (CRED 2011) shows that the number of reported natural disasters has increased and the number of people affected has followed more or less the same pattern of increase (Bilham 2009). It also emphasis that scientific explanations and evidences indicate that the global climate variability will increase the number of frequent natural disasters such as floods, cyclones and droughts (Guha-Spair 2010). Population growth and inability of the poor to escape from poverty makes this clear that there would be more people vulnerable to natural disasters. A natural hazard only becomes a disaster when it affects a human population that is exposed and vulnerable (Uitto 1998). We have a number of examples around the world where communities suffered from natural hazards. The Indian Ocean tsunami (2005), Bam earthquake (2003), Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans (2005) and Kashmir earthquake (2005) show the greater impact of geo- and hydro-meteorological hazards when they interact with vulnerable population (Halvorson 2010). Cities and societies in many regions of the world have experienced disasters throughout the human history. These disasters initially were regarded as punishments of gods in the old ages (Coburn 1992; Gaillard 2010). Disasters around the world are now being understood as the manifestation

of the fact that societies which are experiencing them have gone through development process which have not taken into account hazard related to natural or social phenomena in a proper fashion (Leon 2006).

Pakistan's exposure to disasters and natural hazards could be ranked between moderate to severe. The major hazards such as earthquake, floods, landslides epidemics and glacial lakeoutbursts pose risks to Pakistani society. A variety of human induced hazards also threaten the society, economy and environment (NDMA 2007). Pakistan is situated in a highly seismic active region (Bilham 2006; Halvorson 2007; PMD 2007), which has experienced many disastrous earthquakes during historical times. From 1905 to 2008, five major earthquakes occurred which ranges from 6.4 to 8.0 magnitudes. The last 100 years alone include the 1945 earthquake of Makran, Quetta Earthquake of 1935 and 2008; Muzaffarabad Earthquake of 2005 has shaken the entire nation in many ways. Many active faults exists in Northern and Southern areas of Pakistan and more than half of the total population are living with earthquakes and will have to continue doing that (PMD, 2007).

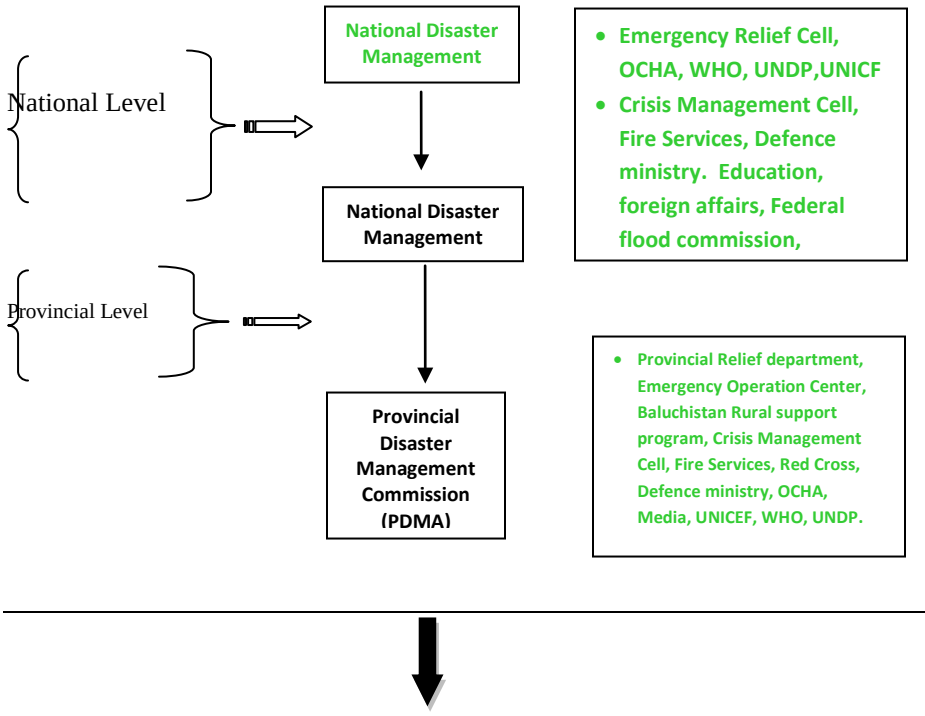
Institutional Mechanism of Disaster Management in Pakistan

The structure of disaster and emergency management in Pakistan was established immediately after the disastrous Kashmir Earthquake in 2005 and has been operational since 2007. It starts from the national to the Union Council levels for the implementation of disaster policies as shown in Figure 1. National Disaster Management Commission (NDMC) was established immediately after 2005 Kashmir Earthquake. The commission is the highest policy and decision making body for disaster risk management in the country. It is also responsible to ensure coordination in

its broadest sense; to oversee the integration of disaster risk management issues into sectoral development plans and also see the implementation of this policy through (NDMA) National Disaster Management Authority. This is chaired by the Prime Minister. Since disaster risk is multi-sectoral activity that requires timely response, hence National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) was established to serve as focal point and coordinating body to facilitate the implementation of disaster related mitigation strategies. it directly communicates with all stakeholders, including ministries, departments and other agencies which are likely to participate in disaster risk management. It coordinates the complete spectrum of disaster risk management and develops guidelines and standards for national and provincial stakeholders regarding their roles in disaster risk management.

The provincial government has the authority to form the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA) which is chaired by the Chief Minister. The authority lays down the provincial/regional disaster risk management policy and develops the provincial disaster risk management plans in accordance with guidelines laid down by the national commission. It also reviews the implementation of the provincial plans and oversees the provision of funds for risk reduction and preparedness measures. Apart from that it coordinates and provides technical assistance to local authorities for carrying out their function. District Disaster Management Authority (DDMA) is established by the Provincial government in the hazard prone areas on a priority basis. This authority is headed by *Nazim* (district chief) of the district. The authority formulates disaster risk management plans and coordinates its implementation. It also prepares guidelines for local stakeholders on disaster risk reduction. In the

event of a disaster, it organizes emergency response through district emergency operation center. It also maintains linkages with the provincial disaster management authority and relief department.Authorities at the town and Tehsil levels are the frontline organizations of disaster risk reduction and response. This is the lowest level of administration where they interface directly with communities. Tehsil and town Nazims lead the risk and response operations with the help of Tehsils and town officers in consultation with District Disaster Management Authority. The other key players include extension workers, police, fire services, community organizations, traditional leaders and NGOs. Union Council is the lowest tier in the governance system. This has important roles in allocation of resources for local development works. Union councils are expected to play advocacy role of the communities and government with the district councils and disaster management authorities.



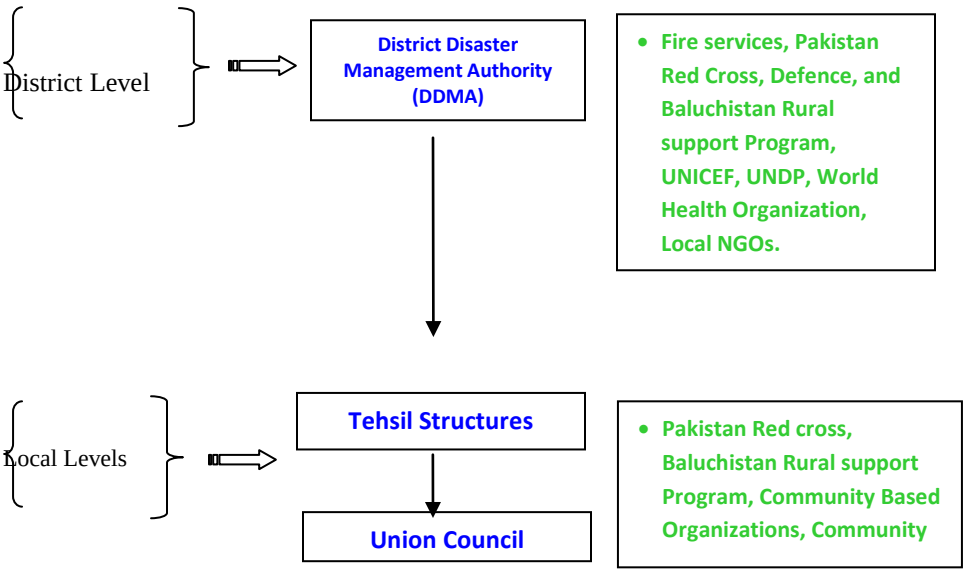


Figure 1: Structure and Mechanism of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan

Strength and Weaknesses/Gaps of the Existing System

The role of national, provincial and local institutions in disaster management is critical and can play important roles in reducing people's vulnerability. However these institutions in Pakistan have neither learnt any lessons from the past nor can provide professional services in the field of disaster management even though after passing through a number of catastrophic disasters in the last four decades. The Disaster Management Ordinance of 2006 is a well-articulated document at the federal level, but failed to percolate to the lower levels. The ordinance is prepared with

active participation of multiple stakeholders and serves as a vision document for leading the way towards a safer Pakistan. It also provides guidelines to coordinate activities of numerous stakeholders. The ordinance also sets out priorities for mobilization of resources from donors and development partners of Pakistan to implement strategic activities for disaster risk management in the country. But when it comes to its implementation, it has not reflected as it should have been. In order to address the existing gaps, it has been attempted to discuss with key stakeholders involved in the process of disaster emergency management in Pakistan from provincial to union council levels.

The findings relate to their understanding about emergency management, weakness of different institutions, community preparedness and management. Disaster Management Authorities at the district, union council and community levels were not existed yet, therefore disaster preparedness measures were very poor at the district and union council levels. As such community did not take any initiatives in those matters. Most of the community members are ignorant of the measures to be taken during disasters. The NDMA should clearly define the role and responsibilities of various departments and authorities at the district level with stronger institutional coordination mechanism. For example in Kashmir earthquake many issues such as search and rescues and relief operations particularly transporting goods, arranging required number of vehicles, ensuring security of relief convoys and communication infrastructure were cropped up. Rescue operation was extremely difficult because of the lack of professional expertise, specialized machineries, equipments and limited internal capacity and non-availability of foreign

specialists within a short time. Similarly in 2010 floods authorities were once again confronted with similar issues in providing shelters and relief goods particularly food, water, health related provisions, and goods for meeting the immediate needs of the affected communities. In building community preparedness and catalyzing coping strategies, the responsibility lies with the government and disaster management institutions in the areas of disaster preparedness and sharing information for raising the level of community awareness. This requires a well-coordinated mechanism between national and provincial agencies with active participation of the community members. Several problems and issues related to emergency management in Pakistan were pointed out by the key informants such as lack of public awareness, weak emergency management preparedness, poor level of awareness within the organization and above all very weak or no coordination among the institutions involved in the process from province to the union council levels.

The analysis reveals that emergencies in Pakistan are still dealt only at the Federal and Provincial levels, (national and sub-national levels) and the focus of these organizations is more on post disaster relief. This top-down approach does not work effectively and meet the emergency needs at the local levels where people are at risk. The decentralized mode of operation should be adapted from national to regional (provincial), regional to district, and district to local level (union council) in order to follow an integrated framework for bringing all stakeholders and victims together for developing an organized emergency management planning systems and operational framework to reach disaster victims and meet the immediate needs

effectively. A shift from relief to risk reduction is currently focused and practiced by all organizations and agencies at international, national and regional levels. This essentially focuses on proactive approach rather than reactive approach. Most of the stakeholders during emergency in Pakistan work at individual level and at the same time their responses and activities are completely absent at the local (Union & community) levels. Therefore for a well-coordinated emergency management, it is essential that NDMA should lead at the forefront in organizing and monitoring emergency activities at all levels and it is felt necessary that there should be coordination between the national and provincial agencies before and during disasters with proper sharing of information, building capacity and support from the upper level institutions. Institutionalization of disaster management should be made possible at the local levels. On the other hand community based organizations should also be mobilized to bring people and resources together and take interest in disaster preparedness activities. Capacity development should be mandatory at the group and community levels in order to reduce the potential risks.

It is realized that “not even a single leaf on a tree can shake in Pakistan without the army and its dreaded intelligence service” (McGirk 2005) In the past, most of emergency responses were carried out under the military control in Pakistan. Emergency responses in the recent disasters were not free from such controls. There are diverse views on the success and failure of Pakistani emergency response to natural disasters in the recent past. (Keridis 2006)argues that due to military regime, Pakistan missed the opportunity provided by the natural disaster in 2005 for humanitarian assistance and new thinking in foreign policy for regional cooperation. The International Crisis Group states that “The Pakistan government’s ill-

planned and poorly executed emergency response to October 2005 Earthquake highlighted the authoritarian rule. As the government now embarks on three or four years of reconstruction and rehabilitation program, the absence of civilian participation, lack of accountability and transparency could seriously undermine the process. If the religious extremist groups remain active in response and reconstruction, threats to domestic and regional security will increase" (ICG 2006) Pakistan handling the response particularly of Earthquake 2005, the most devastating natural disaster for which national earthquake response was lunched and the numerous challenges that had to be overcome in a short period of time. Pakistan did well (Ahmed 2008) while the United Nations termed this response of the government of Pakistan as swift and exemplary However Cochrane (2008) mentioned that the realistic description lies between these extremes and that the severe challenges which the government of Pakistan faced in responding to earthquake should not be overlooked (Cochrane 2008). He further explains that it is hard to judge the effectiveness of NDMA in practice due to its recent establishment, yet in theory it represents a shift by the government away from the ad hoc disaster response which had been prominent in the last decades to a more comprehensive, coherent and permanent arrangement to address disaster issues with a long term vision. While this drive towards a more decentralized approach to disaster preparedness and response has been widely discussed, it is not yet clear to what extend decision-making powers have in fact been decentralized from the national to local levels.

