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The Dissimilitude Paradox in Literary Studies: Islamophobia in Satrapi's *Persepolis*, Heterogeneity in Neshat's *Women Without Men*, and Finding a Way Forward in the New White Supremacist Era in the US

Abstract

This essay uses Shirin Neshat's film, Women Without Men [originally entitled Zanan-e bedun-e mardan], which is based on Shahrnush Parsipur's novel and Marjane Satrapi's adaptation of her Persepolis books to film, as case studies to explain why feminist and multicultural curricular reforms in US universities during the 1990s, which emphasize valuing diversity for its own sake, failed to prevent the rise of Islamophobia, sexism, racism, and other forms of hatred in the post 9/11 era. As a result of this failure, activists and scholars need to reconsider how to foster civil/human rights as well as basic respect for diverse beliefs and peoples. Socio-cultural psychology offers two alternatives to "diversity multiculturalism," which are the arguments of similitude and self-interest. While neither are perfect or even perhaps palatable solutions to conspicuous white supremacy in US government offices and policies since the presidential election of 2016, they should be included in discussions about remedies that can reverse trending bigotry.

Key Words: Diversity, Multiculturalism, human rights, social cultural psychology representations of Islam, Iranians, and contemporary Iranian constructs of gender.

INTRODUCTION

Women Without Men [originally entitled *Zanan-e bedun-e mardan*], Shirin Neshat's filmic version of Shahrnush Parsipur's novel by the same name, and Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* franchise, which includes a two-volume graphic novel series and an animated film,¹ both treat watershed moments in the history of twentieth-century Iran. Nevertheless, these literary and filmic artefacts differ significantly in their

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¹ *Persepolis: The Story of a Childhood* and *Persepolis: The Story of a Return* were published in four volumes in France before being translated and sold in the US as two.

representations of Islam, Iranians, and contemporary Iranian constructs of gender. Comparing them demonstrates that local conditions shape feminist movements around the world and, as a result, women's concepts of rights and equality are diverse. It also shows that the local is heterogeneous and that there is no single "truth" about women's oppression locally or globally. More to the point of this essay, contrasting these depictions of women, gender, and Islam reveals that conventional liberal-progressive approaches to fostering appreciation for diversity—celebrating and otherwise emphasizing the Other's difference as a rich contribution to US society and culture—are less effective than two alternatives, which are the arguments of similitude and self-interest.

Thus, regardless of how repugnant these arguments are to most who identify as liberal or progressive, it is important to give serious consideration to these admittedly cynical methods of achieving just social change. The surge in Islamophobia and anti-immigrant bigotry or at least greater public expression thereof, intensified during the 2016 US presidential campaign and the subsequent election of Donald Trump.² As president, Trump has instituted policies that deliberately dismantle civil and human rights in the US.³ One example is the shocking US Supreme Court decision, handed down during final edits to this essay, to uphold the Trump travel ban on several Muslim-majority countries simply because the executive branch invoked a hazy, ill-defined threat to homeland security. Another is Trump's policy of deliberately separating children from adult family members who have entered the US without visas and indefinitely detaining these minors while their families apply for legal entry and residency status (usually political asylum). These injustices and attacks on democracy underscore the need to revamp how activists and scholars make the case for civil/human rights and basic respect for diverse beliefs and peoples.⁴

Twentieth-Century Curricular Reform

² One response to the "new" white supremacy, as this essay names it, has been that "we [Americans] are better than this," which implies that white supremacy is antithetical to US cultures. While Islamophobia is a relatively recent form of bigotry in the US, anti-immigrant hatred and racism have a long history in the country, as evidenced by hundreds of years of legal enslavement of Africans and African-Americans.

³ For an excellent overview of Donald Trump's attacks on civil rights, see the Southern Poverty Law Center's "America the Trumped: 10 Ways the Administration Attacked Civil Rights in One Year," at <https://www.splcenter.org/20180119/america-trumped-10-ways-administration-attacked-civil-rights-year-one> (2018).

⁴ Clearly, the Trump era is not the first time in which US policy has been shaped by hatred; however, the ferocious, methodical of nature of his regime's assaults on civil and human rights—the conspicuous determination to reverse progress made in these areas since the mid-twentieth century—is not typical.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the English literature curriculum in the US, from pre-school through graduate and post-graduate, expanded the general definition of literature to include the idea that it is a useful tool for promoting social justice. One of the basic assumptions of this approach to literary studies is that expanding the canon and adopting the feminist practice of “reading against the grain” (from the perspective of the Other), can disrupt humanism’s traditional dominance of theory and pedagogy which, rooted in Christian, Western European cultures, has strongly influenced if not wholly determined mainstream political and aesthetic ideologies in the US despite the country’s broadly diverse population. The new, liberatory canon thus challenges the humanistic concept of subjectivity—our consciousness of our personhood—as unitary, constant, and “unconstrained by socio-historic forces” (Strickland, 1990). The goal of this liberatory theory and pedagogy is to socialize students not into patriarchies and racialized, classed hierarchal categorizations of texts as “great” or inferior but into a stance of opposition against unjust structures and a desire to remedy them.

Theoretically, this socialization is supposed to happen through reading the “history of a people by the internal logic of their own culture” and accessing the Other’s cultural logic. Such reading enables those who do not share a common social location (individuals’ and groups’ social status as determined by the dominant population’s definitions of alterity or difference, especially race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, and religious affiliation) to recognize and value the achievements and beliefs of the Other (Gates, 1989). But there’s a hitch. The US university, despite offering greater access to higher education to veterans of WWII and, later, women and people of color due to the feminist and civil rights movements of the 1960s, is not the great social equalizer it is portrayed to be in the “American Dream,” which itself is a myth that is rarely realized by historically oppressed groups. Instead, education institutions, coopting late twentieth-century multiculturalist reforms, appropriate the Other politically and pedagogically, in order to subvert them and maintain the dominancy of white, middle-class cultural values, including, of course, the racism which this population maintains in its institutions and social structures.

Simply put, the university is an elite institution with a gate-keeping function that keeps more people out than it inducts into leadership, influence, and wealth. For example, in 2015 46.9% of white non-Hispanics aged 25 and over held a four-year university degree, but only 22.5% of Blacks and 15.5% of Hispanics (regardless of race) the same age had earned a bachelor’s degree (Ryan & Bauman, 2016). Furthermore, just one-third of the population are university graduates. These data clearly show racial and ethnic disparity and a pattern of white privilege. But the full story may be worse than the data suggest. As Moser argues, data on diversity in education cover up a grim picture of inequity (2015). For instance, the culture of

higher education, which trickles down to elementary and secondary classrooms through teacher training programs, is normed around white, middle-class, patriarchal values regardless of the number of university graduates of color or their density in tertiary education institutions. One example is the impetus to erase linguistic difference by penalizing students who employ dialect or who overtly integrate experiential knowledge into their research. This same push toward universalization informs bilingual education in elementary and secondary schools, which is designed to eradicate the home language in order to produce a nation of English-only rather than truly bilingual speakers.

Another simple illustration of the university's perpetuation of the dominant society's practices and values is found in how the topic of civil rights is frequently approached in traditional disciplines, which do not include content and methods associated with Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies or Critical Race Studies unless individual instructors employ them in the classroom. Whether structural inequities exist depends on the academic field and, for the most part, the message to disenfranchised, oppressed populations is that great progress has been made and they should wait patiently while residual bigotry gradually declines. For instance, discussions of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. or Malala Yousafzai suppress these figures' radical messages about the impossibilities of economic justice under capitalism. Rather, the focus is on maintaining social order and the importance of girls' and women's education, which, until the 2016 presidential campaign, were cultural clichés given at least lip service in US public discourse.

In fact, a favorite lesson that secondary education majors develop on civil rights features Senator Robert Kennedy informing African-Americans in Indianapolis, Indiana, at a pre-scheduled campaign speech, that King had been assassinated. Kennedy's message is inspiring, but it is dominated by placating language and the main appeal is that the audience needs to leave the venue calmly. The lesson triumphantly concludes that Indianapolis was the only major city where riots did not occur that night. The explicit message is that justice cannot be achieved by violence; however, in the socio-political context of Trump-era US, the obvious subtext is that racism should be met with passivity and stoicism rather than active resistance (Note that this analysis of Kennedy's speech is in no way an endorsement of or advocacy for violence). In other words, this commonplace lesson inculcates students of color into an ethic of compliance with the hegemony—the cultural “middle” ground—and, rather than igniting a passion for social justice, it socializes white students into the white savior complex (the imperialistic dynamic that occurs when a self-serving, “heroic” white person rescues people of color, denying them agency and thus reifying their oppression). It demonstrates as Christina Gramatikov contends, “Without a basis in the histories and lived experiences of students of color, the present system

reproduces itself and remains a perpetual simulation of equality” rather than serving as a catalyst for change, bringing about actual equality (2017). This is to say that educational institutions continue to promote intellectual and cultural homogeneity in order to maintain the hegemony, despite well intentioned curricular reforms of the 1980s and 1990s (Atkinson, 2008).

Can Socio-Cultural Psychology Provide Solutions?

Socio-cultural psychology, also referred to as social psychology, may provide some practical, effective solutions to the cooptation of multiculturalism. This field asserts that psychological processes are primarily social in order to consider how liberatory theories and pedagogies inadvertently reinforce the very phenomena that they wish to undo. One proposal is that emphasizing similitude works better than focusing on diversity. The second is to employ the norm of self-interest to decrease Islamophobia, anti-immigrant bias, and other forms of hatred. Notably, the target population for these modes of persuasion does not compromise of extremists. Rather, the aim is to move a mass of average whites to become more progressive and to catalyze anti-racist, anti-oppression activism among moderate whites who agree that hatred is, simply put, wrong, but who have not been motivated to take action against structural or institutionalized action in the past—or, for that matter, to actively resist today’s “new” white supremacy. In these ways, educational institutions continue to promote intellectual and cultural homogeneity in order to maintain the hegemony despite well intentioned curricular reforms of the 1980s and 1990s (Atkinson, 2008).

Irini Kadianaki and Alex Gillespie observe in “Alterity and the Transformation of Social Representations: A Sociocultural Account,” that it is “unclear exactly how encountering alterity—difference—can be transformative, leading to changing social representations” and that contact with alterity does not necessarily lead to social transformation despite the claims and desires of liberatory scholar-teachers and activists outside the academy. To clarify, social psychology asserts that social representations are “collective representations” or sets of beliefs and ideas - religion, in fact - that communities generate for multiple purposes, such as governing behavior, explaining relationships between people and their world, and providing a means of communicating about the world (Moscovici, 2008). Moscovici explains social representation as a "system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history" (1973). According to this definition, religion is an example of a social representation. Social

representations are also “part of individual psychological functioning,” writes Gillespie in “Social Representations, Alternative Representations and Semantic Barriers” (2008). In this article, he refers to religion to explain the relationship that social representation implies between collective beliefs and the individual. According to this view, throughout life a person, strongly socialized into a religion, is likely to interpret and explain the world in terms of that religion. The exception, of course, occurs when learners encounter alterity and question the veracity of the religion because “knowledge is not uniform and consensual but formed in varying degrees of dialogue with alternatives” (Kadianaki & Gillespie, 2015). Social psychology further asserts that not all experiences of alterity catalyze learning and lead to change. Kadianaki and Gillespie observe, “While there is increasing heterogeneity, diversity and contact with alterity in modern societies,” social transformation does not necessarily flow from these interactions (2015). The authors go on to propose that social transformation hinges on self-reflection on the part of individuals who encounter or experience alterity. Self-reflection in this sense is a dialogical process “through which individuals turn upon their own representations by distancing themselves from them and making them objects of their thought and talk” (Kadianaki & Gillespie, 2015).