CONCLUSION

Disaster preparedness plan exists at the provincial level but its implementation is not made possible at the district and union council levels. Programs and projects related to preparedness and mitigation have not yet initiated at the district levels. Disaster preparedness plans either at the district or at Union Council levels have not prepared. According to the concerned authority it is still in the pipeline and its implementation may be possible within one to two years time from now. Disaster management authorities at district, union council and community levels do not exist in the country at present. Therefore preparedness measures are very poor at the district and union council levels. However, the Nazims of the district and Union Council levels are unaware about the disaster policy particularly at the lower level of local government administration. The paper recommends that an integrated and well-coordinated disaster management framework with management plans and revitalized civil defense system is essential in order to fight back against the natural disasters. Activities and programs related to disaster awareness should be initiated at the community and district levels. This will lead to community participation in disaster activities to strengthen the system for emergency management and risk reduction. Top-down and bottom up approach must work simultaneously to catalyze the emergency management and risk reduction policies in order to achieve greater success in future in addressing issues effectively at the local level.

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HISTORY OF KAKARI GHARI (FOLK MUSIC)

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ABSTRACT

KakariGharais a kind of entertainment in Pashtoon culture usually sung in events like marriage ceremony and friendly gatherings. Local political campaigns and public speeches are incomplete without KakariGhara. KakariGhari is common among all the classes of society without making any class difference. The significance of this study is mainly a contribution to anthropological study in general and to explore the importance of KakariGhara in Pashtoon culture in particular. KakariGhara is totally about the life style of the native the historical tales are presented in KakariGharaas epic poems. The norms and the social values are also discussed there. So, to understand about the culture in deep is more significant for researchers and for those who are interested.

Introduction - Origin of folk music (KakariGhari):

The origin of the folk music (KakariGhari) goes back to the pre-Islamic era but we find no written evidence form of this folk music. It deals with the earliest culture of Pashtun presence. Existence of Pashtun community in the earliest time was found with Ghari. Hence it was basic task in Pashtun community. In simple words we can say that Pashtu poetry is the quality of Pashtun culture, its true and real existence is still not found.

This folk music is very old, it give lesson of unity in a real sense.

Wanrakargi da maro
Wa ye deli la bar a zo
Here is one ghara which is called as Kazaghara.
Pashtano la kyamat la sa di
Mulayen di daroghwayea

These lyrics is of that time when Pashtun were accepting Islam, and orthodox Mullahs used to criticized all types of music and regarded it as un-Islamic practice. Here they were giving them the concept of “Jannat” and “Dozakh”. This gave the evidence of (9 - 10) hundred years old. There was the concept of myth about people to the natural forces is like

- Saba balawarchena ta khezm
  Baadbapushtamacheyarsanga da

Here the poet is taking about “**Air**” and he metaphor the air as messenger to his friend said that I will acquire about my friend so that I had to climbed up the tree, because this the one way of communication otherwise that time not such way of communication and technology were there.

- Spozmi da shalakhwarakheza
  Salam warkararasezi

Here the poet compared the "**Moon"**as messenger that it regards of his friend to him; the moon should convey his versus to his trust and should ask about his friend. He addressed to his friend to give his regard to the moon he will receive his massage because moon rise from his back side.

It was written 4 to 5 hundred years ago, because its written form is still present it is before the Christ here those people are described who were demanding the wishes from stars and moon. This shows that Pashtun culture is very old.

- Waddakadgi da maddo
  Wai Daly la barazo

Here the army band of Ahmed Shah Baba was passing across the Panipat, Shah WaliUllah was called by the Ahmed Shah Baba so it was written 300 years ago.Some of the evidence of this folk music (KakariGhari) is started from the Ahmad Shah Abdali in the period of Nader Shah who was the ruler of Persia. Ahmad Shah Abidali was the key solder of Nader Shah and this folk music and Attan (dance) was started in the Surkhab which is present in Peshin province of Baluchistan.

Types of KakariGhari:

Basically there are two main type of KakariGhari one is folk lore(**olusiadab**) and pop music(**Shefaiadab**).

1) Folk lore(Ulasiadab):

This is the music where the poet is unknown of the written form of poetry and also the poetry does not known.

2) Pop music(Shefaiadab)

This is the music where the poet is known of the written form of poetry and also the poetry is known. This form of the music is also known as **Dewaniadab.**

There are five types (**daolona**) of folk music (KakariGhari), according to their structure and composition. But there are other many types of KakariGhari but major types are:

a. KazeeGhari (disordered ballads)

Usually it does not have equal syllable some time it has long syllable and some time it has short and small syllable. This type of Ghari is also called funny ballads or comic ballads also called as freedom Ghari. But its real name is KazeeGhari e.g.

- Da majitlarinaodey di
  Guallaloipartugtawan di

- ZanariFahtu la zam
  Da Zhoblwadaika da lyarraka

- Da pethipur cycle spor yum
  Guallamadra di zora war di

In these ballads there is no order or sequence and in these ballads syllable is also in disorder.Seailkakar is a poet who has done a great work in the collect of the Kakari ballads (KakariGhari). He has written a book 'pakhwanighari' in which he also mentioned the disorder ballads (kazeeghari).

b. AzadiGhari

Folk Music which persistently in Kakar tribe or it is only specific to PashtunKakar tribe is called AzadiKhari. Pashtun scholars still think that in Pashtu literature poetry is evolved from Persian language and there is no such a literature. But Abdul Ghaffar Khan narrates that it has its own existence in specific pashtoo literature. It has equal syllable, with equal balance, but in these ballads (ghari) schemes are not equal nor the rhyme. It is not evolved from other languages but it is present in pashtoo literature and self-producing e.g.

- Purnazak mi nakekhwr
  Spin padunaipur ma khwr

- Tar sadashamal di jaarsam
  Tar lahadpur ta khuarasan

- Zasikashenamstapur sang
  Akhlum da tolaydunyakhwand

- Sha-o-khwakhalaqwalydd
  Lewanonasta da gai war

c. Third type

Third type of Ghari is those which have only scheme, and do not have rhyme, scheme is equal but rhyme is not equal e.g.

- Zama nasib pa toroghroki
  Patasavi pa nadanakorki

- Yeo warikhorkam be yea tolkam
  Stadasmalbawalayzorkam

- Azaliqalam mi khwardai
  Spinazwand mi pa zhawal da

- Da nazakarmanbapurakam
  Par khwnkaba ye melmakam

d. Fourth type

In fourth type only Rhyme is equal but scheme is not equal like lyrics are called Rhyme.

- Cheri zhob, cheribori
  Asadsurdasigranai

- Wass mi nasi da psho
  Pur spin kangarhzam da laso

e. Fifth type

This type of ballads (Ghari) consists of both scheme and Rhyme e.g.

- Pur ma daltamzakasara da
  Stadravypur ma shkara da

- Pa hawakiboi da bang su
  Kshenastamzra mi ratangsu

- Pa deed armanbamarrhasu
  Kaba gad pa pashtanasu

1. Tappa, Ghara and Landi:

a. Landi

It has preference in different places and given its name according to places. Kakar tribe called it KakariGhari. Hindu Bagh of Pishin people called as Landi. Although in Kalat, Kabul and Kandahar it is called a KakariGhari. In other areas also called as KakariGhari and Landi.It is called Ghari because of its Sung in the tansular part of wind pipe, it is also due to its singing in the wind area of the breaths system, in common word it is called Ghari. Landi and Ghari have its own difference in balance and style. In contrast in Tappa first part is called as not containing 9 syllables on the second part contains 13 syllables but no different in the weight of meaning but it is the difference in Landi not in Ghari.

Landi gives the themes of any portion resolves and mostly around the concept of Nang and Ghairat according to the Benedict Grima defined as….Landey (called tappas in Pakistan) are traditional oral folk poems similar to the Haiku in having a single idea linked to a visual image. They are composed of two lines, the first having seven or more syllables, and the second, thirteen. There is no fixed rhyme, save that the second line must end with **na**or some time **ma,** weather this lost phenomenon carries any meaning or just a necessary appendages to respect rules of poetry. Landey follows a stress meter, with three degrees of strength used in a consistent pattern in almost all landeys. This pattern is also used in folk epics and romances.(Grima 1993: 147-8)

b. Ballads (Ghari)

In Pashto literature ballads (Ghari) is very popular in Kakar, Musakhel (Wandachi), Sherani, Nasar, Mandokhail, Babar tribe etc. It always expresses feelings of women. It is a public interest it has no such regular poetry, it is common interest of almost all Pashtun having to parts. Both are to each other, sometime with same balance and value. Some there is also sorts of difference, some its first part has seven (7) (syllables) and the second part with (8) eight syllable and some both have same syllable. A type of Ghari is published as with their alphabetical words show the syllables of ballads.

- Za ma la ghrananastabakh
  Karaghlaijor be kamwafawakht
- Rastr vi yea kadoharona
  Satabeltoonlarimekhoona

Old scholar and poets said that KakariGhari has seen. Seven 7, 7 syllables the first critics came in 1970 SahibzadaHameedUllah Poet of Pashtu and living in Pishin in the province of Baluchistan. He wrote a book **Landi** in which he made a collection of KakariGhari, and in that collection of Ghari he made a mistake of one verse and it is below in his written form.

- Da gototaddaintaddam
  Da shaker melle ta zam

Here he mentioned that he is tiding his laces and going toward shah kar Fair but according to the SadiqZarak, It is not a 'Shah Kar' it is Shalimar name of a place of Kandhar where "Mella Fair" is celebrated it can be written as

- Da gototaddraintadday
  Gualla pa kumarazazay

In return his friend and reply him such as

- Da gototaddaintaddram
  Da Shlamarmella ta zam

When it was printed in Kabul then a famous poet "GulGuti" told that its first part is of the ballads syllables are 7, 7 and the other parts or ballads syllables are 8, 8, in a music platform where is sing its last part is estimated to be long in singing because when the syllables are not equal in music that its interest is lost and it is than concerted into eight syllables.

Syed Noor ulHaqJellani narrates about ballades (Gardanian) songs (Gheet) are called ballades of Kakar Tribe. Which contained especially short term rhymes, every KakariGhari contained complete sense of meaning e.g.

- Kachakandarbandigharan vi
  Kor ta wolarsabarandai

It means that if embroider doopata doesn't support you that just leave of home girl say about it.

- Pur ma na da tar ta gharan
  Kachakanghardyeosibaran

Embroider Doopata is not that much fond of to me than you even if the rain get it worsens.In Pashto literature it is mostly popular in Kakar, almost 90% is the kakar tribe contribution and rest of the other cast performing this folk music. Musakhel tribe it always expresses their views in the form of love of female (women). It is public interest not a regular poetry.

- Zara nasta pa kotaki
  Garan ye toso pa pyalaki

An old women selling in a soon her nose runs in a cup.

- Da chori pa loritalm
  Laka sigh ta yeo bandm

He was going towards his beloved, and tossing as like as beef.

c. Tappa

Tappa or lundi (short one) is the same word. It is the most important part in Pashto poetry and it has also its importance in public interests. All the Pashto poets agree that the poetry of the Pashto was started from tappa. Its first verse is very shorts due to this characteristic it's called**lundi**.

Kazi Abdul HaleemAsar that some time voice of singer is pressed and it is singing in very loud voice so, due to this it is called **tappa**. Furthermore kazi wrote some time it is called **verses** (misrrey). Because its first verse is contain 9 syllables and second verse is 13 syllables, so missrey or lundi from start to end it is like verses and we can say it verses. But some people take it like sweetness so they call it misrrey.

Kalander Muman written in his book *pashtoolokegheet* the word tappa is derived from *tappana* which means clapping as tappa is accompanied by clapping so it is called tappa. Or the word tappa is derived from *tapolo* which means to make relax as it give satisfaction to ones thought that's why it's called tappa. It is written, sing and talk about it in every Pashtun society. It is different from the Ghari, Pashto literature narrates it's the oldest form of interest it was present hundreds of years ago. Tappa about Zoroaster is written as follows:

- Spozmikarangwaharakheza

Janan da gulolaokarigotirabina

Sound the bells, O moon, arise and shine!In the same way the great worrier MehmoodGhaznavi army General name is also found in Tappa.

- Ka da khalolashkarraghli
  Zabaghomal da khalodedan ta zam

When great platoon of Khalo arrived I will surely go to see him.So artistically it is different from that of Ballades (Ghari) every Pashto tappa has same syllables balance and style but different in meaning structurally it is totally same.

2. KakariGhari (folk music) on people life

The main influence of this folk music is the people's life to create broadness and nationalism in life. This folk music also makes better culture of Pashtun nation because mostly KakariGhari sings about culture and majority of the people contribution in this folk music. Pashtun society sharing their emotions with others through KakariGhari (folk music).

The core part of folk music is KakariGhari, it is considered as the best traditional source of linking up the Pashtun's ancient history and culture with present day phenomenon of culture. Through the research with the above concerned issues mostly people testified it the status of preserving the past culture for the present and future. Many people added to my knowledge during research that the folk music with its distinctive feature including Kakari-Ghari, were the symbol of the Pashtun community and it provided and still provide various sources of entertainment and mental relaxation.

3. Folk music in Modern Era

During research most of the people agreed to the view that the importance of folk music is still as dominant place among the Pashtuns in modern time as compared to pop music. This is because of the preservation and protection to their specific

culture. Most people of Pashtuns, are still adherent to the traditional folk music its importance is because of its role of reflecting the real picture of society in all walks of life. Therefore folk music is indispensable part of Pashtun's culture and life order.Some local people while interrogating, argued that there is a great deal of public affinity for its presence in Pashtun literature. This is not still in a process of preservation through both print and electronic media.