In other words, self-reflection occurs when learners interrogate and analyze their beliefs from the perspective that these principles are ideas rather than truths and, as such, co-exist with many other possible explanations of events and experiences. But self-reflection can be blocked under certain conditions. If, for instance, an encounter with the Other provokes fear, learners may not be able to distance or disassociate themselves sufficiently from pre-existing social representations that dominate their community, which prevents them from engaging in self-reflection. Or, learners may be immersed in “polemical representations” that militate against engaging in the dialogic necessity for expanding their knowledge (Kadianaki & Gillespie, 2015). Fear, in this case, is a semantic barrier. In contrast, the experience of pleasure is a semantic facilitator that fosters self-reflection and, as such, fosters change. Research shows that identifying similitude between the Self and Other is a powerful semantic facilitator. It establishes connections among concepts that otherwise appear to be different or contradictory. Logically, then, emphasizing difference—dissimilitude—may be a semantic barrier despite education reformers’ strong allegiance to the principle that knowledge of diversity ultimately promotes social justice.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs an interdisciplinary, intersectional approach to examine multicultural education reform in the 1990s. Specifically, it is informed by critical race theory, feminism, and socio-cultural psychology. The interrogation of *Women*

Without Men and Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* to develop case studies on the effectiveness of these reforms rely on New Critical close reading, feminist, New Historicist, and post-colonial practices of "text" analysis.

Case Study: Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*

Satrapi's *Persepolis* narratives are an interesting case study in considering the argument of similitude's potential for promoting self-reflective dialogic and expanded knowledge, that ameliorate hatred. Conversely, they also demonstrate that identifying resemblances among different groups and their organizing social representations may involve constructing a dissimilitude that makes resemblances recognizable and knowable, often by means of a false binary. For example, recent white immigrants to the US who are non-native English speakers sometimes engage in highly racist discourse about people of color in order to establish their "Americanness," i.e. similitude with the dominant population. In this case, the

Argument from Similitude

- If S resembles P in X particulars, it is probable that S resembles P in one or more further particulars.
- S does resemble P in X particulars.
- Therefore it is probable that S resembles P in one or more further particulars.

resemblance between white Americans born in the US and a specific type of American immigrant hinges on both groups' difference from Americans of color, which, in the end, is a false binary. Significantly, *Persepolis* employs this type of dissimilitude to foreground an argument of similitude between Iranians and Westerners and counter anti-Iranian bias in the early post-9/11 era. The premise is that the protagonist, Marji Satrapi, a charismatic, precocious adolescent narrator who comes of age in Tehran during the Khomeini revolution in 1979, is so much like her peers in the West that audiences will learn that they share the quality of humanness with Iranians and that Iranians are not really the maniacal evil doers that George W. Bush claimed when he put Iran on his infamous "Axis of Evil." Thus, using the argument of similitude, Marji's story answers the deluge of anti-Iranian propaganda—some of it, like Azar Nafisi's *Reading Lolita in Tehran: A Memoir in Books*, produced by Iranian-Americans who fled Iran in the 1970s and 1980s (or their children)—that circulated at the height of Bush's so-called War on Terror when his administration twice considered taking military action against Iran (soon after 9/11 and again from 2005 through 2007). Educators and activists who were working to foster respect for populations were perceived as "suspect" in the post-9/11 hate-fest—especially Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, Sikhs, and immigrants (and people

who “looked like” these populations)—quickly introduced the graphic novel to secondary schools and universities while other enthusiastic fans flocked to Satrapi’s book signings, lectures, and the film. Scholarly essays lauded the *Persepolis* story’s ability to “provide a productive avenue for beginning the process of critical thinking necessary for Western students to reconsider their [false, negative] beliefs about Iran, gender, and war” (Botshon & Plastas, 2009). It is still considered a narrative that counters Islamophobia and anti-Iranian sentiment.

However, the similitude between Westerners and Iranians proposed in *Persepolis* rests on its argument of dissimilitude between Iranians and Muslims. On one hand, Marji’s character effectively counters depictions of Iranians and Iran as “evil” through her performance of antics that evoke empathy among audiences who see themselves in the jeans-wearing, heavy metal-loving, back-talking youngster with spunk. Marji is like them, an ordinary girl who just happens to be “different” as a result of the extraordinary circumstances wholly beyond her control. Additionally, the black and white graphics in the books and film render Marji white rather than a person of color or a figure who “looks like” an Iranian or brown-skinned immigrant.

In addition to calling attention to commonalities between U.S audiences and Marji, the story vociferously blames Islam for Iran’s misdeeds at home and abroad. Throughout, *Persepolis* portrays Islam as homogeneous while suggesting that the theocracy that Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini imposed on Iran is representative of all Islam. In reality, Khomeini and Khomeinism were political and theological outliers even among conservative Shi’a scholars and clergy in the 1970s. Thus, just as negative stereotypes of Islam in the US depict Islam as a uniquely oppressive form of patriarchy, *Persepolis* 1) essentializes the nature of Islam and Muslims, 2) focuses excessively on veiling, 3) depicts Islam as a monolithic belief system mired in religiosity, 4) characterizes Muslim men as misogynistic bullies and terrorists, 5) represents individual experiences as totalizing explanations of Muslim culture, and 6) portrays middle-class status as universal while erasing experiences of the working-classes and the poor (Keshavarz, 2007; Morrow, 2018). In effect, *Persepolis* improves Iran’s image by blaming Islam for the country’s suspected support of terrorism, human rights violation, oppression of women, and totalitarianism. Thus, it prompts U.S. audiences to reconsider stereotypes about Iran and Iranians, but at the expense of fostering Islamophobia by using an exaggerated argument of dissimilitude that is factually incorrect, inflected by hostility, and bigoted. Of course, dissimilitude operates far differently in *Persepolis* than US multiculturalists’ conventional argument that diversity is good in and of itself and that simply knowing the Other will naturally erode fear and hatred of difference while leading to greater social justice. Regardless of this the *Persepolis* franchise demonstrates how hatred can be

reinforced—inadvertently or deliberately—once the argument of dissimilitude is activated.

Case Study: Shirin Neshat's *Women without Men*

Neshat's film, *Women without Men*, provides a clearer picture of the risks inherent in teaching about difference in order to combat hatred. While *Persepolis* is set at the beginning of the Khomeini era and the end of the US presence in Iran, *Women Without Men* explores women's lives during the beginning of the US franchise in 1953 when the CIA and British intelligence orchestrated the coup that ousted the democratically elected Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh after he nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (now British Petroleum or BP). Mosaddegh took this step in order to end approximately 50 years of petroleum "giveaways" to BP in which Iran received less than 20% of the profits while England earned about 100 million dollars annually. Although Mossadegh was committed to maintaining a democratic, secular parliamentary monarchy, the US and Britain installed Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, a totalitarian dictator who went on to accrue a great deal of blood on his hands, but obeyed orders from the US and UK. Of course, the 28 *Mordad Coup D'état*, otherwise referred to as Operation Ajax by the US and Operation Boot by the British, is one of many events that set the stage for the Khomeinist revolution more than twenty years later.

Based on Parsipur's classic but banned novel—Parsipur has been imprisoned by both the Pahlavi and Khomeini regimes and she and Neshat are banned from Iran—*Women Without Men*, unlike *Persepolis*, offers viewers a cross-section of Iranian society in the 1950s by featuring the stories of four women whose personal crises intersect with the national emergency. Zarin (Orsi Tóth) is an emaciated young sex worker who is so traumatized by her exploitation by male clients and a female brothel manager that early in the film she is haunted by images of faceless men. Munis (Shabnam Tolouei) is a young woman from a lower middle-class family who becomes politically active in response to the coup but is strictly governed by her apolitical brother, Amir Khan (Essa Zahir), a religiose, who restricts her movements and is bent on marrying her off to almost any man so that he, too, can marry. Faezeh (Pegah Ferydoni) who is Munis' closest friend is infatuated with Amir Khan and dreams of marrying him, but he is oblivious to her. Fakhri (Arita Shahrzad) is secular, wealthy, middle aged and unhappy in her marriage to a prominent general loyal to Pahlavi, and her dissatisfaction peaks when a suitor from her young adulthood, Abbas (Bijan Deneshman) who has just returned to Iran from the US, appears and wants to renew their relationship.

Each woman reaches her breaking point and travels to a paradisiacal orchard in the desert outside of Tehran. Zarin is the first to leave the city on foot when her hallucinations start. For Fakhri, it is her husband's idle threat to marry a second time (strongly frowned upon by Pahlavi's government due to his "modernization" campaign) that prompts her to purchase the garden and house. Munis kills herself rather than be forced to marry and, in a feat of the magical realism that threads through the film, miraculously rises from the dead. Faezeh is first crushed by Amir Khan's marriage to another woman. Later she is gang raped after Munis joins nationalist protests that break out during the coup's early days and abandons her in a "tea bar," normally a sexually segregated space that in the film is patronized primarily by predatory men. Of the four, only Munis does not remain in the orchard but after an initial visit, she returns to Tehran, joins the male-dominated socialist party, falls in love with one of its youthful leaders, Ali (Navíd Akhavan), and plays a prominent role in carrying out the party's anti-imperialist actions during the coup. Significantly, the garden in *Women Without Men* is not actually without men—the groundskeeper-gardener (Ahmad Hamed) is a kind man who nurtures the critically ill Zarin. Nor does the refuge offer perpetual sanctuary. It is definitely not a feminist utopia, which is a departure from the *topos* of the garden in feminist European and South Asian literature.

As Zarin seems to be healing and Faezeh and Fakhri begin to feel safe, Fakhri becomes bored and decides to host a party for friends who are among Tehran's intelligentsia and *literati*. This triggers an influx of outsiders to the garden. In a shocking surprise to Fakhri, Abbas arrives with an American wife, revealing himself as superficial and unctuous. The other guests' exchanges, which had sounded profound and weighty in Tehran, are trivial and irrelevant if not ridiculous when uttered in the garden house, more so after the arrival of a contingent of Pahlavi's troops; boorish, ill-mannered bullies who are all too conscious that they have the power of life and death over the *literati*. Zarin, who relapsed just as guests arrived, dies during the party and Amir Khan shows up and proposes that Faezeh become his second wife, an offer that she vociferously rejects, realizing, for the first time, the extent of his patriarchalism. Meanwhile, in Tehran, Ali inadvertently kills a young soldier at the height of the coup's confusion. The symbolism is clear. Iran, like the garden, has been invaded and exploited by outsiders. Just as the four women's pursuit of agency—their capacity to act independently of patriarchal imperialism—ends in disaster; the movement to restore Iranian self-determination and the country's sovereignty quickly collapses. Moreover, both failures are abetted from within. Fakhri opens the garden to disruptive outsiders. Likewise, the Pahlavi government enables the US and Britain to control and exploit Iran.