4. Which part of life is shown in "Ghari"

Every part of life is presented in Ghari. No such part of life is left where No such ballade is not formed. It has economical social, political, religious values and is described in KakariGhari. It arise people from demeaned world, and people are fully awarded of these Ghari. It describes feelings, emotions, wishes and even all part of present world and mental psychology. It expresses a lot of impression on human psychology.

5. Comic Ballads in Pashtun Society

There are comic Ballads in folk music. Sometime it is also called "KazaGhari". Comic Ballads has the same part just as other do have, here funny ballades means to jeer up. It can jeer up in different way like, political, social, love and even vulgarity fun is elaborated which is called worse in the society. In a real sense there is serious ballades same types has that of funning ballades. Where there is discussion about the funny and comic ballades young always like in a real sense. Villages are always in a fix of funny or comic ballades. It gives a sense of entertainment and fixes other people.KakariGhari is considered is the best medium of presenting humor in most fascinating way. KakariGhari, full of humor, is known with various names like KazaiGhari, PaghoronaGhari or Sarcastic or Satirist Ghari.

6. The root causes of the folk music decadence

Its root cause of decadence is of modern music. Nowadays people sing and listen modern music and you know this folk music is not as much as modern. And secondly root cause is lack of singers, who sings KakariGhari. The

investigating the lots of masses of various (through) during my research they considered the following root causes for the extinction of folk music instruments;

- Globalization and communication
- Due to the process of enculturation
- Modernism

Change and reform remains the care part of man's thoughts and actions. The desire can only be self-forth in the accruing of effective power, That power can be of any form that caries in form from ancient times in constant intensity. When the distance grew shorter and shorter man come in close contact in the only pursuance of dominantly of their cultures upon others in every matter.

In the modern times, the globalization gave an impetus to the process of enculturation where the forces of materialism and individualism has curtailed the freedom and sustenance of traditional culture and uses even compiled to be mixed up with the attacking cultures. Western civilization surpasses with cultures due to its technological sense of modernism and globalization in shape of enculturation in shape of enculturation through the basic tool of media both printed and electronic.

The other reasons for the extinction of folk music instrument are the unavailability of effective institution for the preservation of folk music instrument. Secondly; with changing time and the influence of Islamic culture, there arose a feeling of hatred for the folk music instrument in Pashtun society. It has been discourage since from long time. The holders of such holding are consider being of no use to the society.

7. Folk-music (KakariGhari) helps in the spiritual development

While narrating the historical tradition of peoples during my research came up with knowledge that folk music KakariGhari helps in the self-development and spiritual development but it is very different in its traditional and orthodox sense with the philosophy and influence of Sufism.The local peoples added that this spiritual development could and can be done through its traditionally told ritual and customs and ceremonial behavior and patriotism. This enriched the spiritual beauty of folk-music.

8. Folk music (Kakari-Ghari) Production

Folk music is not so mean for women world, and it is for both male and female internal and external world, but parts of women are of great importance. Everything can be snatched from women world but Gharicannot be. In Ghari it expresses focuses gesture, difficulties, bad, worse and good times, expression of love, for beloved are, for father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister. They express hearted emotions through these Ghari. This is the biggest entertainment for women that live in such conserved society. Characteristically it is also education, dowry, problem of women world and a marriage there songs are sing. It contain sorts of vulgarity but in a real sense it expresses a women who do not how such importance in society has she do not have many to pay her dowry and became aged in father's have or her own home. Pashtun women gives a lot of importance to the veil system they fast tolerate all these social hurdles without expressing in practically.

Women on the other part have some emotional and spiritual attachment with the folk music (Kakari-Ghari). This is because of the importance of this folk music as the best medium through which the can express love, hatred, courage, fear etc., with the beloved ones. The cant comprise of this aspect culture heritage. During the marriages bride is accustomed to express her feeling through this medium (Kakari-Ghari) before their beloved ones.It is a matter of common importance to both female and male of the society. This can be made very easily because it has expressed yours precious feeling in its best possible way.

9. Poet has no much profession

These Ballades has no such poet, because it is interest of every Pashtun. It's a public literature. It means, it is part of every person in Pashtun society. Everyone can take part in Ghari. Now we can claim being poet of Ghari. Some people regularly from ballades and note them. Very few people have given their own name.

10. Dialects of KakariGhari

Ghari can be using in different dialects, but Kakari dialects are most common. It is round about 90% and remaining 10% is other dialects including Musakheli, Sherani, Nasari, Babari and etc. But most importance is given to KakariGhari, meat to say KakariGhari has of great importance. KakariGhari are most enjoyable than that sing in other dialects. There is such a funny ballades dedicated to Nasar Tribe, when one nasar may sings that song but song which is sung from Kakari dialects is most enjoyable and refresh soul

- Da sanzerdolaszoyean
  Pa ghosatalwaribaran

11. Bower (Daravy)

The gender prominent aspect of Ghari every individual being member in past time could has compose the verses and couplet of Ghari and some ballads would get the importance of proverbs.This composition and singing was not confined to make only but women could equally compose and sing the ballads. Mostly conversation between man and woman during Darravy (Bower) would take place through exchange of Ghari. Now women of the older age and said to remember many Ghari because they have less exposure to outside world and retained the purely and originally of language. Gender crosses through the KakariGhari (folk music) in bower (Daravy).

This conversation of ballads between man and women would also take place during Qamarah Ami (together dance of male and female) on drum beats and Chaghaka (sarindo). One ballad of Ghari goes like that,

- Aspawumbehahrana
  Da muzoprakharbanditulshamawalarma

In this ballad a newlywed woman expresses her views in such words that at my father s home I was like untummed horse, free and living my choice but in Mozas house all the time standing bond.

- Osmanam chi swaisahar
  Rupaisaday sway da grewan
- Stargiwavishtay tar sar
  Raghai da zulfosawdagar
- Nana watkaibawarzm
  Par nadhai spin kalaprezhda

12. Conclusion - CASE STUDIES:

Case Study # 1: Bacha Khan, Narri (Singing Landi)

Bacha khan, who was belongs to Ghosi village of Kakar tribe. He is singing KakariGhari (folk songs) all the time and he spent most of his youth life in love with girls. He made most of landi(folk song) by self and was also using the folksongs. His father was also a poet and was the mulavi of mosque. He was also fond of singing of folk songs due to two reason Bacha was singing the song he used to remain the past youth life in love with a girl who got the married later on , when he was explaining his youth life he smiled and he song a landi (ballad);

- Da cheghaka tar mi pure sao
  Za ma beltoon la kaja way sao

After that he mentioned that his friendship with his beloved and he gave name it to “wachaYarai”(friendship without any exception). In this friendship they were meeting every night at specific place in a village according to Kakar tribe they gave the name to this appointment at night is known as “bavorDravi” and in this friendship there was no physical relation and they were considered very bed and compared it with donkey work.The conversation was secret between the two lovers in form of landi but not in a sample words and mostly time they were

admiring and criticizing on each other.Bacha has left his property and shifted toward the city and at this time he became very poor and spending his life alone.

Case Study #2: Abdul Karim, Cheghakbari (Playing Sarrangi)

Abdul Karim was very poor person. He was pious and noble man, he was compelled to begging near villages because he was economically weak, he always stared begging from early morning to late evening every time he has always an instrument of folk music in his lap called Sarrangi and he was playing that when the local people made demand for playing when he refused to play it most of the people did not give him charity, he used to go from home to home and used to collect food, wheat but he did not take rupees during charity because he was a pious man it was his habit.He was always asked by the people by playing Sarrangi alone in alone place he always replied that it is the best place of praising by beloved (Allah) and during this time always used to see the nature because in the village all the people are busy in their personal interest and it is the only place to understand the greatness and mercy of God.

Case Study # 3: Sado Khan, Cheghakbari (Playing Sarrangi)

A case study of Saddo Khan, 25 years old he was singer by profession he used to play musical instruments and always sing folk songs. This interest developed as he had fallen in love long ago. He was very close to his lover but unfortunately then he lost her love due to some reasons. From that moment onward, his life became very biter as he was already poverty stricken. So slowly and gradually he learnt to play musical instrument. He did so because he wants to remind his love and the sweat memories in his folk song. It gives him relaxation. As he belongs to a poor family and he has a shepherd so it is not liked by his parents. His parents once broke his instrument but they could not succeed to devote me from

his track as he committed to his interest. As he cannot forget his love in the same way he cannot leave singing.

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CHANGING DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN'S KASHMIR POLICY

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ABSTRACT

The India–Pakistan dispute over Kashmir is one of the most intractable international conflicts in today's world. The Kashmir dispute dates back to 1947, when Britain granted independence to its Indian colony. Pakistan insists that India has no legal or moral right to Muslim majority Kashmir and rejects its attempts to gain international acceptance of the territorial status quo. This paper lays out the public and private position of the government in Islamabad on Kashmir and relations with India. Kashmir has been an important factor in Pakistan's security policy vis-à-vis India and Pakistan has always directed its efforts to find a settlement of this long standing issue. Some Pakistani governments have used the Kashmir conflict to reinforce Pakistani nationalism and others to strengthen pan-Islamism in addition to acquire domestic legitimacy or to ensure regime survival. Pakistan governments would prefer the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions that envisaged the Kashmiri people determining in a plebiscite, under UN auspices, whether to accede to Pakistan or India. However, conscious that a

plebiscite is unacceptable to India, Pakistan is also exploring, albeit unofficially, other solutions that would best promote Pakistan's strategic and political interests in order to adjust it to post 9/11 security environment.

Key Words: Kashmir, India, Pakistan, UN plebiscite, security, nationalism, settlement, legitimate.

INTRODUCTION

The India–Pakistan dispute over Kashmir is not only the root cause of instability and hostility in South Asia but also one of the most intractable problems of international politics today. It is both a cause and the consequence of the India-Pakistan conundrum. It is primarily a dispute about justice and people, although its strategic and territorial dimensions are complicated enough.[1] The first war fought between the two countries in 1947-48 resulted in the division of Kashmir forming Pakistan's Azad Kashmir and the Indian administered Kashmir. Despite repeated promises by Indian leaders including former Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to give Kashmiris the right to self-determination in accordance with the 1948/1949 UN resolutions (which give the Kashmiris a right to join either India or Pakistan), India did not hold any plebiscite in Kashmir. Pakistanis have long argued that the Kashmir problem stems from India's denial of justice to the Kashmiri people (by not allowing them to join Pakistan), and by not accepting Pakistan's own legitimacy. For Pakistan, giving up

[1]For two overviews of the Kashmir problem see Jonah Blank, 'Kashmir: Fundamentalism Takes Root', *Foreign Affairs* November–December 1999 and SumitGanguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War and Hopes of Peace* (New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press 1997).

Kashmir means denying the ideological basis of partition. However, India insists that Kashmir's accession is not only a settled matter, unaffected by outdated and redundant UN resolutions, it is also crucial for a secular India to include a Muslim-majority state.[2]In the past 67 years, the two sides have fought three conventional wars (two directly over Kashmir) and came close to war on several occasions. However, neither international pressure raised by taking up the issue at different fora including the UN General Assembly, nor the wars fought could yield any results. Following the incident of 9/11, both the complexion of Pakistani support to the Kashmiri's right of self determination and politics within Kashmir have undergone a significant change. Under the changed international security scenario after the global war on terror, India declared freedom struggle of Kashmiris as terrorism and Pakistan's moral, political and diplomatic support as sponsoring the peril. The U.S. also increased its pressure on Pakistan's military government to end its proxy war in Kashmir and to resolve its differences with India peacefully. However, Pakistan's participation in the U.S led war on terror somewhat eased that pressure, allowing its military rulers to make a tactical, as opposed to a strategic shift in their Kashmir policy. Pakistan has tried to internationalize the Kashmir dispute by highlighting in international forums the human rights abuses carried out by the Indian military in Kashmir and asking for international mediation in the dispute and the holding of UN sponsored plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmiri people regarding the state's future political status. Its articulation on Kashmir issue in various

[2]See, for example, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Independence Day Remarks delivered on August 15, 2002. This address is available online at the Indian Government's Information Center, pmindia.nic.in/infocentre/curr_speeches.htm.

international fora suggests Pakistan seriousness to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

Purpose of the Study

This paper analyses the origins of the Kashmir dispute and especially Pakistan's policy on Kashmir since its independence. Pakistan has sought to obtain the accession of Kashmir for over 67 years. The study further explores and analyzes different factors underpinning Pakistan's new thinking on Kashmir in the backdrop of the war on terror.

The origin of the Kashmir Dispute

The Kashmir dispute dates back to 1947, when Britain granted independence to its Indian colony bringing to an end 334 years of Colonial Rule. Two states, Pakistan and India, were created on the basis of the Two Nations theory, since the two communities were divided by a "cleavage too deep and sentiments too bitter for any lasting unity."[3]

The British Indian Empire at the time of partition consisted of some 562 princely states including Kashmir that had varying degrees of sovereignty.[4]Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy, advised the rulers of these states to accede to either India or Pakistan, taking into consideration geographical contiguity and the wishes of their subjects.[5]By this criterion, Kashmir should have automatically joined Pakistan as three-quarters of its population was Muslim besides being territorially contiguous. With regard to Junagarh, Hyderabad, and Jodhpur, India insisted upon their accession

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3 Joseph Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir* (Oxford, 2002; first published by Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 26-28, 42-43.

4Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* (Roxford Books, 1991), p. 112.

5 For more on the British role in Kashmir, see Alastair Lamb, Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy (Hertingfordbury, England: Roxford Books, 1991); Victoria Schofield, Kashmir in the Crossfire (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1996).

to herself because of the Hindu majority population in those states despite the fact that the rules of Junagarh and Jodhpur opted for Pakistan, and Hyderabad for independent status.[6]But in the case of Kashmir, India applied political pressures on the Hindu Mahraja to acced to India. Once MahrajaHari Singh of Kashmir had signed the instrument of accession, India relegated the "majority principle" to secondary place and pushed the legalistic approach to the forefront.[7]

As the British withdrew from sub-continent in 1947, a rebellion broke out in the Poonch region of Kashmir. One account claims that the revolt had been launched as early as the spring over taxation.[8] While, another account claimed the revolt was touched off by rumors that the Maharaja had acceded to India.[9] Though the impetus and the timing may be debatable, there is general agreement that the rebellion was indigenous and was initiated by a Muslim segment of the population in the Poonch region. The uprising was brutally crushed by Singh's mostly Hindu troops and, unsurprisingly, the movement assumed a communal character. Outraged by massacre of the Muslims by the Maharaja's forces, many Pashtuns from Pakistan's NWFP (now KP) and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) region also joined the war in support of their Muslim brethren; consolidating their gains.[10] The tribesmen overwhelmed the Singh's troops and were approaching Srinagar, the Maharaja's seat of

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6 See Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, 'Pakistan, India, and Kashmir: A Historical Review', in Raju G.C. Thomas (ed.), *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflict in South Asia* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 94.

7 Ibid. 95

8 Lord Birdwood, "Kashmir," *International Affairs* 28 (July 1952), p. 302.

9 Sir William Barton, "Pakistan's Claim to Kashmir," *Foreign Affairs* 28 (January 1950), p. 300.

10Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army and the Wars Within* (Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 49.

power, when Singh fled to Jammu and made an appeal to the Indian government for assistance.

Prime Minister Nehru was inclined to assist Singh, but replied to the Singh that it would be inappropriate for India to intervene in Kashmir unless it acceded to India. With the tribesmen on the doorstep of Srinagar and his circumstances growing more desperate, Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947.[11] However, the Government of Pakistan out rightly rejected the accession, terming it as fraudulent since it did not embody the will of the population as per the Partition Plan.[12] In the meanwhile, responding to the Indian military interference and visualized aggressive designs, Pakistani Government also ordered immediate dispatch of troops to Kashmir. Unfortunately, this decision was not timely implemented by the Pakistani C-in-C, General Douglas D. Gracey.[13] However, the ensuing war (1947-48) between Pakistan and India left Jammu and Kashmir divided, with Pakistan controlling one-third of the state - comprising what Pakistan calls Azad Jammu and Kashmir, and the Northern Areas administered by Pakistan and two-thirds, Jammu, Ladakh and the Kashmir Valley, administered by India.

On January 1, 1948, under Article 35 of the UN Charter (Pacific Settlement of Disputes), India took the case before the Security Council charging Pakistan with assisting the tribesmen and other invaders to

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[11]See Hari Singh's letter to Mountbatten in Verinder Grover, ed.,*The Story of Kashmir:Yesterday and Today* (vol. 3) (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publishing, 1995), p.108.

[12]NavnitaChedaBahera, *Demystifying Kashmir* (Washington D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2006), p. 28.

[13]Ibid., p. 29.

violate her sovereignty.[14]In Pakistan's view, New Delhi's acceptance of two Security Council Resolutions which called for a plebiscite in Kashmir, 47 of 1948 and 80 of 1950,[15] constituted Indian recognition that its control of Jammu and Kashmir was a temporary arrangement. However, the ceasefire line of January 1949 was renamed as the Line of Control (LoC) following the Simla Agreement[16] between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. According to Indian interpretations of the Simla Agreement, the issue of Kashmir has to be resolved through bilateral negotiations between the two sides. Third party arbitration or mediation is therefore out of the question. The UN Security Resolutions are thus obsolete. In contrast, Pakistan refers to those clauses which require a settlement of the Kashmir dispute and argues that if the two sides cannot reach an agreement the role of mediation by other parties cannot be ruled out. Pakistan believed then and still insists that the ultimate fate of Jammu and Kashmir should be decided through a free and impartial plebiscite as promised openly by both Lord Mountbatten and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru,[17] under UN auspices, to determine the wishes of its people for accession to either Pakistan or India.

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[14]Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*(New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 100.

[15] The Security Council resolution of 21 April 1948 noted with "satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite". The Security Council resolution of 14 March 1950 commended the governments of India and Pakistan for reaching agreement on the determination of Jammu and Kashmir's "final disposition in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite". Text of resolutions in Josef Korbel,*Danger in Kashmir* (Princeton University Press, 1954), Appendix I, pp. 307-312; Appendix IV, pp. 319-321.

[16]Simla Agreement, 2 July 1972.

[17]Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "Pakistan, India, and Kashmir: A Historical Review", op.cit., p. 94.

Pakistan's official position on Kashmir

Historically, the Government of Pakistan has maintained that Jammu and Kashmir has been a disputed territory. The state's accession to India in October 1947 was provisional and executed under the coercive pressure of Indian military presence. The disputed status of Jammu and Kashmir is acknowledged in the UN Security Council resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, to which both Pakistan and India agreed. These resolutions remain fully in force today, and cannot be unilaterally disregarded by either party.[18]

Advocacy of the rights of the Kashmiri people to freely determine their future has been the main plank of Islamabad's diplomatic strategy in the United Nations and other international fora. By championing the cause of the rights of the Kashmiri people, Islamabad has tried to remind the world that India's control over two-thirds of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is not only legally untenable but morally unjust, as it was achieved through an instrument of accession with a ruler who had lost the support of the vast majority of his predominantly

Muslim subjects. Pakistan's official stance on Kashmir can be summarized into the following six interrelated propositions:[19]

1. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory.

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[18] In defence of the continued validity of the UN resolutions on Kashmir see Ijaz Hussain*, Kashmir Dispute: An International Law Perspective.* (Rawalpindi: Services Book Club, 2000), Ch.V.

[19]Syed Rifaat Hussain, "Pakistan's Changing Outlook on Kashmir". Retrieved from http://acdis.illinois.edu/assets/docs/222/articles/Pakistan39sChangingOutlookonKashmir.pdf

2. This disputed status is acknowledged in the UN Security Council resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, to which both Pakistan and India are a party.
3. These resolutions remain operative and cannot be unilaterally disregarded by either party.
4. Talks between India and Pakistan over the future status of Jammu and Kashmir should aim to secure the right of self-determination for the Kashmiri people. This right entails a free, fair and internationally supervised plebiscite as agreed in the UN Security Council resolutions.
5. The plebiscite should offer the people of Jammu and Kashmir the choice of permanent accession to either Pakistan or India.
6. Talks between India and Pakistan, in regard to the future status of Jammu and Kashmir, should be held in conformity both with the Simla Agreement of July 1972 and the relevant UN Security Council resolutions. An international mediatory role in such talks may be appropriate if mutually agreed.

In Pakistan's official view, the Kashmir conflict is the root cause of tensions with India. All other bilateral problems, such as disputes over the Wuller Barrage, Sir Creek and trade issues, are relatively easy to resolve. According to former President and Chief of Army Staff Pervez Musharraf, there is no other dispute between India and Pakistan expect Kashmir, all other issues are irritants.[20] If India were to agree to a mutually acceptable resolution of the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan would be more than willing to reciprocate by resolving all remaining political, economic, and military differences. However, this stated Pakistani position on Kashmir has

[20] "Kashmir only dispute between Pakistan and India", *The News*, February 5, 2002.

undergone a fundamental shift under President General Pervez Musharraf who, after assuming power in October 1999 in a bloodless coup, has been, in his own words, "pondering outside the box" solutions to resolve the dispute.[21]

Foundations of Pakistan's Kashmir Policy

Kashmir was always viewed as an integral part of the Pakistan scheme. The letter "K" stands for Kashmir in the very name of Pakistan. Pakistan is incomplete without Kashmir. Moreover, there have been strong ethnic, cultural, geographical and economic linkages.[22]However, Pakistan's policy in Kashmir has its origins in the two-nation theory that Muhammad Ali Jinnah utilized to convince the British that a separate nation for the Muslims of South Asia was necessary in order to protect them and to ensure peace. Jinnah's insistence on two nations, one Hindu and one Muslim, was driven by the belief that Muslims would be politically, economically, and socially dominated by Hindus in a single state.[23] The outbreak of communal violence between Hindus and Muslims during the struggle for independence reinforced Jinnah's claims. Once the decision was made to have two separate states, Jinnah and his Hindu rivals, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi, began to jockey for territory.[24] Pakistan's leaders believed that Kashmir's territorial contiguity with Pakistan, its economic and political ties with Pakistan, and its Muslim majority made its accession to Pakistan a near certainty. When this did not

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[21]Syed Rifaat Hussain, op.cit.

[22]ShahidM. Amin, "A Re-Evaluation of the Kashmir Dispute,"*Pakistan Horizon*, vol. 56 (April 2003), p.38.

[23] Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan, and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 80.

[24]See, Matthew P. Taylor, "Pakistan's Kashmir Policy and Strategy Since 1947," (Master's Diss., Naval Post Graduate School, California, 2004), pp. 5-6.

happen, Pakistan's leaders interpreted Kashmir's accession to India as evidence of an insidious Indian scheme to weaken and eventually eliminate Pakistan.

Despite having won the battle for a separate state, Muslim concerns over Hindu domination persisted. In a statement to the United Nations Security Council in January 1948, Pakistan charged, that India has never wholeheartedly accepted the partition scheme and has, since June 1947, been making persistent attempts to undo it.[25] India's use of its military to quash independence bids by the princely states of Hyderabad and Junagadh reinforced Pakistani trepidation. From the Pakistani perspective, India's actions in Kashmir were seen as the most threatening to the survivability of Pakistan and the most poignant evidence of the Hindu desire to dominate South Asia.[26] Therefore, Pakistan's leaders believed it was necessary to challenge Indian rule in Kashmir and presented its position on Kashmir as a principled stand in support of Kashmir's right to self-determination against Indian aggression.[27]

Some observers decline to accept Pakistan's position that its policy on Kashmir is based on principles of self-determination and instead assert that Pakistan's obsession with Kashmir is a result of a dominant army[28], which gains massive advantages by maintaining a hostile status quo with India.[29] However, on the whole, the policies and strategies of Pervaiz

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25 Pakistan's Complaint against India, S/646, 1948, cited in Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir: A Study in India- Pakistan Relations* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1966), p. 145.
26 Matthew P. Taylor, op.cit., p. 6.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 This argument is often found in the U.S. press and supported by Indian military officers and scholars. See Pamela Constable, "As Civilian Heads Pursue Peace,

Musharraf, Zia ul-Haq and Ayub Khan, all the three generals that assumed the Pakistan's presidency, do not differ substantially from their civilian counterparts in Pakistan and the record of Pakistan's military leaders does not support the argument that Pakistan's policy is caused by the result of an obsessed military.[30]

Nevertheless, Pakistan's policy in Kashmir is not based solely on its commitment to Kashmir's self-determination. In fact, Pakistan's policy to oppose Indian control of Kashmir was reinforced by several features of the state that have provided incentives for various groups to politicize the issue of Kashmir and to rally public opinion behind the Kashmiri cause. Since Pakistan's inception in 1947, ethnic and sectarian cleavages have threatened Pakistan's unity. Ayub Khan, clearly described the problem in a 1960 *Foreign Affairs* essay, in which he stated, "Till the advent of Pakistan, none of us was in fact a Pakistani."[31] Those that became Pakistani were Indians of either Punjabi, Pashtun, Baloch, Sindhi, or Bengali ethnicity.[32] Pakistan's political leaders, many who were Mohajirs, those Muslims that migrated to Pakistan from areas that became part of India, could not make appeals for national solidarity in terms of an ethnic nation.[33] In addition to these ethnic divisions, the state's political institutions have been weak and it has been unable to extend its authority throughout the country. Pakistan's leaders had only two options that held

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Militaries Fuel Kashmir Conflict," *New York Times*, 30 May 1999, p. 19. "Military Hard -Liners Pressure Pakistani Leader," *Wall Street Journal*, 27 June 2002, p.15.

30 Matthew P. Taylor, op.cit., p. 7.

31 Mohammed Ayub Khan, "Pakistan Perspective," *Foreign Affairs* 38 (July 1960), p. 549.

32 Matthew P. Taylor, op.cit., p. 7.

33 Ibid.

broad enough appeal to overcome these divisive tendencies.[34] The first was Islam[35], which was problematic for the secular leaning politicians, bureaucrats, and military officers that occupied the positions of power in the new state. Trained and schooled in British secular ideals, they were leery of rallying around an idea that inherently put them at a political disadvantage vis-à-vis the Islamic religious authorities. The second unifying idea was the threat posed by India.[36] Pakistani leaders of all shades pandered to a public stung by the tragedy of partition and emphasized Kashmir in Pakistan's struggle against the Hindu behemoth. Pakistan's first prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, expressed this sentiment that Kashmir was part of the larger struggle of Muslims on the subcontinent against Hindu aggression in a speech in November 1947:

> *"Our heart goes out to them—our brethren in this mortal struggle, for the choice before them now is freedom or death. If the plans of their enemies succeed they will be exterminated, as Muslims in various other parts of India have been exterminated."*[37]

Whether the threat was real or imagined, Pakistan's Kashmir policy has become highly politicized and inflexible because of Kashmir's implications for Pakistan's national identity and the widespread support

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[34]Ibid., p. 8.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid
[37]Sisir Gupta, op.cit., p. 131.

the struggle received from the major domestic actors.[38] Moreover, 67 years of hostile relations with India have reinforced Pakistan's Kashmir policy because it reinforced the assumptions that India never accepted Pakistan. India's occupation of Kashmir was intended to simultaneously demonstrate that Pakistan was politically unnecessary and physically weaken it. Kashmir became sacrosanct in Pakistani politics and it is politically untenable to lose Kashmir.