This overview of the plot underscores the profound complexity of *Women without Men*. Not only does the film employ elements of magical realism to examine the four women's lives and psychology but its scope and depth are rarely captured in film media. The exquisite visuals heighten the film's intensity, as do Munis' and Zarin's embodiment of the film's theme. From the first scene, which shows Munis plummeting from the roof of her house in slow motion, the filmography confounds and seduces and when Zarin scrubs her skeletal body raw in a women's bath, viewers cannot resist watching despite the horrific nature of the scenes. The same is true of Faezeh's rape. *Women without Men*, thus, offers a multiplexed, heterogeneous representation of Iran and Iranians, intersecting the personal and political without heroizing characters or groups, or, alternately, offering an overly simplistic representation of the story's villains. For instance, major characters such as Ali, Munis, and Fakhri are multi-dimensional—alternately flawed, victimized, generous, idealistic, petty, negligent, fearful, and courageous. Even Amir Khan earns some sympathy when he proposes to Faezeh due to his despair about his deeply unhappy marriage.

The portrayed figures are abundantly human just as the film's treatment of gender and politics is nuanced. It proffers not one but a panoply of analyses of how both operated in Iran in the 1950s. For example, blame for Mossadegh's overthrow is placed on various agents, most obviously the US, Britain, and Pahlavi, but also Iranians who were paid to demonstrate against Mossadegh. Additionally, the film subtly faults idealistic nationalists and socialists—it's most heroic figures—for failing to anticipate that their resistance to imperialism might lead them to employ colonizing tactics, particularly violence, as shown when Ali, fearful and desperate to escape, kills a common soldier. The film deploys an equally sensitive, complex depiction of gender. First, it argues that imperialism is a macro-level manifestation of patriarchalism, most obviously by establishing the parallel between men's abuse of women and Iran's exploitation by the US, Britain, and its own government. Thus, Faezeh's rape, Zarin's abuse at the hands of clients, and Munis and Fakhri's regulation by male relatives mirror Iran's position in contemporary global politics and *vice versa*. But *Women without Men* avoids negatively stereotyping men by refusing to absolve women of their complicity in the prevalent patriarchalism. A woman operates the brothel where Zarin works; Munis puts Faezeh at risk for rape by delivering her into the hands of sexual predators and the generous but fatally self-interested Fakhri invites troublesome interlopers to the garden refuge simply because she is bored and wishes to pursue a romantic liaison with Abbas.

Consequently, the audience realizes that women perpetuate patriarchalism and that even the patriarchy's female victims can and do contribute to women's oppression. Notably, too, the film avoids *Persepolis*' facile explanation of a pre-existing cultural

schema that Muslims are the villains and Islam is the root of all evil. In fact, in *Women without Men* Islam is represented as being as diverse as the film's characters, which include secularists, revolutionaries, agnostics, sinners, and the confused religious. By this means and through its multi-valenced representations of Iranians, *Women without Men* is a magnificent depiction of the heterogeneity of Iranianess [*Irānīyat*]. Furthermore, *Women without Men*'s narrative and aesthetic are self-consciously rooted in Iranian traditions, for Neshat "was trying, with her husband and collaborator, Shoja Azari, to 'pioneer our own way of storytelling. It was about not following patterns or models within cinema, but following the conceptual art and poetic traditions of Iran" (Khaleeli, 2010). As a result, *Women without Men* is difficult and unfamiliar for Western viewers, less accessible and harder to understand than the flatter, simpler *Persepolis* that, like its black and white graphics, creates a false binary between Islam and Iranianess based on glaring misrepresentations of Islam.

The examples quoted are sufficient evidence that *Women Without Men* is a brilliantly executed study in dissimilitude of the sort that multiculturalism privileges due to the conviction that teaching about diversity will ameliorate bigotry. As such, the film also exposes the problematics of the multiculturalist position, for it garnered only small audiences, limited circulation, and more than the usual number of negative reviews from film critics given that it is an independent rather than a commercial film. *The Washington Post* dismissed it as "relentlessly dark" (Saslow, 2010). *The Financial Times* "complained that the film is a series of tableaux to which no one brought the *vivants*" (Andrews, 2010). Viewers lacking knowledge of Iranian aesthetics, narrative conventions, and literary elements registered similar reactions in informal commentaries:

What I didn't like about this movie is that it always stays on the political surface. We notice that there is a revolution going on, but we don't get to see any historic context -- by way of saying "sit up and listen, USA, this is how you fucked [*sic*] up Iran in a big way". Communists as well as loyal supporters of the [Pahlavi] Shah somehow seem to be equally opposing "the system". I also didn't like how women are portrayed as helpless victims of one-dimensionally evil men. (oOgiandujaOo_and_Eddy_Merckx, 2009).

Clearly, this viewer misses the mark completely, wrongly (and arrogantly) mistaking her/his lack of knowledge as poor filmmaking. Another writer actually considers the film's complexity a flaw:

It's not particularly successful, I don't like saying that, but I think . . . Shirin Neshat . . . has simply tried to weave too many strands The stories of the different women became a bit cacophonous, there was no unison message. (Self, 2010)

The complaint illogically alleges that the lack of a “uniform message” in *Women Without Men* renders the male characters “uniformly comedy sketch buffoons, the women martyrs” and that its rootedness in Iranian aesthetic traditions makes it “soporific” (Self, 2010). Again, the film’s unfamiliarity—its dissimilarity—alienates the uninformed viewer, who, paradoxically, faults its lack of a single “message” or meaning for what he/she deems stereotyped representations of masculinity and femininity although it’s unclear whether this analysis refers to Iranians or women and men generally. This reception strongly suggests that the argument of dissimilitude easily miscarries and has the potential for undermining the social justice project by giving learners opportunities to blame the Other for their own lack of knowledge and understanding, which, ironically, is a significant dynamic of bigotry in the first place. Thus, dissimilitude may be less effective than a discourse of similitude and even risks reinforcing fear and hatred. But similitude also has unintended consequences. For example, critical race theories warn that the “we are all human” approach (the principle that people are not really different because they share the common quality of being human) to fostering social justice obscures the need to undo structural and institutional barriers to equality because it universalizes and essentializes human experience.

Though well intentioned, it also strengthens the centrality of the dominant culture because the notion of “human” is almost inevitably defined in hegemonic terms. In other words, a universalized notion of humanness promotes the illusion that existing social structures can accommodate everyone’s needs equally regardless of vastly diverse lived experiences and histories. This leads right back to Gramatikova’s critique that institutions that erase their constituencies’ differences reproduce the status quo while merely simulating equality (2017). It also presents social justice activists a conundrum that urgently needs solving given the ferocity of current attacks on the Other in the US and their negative implications for foreign policy, which affect global communities as well as civil and human rights standards locally.

The Self-Interest Norm

An alternative to the arguments of similitude and dissimilitude is built on the norm of self-interest. According to social psychologists, self-interest is a more effective motivator of political activism than ideology alone (Ratner & Miller, 2001). Studies show, for example, that people who do not think that public involvement directly

benefits them tend to eschew political activities because without self-interest, they 1) do not feel entitled to take action; 2) worry that they will be seen as illegitimate, and 3) do not think that others will value actions that are not motivated by self-interest (Ratner & Miller, 2001). As Ratner and Miller report, “Lacking a self-interested account, people may feel they lack both the moral authorization and the psychological cover [justification] to act” (2001). Another issue is that potential actors measure the effectiveness of their public involvement in terms of the advantages it accrues them. When they are not able to realize tangible, self-beneficial results in the short-term, they lose confidence that taking action will be efficacious.

This, unsurprisingly, fosters passivity if not apathy. In contrast, potential actors who believe that they will profit from public involvement are more likely to become publicly involved. One reason is the perception that they will be rewarded actors’ fears of attracting negative attention, particularly anger (Ratner & Miller, 2001). In addition, data suggest that potential actors believe that self-interest signifies authenticity, honesty, and trustworthiness to the public. Actors think that if they are perceived as self-interested, they and their public involvement will be valued and, in turn, successful: “Once self-benefit is seen as an outcome of social action, potential participants are far more willing to undertake it” (Ratner & Miller, 2001). These findings may disconcert social justice advocates, but they are sufficiently convincing to be part of discussions about how best—meaning effectively—to stem the rising influence of white supremacy in US governance and stimulate hitherto unengaged actors to take a stand against individual and structural bigotry.

To achieve this goal of expanding social justice by means of the self-interest norm would entail persuading moderate whites (Attiah, 2018) that they will quickly accrue direct benefits by actively contributing to social justice initiatives, i.e. if they become public activists and advocates for this cause. What would that take? Clearly, the promise of moral and ethical edification (the notion that those who do not hate and who take action against systemic manifestations of hatred in social institutions gain virtue) which long has been a staple in discussions about the advantages of ending bigotry, has not been sufficiently inspiring. In fact, as of this writing, the progress of two major social movements that employed this appeal extensively, the civil and gender rights initiatives, have stalled, as evidenced by the impending end of Affirmative Action in college admissions, the likely reversal of the US Supreme Court’s ruling that so-called gay marriage is constitutional, the same court’s sanction of the Muslim travel ban, and loss of economic ground among people of color. That the prospect of ethical reward is insufficiently persuasive lends support to the idea that direct, reasonably rapid material gain would be a better stimulus than the arguments of similarity and dissimilarity.

In other words, an argument that the majority of whites will be economically better off in the foreseeable future—within their life span—might be efficacious. Of course, the claim that a just society benefits everyone has circulated for years, and there is extensive economic data to support it. Bigotry is expensive because it diverts funding from education, science, community development and a plethora of other social enhancement schemes and funnels it into costly punitive institutions, such as prisons, law enforcement, the immigrant detention industry (private, for-profit prisons housing immigrants prior to their asylum hearings), the military, and the ever burgeoning bureaucracies that maintain them. However, even this logic falls short because the benefits that it describes—superior health and education, transportation systems, a stable economy, low levels of violence, thriving arts—are felt only indirectly and in a generalized manner in the long term. Hence, this appeal is often met with skepticism, which leads to the conclusion that the payback for whites' mass public involvement in social justice activism must be direct and immediate. Frankly, this option is cynical and ethically repugnant. It smacks of bribery and capitalizes civil and human rights, which is a terrifying prospect—it's not difficult to imagine a dystopia in which corporations would profit from privatizing social justice, for instance. It also would be likely to coopt the progressive movement, for neither institutions nor individuals can retain their morality while embracing the immoral. But it may be effective. At the very least, the possibilities of the self-interest norm should be included in liberal and progressive discussions about how to diminish—ideally to eradicate—hatred from the most powerful, influential spaces in the US. Hopefully, this less than half-hearted proposal to employ this norm in social justice work will catalyze creative thinking leading to solutions.

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Empirical Assessment of the Determinants of Child Enrollment in Pakistan: Evidence from the two Rounds of Pakistan Rural House-Hold Survey (2004 and 2010)

Abstract

Pakistan has made considerable progress in raising adult literacy over time; however, the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) to achieve universal primary education remains elusive due to poor enrollment and high dropout rates. Despite the two rounds of the much proliferated Social Action Plan in the nineties and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in 2010 and onward, a sound base for sustained enrollment rates and retention of students at different levels could not be achieved to reach the targets set by the MDGs. The high level of drop-outs at various levels of schooling has remained the hallmark of school enrollment in Pakistan. The various incentive schemes by the government have not yielded the desired results because either they are not integrated within the system or due to the household's vulnerable socio-economic condition. Household socio-economic factors, including family background and poverty movements have a strong bearing on the decision to send children to school and the quality of the selected school. Addressing issues relevant to the determinants of child enrollment in Pakistan, data has been taken from PRHS and logistic regression model has been used for the purpose. The results show that parent education, household income and age have a positive and significant impact on child enrolment and poverty, gender and low parent education have a negative impact on child education.