Pakistan's claim to Kashmir has survived 67 years, two failed military operations, civilian and military governments, economic and military sanctions, and the threat of nuclear weapons. Even when the threat of war loomed in January 2002, President Pervez Musharraf stated in unequivocal terms Pakistan's policy on Kashmir:

> *Kashmir runs in our blood. No Pakistani can afford to sever links with Kashmir. The entire world knows this. We will continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris. We will never budge an inch from our principle stand on Kashmir. The Kashmir problem needs to be resolved by dialogue and peaceful means in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the United Nations resolutions. We have to find the solution to this dispute.*[39]

Pakistan's Kashmir policy since 1947

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[38] Amelie Blom, "The Multi-Vocal State: The Policy of Pakistan on Kashmir," in *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation?,* ed. Christophe Jaffrelot, (New York: Zed Books, 2002), pp. 283-309.

[39] "Text of President Musharraf's Address to the Nation," *Dawn*, 12 January 2002, http://www.dawn.com/2002/01/12/speech02112.htm.

Pakistan's policy since 1947 has been to seek Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. The political language used to support this goal is that Kashmir is indivisible and Kashmir's right to self-determination should be fulfilled in accordance with the 1948 United Nations Security Resolutions. To advance this policy, Pakistan has negotiated with India, went to war with India, and aided an insurgency against India.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan were extremely conscious of the importance of Kashmir for Pakistan. According to Raiz Ali Shah's diary the Quaid-e-Azam said: "Kashmir is the Jugular vein of Pakistan and no nation or country could tolerate its Jugular vein remains under the sword of the enemy."[40]Jinnah's approach for ensuring the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan was based on his supposition that, "Kashmir will fall into our lap like a ripe fruit."[41] Apparently, it was obvious to Jinnah that Kashmir's Muslim majority, its economic relationship with Pakistan, and its existing transportation and communication links with Pakistan would secure the accession. Also factoring into the decision to negotiate Kashmir's accession to Pakistan rather than rely on the use of force was the success that Jinnah and the Muslim League had experienced with constitutional bargaining and legal devices in its struggle for a separate nation.[42] The new leaders applied this experience to their efforts to peaceably ensure the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan. But the stubborn attitude of India barred all the possibility of

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[40]Riaz Ali Shah, Dr. Riaz Ali Shah's Diary (Lahore: Publishing House BullRoad, 1950) quoted in HabiburRehman, Kashmir: The Jugular vein of Pakistan (Rawalpindi: Kashmir Liberation Cell, 1998), p. 23.

[41] Quoted in Owen Bennett Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 57.

[42] M. Rafique Afzal, *Pakistan: History and Politics, 1947-1971* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 4.

negotiated settlement of Kashmir. The success of the Indian army against the tribesmen led Lt General Sir Douglas Gracey to assess, "India is not to be allowed to sit on the doorsteps of Pakistan to the rear and on the flank at liberty to enter at its will and pleasure ……. it is imperative that the Indian army is not allowed to advance."[43] Pakistan's military strategists determined that Pakistan could not be a viable state if India controlled Kashmir in its entirety, thus the decision was made for the Pakistani army to officially enter the battle in May 1948.[44] The Pakistani military drove the Indian troops back enough that Pakistan felt strategically comfortable to sit down at the negotiating table. Under the auspices of the United Nations, a ceasefire line was established and both states agreed that the status of Kashmir would be determined in accordance with the will of the people.[45]

President General Ayub Khan was also a great protagonist of Pakistan's Kashmir policy. His government strategy toward Kashmir was not very different from the previous civilian governments. He considered the resolution of Kashmir dispute integral for the security of Pakistan. He yearned to go down in history as the liberator of the Kashmir.[46] The shift in Pakistan's decision to abandon diplomacy and launch a military assault into Kashmir in 1965 occurred due to the following factors**:** India's

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[43]Owen Bennett Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 70.

[44] Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in the Crossfire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996), p. 157.

[45]United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, *Resolution Adopted by the UNCIP on 13 August 1948* (Document No. S/1100, Para 75, 9 November 1948), http://www.un.int/pakistan/00home04.htm. UNCIP was a five-member commission established by the UN in January 1948 to mediate and investigate the dispute. In 1951 the United Nations Military Observers Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) replaced the UNCIP.

[46]Absar Hussain Rizvi, "Remembering Tashkent Declaration", *The Muslim*, Islamabad, January 1, 1991.

abandonment of the plebiscite option, Pakistan's belief that it had remedied the military imbalance that India initially possessed at partition, and a souring of U.S.-Pakistan relations. These three factors converged to produce a situation in which Pakistan's leaders believed its opportunity to change the status quo in Kashmir was dissipating and that it was necessary to act. In 1964, it infiltrated irregulars, backed by army troops, across the Ceasefire Line. Operation Gibraltar, however, failed to persuade Kashmiris to launch all-out resistance to Indian control.[47] To quote Ayub Khan, "India particularly has a deep pathological hatred for Muslims and her hostility to Pakistan stems from her refusal to see a Muslim power developing next door. By the same token, India will never tolerate a Muslim grouping near or far from her border."[48] Many people in Pakistan believe that the Sino-Indian war of 1962 had provided the best opportunity for Pakistan to retrieve Kashmir. Had Ayub Khan withstood American pressure, Pakistan would have got the rare chance of solving the Kashmir issue by military action.[49]Ayub Khan made repeated offers of joint defence of the sub-continent to India despite the re-buffs from the Indian leaders. Particularly its leaders became more and more aggressive in their pronouncements after India's occupation of Goa by a force in December 1961.[50] However, the primary objectives of all his moves were to settle the

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[47] In fact, Kashmiris opted to distance themselves from Pakistani military and irregular infiltrators.

[48] See Air Marshal Ayaz Ahmad Khan, "India-Pakistan Relations," *Frontier Post,* September 8, 2000.

[49]Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1991), p. 91.

[50] Krishna Menon, a former Indian Defence Minister, declared that India hadnot 'abjured violence' and would solve the 'Pakistan problem' as it had donethe 'Goa problem' Sanjiva Reddy, President of the Indian National Congress,advocated a forcible 'liberation of Azad Kashmir' leaving the time of suchventure to the Indian

Kashmir issue which, in his view as the question "life and death" for Pakistanis and a key to amicable Pakistan India relations.[51]

During the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government (1972- 1977), Kashmir was placed on the backburner, since the prime minister believed that the reconstruction of a truncated Pakistan was better served by normalization of relations with India. Following the war, India and Pakistan signed the Simla Agreement in July 1972, transforming the Ceasefire Line into the Line of Control (LOC). Interpreting the Simla agreement, India often referred to the second paragraph (dealing with the principles of bilateralism) while Pakistan focuses on Paragraph one (referring to the United Nations).[52] Bhutto had a number of reasons for reducing military tensions in Kashmir. For one, two consecutive military defeats demoralized the military. Pakistan was simply not capable of defeating India in a conventional battle. Secondly, despite the military's decline it remained his primary political opponent and still dominated national security issues. Therefore, Bhutto had little interest in aggravating a situation that would increase the role of the military. However, Bhutto's decision to launch Pakistan's nuclear development program and his rhetorical campaign to maintain Kashmir's disputed status reveal that he conceded nothing to India. Pakistan's inability to free itself from its obsession with India and the resulting insecurity, has been so thoroughly

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government. Nehru stated that the use of force was aquestion of 'suitability and opportunity'.

[51]Field Marshal M. AyubKhan,*Speeches and statements (October 1958—June 1959*), Volume 1 (Pakistan Government Publications, Karachi; 1ST edition, 1959), p.69.

[52] P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Stephen P. Cohn, Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia (London: Routledge Curzen, 2003), p. 42.

cultivated in Pakistan, if Bhutto was suspected of having compromised on Kashmir it could have meant his political demise.[53]

From January 1974 onwards, Pakistan's government began to take strong exception of the moves by Indian government to integrate Kashmir in Indian Union. Pakistani politician bitterly criticized the negotiation prior to the conclusion of Indra-Abdullah accord about Kashmir. In this accord which was concluded in February 1975, the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India was reaffirmed by both the parties. After this Sheikh Abdullah assumed the office of the Chief Minister of the state and the plebiscite forum was dissolved.[54] Bhutto termed this accord as a "sell out" because it violated the terms of Simla and the UN requirements for a plebiscite.[55] To him it was a shameful barter of the Kashmiris which Sheikh Abdullah had pledged to support. A complete countrywide strike was observed in Pakistan on this day to condemn the Indra Abdullah deal.[56]

As Zulfikar Ali Bhutto obtained the position of prime minister on a platform that was populist, anti-American, and pro-China. So, these factors forced Pakistan to re-evaluate their strategy in Kashmir and resulted in a shift back toward the exploration of asymmetric alternatives to challenge India. This was Pakistan's first step toward asymmetric options in its effort to prevent India from dismissing its claims to Kashmir. In fact, Prime Minister Bhutto's 1973 article in the American foreign

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[53]Robert G. Wirsing, India*, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994), p. 190.

[54] Victoria Schafiled,Kashmir in Conflict: Pakistan and Unfinished War (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 123.

[55]Mussawat(Lahore, 2 March, 1975).

[56]RajendraSareen,Pakistan: *The Indian Factor* (New Delhi: VikasPublishers, 1984), p. 40.

policy journal *Foreign Affairs* maintained Pakistan's argument that India annexed Kashmir illegally. Bhutto wrote: "India totally disregarded not only the principles on which partition had been effected but all norms of international conduct by sending her troops into Kashmir … Subsequently, India refused to allow the people of Kashmir to determine their future according to their own wishes."[57] The position of Pakistan can be understood from the statement that Z.A. Bhutto made in the UN Security Council, "The people of Jammu and Kashmir are part of the people of Pakistan in blood, in flesh, in life, in culture, in geography, in history and in every way and in every form... If necessary Pakistan would fight to the end."[58]

While explaining Pakistan's stance on Kashmir Zia said: "Pakistan's point of view is: let us talk…we are not in favour of resorting to force. But we are not in favour of being browbeaten by Indian point of view that since there is a line of control there is therefore no issue involved".[59] With memories of Operation Gibraltar still fresh, the military was unwilling to raise the stakes in Kashmir without favourable conditions on the ground. However, the Afghan war allowed the Pakistan military to re-assert itself as the dominant force in Pakistan's politics, economy, and society. Zia's handling of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan's rising stature in international affairs bolstered the military's status. Any

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[57]Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, "Pakistan Builds Anew," *Foreign Affairs* Vol 51(April 1973), p. 542.

[58] As cited in AjitBhattacharjea, Z.A.Bhutto's Double Speak: Turning Defeat into Victory. *The Vines of India, (New* Delhi. May 3, 1995).

[59] P.S. Verma, *Jammu and Kashmir at the Political Cross Roads* (New Delhi, 1994), p.229; also see Victoria Schofield, Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War (I. B. Tauris, January2003), p.140.

influence it had lost after the 1965 and 1971 wars was regained. Consequently, during this period the military consolidated its control over Pakistan's foreign policy and many of its bureaucracies.

General Zia's government pursued two-pronged strategy vis-a-vis India. On the one hand Zia's official stand towards India was openly conciliatory.[60] On the other hand it envisaged a covert plan to train Kashmir youth to launch an armed crusade against India in the valley. General Zia Haq termed this strategy as a "peace offensive" against India. As the military government attempted to use the Indian threat to gain domestic legitimacy for its self-assumed role as the guardian of national security, and India responded with equal hostility, the two countries came close to war in 1986-1987. Kashmir, however, remained peripheral. This ambivalent policy of Zia led some critics to perceive that Kashmir dispute was put in the cold storage.[61] Moreover, his government pre-occupation with Afghan crisis further led credence to this perception.[62]

The death of Gen Zia and restoration of democracy in Pakistan coincided with the turbulence in the Kashmir valley. In 1989 an indigenous Kashmiri uprising provided an opportunity for Pakistan to reverse the Indian attempts to degrade Kashmir's status as disputed territory. In this case, Pakistan's shift was made possible and the rebellion instilled hope among Pakistan's leaders that Kashmir was not a lost caused and they intended to capitalize on the opportunity. Moreover, by 1989, Zia's Islamization program and the Afghan war produced a powerful coalition between the

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[60] M.H. Askari, "Kashmir: A New Phase". *Dawn*, January 24, 1990.
[61]Mirza, "Pakistan's Kashmir Policy in 1990s," p. 73.
[62]RajendraSareen,*Pakistan: The Indian Factor* (New Delhi: VikasPublishers, 1984), p. 40.

military, the Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate (ISI), and several Islamist organizations. The development of this coalition and the impact it had on perceptions was critical to the Pakistani government's attitudes toward proxy war, especially a proxy war coordinated with Islamic militants.