Keywords: *Poverty, enrollment, child schooling, household panel data-sets*

INTRODUCTION

Unemployment, low per capita income, vicious circle of poverty, high population

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growth rate and low literacy ratios of the masses are some of the challenges that are faced by the developing world in the twenty-first century. On the other hand, these challenges are also the main factors that impede the enrollment of children in schools all over the world. The economy of Pakistan is dualistic in nature; people in rural areas depend on agriculture having meager income, fewer facilities and low standard of living as compared to people living in the urban areas. Usually this gives benefit to urban people and provides a lavish standard of living for big landlords. Being a part of the third world, Pakistan has a huge pool of human resources (high birth-rate) in which the capital investment ratio needs to be accelerated the economic growth and development (Ministry of finance, 2014-15).

Like other factors which negatively affect human resource development, poverty is one of those which affect the socio-economic wellbeing of the households. The effects of this poverty dynamics are extensive in terms of choices made by the families, life standard, health and children's education. Thus, the issues related to children's schooling, in Pakistan, have become the subject of core concern of extensive empirical research in the last few decades. Wide-spread poverty, vulnerability among the children due to non-schooling and chronic poverty of a household in developing countries provide a strong motivation to find appropriate response to encounter this persistent problem. In the 1980s, the majority of the nations of the world recognized education as an important tool for capital development. Various international agencies are coordinating with developing countries to invest in human capital, as it has become evident that the role of education is significant and positively related to the economic growth and development of a country. Talik (1989) and (1999) found that education is an important tool for the eradication of poverty as well as the social, demographic and political development of the societies. Under Article 25-A of the 18th amendment of the constitution of Pakistan, education was made the fundamental right of every child in Pakistan, but glancing at the current situation of primary education this right remains a difficult challenge to meet.

Pakistan's gross enrollment in primary education is 85 percent and thus the lowest among South Asian countries. Moreover, the overall expenditure of government decreased from 2.2 percent in 2005-06 to 2 percent in 2009-10 but in the period from 2017-2018 it increases to 2.5 percent of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is not enough to achieve the target of 100 percent net enrolment in 2025. Along with that, most education policies in Pakistan did not achieve their targets due to lack of proper implementation. The Social Action Program (largest donor funded) focused in rural areas, specifically female schooling, failed to achieve its objectives due to corruption, miss-management, and poor records of disbursement and policy implementation (CRPRID, 2012). The purpose of this study is to investigate the

determinants of child enrolment in rural areas of Pakistan by analyzing the two rounds of Pakistan rural house-hold survey (PRHS) 2004 and 2010. Another important aspect of the study was to link the drop-out rate with the economic condition of the household, which was not the focus of other studies on the same topic.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several studies related to child schooling and the determinants of child schooling in Pakistan and other countries but different studies use different data and methodology. Some focus their study on a particular city, some take only urban and others focus on rural areas. The current study is different from other studies in the sense that this study not only focuses on the determinants of child enrolment but links it with two rounds of poverty dynamics. Despite the difference in methodology and data, there are some common results. Shehnaz & Siddique (2009) analyzed data from 35 developing countries and found that the reasons of low enrollment in these countries are due to the lack of physical availability of school facilities. The result of the study suggested that in South Asian countries, the quality of schooling affected child enrolment more as compared with expenditure on education and access to schools. Arif *et al.*, (2009) investigated the effect of parent income and parent education on school enrollment; the main focus of this study was to examine persons born in Norway between 1967 and 1972. The study used ordinary least square estimator to find out the relationship between dependent variable i.e. education of an individual and independent variables family income, family education and working mothers. The study found that household and individual characteristics are important determinants of child schooling, particularly for girls. The study concluded that the chance of child enrolment particularly that of females depends on mothers' education more than the father's education in rural areas.

Psacharopoulos (2010) found a high failure rate and index of age grade with the help of univariate logistic model. The indicator measures the performance of the selected child in terms of schooling year related to their current age. Duncan *et al.*, (1988) investigated the effect of poverty on childhood by using the sibling model and found that parental socioeconomic status is correlated with the wellbeing of children and their schooling. The study used data from the panel study of income dynamics and found that child schooling is directly related to parental income not only in early age but also in adolescence. The results suggest that family income plays an important role in increasing child schooling. Cardos and Dorte (2014) investigated the drop out and push out factor that lead to school abandonment in an urban surrounding Shanty towns of Fortaleza Northern Brazil. The study set particular age for parenthood as instruments for their observation and used work as an instrument by using the

declared reservation wage (minimum amount of excepted salary). The results showed that early parenthood causes more damage to increasing drop-out of school and poverty as an important factor of driving teenagers out of school but did not find any relationship of working and drop-out rate and its impact on school attendance.

Objective

Pakistan has approximately 200 million population; out of this, in the age group of 5-9 years cohort, 6 million were out of school. Only in Punjab, 50 percent children in the same age cohort were out of school; 54 percent girls and 46 percent boys. Similarly, of 20 million children in the cohort of 10-14 years, which covers middle and secondary levels of education, 120 million children were out of school in different regions of Pakistan's rural areas during the study period. In rural areas, people are totally dependent on the agriculture sector. Due to natural disasters, environmental changes, global warming, paucity/unusual rain-fall in different regions (flash-flooding), crop diseases, the agricultural production capacity decreases every year affecting their income. People remain chronically poor and cannot break out of the vicious circle of poverty. Thus, the focus of this study is to identify issues in the rural areas of Pakistan related to child schooling by linking it with the household income status.

Table 1 *Net enrolment rate at school level*

Net Enrolment Rates at Primary and Secondary Level in Pakistan Net					Net Secondary Enrolment Rates (Percent)	
Primary Enrolment Rates (Percent)						
Male	Female	Overall	Male	Female	Overall	
Rural	53.6	36.4	45.2	34.9	15.8	25.0
Urban	68.5	64.6	66.5	46.7	47.4	47.0
Overall	57.2	43.6	50.5	38.3	25.1	31.9

Source: *Pakistan Economic Survey 2009-10*

Poverty and low enrollment are interdependent variables. Most people living in the less developed countries (LDCs) are living under the subsistence level and are hardly able to fulfill the basic needs of life i.e. shelter, food and clothing and consider child schooling as a waste of time and money. With the passage of time the whole family comes under the extreme vulnerable situation and remains uneducated and poor forever. Lack of human resource development and low education threatens the development of the entire family. Non-enrollment of children in schools, makes them vulnerable to child-labor at a very early stage and affects their development and growth for the rest of their lives.

METHODOLOGY

Specification of the Model

The objective of this study is to examine the determinants of child enrolment in Pakistan; the study attempts to discover the effect of poverty, individual, household, and regional-level variables on the likelihood of a child being enrolled or not enrolled. This study estimates two models, one for 2010 and the other for 2004. The models are given below:

$$CE_{2004} = \alpha_i + \alpha_1 P_i + \alpha_2 Ch_i + \alpha_3 Hd_i + \alpha_5 Rg_i + \mu_{1i} \dots \dots \dots (I)$$

$$CE_{2010} = \alpha_i + \alpha_1 P_i + \alpha_2 Ch_i + \alpha_3 Hd_i + \alpha_5 Rg_i + \mu_{2i} \dots \dots \dots (II)$$

Where,

CE= Child Enrollment, P_i = Poverty, Ch_i = Child characteristics, Hd_i = Household characteristics and Rg_i = Regional characteristics

Model I is for 2004 and Model II for 2010, the dependent variable has two possible outcomes: enrolled and not enrolled. Because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable both the models can be estimated through the logistic regression models. Child enrollment is determined by different individual characteristics such as age, gender, household characteristics such as parent's education, household size, dependency ratio, land ownership and regional characteristics such as a province he or she belongs to. In order to capture the effect of age, children of ages 5- 15 years have been selected. The educational effect and the effects of land owning status are gauged through dummies. The household size is also a continuous variable controlling the total number of individuals living in that household.

RESULTS & ANALYSIS

Characteristics of Child Enrollment (A Bivariate Analysis)

Enrollment Trend across Provinces in 2010

Pakistan Rural household survey 2010 consists of 2772 households which include 6230 children of ages 5 to 15 in the four provinces of Pakistan. Table 3.3.1 for 2010 shows child enrollment across provinces: with 68.25 percent of children enrolled in 2010 from KPK, 58.42 percent from Punjab, 44.76 percent from Sindh, and enrollment in Baluchistan being at a low i.e. 32.39 percent.

Table 2 *Enrollment Trend across Provinces (2010)*

Enrolment	All Provinces				Total
	Punjab	Sindh	KPK	Baluchistan	
Not Enrolled	840	1,035	442	656	2,973
	(28.25)	(34.81)	(14.87)	(22.070)	(100)
	[41.69]	[55.35]	[31.87]	[68.48]	[47.72]
Enrolled	1,175	835	945	302	3,257
	(36.08)	(25.64)	(29.01)	(9.270)	(100)
	[58.31]	[44.65]	[68.13]	[31.52]	[52.28]
Total	2,015	1,870	1,387	958	6,230
	(32.34)	(30.02)	(22.26)	(15.38)	(100)
	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]

Source: *Pakistan Rural Household Survey 2010*

Table 3 *Enrollment Status in Punjab and Sindh 2004*

Enrolment	Northern Punjab	Southern Punjab	Sindh	Total
Not Enrolled	77	301	569	947
	(8.13)	(31.78)	(60.08)	(100)
	[17.58]	[60.69]	[53.83]	[47.56]
Enrolled	361	195	488	1,044
	(34.58)	(18.68)	(46.74)	(100)
	[82.42]	[39.31]	[46.17]	[52.44]
Total	438	496	1,057	1,991
	(22)	(24.91)	(53.09)	(100)
	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]

Source: *Pakistan Rural Household Survey 2004*

Table 3 is constructed for 2004; PRHS 2004 comprises of 1614 households only for Punjab and Sindh. Due to terrorist activities, data could not be collected from Baluchistan and KPK. Punjab is further categorized into northern Punjab and southern Punjab with data collected for 1991 of children from age 5 to 15 years. The table shows that in 2004, child enrollment in northern Punjab was 82.42 percent, 39.31 in southern Punjab and 46.17 percent in Sindh.

Table 4 *Economic condition and child enrolment status in 2010*

	Non-Poor	Poor	Total
Never Enrolled	1,800 (60.54) [41.38]	1,173 (39.46) [62.39]	2,973 (100) [47.72]
Enrolled	2,550 (78.29) [58.62]	707 (21.71) [37.61]	3,257 (100) [52.28]
Total	4,350 (69.82) [100]	1,880 (30.18) [100]	6,230 (100) [100]

Source: *Pakistan Rural Household Survey 2010*

Table 4 highlights the economic conditions of households and categorizes them as poor and non-poor. The table also sheds light on the enrolment of children belonging to poor or non-poor households. The common perception is that children belonging to poor households get less schooling as compared to non-poor households and the given table presents the same figures. This table is taken from PRHS 2010 and shows that 41.38 percent children belonging to non-poor households have not attended school whereas 62.39 percent belonging to poor households did not attend any schooling in 2010.

Table 5 *Economic condition and child enrolment status in 2004*

Enrolment	Non-Poor	Poor	Total
Never Enrolled	702 (74.13) [45.06]	245 (25.87) [56.58]	947 (100) [47.56]
Enrolled	856 (81.99) [54.94]	188 (18.01) [43.42]	1,044 (100) [52.44]
Total	1,558 (78.25) [100]	433 (21.75) [100]	1,991 (100) [100]

Source: *Pakistan Rural Household Survey 2004*

Table 5 is constructed for 2004 to see the enrolment and non-enrolment of children belonging to poor and non-poor households. The Table also shows that 45.06 children belonging to non-poor households were not enrolled in 2004 and 56.58 percent children belonging to poor households did not attend school in rural areas of Punjab and Sindh.