Pakistan's strategy to bleed India continued through the 1990s under both Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. Through most of the 1990s, it appeared that Pakistan was getting the results it sought from its strategy in Kashmir. Pakistan's strategy had several objectives. First, to make it extremely difficult for India to dismiss Pakistan's claims to Kashmir. Second, to steadily erode India's will and force it back to the negotiating table, where Pakistan could negotiate a more favorable outcome. Third, at a minimum, to tie down Indian forces in Kashmir.[63] In addition, the proxy war strategy had the added advantage that it provided Pakistan with plausible deniability and made the possibility of Indian retaliation against Pakistan more problematic. The proxy war in Kashmir continued throughout the 1990s and appeared to achieve its desired effect. India's efforts to cope with the insurgency frequently resulted in the excessive use of force and human rights abuses that provided Pakistan's diplomats further evidence to buttress Pakistan's claims at international fora. Although the proxy war strategy served a number of Pakistani interests, the Kashmiri insurgency began to wane in the late 1990s. Pakistan's decision to depend on non-Kashmiri militants caused Kashmiri support for the insurgency to erode because the militants managed to

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[63] Ashley J. Tellis, "The Changing Political-Military Environment: South Asia," in *The United States and Asia: Toward a New U.S. Strategy and Force Posture*, MR-1315-AF (Santa Moncia: RAND, 2001), p. 223.

alienate many Kashmiris with their ruthlessness. Meanwhile, India's more aggressive counter- insurgency tactics began to produce results.[64]

However, both Benazir Bhutto's PPP and Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League governments did take some bold initiatives to engage constructively with India on peace and security issues, including Kashmir. During her first government (1989-1990), Prime Minister Bhuttoattempted to normalize relations with the Rajiv Gandhi government, ending Pakistan's support for Sikh militancy in India and entering into confidence building measures such as an agreement to exchange lists of nuclear installations and not to attack them. However, this step-by-step approach to relations with India in general and more specifically to the Kashmir conflict earned the military's ire.[65] While, Nawaz Sharif went further during his second term as prime minister, agreeing with his Indian counterpart, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in the Lahore declaration of February 1999, to implement the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit and pledging to refrain from intervention and interference in each other's internal affairs. Agreeing that an environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that the resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential to this purpose. But Sharif's dialogue with Vajpayee came to an abrupt end with the Kargil conflict (May-July 1999), followed by the October 1999 coup.

The Pakistani operation in Kargil in 1999 is best understood as a part of the overall proxy war strategy and was an attempt to re-energize the

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[64]SumitGanguly, "The Islamic Dimensions of the Kashmir Insurgency," in *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation?*, ed. Christophe Jaffrelot (New York: Zed Books, 2002), p. 189.

[65] Interview with Benazir Bhutto, *The Nation*, June 4, 2003.

insurgency that it believed had effectively advanced its objectives in Kashmir. However, the Kargil operation derailed the rapprochement and raised the possibility that Pakistan was so obsessed with Kashmir that it was willing to trigger a war that could ultimately end with a nuclear exchange. In fact, the operation can be seen as an extension of Pakistan's proxy war strategy. Since the insurgency had lost momentum and in light of its numerous benefits, Pakistan sought a way to re-energize it.[66] Furthermore, Pakistani strategist believed India's escalation advantage had been negated. Four reasons have been proffered for this assessment. First, the introduction of nuclear weapons led Pakistani strategist to conclude that India would not expand a conflict in Kashmir because it ran the risk of instigating a nuclear war.[67] Second, Pakistan believed India would not conduct a full scale war against Pakistan because it could not guarantee victory and a stalemate would be a victory for Pakistan.[68] The third factor contributing to the Kargil operation is that Pakistan saw the operation in the context of the on-going India-Pakistan yearly competition to occupy territory along the LoC.[69] The Indian army's occupation of the Siachen glacier is the most blatant example of this activity. But other exchanges of territory and positions had occurred frequently over the previous two decades. However, the results of the Kargil operation probably caused the Pakistani leadership to conclude that Kargil-like operations are not

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[66]SumitGanguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947* (New York: Columbia Universtiy Press, 2001), pp. 121-22.

[67] Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, and Jamison Jo Medby*, Limited Conflict Under the Nuclear Umbrella: Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis*, MR-1450-USCA (Santa Monica: RAND, 2001), pp. 48-49.

[68]ShaukatQadir, "An Analysis of the Kargil Conflict 1999," *RUSI Journal* (April 2002), p. 24.

[69]Feroz Hassan Khan, "The Independence-Dependence Paradox: Stability Dilemmas in South Asia," *Arms Control Today* (October 2003), p. 17.

legitimate in the current international environment.[70] The reasons for this are two-fold. First, Pakistan's leaders still value their international reputation. Additionally, Pakistan understands that international, and particularly U.S condemnation will entail severe economic and political consequences.[71] Second, India's willingness to escalate the conflict, especially the extensive use of air power, demonstrated that nuclear weapons were not necessarily the firewall against a wider war that Pakistani decision- makers had anticipated.[72]

The 9/11 attack proved to be a watershed event in international politics and it completely changed the context of Pakistan's foreign policy formulation. Pakistan which had been supporting the Taliban regime in Afghanistan for more than 5 years was confronted with the dilemma of taking a U-turn on that policy to join the war on terror. Pakistan's decision to join the coalition against war on terror was by no means easy. In nationally televised speech on 19 September 2001, President Musharraf explained his decision to support the U.S. operation and stated that Pakistan's critical concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our strategic assets (nuclear and missiles), and forth our Kashmir cause.[73] Musharraf's inclusion of the Kashmir cause as a core concern indicated that Pakistan was not willing to abandon its policy on Kashmir. Nevertheless, aware of the volatility of the situation, Pakistan wanted to at least temporarily lower the profile of the insurgents activities in the hopes that it could continue its strategy after the charged atmosphere eased.

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[70]Tellis, Fair, and Medby, *Limited Conflict Under the Nuclear Umbrella*, op.cit.,p.ix.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Quotations in this paragraph are from "Highlights of General Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation," *Dawn*, September 19, 2001.http://dawn.com/events/speech/20010919.

General Musharraf made it clear that he had decided to join the coalition largely to defend Pakistan's stand on Kashmir.[74] He argued that had Pakistan not joined the coalition there was a real possibility that Pakistan would have been declared a terrorist state. President Bush had earlier made it clear that any state that would not support the US would be considered as a hostile state.[75] Another thing that motivated Pakistan to join the war on terror was India's efforts to link the freedom struggle in Kashmir with terrorism. Musharraf's apprehensions about India's possible role in war on terror were perceptible. He knew that had India joined the war on terror, it would have tried to work with the US to harm Pakistan's interests in the region, particularly in Kashmir.[76]Speaking at the UN General Assembly session in 2002, President Musharraf stated that the just struggles of a people for self-determination and liberation from colonial or foreign occupation cannot be outlawed in the name of terrorism.[77]

However, the changed dynamics of the regional and international environment forced Pakistan to take some calculated actions to divert global attention away from its policy of aiding freedom movement in Kashmir. As a result, Pakistan resumed its peace dialogue with India in 2004 which was in continuation of the earlier peace efforts of 1999 made by the then civilian heads of the two states and the Agra summit of 2001. In this way Pakistan tried to adjust its approach towards Kashmir in the new parameters of the changed regional and international setting. This

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[74]"Musharraf's speech on September 19 2001," *TheNews*, September 20, 2001.
[75]"President Bush Address to a Joint Session of Congress and American People," September 20, 2001, http://articles.cnn.com/2001-09-20/us/gen.bush.transcript_1_joint-sessionnational-anthem-citizens?_s=PM:US (accessed April 10, 2010).
[76]General Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire* (New York: Free Press, 2006), p. 202.
[77]*Dawn*, September 13, 2002.

diplomatic manoeuvering helped Pakistan in softening its image in the eyes of the world.[78] Pakistan assured India and the world that its territory would not be used to support terrorism anywhere. [79]

To persuade the international community that Pakistan has abandoned its proxy war and supports a peacefully negotiated settlement, President Musharraf has put forward a number of proposals identifying potential options. Dropping Pakistan's insistence on the old UN resolutions calling for a referendum on accession of the former princely state to either Pakistan or India, President Musharraf has called on New Delhi to join him in thinking "beyond the box" on Kashmir.[80]

During his summit meeting with Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in Agra on July 14–16, 2001, President Musharraf reassured his Indian host that he had come to meet him with an open mind. He also underscored his desire to have discussions with Indian leaders on establishing tension free and cooperative relations between our two countries. The Agra Summit failed to produce a tangible outcome, but the draft Agra Declaration that both sides considered issuing at the end of their historic meeting clearly stated that settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir issue would pave the way for normalization of relations between the two countries. The first proposal regarding Kashmir came from

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[78]Smruti S. Pattanaik, "War on Terror and its Impact on Pakistan's Foreign policy," *Strategic Analysis* vol. 32, no.3 (May 2008), p. 393.

[79]QudssiaAkhlaque, "Dialogue to Start Next Month: Joint Statement on Musharraf-Vajpayee Meeting," *Dawn*, July 1, 2004.

[80] Meeting Indian External Minister Natwar Singh in July 2005, Musharraf called on the two countries to give up their "maximalist" positions, adding that "Pakistan's maximalist position (had) been one enshrined in the UNSC resolution 91 calling for the holding of a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir". QudssiaAkhlaque, "Musharraf for giving up 'maximalist' positions", *Dawn*, 26 July 2004.

Musharraf when he spoke of the following four stages. (i) the recognition of Kashmir as a disputed territory, (ii) the introduction of dialogues, (iii) dropping unrealistic solutions and, (iv) moving towards a win-win situation.[81]

In a remarkable reversal of Islamabad's verbal strategy on Kashmir, President Musharraf publicly stated on December 17, 2003 that even though "we are for United Nations Security resolutions … now we have left that aside." A month later, in a joint statement issued in Islamabad, following his meeting with Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee on January 6, 2004, Musharraf categorically pledged that he would not "permit any territory under Pakistan's control to be used to support terrorism in any manner." This statement was meant to mollify New Delhi's concerns relating to the issue of alleged "cross-border" infiltration from Pakistan. By dropping the longstanding demand for UN-mandated plebiscite over divided Kashmir, and by assuring New Delhi that Islamabad would not encourage violent activity in Indian-held Kashmir, President Musharraf tried to create much-needed political space for New Delhi to substantively engage itself with Islamabad for finding a workable solution to the festering Kashmir dispute.[82]Moreover, it helped Pakistan moderate its image as a state serious in resolving the Kashmir dispute through peaceful means and by showing flexibility on its old stance while, on the other hand it helped in generating a debate on Kashmir which revived international interest in an issue which has lingered for decades without solution.[83]

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[81]Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *TheNews*, October 31, 2004.
[82]SohaibKhaliq, "Pakistan's Kashmir Policy in New Strategic Environment", *IPRI Journal* XII, no. 1 (Winter 2012), pp. 46-66.
[83] Ibid.

A few months later, while talking to a group of newspaper editors at an Iftar dinner in Islamabad on October 25, 2004, President Musharraf called for a national debate on new options for the Kashmir dispute. After preparing the ground for the dialogue and moving forward on the issue of Kashmir, Musharraf proposed another formula which became known as the "seven region formula."[84] He proposed to divide Jammu and Kashmir in to seven regions, two of which were in Pakistan and five in India. The regions were: the plains including Jammu, PirPanjal, the valley, the Great Himalayan zone, the Northern Areas, upper Indus valley and the parts that are with China. The proposal spoke of identification of the regions, then introduce gradual demilitarization in the identified regions, and finally after the first two steps were completed, a change in the status of the regions was sought.[85] Musharraf elaborated on his proposal by suggesting that the identification of the regions could be carried out keeping either of the following factors in mind: ethnicity, religion or geographic proximity.

General Musharraf proposed the next formula in January 2006, in an interview with the Indian TV channel. His four-point proposal had the following aspects:[86] (i) gradual withdrawal of troops, (ii) local self governance, (iii) no redrawing of boundaries and (iv) mutual administration by India and Pakistan. However, General Musharraf's principal stance on the Kashmir problem did not change as he once again cleared the Pakistani point of view on the freedom struggle in Kashmir.[87] It also affirmed the fact that Kashmir issue was not just the question of

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[84] Matthew P. Taylor, op.cit

[85] See Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "Changing Dynamics of the Kashmir Dispute," *Margalla Papers 2006*, NDU, Islamabad.

[86] Matthew P. Taylor, op.cit.

[87] Musharraf's interview with Karan Thapar in the *CNN-IBN*, January 13, 2006.

dealing with militancy but a matter of genuine freedom struggle, and therefore it must be addressed in that perspective.

Musharraf's shift in strategy on Kashmir was a tactical response to the changed US foreign policy outlook after 9/11 and India's showing of its military muscle after the terrorist attack on the Indian parliament. The post 9/11 international environment coupled with the developments in the South Asian region presented Pakistan's Kashmir policy with both challenges and opportunities. The challenge was to save Pakistan's stand on Kashmir and the legitimacy of the freedom struggle; the opportunity was to review Pakistan's decades' old strategy of aiding the freedom movement that had failed to yield any considerable results. Five reasons have been proffered for this assessment.

- First, Pakistan came to the realization that the use of militant proxies runs the risk of jeopardizing higher priority national security interests.[88] The Kargil War exposed the inherent limitations of Islamabad's strategy of sub-conventional war against India in a nuclear environment.
- Second, there has been sustained American pressure on Islamabad to bury the hatchet with India over Kashmir.[89] The renewal of the U.S.-Pakistan partnership provides Pakistan with incentives to restrain its strategy in Kashmir in exchange for the assistance and leverage the United States can provide it.

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[88]Syed Rifaat Hussain, "Pakistan's Changing Outlook on Kashmir". Retrieved from http://acdis.illinois.edu/assets/docs/222/articles/Pakistan39sChangingOutlookonKashmir.pdf

[89] Ibid.

- The third factor pushing Pakistan towards peace with India is the need to display reasonable nuclear custodianship. Resumption of the India-Pakistan dialogue seems to be the only credible way of easing world concern over the safety and security of the Pakistani nuclear arsenal.
- Fourth, the U.S. declaration that regimes that harbor terrorists will be held responsible created an opportunity for India to try and halt Pakistan's proxy war with the threat of escalation.
- The fifth factor underpinning Islamabad's new approach to Kashmir is the "boomerang" effect of jihad as an instrument of Pakistan's Kashmir policy.[90]The jihad strategy became an untenable proposition for Islamabad after the terrorist strikes against the United States on September 11, 2001. Musharraf described the threat from religious extremism as the primary security challenge facing Pakistan.