Table 6 *Dynamics in poverty and child enrolment in Punjab and Sindh*

School Dynamics	Northern Punjab	Southern Punjab	Sindh	Total
Never Enrolled	83 (9.73) [15.75]	285 (33.41) [40.71]	485 (56.86) [40.38]	853 (100) [35.13]
Drop out	66 (15.38) [12.52]	158 (36.83) [22.57]	205 (47.79) [7.07]	429 (100) [17.67]
Currently Enrolled	44 (17.39) [8.35]	58 (22.92) [8.29]	151 (59.68) [12.57]	253 (100) [10.42]
Always Enrolled	334 (37.40) [63.38]	199 (22.28) [28.43]	360 (40.31) [29.98]	893 (100) [36.78]
Total	527 (21.71) [100.00]	700 (28.83) [100.00]	1,201 (49.46) [100.00]	2,428 (100) [100.00]

Source: *Pakistan Rural Household Survey 2004 and 2010*

Table 6 displays the number of enrolled, not enrolled, drop-out and never enrolled in Northern Punjab, Southern Punjab and Sindh in 2004. The table shows that 15.75 percent children belonging to northern Punjab have never attended any schooling in both rounds of PRHS 2010 and 2004 whereas 40.71 percent belonging to Southern Punjab and 40.38 percent belonging to Sindh never attended any school between these two rounds; 12.52 percent from Northern Punjab, 22.57 from Southern Punjab and 7.07 percent from Sindh dropped out of school; 8.35 percent children belonging to Northern Punjab, 8.29 percent from Southern Punjab and 12.57 percent belonging to Sindh were enrolled in 2010 and 2004 while 63.38 percent children belonging to Northern Punjab, 28.43 percent from Southern Punjab and 29.98 percent belonging to Sindh attended school in 2010 and 2004.

Determinants of Child Enrollment (A Multivariate Analysis)

Determinants of Child Enrollment

The main objective of this study is to find out the determinants of child enrollment and to identify those variables that have a strong effect on child enrollment. This study takes 2772 households from all four provinces of Pakistan and estimates regression for 6230 children in 2010 and 1614 households from two provinces Punjab and Sindh only and estimate regression for 1991 children in 2004.

Table 7 *Logistic Regression: Determinants of School Enrollment 2010*

Regressors	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
Child Characteristics		
Gender of Child (Male=1)	3.489*	0.208
Age of Child (In Years)	2.334*	0.159
Age Square	0.964*	0.003
Household Characteristics		
Land in Acres	1.002***	0.001
House Hold Size	1.015*	0.005
Dependency Ratio Medium (Low is Base Category)	0.887	0.090
Dependency Ratio High (Low is Base Category)	0.859	0.084
Household Head's Education (Years of Schooling)	1.173*	0.010
Poverty Status (Poor =1)	0.576*	0.039
Regional Characteristics (Punjab is The Base Category)		
Sindh	0.542*	0.040
KPK	1.383*	0.118
Baluchistan	0.353*	0.033
Number of Observations	6230	
LR chi ²	1610.68	
Pseudo R ²	0.1868	
Log Likelihood	-3506.4937	

Note: *Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5 %, ***Significant at 10 %

The above table, showing results for 2010, shows that males are relatively inclined to go for schooling by 3.48 times more, when compared with females. Age variable also affects child enrollment in positive ways. Normal school age children acquire more education than overage children.⁵ Landholding also affects child enrollment, increase in landholding will increase the probability of child enrollment by 1.002 times according to the estimate. Increase in the household size increases the chance of schooling with equal rates. Dependency ratio (both medium and high) can affect child schooling negatively. The results indicate that households with middle and high dependency ratio are unable to send their children for schooling as compared to low dependency families, which is a reference category. Odd ratios show that if a household has middle dependency ratio, child schooling will be 0.887 times less as compared to low dependency ratio and if household has high dependency ratio, child schooling will be 0.859 times less as compared to the reference category i.e. low dependency ratio.(as the value of the selected determinants of this study of first two variables in the above table i.e. male gender, age, land ownership, household size, households heads' education shows (enrollment) increasing trend in relation with selected variables of this study, as their numeric value is greater than the one shown in the second column of the table). As in the logistic model less than one value is considered negative; or decreasing enrollment in relation to its selected determinants

⁵See Butt, M. S. (1984) Education and Farm Productivity in Pakistan". Pakistan Journal of Applied Economics 3(1): 65–82

like poverty status, high dependency ratio and age squares. These determinants have a negative impact on the child enrollment ratio at school in Pakistan.

One year's increase in a parent's education raises the chances of enrollment by 1.173 times. The odds of poverty reveal that the probability of child schooling is low among those who belong to poor families and high for those who belong to non-poor families. Thus, poverty affects education negatively decreasing the odds in favor of child schooling by 0.576 times as compared to non-poor families. The negative and significant coefficients of dichotomous variables for provinces indicate that children living in Sindh and Baluchistan are less likely to go for schooling as compared to those who live in Punjab, which is the reference category but the situation is different in the case of KPK where child schooling is 1.3 times higher than that of Punjab. Odd ratios show that if an individual has his current residence in Sindh, then the chance of child schooling will be 0.5 times less as compared to Punjab; for the residents of Baluchistan the odds in favor of child schooling are 0.35 times less and for the residents of KPK these are 1.3 times higher of what it is for Punjab.⁶ The statistics summary of some key variables is given in Appendix A. This table shows the estimated values of the key variables mentioned.

Table 8 *Logistic Regression: Determinants of School Enrollment 2004*

Regressors	Odds Ratio	Std.Error
Child Characteristics		
Gender of Child (Male =1)	2.598*	0.269
Age of Child (In Years)	2.718*	0.322
Age Square	0.950*	0.006
House Hold Characteristics		
Land In Acres	1.013**	0.005
Head of House Hold Education (Years of Schooling)	1.088*	0.015
Dependency Ratio Medium (Low is Base Category)	0.802	0.128
Dependency Ratio High (Low is Base Category)	0.710**	0.110
House Hold Size	1.029**	0.013
Poverty Status 2004 (Poor =1)	0.690*	0.085
Poverty Status 2010 (Poor =1)	0.773**	0.088
Regional Characteristics (Northern Punjab is Base Category)		
Southern Punjab	0.115*	0.019
Sindh	0.176*	0.027
Number of Observations	1991	
LR chi ²	469.41	
Pseudo R ²	0.1704	
Log Likelihood	-1142.986	

*Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5 %, ***Significant at 10 %

⁶Joseph P.G Chimombo (2005). Issues of basic education in developing countries: An Exploration of policies options for improved delivery Centre for educational Research and training, university of Malawi.

Table 8 is for 2004, and shows that the gender variable has a significant positive impact on school enrollment. Enrollment ratio of male gender is two times greater than female; with age also affecting child enrollment in a positive way. Children of normal school age acquire more education than over age children.⁷ A child belonging to the family who owns more land gets more education and the chance of drop out decreases. Same is the case of parent education; a child belonging to an educated family gets more schooling as compared to one belonging to an illiterate family. But the dependency ratio affects child enrollment negatively. Increase in dependency ratio, decreases child enrollment and vice versa. The results also show that a child who belongs to a poor household acquires less education as compared to a non-poor family; low enrollment in children is a result of previous poverty i.e. poverty of 2010, 2004 and 2010. Residence has a significant influence on child schooling. The odd ratios show that if an individual has his current residence in Southern Punjab, then the chances of child schooling will be 0.11 times less as compared to Northern Punjab, for the residents of Sindh the odds in favor of child schooling are 0.17 times less than what it is for Northern Punjab.⁸ The summary statistics of some key variables is given in Appendix B. This table shows the estimated values of the key variables mentioned.

CONCLUSION

The above study examined the determinants of child enrollment in Pakistan by using Pakistan Rural Household Survey of 2004 and 2010. Children of ages 5 to 15 were selected for this purpose. Using the bi-variate analysis, the study shows that in the rural areas of Pakistan, enrollment of male children is very high as compared to female. According to the 2010 survey, enrollment is very low in Southern Punjab because most people live below the poverty line and there are fewer schools for large populations. It is also evident that females get lesser schooling as compared to males in the rural areas of Pakistan, where parent's education, household size and other factors compel the child not to go to school. Female education is very low because there is great gender discrimination in these areas and many parents consider it against religion and custom to send their daughters for schooling. This study shows that the dependency ratio and household size affects child enrollment negatively. In rural areas the number of children and old people is large and the households are large: it is therefore difficult for the head of the household to focus and fulfill the requirement of the child for schooling. More empirical studies may be conducted to analyze other determinants of enrollment in schools and give recommendations for

⁷See Psachropoulos, G. (1994). Returns to investment in education: A global update. World Development, Volume 22(9), pp. 1325-43.

⁸Handa, S. (1999). Raising primary school enrollment in development countries: The relative importance of supply and demand. *FCND Discussion Paper No. 76, International Food Policy Research Institute*

the uplift of education by increasing enrollment and thereby enhance the literacy ratio in all regions of the country.⁹ The cost of livelihood (cost of living index) increases day by day while unemployment and poverty reduces the ratio of investment in education. This emerging issue in third world countries should be a matter of core-concern for policy makers. In rural areas about 61 percent of people depend on agriculture to fulfill their needs and the results show that households that own more land can enroll their children in schools easier as compared to those who have neither land nor work. It is also concluded that a child belonging to highly educated parents will acquire more schooling and the chance of drop-out decreases as the parent's education increases every year. The twin problems i.e. high gender disparity and low school enrollment are widely addressed in literature. This paper investigated the determinants of child schooling in the light of household decisions by using econometric analysis. Empirical findings of the estimates on the models showed delay in enrollment of children (especially female). This existence of the wide gender-disparity, non-educated head-of-household, significantly decreases the probability of overall children's schooling. It has a high effect on male enrollment as compared to females. Family income has a lower impact on the overall children's enrollment, for males it is lower as compared to female enrollment which has a high ratio. Parental education increases significantly probability of child's enrollment in a good school. Mother's education exerts strong impact on increase in school's enrollment. Gender specific determinants' estimate found that maternal education enhances the likelihood of female enrollment in school. The family's higher per capita income size, composition and assets ownership raises the probability of attendance in school. This study also shows that dependency ratio and household size affect child enrollment negatively. In rural areas, dependency ratio is very high, so it is difficult for the head of the family to focus on education and fulfill school requirements for his children.

Bivariate and multivariate analysis show that low enrollment in rural areas is because of poverty. This needs the attention of Policy-Makers, Governmental Stake-Holders and NGOs. More empirical studies may be conducted to analyze other determinants of enrollment in schools across the country to give recommendations for the uplift of child-education, enhancing masses literacy-ratio and suggests effective measures. The cost of livelihood (cost of living index) increases day by day while persistent unemployment and poverty reduces investment-ratio in education per family and drop out at primary and high school levels. This emerging issue in the third world countries should be a matter of core-concern for policy makers who need to consider the following points.

⁹Psacharopoulos, G. (1984). Contribution of Education to Economic Growth and International Comparisons of the Productivity and Causes of the slowdown. Cambridge, Ballinger, 335-60.

- 1) Introduce social awareness programs for female enrollment in rural areas of Pakistan because in rural areas female education is very low as compared to male especially in KPK and Baluchistan.
- 2) Provide incentives/micro-finance to those who own less cultivated land in this way they may be able to increase their income and enable themselves to enroll their children in schools.
- 3) Need/Talent based Scholarship should be linked with grades, marks and GPA scores and fully funded education expanses including conveyance, hostel lodging as incentive to parents to enroll their children.
- 4) Expenditure on education should be increased from 2.1 percent of GDP to 4 or 6 percent to establish more primary/secondary schools in far-flung areas of KPK and Baluchistan by special provision in the federal/provincial budgets, so that every person can get equal opportunity to enroll his child.¹⁰
- 5) Establish Technical/Vocational Training/Commerce Institutes in rural areas to ensure parents that their children enrolled in schools will be able to find jobs in cottage industries/workshops etc. and will earn a livelihood for their families after degree completion.

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Impact of Religiosity on Marital Satisfaction in Dual Career Couples: A Case Study in Hazara University Mansehra, Pakistan

Abstract

This study was carried out to find how and to what extent the level of religiosity affects marital satisfaction in dual career couples. A total of 82 dual career spouses were selected through snowball sampling method in Hazara University Mansehra. Marital satisfaction of the study participants was measured with the help of Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS) with four components: dyadic consensus, dyadic affectional expression, dyadic satisfaction and dyadic cohesion. Likewise, the respondents were asked to rate their level of religiosity on a statement “rate your religiosity” with five point Likert type scale. Data was analyzed through mean, standard deviation, one way ANOVA, and Pearson correlation. Results of descriptive statistics show that our participants had a higher level of religiosity and marital satisfaction. Furthermore, results of Pearson correlation suggest significant correlations between religiosity and all the components i.e. dyadic consensus, affection, cohesion and dyadic satisfaction. It was further found that all components of dyadic scale were also found in significant correlation with one another. It was concluded from this study that religiosity is a positive predictor of marital satisfaction in dual career couples.

INTRODUCTION

The interrelationships between marriage, family and religion institutions exist in different cultures and societies. Collective religious values, beliefs and practices are considered as integrated forces behind a well-organized and stable family and marriage institutions (Hunler & Genchuz, 2005). Previous studies have found that religiosity, religious belief and

Key words: *Couples, Participants, Components, Satisfaction, Religiosity*

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religious practices are positively connected with marital satisfaction, stability and overall marital quality (Margaret, Dudley, & Konsinski, 1990; Orathinkal & Vansteenwegen, 2006). However, in the context of social transformations and alternative life patterns in the past few decades, couple's relationships and marital satisfaction has become a critical issue (Zadeh & Tabrizi, 2014). The issue of marital satisfaction is becoming more debatable especially among those marital partners who are actively perusing both family and professional career; couples in these relationships are known as dual career couples. It is a form of marital pattern in which both marital partners are also professionals and have careers (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1969). Marital satisfaction is a subjective experience of one's own personal happiness and contentment in marital relationship (Myers, Madathil, & Tingle, 2005). In order to integrate both careers, couples are adopting various coping mechanisms to achieve marital satisfaction (Yinger, 1968). Researchers have discovered that religiosity; spirituality and religious beliefs are the most frequently adopted coping strategies which play an intervening shareholder role in sustaining marital satisfaction in dual career couples (Mahoney, 2010). Religiosity is the practice of religion and the level of behavior relating to religious activity and attachment with supernatural power (Shank, 1997). Studies have established that religiosity is fortifying and supports the spouses' strong relations due to various religious beliefs (Hunler & Genchuz, 2005) and values such as *marriages are made in heaven and celebrated on the earth*. It is inferred that marriage is a religious bond and religious practices may contribute to marital well-being in couples (Brown, Orbuch, & Bauermeister, 2008).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research shows that religiosity has significant and positive correlation with marital satisfaction. Commitment to religious belief has an insightful authority on long-term marital satisfaction and help in the appearance of healthy family relations (Gerlach, 2002). Religious based values make marriage more successful and couples become more satisfied with each other in their conjugal relationships (Filsinger, Wilson, & Margaret, 1984). High levels of religiosity are more convincible for marital satisfaction and stability as compared with those with a lower level of religiosity (Sullivan, 2001). Another study reported that of the different elements of religiosity; going to church has association with marital stability and reduced marital conflict and divorce ratio (Brown, Orbuch, & Bauermeister, 2008). Besides, religion has both direct and indirect relations with marital satisfaction. In direct relation, it increases social support of norms and values of marriage and enhancing behaviors such as partner forgiveness, while increase in mental satisfaction, temperance, and sexual fidelity are the indirect effect (Vaaler, Ellison, & Powers, 2009). A study conducted on Jewish, Christian and Muslim couples reported that religiosity reduced marital conflict and helped the couples in problem prevention, conflict resolution and

reconciliation (Dollahite & Marks, 2009). In a study conducted among Roman Catholic couples, it was reported that religious beliefs help these couples in controlling expressions of anger and undesirable thinking (Marsh & Dallos, 2001). Among the Christian couples, religiosity was found statistically significant with marital happiness and satisfaction (Rayya & Hisham, 2007). Similarly, it was found in a study conducted in California that religiosity proved to be a positive predictor for the couples' relationship during the first year of their marriage (Sullivan, 2001).

From structured interview conducted with the spouses, it was revealed that prayers have significantly increased "couple-God system" which further enhances their level of interaction with each other. Furthermore, it was reported that pray also help the couples in reducing their hostile emotions and increased their problem solving skills (Butler, Gardner & Bird, 1998). Besides, couples having greater devotion to religious beliefs have reported lower level of dissatisfaction and divorce ratio than the couples with lower commitment to religion (Spilka, Hood & Gorsuch, 1985). Religiosity also affects couple's intimacy and predicts that higher religiosity was associated with higher level of intimacy and interaction (Feeney, Noller & Ward, 1997). Relationships between marital happiness and religiosity have been reported as positive predictors for married couples. Therefore, family counselors who engage with marital issues strongly recommend religious orientation to the couple (Mahoney, 2005; Lambert & Dollahite, 2006).

MATERIALS AND METHOD

The population of current research was dual career couples of Hazara University, Mansehra. A total of 82 respondents including 56 male and 26 female were selected through snowball sampling techniques. Individuals having dual career marriage with at least one year spent together after their marriage were included in the study. For the purpose of convenience, both couples as well as single partners were selected as study participants. Structured questionnaire was used as an instrument for data collection and data were analyzed by using SPSS version 20. Descriptive statistics such as frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviation were used to describe the demographic information. Relationships between variables were evaluated through Pearson's correlation analysis and (ANOVA) test and inter correlation matrix.

Marital satisfaction was examined using Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS), developed by Spanier (1976). DAS has a total of 32 response items divided across four subscales; dyadic consensus, dyadic affectional expression, dyadic cohesion and dyadic satisfaction scale. All the response items and sub scales were carefully studied and the suitability was examined for this study. Owing to the nature of the study, we adopted all the sub scales although a few response items were eliminated from every

sub scale to address the social desirability and undesirability elements for our study participants. A total of 21 socially viable and culturally accepted items from the scale were adopted through Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) to investigate the level of marital satisfaction. The Dyadic Consensus Component was loaded with 6 response items which explains the consensual aspect of marital relations. Likewise, dyadic affectional expression component was loaded with 4 items to ascertain how couples express themselves in their interaction with each other. Furthermore, dyadic cohesion was loaded with the 4 most viable items to explore how couples ensure coherence in their relationships. Likewise, a total of 7 items were loaded to measure satisfaction between the spouses. A 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), high score on the response items suggests greater level of marital satisfaction and lower score indicates low level of marital satisfaction.

Level of Muslim religiosity has been measured by various researchers differently. For instance Stark and Glock (1968) have developed a theoretical model with four components including belief, ritual practice, experience and knowledge which were also adopted by Huber (2003) in his study. However, we examined and considered that the best and simple tool to measure the level of religiosity was the one used by Ahmadi, Azad-Marzabadi, & Ashrafi, (2008) who measured the level of religiosity with a single statement “*Rate your religiosity*” with five points ranging from (1= low, 2= low, 3= average, 4= high, 5 very high). Later we adopted the same to measure the level of religiosity of our respondents.

RESULTS & ANALYSIS

Table 1 *Demographic Information of the Respondents*

Gender	Male		Female		
Frequency/ %	56/68.2		26/31.7		
Age	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70
Frequency/ %	19/23.2	31/37.8	16/19.5	11/13.4	5/6.1
Marriage Duration	1 -5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20+
Frequency/ %	25/30.5	11/13.4	26/31.5	11/13.6	9/11.0
Educational Status	FA/F.Sc	BA/B.Sc	MA/BS	M.Phil/MS	PhD
Frequency/ %	2/2.4	10/12.2	36/43.9	22/26.8	12/14.6
Rate Your Religiosity	Very Low	Low	Average	High	Very High
Frequency/ %	10/12.2	17/20.7	21/25.6	20/24.4	14/17.1

Table 01 shows the demographic information of our study participants with 68.2% male and 31.7% female participants. Majority being 38% participants belonged to the age group 31-40 followed by 23% in the age group of 20-30. Among the total study participants, 31% were living as marital partners for a period of 11-15 years while 30% had marital status for 1-5 years. A minimum number of 15% participants were

living as marital partners for a longer duration of 20 or more years. 44% participants having 16 years of education and 27% were qualified in MPhil/MS. Likewise, 25.6% participants reported average level of religiosity and 24.4% were found to be highly religious while 12.2% respondents reported very low level of religiosity.

Table 2 *Analysis by Mean and Standard Deviation*

S. No	Components of Marital Satisfaction	M	S.D
Dyadic Consensus			
1	I have a strong connection with my partner	3.78	1.176
2	I enjoy my spouse's company	3.88	1.318
3	We make major decisions unanimously	3.43	1.423
4	We have a very sound marital relationship	4.15	1.177
5	I have strong agreement with my spouse on family finances	2.12	1.180
6	I do not think about an end to our marriage	3.72	1.317
Affectional Expression			
1	My spouse is a perfect romantic partner	3.87	1.331
2	We regularly demonstrate affection to each other	4.11	1.197
3	We exchange our ideas in a friendly manner	3.34	1.549
4	I never bore from partner	3.02	1.388
Dyadic Cohesion			
1	I do not look for someone else	4.05	1.266
2	We spent free time together	3.61	1.274
3	We do housework together	3.95	1.256
4	We laugh together	3.90	1.454
Dyadic Satisfaction			
1	My partner makes me happy	4.10	1.140
2	Things between me and my partner are going well	3.68	1.246
3	I do not regret that I married to this partner	3.87	1.194
4	I do not think for separation/ divorce	4.65	1.047
5	I confide in my partner regarding everything	3.41	1.448
6	We do not quarrel	3.89	1.267
7	We conciliate quickly	3.87	1.312
Rate your religiosity		3.13	1.274

Table-02 shows detailed descriptive statistics of the selected items of all major components of marital satisfaction. Data indicates that almost all the response items loaded on dyadic consensus component got higher mean values; for instance, connection between spouses (M=3.78, S.D=1.17), enjoying spousal company (M=3.88, S.D=1.31), unanimous decision making (M=3.42, S.D=1.42), spending time together (M=3.61, S.D=1.27), agreement on family finances (M=2.12, S.D=1.18), and do not think an end to marriage (M=3.72, S.D=1.31). The table

further shows statistical values about dyadic affectional expression like my spouse is a perfect romantic partner (M=3.87, S.D=1.31), demonstration of affection (M=4.11, S.D=1.19), sound marital relations (M=4.15, S.D=1.77), and never bored with the spouse (M=3.02, S.D=1.38). The table further indicates higher mean values on dyadic consensus components such as do not look for another partner (M=4.05, S.D=1.2), friendly exchange of ideas (M=3.34, S.D=1.54), do housework together, (M=3.95, S.D=1.25) and have a laugh together (M=3.90, S.D=1.45). All the items loaded on dyadic satisfaction also got higher scores like my partner makes me happy (M=4.40, S.D=1.40), things going well (M=3.68, S.D=1.24), no regret of marriage (M=3.87, S.D=1.19), not thinking about divorce (M=4.65, S.D=1.04), confide in the partner (M=3.41, S.D=1.44), do not quarrel (M=3.89, S.D=1.26), and reconcile quickly (M=3.87, S.D=1.31). Likewise, a higher value was also obtained regarding level of religiosity (M=3.13, S.D=1.27).