Although Musharraf has stated that he is willing to meet India "halfway" and put aside the U.N. Security Council Resolutions,[91] that should not be interpreted as tacit acceptance of the LoC as the border. Pakistan's claim to Kashmir has survived fifty years, two failed military operations, civilian and military governments, economic and military sanctions, and the threat of nuclear weapons. Even when the threat of war loomed in January 2002, President Pervez Musharraf stated in unequivocal terms Pakistan's policy on Kashmir:

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[90] Ibid.

[91] "Pakistan Ready to Meet India Halfway on Kashmir," *Reuters*, 18 December 2003, http://www.reuteres.com/printerFriendlyPopup.jhtml?type=topNews&storyID=4011964.

> *Kashmir runs in our blood. No Pakistani can afford to sever links with Kashmir. The entire world knows this. We will continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris. We will never budge an inch from our principle stand on Kashmir. The Kashmir problem needs to be resolved by dialogue and peaceful means in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the United Nations resolutions. We have to find the solution to this dispute.*[92]

However, Kashmir would always be a key issue for Pakistan because of its roots in its ideology and society and its implications for Pakistan politics. Musharraf repeated the Pakistani mantra that the Kashmir problem must be resolved "in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the United Nations resolutions."[93]He continues to stress that "Kashmir and strategic assets are our national interests and we will not give them up […] There is no sell-out, I have said a hundred times, I am not a man to sell out."[94]

The Kashmiri people who thought that Musharraf had damaged the Kashmir cause hoped that the elected civilian government in Pakistan would reverse his Kashmir policy. However, the very first statement of Asif Ali Zardari, aroused suspicions in the minds of the people when he

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[92]"Text of President Musharraf's Address to the Nation," *Dawn*, 12 January 2002, http://www.dawn.com/2002/01/12/speech02112.htm.
[93]"Text of President Musharraf's Address to the Nation," 12 January 2002, *Dawn*, http://www.dawn.com/2002/01/12/speech020112.htm.
[94] Quoted in "Musharraf Says No Sell-out on Kashmir," *Dawn*, 20 January 2004, http://www.dawn.com/2004/01/20/ toph4.htm.

stressed that the normalization of relations between India and Pakistan should not become hostage to the Kashmir cause.[95] Resolving to "replace the infrastructure of conflict with the architecture of peace", it declared that peaceful bilateral relations were "imperative" for Pakistan's and indeed South Asia's prosperity.[96] In his interview with an Indian TV channel, he said that "Kashmir issue should be left aside for future generations to solve and right now India and Pakistan should focus on improving the bilateral relations by strengthening trade and economic ties."[97] This statement attracted a strong and unprecedented reaction from all circles in Pakistan and Kashmir. As a result of the immense pressure and criticism from religious political parties and Kashmiri groups, Asif Zardari had to go on the defensive. He later clarified his statement and explained the significance of Kashmir for Pakistan. He said that PPP would not betray the trust of 90,000 martyrs who had lost their lives in Kashmir.[98] However, with broad support from the political opposition, the PPP led government thus advanced the peace agenda, but its efforts to resume the composite dialogue came to an abrupt halt following the 26 November 2008 terror attacks in Mumbai.

While becoming Prime Minister for the 3rd time after May 2013 election, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif invited India to engage in a "comprehensive, sustained and result-oriented" dialogue with Pakistan to resolve the

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[95]*Hindu*, India, March 10, 2008, www.thehindu.com/mp/2008/03/10/chenindx.htm (accessed July 23, 2010).
[96]PPP Manifesto 2008, p. 20, http://www.ppp.org.pk/manifestos /2008.pdf.
[97]*Rising Kashmir*, Srinagar, March 3, 2008, www.risingkashmir.com/index.php (accessed July 23, 2010).
[98]Nirupama Subramanian, 'Kashmir an 'Integral Part' of Pakistan: Zardari," *Hindu*, March 9, 2008, http://www.thehindu.com/2008/03/09/stories/2008030955000900 (accessed July 23, 2010).

Kashmir issue. In his winning election campaign, Nawaz Sharif had declared, "If India takes one step for good relations, Pakistan will take two. We even want to put an end to visa requirements between the two countries...We want peace with India."[99]His emphasis that 'he is open to any proposal on the Kashmir dispute' is indicative of desire to find a solution earlier rather than later as per the aspirations of Kashmiri people. While addressing the joint session of Azad Kashmir Legislative Assembly and Kashmir Council held in connection with the Kashmir Solidarity Day[100], the Prime Minister said that "the future of Pakistan and Kashmir is linked with each other. Uncertainty and confrontation will continue in the region till peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue casting negative impacts on regional development and stability."

While Modi's rise in the recent election has been watched with trepidation by India's Muslims, the Kashmiris and Pakistan.[101] The Indian Muslims have not forgotten his role in the 2002 Gujrat massacre of Muslims, even if Indian courts failed to indict him of complicity on procedural grounds. The Kashmiris resent his desire to abrogate even the token special status they were accorded under Article 370 of the Indian constitution. Pakistanis recall Modi's words in 2002: "Hindu militancy will destroy Pakistan".[102] However, in his electoral campaign, Modi projected his economic credentials and moderated the extremist rhetoric — an obvious tactical adjustment to broaden his appeal beyond his core Hindu constituency. It

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[99] George Perkovich and Toby Dalton, "India and Pakistan: A thin line between War and Peace," June 3, 2014. Retrieved http://nationationalinterst.org/feature/india-pakistan-thin-line-between-war-peace-10584

[100] Kashmir Solidarity Day is celeberated every year on 5th May.

[101] MunirAkram, "Engaging Modi" *Dawn*, May 25, 2014.

[102] Ibid.

was also dictated by priorities of the Indian tycoons who funded the multimillion-dollar, high-tech electoral campaign that secured Modi's landslide.[103]

Premier Nawaz said that the neighbours should use their common heritage[104] to help overcome their differences. "No two nations have ever possessed so much of cultural and traditional similarities as India and Pakistan. Why not turn the similarities into our strengths?" He promised to pick up the threads of a failed peace process which went on during his second term in office — which coincided with the last BJP government in India.[105] In 1999, the then Indian prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee rode a bus to Lahore to sign an accord with Nawaz, but three months later the two countries nearly went to war over Kargil. Fortunately, Modi and Sharif, along with their electorates, understand that both countries would be much better off if they could expand mutual trade and other forms of peaceful interaction.[106] Both societies and governments recognize that the perpetrators of violence and perpetual conflict are a small minority that threatens the internal well-being of each country as well as security and prosperity between them.[107]The prime minister was quoted as saying, "I am regarded as a friend of businessmen and we are regarded as a business-friendly government. Modi, too, is perceived as a business-friendly person. He has a model of development."[108]

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[103] Ibid.
[104] "Turning a new page Nawaz to Modi: Let's turn similarities into strengths," *The Express Tribune*, May 27, 2014.
[105] Ibid.
[106]George, op. cit.
[107] Ibid.
[108] "Turning a new page Nawaz to Modi: op.cit

However, opposition parties in Pakistan are criticizing Nawaz for not mentioning of Kashmir in stark contrast to Modi. Even PM Nawaz did not meet with representatives of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference nor discussed Kashmir and instead focused on trade, his Indian counterpart insisted on talking about security. **Senior leader of PTI and Former foreign minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi said that**"This uni-dimensional focus of Sharif's India policy – which is in fact not a policy but a collection of short-term measures – on business interests betrays a lack of understanding on the overarching dynamics of the Pakistan-India relationship and the real conflicts that need resolution."[109] "It also begs the question of whether the PML-N government has put the composite dialogue on the back burner to further certain business interests with India."[110]Pursuing economic cooperation and trade wherever this is beneficial for Pakistan is a legitimate aim. But this will not in itself assure peace and stability. Kashmir remains a time bomb in Pakistan-India relations and requires an equitable solution. India's conventional and nuclear build-up, and its Cold Start doctrine of sudden attack against Pakistan, have created a hair-trigger strategic environment and must be addressed in any bilateral/multilateral dialogue. And Islamabad should have the courage to call for an end to India's interference in Balochistan[111] and support for the TTP[112], especially in response to India's loose talk of Pakistan's 'sponsorship' of terrorism.

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[109] "India trip: 'Nawaz turned win-win situation into disaster," *The Express Tribune*, May 29, 2014.
[110] Ibid
[111]MunirAkram, op.cit
[112] Ibid

Internationalization of the Kashmir Issue

The Kashmir issue internationalized, as it was referred to the United Nations by the government of India on January 1, 1948. While it was India that originally went to the UN to get Pakistani tribal forces to vacate Kashmiri territory, however, Pakistan saw itself as the potential beneficiary of international involvement. The UN Security Council established its Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) through its resolution of April 21, 1948, and called for a plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmiri people.[113] Since its inception, Pakistan focused on mobilizing international support for its demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir.[114] The Commission itself adopted a more elaborate and detailed resolution on August 13, 1948, outlining a plan for a ceasefire, a truce agreement, and the proposed plebiscite.

Pakistan adopted the following four pronged approach to facilitate the process of internationalization:

1. Pakistan allowed the local as well as the international press including the Indian media to cover the consequences of the crisis on this side of the LOC. All interested visitors and human right activists are allowed to visit AJK and talk to the unfortunate victims of the crisis.[115]

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[113]See Husain Haqqani, "Pakistan's End game in Kashmir," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, DC Published online: 04 Jun 2010.

[114]S. M. Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 226-30.

[115] See Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "Changing Dynamics of the Kashmir Dispute," *Margalla Papers 2006*, NDU, Islamabad.

2. The second aspect of this approach consisted of Pakistani govenunent's efforts to place the dispute before a number of international organizations including NAM, OIC, UNCHR etc.[116]
3. The third aspect was to send delegations consisting of parliamentarians and journalists to various countries with a view to educate those governments. The establishment of KashmirCommittee was another development, which did contribute enormously towards Pakistan's Kashmir Policy.[117]
4. In the aftermath of 1998 nuclear tests Pakistan has linked the Kashmir dispute to a nuclear flash point to attract the attention of the world to stress the need for the indulgence of the international community to resolve the problem.[118]

The strategy worked initially. To gain international sympathy and legitimacy for its Kashmir policy, Pakistan stresses the human aspects of the dispute as much as the territorial. Conscious also of the changed international environment after 11 September, Pakistan seeks to justify support for Kashmiri militants by distinguishing between the Kashmiri struggle for self-determination and terrorism. Under intense Pakistani lobbying, the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) voted for sanctions against India for human rights violations in Kashmir in May 1993. In Britain, the Labour Party raised the Kashmir issue in the Parliament and called on the British government to put pressure on India to honour the Kashmiris' right to self-determination under UN supervision. In the United States, the Clinton Administration also criticized India for human rights

[116] Ibid
[117] Ibid
[118] Ibid

violations in Kashmir leading to strains in India-US ties. However, as the conflict dragged on, Pakistan's diplomatic initiatives failed to bring about international pressure on India to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir for a number of reasons.

CONCLUSION

There is virtual consensus that peace and political stability cannot be achieved in nuclear South Asia until the Kashmir issue is resolved. Kashmir has been a flashpoint between India and Pakistan for more than 67 years. In 1947-8 India and Pakistan fought their first war over Jammu and Kashmir. Under United Nations' supervision, they agreed to a ceasefire along a line which left one-third of the state - comprising what Pakistan calls Azad Jammu and Kashmir, and the Northern Areas administered by Pakistan and two-thirds, Jammu, Ladakh and the Kashmir Valley, administered by India. In 1947 India and Pakistan agreed that the allegiance of the state of Jammu and Kashmir would be decided by a plebiscite. However the demand for a plebiscite to be held, as recommended by the Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten in 1947, and endorsed by the United Nations Security Council, is still considered by some as a way of letting Kashmiris exercise their right of self-determination. Historically, the Government of Pakistan has maintained that J&K has been a disputed territory. The state’s accession to India in October 1947 was provisional and executed under the coercive pressure of Indian military presence. The disputed status of J & K is acknowledged in the UN Security Council resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, to which both Pakistan and India agreed. These

resolutions remain fully in force today, and cannot be unilaterally disregarded by either party.

However, Pakistan cannot ignore global trends. It should consider changed geopolitical environment where military concepts are receding and theories of economic interdependence are gaining currency. Given the ineffectiveness of past approaches, Pakistan should be cautious in adopting step by step approach alongside the Kashmir issue. It should continue to support the Kashmiri people and should encourage the intra Kashmir dialogue. Pakistan needs to revisit its Kashmir policy and realign its domestic, foreign and defence policies accordingly to succeed in failing Indian designs on Kashmir and creating favourable domestic and international environment to make India willing to resolve the Kashmir dispute according to the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

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AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION INTO SEXUAL HARASSMENT: A CORRELATIONAL STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The prime aim of this study was to find out whether or not there is any relationship between the marital status of women with sexual harassment; and relationship between education level of women and sexual harassment. Quantitative research design was employed in which questionnaire was administered to 148 women of Balochistan. To analyse the data, One-Way ANOVA test was employed in SPSS. The findings revealed that married women reported higher intensity of sexual harassment than single women did. Moreover, women with higher education reported higher sexual harassment. This study can contribute positively towards bringing more sensitized environmental changes regarding sexual harassment. This study has implications on creating awareness among people about a not so talked/ (commonly / ignored) social issue of sexual harassment at work place.

Keywords: Sexual harassment, educational level, marital status

1. INTRODUCTION

Harassment is a kind of violence that is discouraged socially, ethically and is restricted by law. Harassment is an attempt to annoy, disturb, bother, irritate, or to make someone panic, nag, confused by verbal or nonverbal acts; however the perception of harassment is different among different people(Collins & Blodgett, 1981; Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990; Gervasio & Ruckdesehel, 1992; Kanekar & Dhir, 1993; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Powell, 1986; Stockdale, 1993; Tata, 1993). Harassment could be done from men to women or women to men or to the same sex. Some may consider an act as harassment but the other may not. Abstract

The most sensitizing issue of harassment is Sexual harassment. It is a form of unlawful discrimination based on sex. Sexual harassment is basically a type of harassment but both harassment and sexual harassment are restrained on different continuums. Harassment is any discarded conduct with the purpose of violating the self-respect of a person, and of creating a hostile, intimidating, offensive environment. Whereas "Sexual harassment is any verbal, non-verbal or physical unwanted conduct of sexual nature that includes sexual remarks, subtle pressure for sexual activity; unnecessary patting or pinching; constant brushing against another person's body; demanding sexual favors accompanied by implied or overt threats concerning an individual's employment status; and demanding sexual favors accompanied by implied or overt promise of preferential treatment with regard to an individual's employment status" (Fitzgerald, 1990a).

Sexual harassment is mostly faced by women and men are mostly considered as responsible as they are more likely to label a woman's 'friendly' behavior as 'sexy' (Anila, 1998). The women can face sexual harassment anywhere outside their home; particularly at workplace. Sexual harassment has been a part of working life of working women since they offered their services for sale in the market/ work environment (Goodman, 1981, Anila, 1998). It is mostly happened in the situation when male are in majority and are on dominant positions. Male do harass to demean a victim and show their power (Wolshok, 1981; Carothers & Crull, 1984; Berdahl, 2007). Consistent with this view is the fact that, women who confront the male authority / power and dominance are more likely to be targeted for gender harassment. Sexual harassment with working women is a common problem in both public and private sectors (Fitzgerald, 1992).

2. Importance of the research

In spite of the growing literature on sexual harassment globally, different social scientists have defined, analyzed and classified sexual harassment in their own views. Basically, two types of definition for sexual harassment have been developed till date. First is the priori that is known as theoretical definition (Fitzgerald, 1990a) which is based on informal observation (Anila, 1998). Priori is further divided in to two types. Type-I are general statements describing the nature of behaviors and (sometimes) status of relationship involved (Anila 1998). Type-II are to some extent opposite to Type-I they usually describe list of specific action "with no formal explication of the theoretical framework from which such

a list is derived, with a general exception that the behavior is usually described as unwanted by the recipient" (Anila, 1998, p. 09).

Second type of definition is empirical definition where victims are directly asked to describe their experiences regarding harassment (Anila, 1998). These details are then analyzed and classified in general elements. In 1980s, five general categories were established by Till. They are: generalized sexist remarks or behavior; inappropriate and offensive but essentially sanction free sexual advances; solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked behavior by promise of rewards; coercion of sexual activity by threats of punishment; and sexual assaults (Till, 1980, pp. 7-8).

2.1 Theories of Sexual Harssment

The researchers and social scientists have their immense attention on 'Sexual Harassment' since its origin. Sexual harassment is an interaction between 'actor' with 'target', also known as interaction of 'perpetrators' with 'victim'. Where harasser is called perpetrators or actor and the harassee is known as target or victim.

Theories regarding sexual harassment appear differently on façade as being a dynamic issue; some explain different levels whereas the others portray diverse layers of sexual harassment. However, not a single theory has covered all the features of sexual harassment. (e.g., Brewer & Berk, 1982; Cleveland & Kerst, 1993; Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982; Anila,1998).

Sexual harassment takes place when women's role is considered as sex object based on her gender; and her role as an employee is neglected.

Harriet Samuels (2003) stated in her paper "Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: a feminist analysis of recent developments in the UK" that "Harassment is most likely to occur when a woman is employed in a role normally held by a man as her gender is particularly noticeable and she is treated as a woman first and only secondly in terms of her work". Sexual harassment has been analyzed all over, as the mutual enforcement of two variation 'the sexual' and 'the economic' (MacKinnon, 1979, p.218).

In recent times, sexual harassment has emerged as a serious problem for individuals, organizations and societies (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, Drasgow, 1995). O'Leary-Kelly and Sperry (2000) state that within the organizational sciences, sexual harassment has been conceptualized in a variety of ways. This approach is further illustrated by Lengnick-Hall (1995) who views harassment through different frame works found in previous literature e.g., Gender Approaches-harassment as a consequence of interactions between different sexes; Role Approaches-harassment caused by different role expectations based on gender; and Power Approaches- harassment caused by organizational power imbalance in an organization. More current approaches view sexual harassment as a form of violence or aggression (see e.g., O' Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, & Griffin, 2000).

One problem about sexual harassment is its sense of perception i.e., male and female view harassment differently. Many studies have highlighted that females have a comparatively broader perspective about sexual harassment as compared to males. Unwanted sexually oriented behavior may be considered as sexual harassment by one person whereas the

similar behavior might be considered as flirtatious rather than perceiving it harassment by the same or to another person (see e.g., Browne, 2006; Kennair & Bendixen, 2011).

2.2 Women in Pakistan

Samiuddin and Khanam(2002) state that Afghans consider home or grave

as the best place for a women. The situation is not much different in Pakistan. As per her gender role in the Pakistani society, which is changing with the snail's pace now, women is considered to stay at home. Her role expectations include cooking food, making bread, washing cloths and dishes, pressing cloths, sweeping, and taking care of babies. But revolutionary change that took place in Pakistani society is that a small number of women go outside their homes. They have broken the traditional men made rule and have come out from their traditional roles. They also recognize their existence and importance in the development of their society.

In Pakistan women's increased role has been also confirmed in other studies. Prof. Dr. Qamar Jehan, stated in her PhD thesis that "the central role played by women in the development processes now being increasingly recognized. . . There is a history of institutionalized female subordination in the sub-continent. Women were expected to function within the framework of three obedience's- 'Before marriage, obey your father, after marriage obey your husband, and after your husband dies obey your son" (p. 32-34,50-52,62-69). She also states that "it is equally important to recognize the fact that women in Pakistan occupy an

underprivileged position in society. The majority of Pakistani women lives in rural areas and is illiterate. Usually, they are married off early, bear innumerable children, suffer from anemia, and have little or no control over their lives. Along with their urban counterparts they are viewed not as producers but as dependent consumers."…. "A family's honor is viewed as closely linked to women's chastity. Thus, the slightest misbehavior on the part of a woman is seen as bringing dishonor to the family. Decency and decent behavior thus become identified with women remaining inside their homes. Any woman who moves out is seen as contravening social norms and thus considered available and unprotected.

Several suggestions have been made for eradicating inequality between males and females in Pakistan in the past. Syed N. H. Naqvi suggests that "men and women should work together for the uplift of women as a social, educated and independent being. In Pakistan women are still chained and we should strive together for socio-economic uplift" (Naqvi, p.29).

3. Research Objectives

- To find the relationship between the marital status of the victim and the intensity of the harassment.

- To find the relationship between the education of the victim and the intensity of the harassment.

4. Research Design

This research study employed quantitative method in which close-ended questionnaire was administered to 150 women working in different sectors i.e. Government Secretariat, Non-Government Organizations, and Universities. The participants were from different districts of Balochistan. The participants were especially from the institution where both male and female work together. The reason for selecting such institution was to find-out either working women face sexual harassment or not.

4.1 Data Collection Procedure

Initially the questionnaires were distributed to a total of 280 working women. Where, only 148 questionnaires received as initial sample. Later on, after a screening process all those questionnaires were eliminated from the list that skipped Part I (which contains 16 questions regarding sexual harassment experiences) and the total eliminated questionnaires were 3 in numbers. Because part I is perceived to be an important section of this study. Additionally, as the culture of Balochistan/ Quetta is traditional and generally male cannot directly approach to women and get their responses in such a controversial issue related to their experiences of sexual harassment. Therefore all the questionnaire were provided to the participants in a envelop and it was mentioned in the cover letter of the questionnaire that send back the questionnaire in the sealed envelope so that it will be kept confidential. The reason behind this was to get real response and experiences of the participants. Moreover, Questionnaires were distributed mostly by the females.

4.2 Data Analysis

In order to achieve the objectives of the study cited above, One-Way AONVA was performed in the SPSS (Version, 21).

5. Findings and Discussion

To achieve the first objective of the study cited above, One-Way ANOVA was performed in the SPSS (Version, 21). The results are illustrated in the following Table 1.1:

Table: 1.1

One-Way ANOVA Result for Relationship between the Marital Status of the Victim and the Intensity of the Harassment

Marital Status	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		F	Sig
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Single	82	1.7226	.70629	.07800	1.5674	1.8778	3.057	.030
Married	58	2.0636	.77512	.10178	1.8598	2.2674		
Widowed	4	1.8750	1.50260	.75130	-.5160	4.2660		
Divorced	4	2.4531	.77455	.38728	1.2206	3.6856		
Total	148	1.8801	.77603	.06379	1.7540	2.0061		

In this section all the participants were distributed according to their marital status, i.e. Single, Married, Widowed, Divorced, to find the relationship with sexual harassment. At first one-way ANOVA test were applied, the all four options were having difference Single (M=1.7, S.D=.70), Married (M=2.0, S.D=.77), Widowed (M=1.8, S.D=1.5), Divorced (M=2.4, S.D=.77). Married and divorced women faced higher sexual harassment. As result shown there is significant relationship between marital status of women and sexual harassment as (F=3.0, p <.05).

To achieve the second objective of the study as cited above, One-Way ANOVA, the following Table 1.2 illustrates the results:

Table: 1.2

One-Way ANOVA Results for the Relationship between the Education of the Victim and the Intensity of the Harassment

Education Level	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error**	**95% Confidence Interval for Mean**		**F**	**Sig**
					Lower Bound	**Upper Bound**		
Middle School	1	1.7500	.	.	.	.	3.362	.001
Matriculation	3	3.1458	.09547	.05512	2.9087	3.3830		
Junior College	5	1.4250	.4131	.18477	.9120	1.9380		

(FA/ FSc)			6					
Bachelor (BA/ BSc - 2 years)	23	2.0707	.84155	.17548	1.7067	2.4346		
Bachelor (BA/BSc/ BBA/ Engineering/ Medicine etc - 4 years program)	10	1.8750	.78118	.24703	1.3162	2.4338		
Masters (MA/ MSc)	74	1.6554	.62124	.07222	1.5115	1.7993		
M.Phil/ MS	13	2.4615	.88076	.24428	1.9293	2.9938		
Ph.D	7	2.2054	.58487	.22106	1.6644	2.7463		
Total	137	1.8709	.75196	.06424	1.7438	1.9979		

One-way test was applied and there was significant relationship seen between education of the victim and sexual harassment as ($F=3.36$, $p<.05$). For instance women with education of Matriculation (M= 3.14, SD=.095), M.Phil (M=2.46, SD.88), and Ph.D (M=2.20, SD=-58) faced more sexual harassment than women having education FA/ FSc (M=1.42,

SD=.41), Masters (M=1.65, SD=62). But the problem exists here is that Matriculation is only N=3. However M.Phil and Ph.D degree holders were faced higher sexual harassment and they were greater in numbers. That simply shows that higher degree holders face more sexual harassment Please see Appendix B table 4.1 & 4.2. Further, while analyzing it with SSH and HSH; the results shown that there is significant relationship between education of the victim with HSH ($F=3.46$, $p<.05$). In the SSH; women in all education categories were sexually harassed with little variance. Whereas in HSH; women with education of Matriculation, M.Phil and Ph.D were higher than others.

5.1 Discussions

The first objective aimed at finding the relationship between marital status & sexual harassment. The result shows positive relationship between marital status of the women and sexual harassment which is totally opposite to the previous studies of Gunduz, Sunay, & Koz (2012) and Studd (1996) as they found no relationship between marital status of the women and sexual harassment. In this study Married and divorced women faced more harassment than single and widowed. Due to the extreme values only two options single and married were again analyzed the results again showed positive relationship. Sofola (1990) affirmed that sexual harassment affects both singles and married women which cannot be denied however in this research the ratio of sexual harassment experiences of married women were more than that of single women.

The second objective aimed at finding the relationship between education of the women and intensity of sexual harassment. The result

shows positive relationship between education and sexual harassment in all cases OSH, SSH, HSH. For instance women with higher education i.e. M.Phil and Ph.D degree faced higher sexual harassment than others. It could be due to their sense of recognizing the sexual harassment problems, as discussed in first chapter; the perception of harassment is different among different people (Collins & Blodgett, 1981; Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990; Gervasio & Ruckdesehel, 1992; Kanekar & Dhir, 1993; Stockdale, 1993; Tata, 1993). In the soft sexual harassment; women in all education categories were sexually harassed with little variance, whereas in hard sexual harassment women with education of Matriculation, M.Phil and Ph.D were higher than others.

6. Conclusion and Implications of the Study

The overall results indicated that married women reported higher intensity of sexual harassment than single women did. Moreover, women with higher education reported higher sexual harassment. This study can contribute positively towards bringing more sensitized environmental changes regarding sexual harassment. It may help in creating awareness among people about a not so talked/(commonly / ignored) social issue of sexual harassment at work place. It would help in highlighting the problems faced by women in the workplace and how it creates hurdle in their progress. This study can be a helpful source for social welfare institutions in general and the ministry of women development in particular for creating awareness among the society and ensuring implementation of the harassment act 2010. The information shared through this study can serve as a guideline for different public and private

sector organizations, in the formulation and implementation of their policies regarding harassment at workplace. This in return can decrease job stress, turnover and dissatisfaction among the female workforce.

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