Table 3 *Cumulative Mean and Standard Deviation of Major Components of Marital Satisfaction and Estimated Level of Religiosity*

S. No	Major Components of DAS	Mean	St. Deviation
1	Dyadic Consensus	3.42	1.281
2	Dyadic Affectional Expression	3.78	1.27
3	Dyadic Cohesion	3.81	1.38
4	Dyadic Satisfaction	3.92	1.23
5	Level of Religiosity	3.13	1.27

Table-03 shows cumulative descriptive values of major components of marital satisfaction and level of religiosity of the respondents. A higher score for dyadic consensus (M=3.42, S.D=1.281) shows a higher level of consensus in marital relations among the respondents. Likewise, higher values were also obtained for dyadic affectional expression (M=3.78, S.D=1.27), dyadic cohesion (M=3.81, S.D=1.38) and dyadic satisfaction (M=3.92, S.D=1.23). Similarly, the level of religiosity was also calculated as being higher (M=3.13, S.D=1.27).

Table 4 *Reliability and Scale Statistic*

Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	No of Items	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev
Dyadic Adjustment	0.959	21	63.39	400.685	20.017

A reliability test of the selected 21 items from DAS was primarily conducted and presented in table-03 in order to show its level of reliability and internal consistency. Cronbach's Alpha value was obtained at 0.959 which is >0.9 and found that the scale is highly reliable and consistent.

Table 5 Analysis of Variance Results of Marital Satisfaction in Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	54.835	4	13.709	2 5.099	0 .000
Within Groups	42.055	77	0 .546		
Total	96.890	81			

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was conducted to examine differences in the relationships between religiosity and marital satisfaction across five groups of our respondents i.e. very low, low, average, high and very high level of religiosity. The Inferential statistics in the table show that these differences exist at a highly significant level ($p < 0.001$) across five groups of the respondents having various level of religiosity.

Table 6 Pearson Correlation Matrix for Marital Satisfaction Components

S. No	DAS Components	1	2	3	4	5
1	Dyadic Consensus	1				
2	Dyadic Affectional Expression	0.80**	1			
3	Dyadic Cohesion	0.74**	0.71**	1		
4	Dyadic Satisfaction	0.77**	0.72**	0.76**	1	
5	Level of Religiosity	0.82**	0.79**	0.77**	0.87**	1

Table-06 shows inter-correlations between components of marital satisfaction and religiosity level of our study participants. The data suggest that all components are strongly correlated with one another and also correlated with the level of religiosity of the respondents. The highest level of correlation was found between the level of religiosity and dyadic satisfaction (0.87). The next high correlations were found between religiosity and dyadic consensus (0.82) which is followed by correlation between dyadic affectional expression and dyadic consensus (0.80). The majority of correlations were found in the range of (0.70) as religiosity has correlation of (0.79) with dyadic affectional expression, and (0.77) with dyadic cohesion. Furthermore, comparatively fewer correlations were obtained between dyadic cohesion and dyadic consensus (0.71). Considering the model as a whole, it was discovered that religiosity was found in the highest correlations with all components. Religion plays a very important role in the personal and collective life of an individual since people refer to religion in times of trouble to get psychological comfort and support. Dual career couples are actively engaged in occupational role and family responsibilities and as a result they are unable to strike a successful balance between these roles. For the most part of their lives, dual career couples are juggling between family and workplace responsibilities and are thereby unable to maintain working relationships within their familial sphere. However, spouses in dual career marriages refer to adopting certain

coping mechanisms to overcome the negative impact of multiple role performances. For instance, they bring about their emotional intelligence, negotiation skills and personality attributes like spirituality, religiosity and religious beliefs to achieve a level of competence in their marital life.

The findings of this study reveal that our study participants have a higher level of religiosity and marital satisfaction as shown in table-02. Specifically, the responses on the loaded items on every component suggest that our respondents have a higher degree of marital consensus, affectional expression, cohesion and satisfaction. The majority being 26% of our study participants have reported a higher level of religiosity ($M=3.13$, $S.D=1.27$) which suggests their higher level of emotional attachment with religion. Likewise, cumulative mean and standard deviation values given in table-03 show that our respondents have higher dyadic consensus ($M=3.42$, $S.D=1.28$), dyadic affectional expression (3.78 , $SD=1.27$), dyadic cohesion ($M=3.81$, $S.D=1.38$) dyadic satisfaction (3.92 , $S.D=1.23$) and over all marital satisfaction ($M=3.73$, $S.D=1.29$). It is deduced from these descriptive statistics that our study participants have a high level of religiosity and a higher level of overall marital satisfaction.

Similarly, inferential statistics obtained from ANOVA given in table-05 indicates positive and significant relations between level of religiosity and marital satisfaction in dual career couples. The findings suggest that overall marital satisfaction increases as the level of religiosity of the respondents has increased. It is deduced from the findings that religious values, attitudes and practices strengthen marital ties and enhance family relations. A higher level of spiritual and religious beliefs creates positive personality attributes such as consensus, forgiveness, trust, and patience are considered as necessary elements for successful marital life. Moreover, religious values and practices turn away certain negative personality traits such as stress, anxiety, hopelessness and regret. When an individual is able to overcome the negative emotions, it certainly reduces the chances of distractions, overlooking, neglecting and feeling of separation from a marital partner.

Certain collectivistic habits such as spending more time together, consulting the life partner in major decisions, having fun and laughing together are mostly attributable to religious injunctions and also manage to avoid long standing stressed relations by turning to quick reconciliation and consensus to protect marital life from disintegration and disorganization. The findings of our study are in congruence with the findings of the previous studies conducted by Naderi & Roushani (2011), Fabricatore, Handal, & Fenzel, (2000) and Starks & Hughey (2003). Statistical values obtained from the Pearson correlation model given in table-05 further confirm findings obtained from other models by indicating that religiosity was found to be

highly correlated with all the components of marital quality especially with dyadic consensus and satisfaction. Likewise, correlations between religiosity with dyadic affectional expression and cohesion were also found in significant and positive correlations. It is inferred from the findings of this study that marital satisfaction increases with increase in the religious level of dual career couples. Result obtained from the correlations statistics of this study are consistent with the prior findings of Margaret, Dudley, & Konsinski (1990), Call & Heiton (1997), Sullivan (2001), Hanler & Genchuz (2005), Orathinkal & Vansteenwegen (2006) and Fard, Saeid, & Zardkhaneh, (2013) who reported similar findings.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we examined the influence of religiosity on the overall marital satisfaction in dual career couples. We found that a high level of religiosity is a positive and significant predictor of marital satisfaction in dual career couples in Hazara University Mansehra. It may therefore be concluded that a higher level of religiosity has a strong and favorable impact on dyadic consensus and affectional expression by maintaining and strengthening marital relations among dual career couples. Religion serves as a primary vehicle for providing meaning, a sense of belonging, and comfort, as well as control functions to promote trust, hope, reconciliation and consultation. Moreover, the study also concludes that a high level of religiosity avoids negative feelings such as divorce, regret and ending of marital life. Couples in Hazara University Mansehra with a high level of religiosity are better able to manage their marital life by strengthening consensus and satisfaction through effectual expressions of feelings, thoughts and ideas.

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Values Transformation and Status of Aged in Punjab

Abstract

The present study explores the changing values and their impact on the status of the aged in Pakistani society. This study was conducted under quantitative research design. A sample of 256 aged individuals was selected from three cities i.e. Lahore, Gujranwala and Rawalpindi. A cross sectional survey was conducted through a structured interview schedule to get the required data. Uni-variate and bi-variate analysis were performed to find out the causal relationship between variables and to test the pre-designed hypotheses. Research findings of the study suggested that declining joint family system, low level of religiosity, increasing modernization, economic dependence and declining male decision making in the family are the changes in the values that are responsible for lower social status of aged in the selected population.

Keywords: *Changing values, religiosity, modernization, patriarchy, status of aged*

INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations World Population Ageing Report (2017), the global population of aged people i.e. 60 years and above is estimated to be 962 million. Due to the rapid increase in the number of older people, the report further estimates that by 2050 their number is expected to reach 2.1 billion. It is significant to note that approximately two-thirds of the world's total older persons live in developing countries, and by 2050, it is estimated that nearly 8 in 10 of the world's older persons will be living in developing countries. For developing countries like Pakistan that are already facing severe challenges to provide socioeconomic opportunities and basic facilities to the people, it would be a serious challenge to address the specific needs of the older persons and engage them in productive aging. Macionis (1997) considers

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values to be social standards that people try to follow and are associated with. Values draw the attention of people towards desirability and appropriateness and become ultimate goals in society. Values play a crucial role in the regulation of social life, thus guaranteeing the social order and smooth functioning of social systems. Zehra (2004) noted that social values are constituted with our roles in society and expectations of being men or women. She further indicated truth, care, peace, duty, justice, religiosity and authority of parents as prominent values of Pakistani society. Iqbal (1984) also considered education, parental mate selection, large family, truth, honesty, justice, and wealth as social values of Pakistani society.

Modernization is considered as a process of change from traditional society based on agricultural economy and conservative orientation, to modern society based on industry, production, use of modern technology, urban life, a scientific, rational world view and liberal orientation. In a society like Pakistan, modernization affects traditional knowledge and gives way to systematic knowledge gained from Western society. Over time modernization has transformed the traditions, values and culture of Pakistani society. Modernization is a powerful but uncertain force in society and it has serious impact on the social structure of societies as it brings massive cultural change. This change is frequently linked with the weakening of traditional norms and values structures. Family is often considered prime social institution after economy and bears the consequences of modernization. Family ensures the transmission of the cultural storehouse of knowledge including norms, values and beliefs from one generation to another through the process of socialization. Family restrictions and social control keep these values alive. However, under the influence of modernization values are getting weaker and result in weakening of family tradition and control. The inevitable result can be breaking of the family authority, family ties and the family itself.

Modernization affects the authority of parents and their relationship with their children. Aging is a broad concept that includes physical changes in our body throughout adult life, psychological changes in our mind and mental capacities, social psychological changes in what we think and believe and social changes in how we are viewed, what we can expect and what is expected of us. Aged people know about many unrecorded events that have taken place over the years in families, in the workplace, in communities, and throughout the nation. Old age can be a time of extraordinary freedom and opportunity once the responsibilities of employment and child rearing are set aside (Hoyert & Donna, 1992). The process of aging is an ingredient in individual personality development, self-concept and mental life. It shapes social interaction, group formation and social structures. It is also a component of the cultural codes; people used to negotiate with each other and to their environment. Contemporary thinking about human development treats the life span as

an integrated, contagious set of age-related events from birth to death with which people cope in a variety of ways. Aging is a socially constructed category with the experience of aging varying in different societies and changing over time. The status of the aged also varies or changes accordingly. Almost all societies are age graded and have some form of age related social hierarchy with some people in stronger, more dominant positions, and others in weaker or lower positions. Often this inequity is built into the social system itself through various forms of structural components and institutions. Social and economic roles are distinguished and accorded differential status according to what a particular society or culture deems valuable (Fink & Moore, 1996). Social stratification is associated with the ability of individuals to live up to some set of ideals or principles regarded as important by the society or some social group within it (Harold, 1998).

Due to advancement in science, life expectancy is increasing leading to an increase in the total population of aged people. This extraordinary increase in aged people has socio-cultural and economic implications. This process has brought about great change in life and kinship bonds and is also weakening the family system (UN, 1992). The changing values are directly linked to modernization. According to Baqai, (1975) industrialization and technological progress have brought about a transition in Pakistani society. He also stated that rural people are conservative; they do not want to change their values but with the spread of education, mass media and increased contact with urban lifestyle their values are changing. The older generation is conservative and stands as a custodian of the traditional values while the younger generation is slowly experiencing modernity. He is of the view that Pakistan is a society which was traditional and is now progressing towards modernity and that the cultural values of Pakistani society are in a transitional stage.

The status of aged people in modern industrialized societies is lower as compared with traditional societies; one reason being that the knowledge and information possessed by older people is considered outdated. Due to rapid technological development and social change, memory is no longer needed because traditions are written down while modern education and training make their skills easily replaceable (Kimmel, 1990). When a society is in the process of modernizing its infrastructure, the living conditions, education system, and healthcare system also experience change. The importance of the older people decreases, their skills and experiences are devalued. Young ones learn their traits from outside the family circle. Due to declining importance of the aged they develop feelings of isolation and detachment from their family. Modernization creates a break between past, present and the future because modern men and women are living differently from their parents and grandparents. These trends have affected the social status of the aged and this study seeks to explore the factors responsible for the declining status.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The process of population ageing, mainly due to reduction of mortality and fertility, has gained great concern in the circle of academics and policy makers. The demographic transition which took more than a hundred years in developed countries has taken only a few decades in developing countries. Like some other developing countries, ageing has becoming a major concern of Pakistan, where the population of aged people is predicted to increase up to 42 million by 2050 (Ali & Kiani, 2003; UN, 2002). In a traditional society like Pakistan, aged people want to live with their family. Furthermore, sometimes conventional young people also want to live with their family. The study of Ali & Kiani(2003) shows that aged people who are living with their family have a better life as compared to the aged people who are living in the nuclear family. Due to increasing age, declining mental and physical abilities aged people need constant support from family members. At times extra workload and multiple assignments do not allow the young to give proper time and attention to the aged people. This leads to loneliness and frustration in the aged.

According to Kimmel (1990) the status of aged men may differ from the status of aged women because women generally face less difficulty than men do and women face less discontinuity and expected behavior as they get older. In the past when life expectancy was low people used to live in joint and extended family systems. The aged people of the family enjoyed respect, not only in their family but also in the community and neighborhood. Modernization and advancement in medicine resulting in higher life expectancy associated with demographic changes have affected the family status of aged, due to which the elderly population is experiencing difficulties. Hakim & Aziz (1998) state that Islam, being a code of life, is the source of the Pakistani value system. It has also influenced all aspects of life and is an important consideration in implementing policies. Joint family is an important aspect of Pakistani society and such a family is headed by the eldest male of the family who also occupies the position of supreme authority.

Aged people may experience economic issues because of limited sources for living. Another problem is the loss that the aged population faces due to their retirement from the workplace. The status of the aged is a matter of concern throughout the world but the severity of the issue varies from country to country. Growing old may be regarded as a time of ripeness and fulfillment or a period of declining health and failing powers. There is nothing inherently problematical about growing old. And yet in most nations of the world, old age is increasingly understood in "social problem" terms. Human beings must age and eventually any cultural belief system that cannot provide security, meaning, and self-esteem for those who reach the conclusion of life's natural sequences will have to change (Sjaak, 1999). Saeed, Shoaib & Ilyas

(2011) state that the elderly need a suitable living environment, admiration, health care, support and an environment for recreational activities. The status of aged people in Pakistan has changed with the advent of modernization. Many of the elderly people are not supported by their respective families and face issues in terms of respect, care, isolation, poor health and physical abuse. Even some elderly individuals do not get proper attention in joint family set up due to large family size. This situation indicates that the quality of life of older people in Pakistan is likely to deteriorate and raise the demand for social protection nets for the older people in the coming years. The rising trends of poverty in Pakistan and declining share of economically active population will not only affect the quality of life of older people but also underscore the need for adequate provision of safety nets for the older people (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011).

Technological developments due to industrialization, westernization, and urbanization have compromised these statuses by weakening the unity and integrity of the joint family. Moreover, the emergence of achieved properties like wealth, education etc. has colonized the mindset of the youths by adopting the individualistic values of the West. Today, aged people may have to face social, economic and psychological problems because of these profound changes in the position of older people in the family and society (Gulzar, Zafar, Ahmad, & Ali, 2008). The study of Siddiqui, Anwar, & Perveen (2009) showed that residents of walled city with a higher status are compared to the residents of Allama Iqbal Town, Lahore, and the reasons were loneliness, physical dependence, isolation and male dominance. The walled city is a traditional area where people are connected with each other, share problems and spend time together, whereas Allama Iqbal Town is a modern locality where people are not well connected with each other and have very limited interaction with neighbors. According to Sabzwari & Azhar (2011) despite being a socially organized society, the decline of extended family systems is evident. This has not only affected the revered status the elderly enjoyed in the past, but the social system that allowed our elders to maintain positions of decision making has also declined, leaving their social standing diminished.

The extended family system in Pakistan helps to provide an opportunity to family members to act as caregivers to the elderly living with them. This care-giving leads to greater satisfaction among them in comparison with care provided by paid caregivers. In the present era of economic recession and with increasing financial constraints on the individual families, the extended family model is being replaced by the nuclear family model which is the basis for further deterioration of the situation (Qidwai & Ashfaq, 2011). In the past, a significant proportion of the aged people was living in the nuclear family system, showing that the joint family is gradually breaking down into nuclear family system and the trend these days is more towards nuclear family than the joint family system. People like to live with their spouses and children but

apart from their parents (Gulzar et al., 2008). The study of Arif & Ahmed (2010) shows the conventional means of support for aged people through strong inter-generational family ties that are likely to dry up as the joint family system in Pakistani society is slowly breaking down. It is directly affecting the status of the aged people in Pakistan. Ibrahim, Abbassi, Adnan & Bhatti (2010) in their research found that under the impact of modernization people are witnessing the breakdown of the traditional extended family setup.

Religious activities are the source of spiritual support and provide chances to interact with people having similar values and beliefs. Participation in religious activities helps the older people to manage health problems and depression. A considerable proportion of aged people viewed illness as a spiritual problem and considered religion as an important tool to manage depression. Religious pursuits help reduce disease related stress (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011). Islam has made it obligatory for the young to give full reverence and respect to their parents. The Holy Quran has emphasized upon children to be good with their parents, and The Holy Prophet (PBUH) has also highlighted the significant position of elders by stating that when a vulnerable person in old age even from another clan comes to you, you give him respect and Allah Almighty will reciprocate with acts of kindness in your old age. However, due to modernization and industrialization religion has lost its hold on people and is adversely affecting the status of the aged (Muhammad, Jan, Shah, & Ahmad, 2009).

The research study of Perveen (2008) indicated that quick changes are observed in our social structures: inflation, urbanization, refugees, industrialization, and many other factors contribute to change. Traditional customs and social values are breaking down. Sociologically it may be concluded that our culture is changing under the impact of the modern age. Nizamuddin (2011) observes that most aged people in Punjab live with their married sons whereas a few live with their unmarried daughters. The study also found that most aged people are engaged in unpaid labor at home. Retired old persons do not get the affection or attention they expect from their family or community. However, the study of Afzal (1999) pointed out that most aged people wanted to continue to work. They feel themselves to be an economic liability and consider it one of the major factors for lowering their status in the family.

METHODOLOGY

A sample of 256 aged males and females, was selected from three cities; namely Lahore, Gujranwala and Rawalpindi randomly. The selection of the cities was made keeping in view the similarities in socio-economic and demographic profiles and generalization of the findings. A survey was conducted through a structured interview

schedule to get the required data. The collected data were presented in tabular format indicating percentages and frequencies. Uni-variate and bi-variate analyses were performed to find out the causal relationship between the variables. Pre-designed hypotheses were also tested to check the relationships between desired variables. The study was limited to the aged people living in urban areas of the selected cities.

Objective

To find out the factors causing change in the values set and to gauge the resultant impact on the status of the aged.

Hypotheses

- Family income is associated with the status of the aged
- Modernization is associated with the status of the aged
- Religiosity is associated with the status of the aged
- Patriarchy is associated with the status of the aged

RESULTS & ANALYSIS

Socio-economic and Demographic Profile

The study recruited 256 respondents. Amongst them 73% (n=187) were males while 27% (n=69) were females. The age of the respondents ranged from 60 years to 75 years. However, the majority of the respondents 54% (n=139) were from age group 60-65 followed by 31% (n=79) from age group 66-70 years. Overwhelming majority i.e. 79% (n=202) were married however 18% (n=46) were the widower at the time of the interview. Joint family was the dominant pattern of family in the research area 74% (n=190) followed by 26% (n=67) respondents living in a nuclear family. The education of the respondents indicated that 58% (n=148) were educated to matriculate level and 32% (n=82) were graduates. The majority of the respondents i.e. 73% (n= 186) had family income ranging from 30,000/- to 50,000/- per month.

Table 1 *Bivariate Analysis*

Variables	Status of Aged		
	Lambda	Gamma	Chi square
Family Income	.068	-.094	25.46
Modernization	.073	.401	25.79
Religiosity	.091	.195	40.15
Patriarchy	.47	.416	47.84

Level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$ $p < 0.05$

The present research intends to determine the factors responsible for the transformation of Pakistani values and resultant lowering status of the aged. The present study corroborates the existing scholarship on gerontology in Pakistan. The

study confirms that poor financial arrangement in joint family setup is intriguing dependence. This factor is lowering the status of the aged. Previous scholarship (Nizamuddin, 2011; Qidwai & Ashfaq, 2011; Gulzar et al., 2008; Perveen, 2007; Ali & Kiani, 2003; Afzal, 1999; Dar, 1996) has clearly established the interplay of economic dependence and joint family in lowering the social status of aged. The research indicated the economic dependence as one of the major factors.

Arif & Ahmed (2010) point out that conventional support for aged people through strong inter-generational family ties are dying down because of the social crack in the joint family system. Increasing use of technology, particularly in the urban areas, is inculcating modern values in the people. The process is generally termed modernization. Perveen (2007) has indicated growing trends of urbanization, industrialization resulting speedy social changes in Pakistani society. She emphasized that customs, traditions and social values are bearing more consequences. Ibrahim, Abbasi, Adnan & Bhatti (2010) in their research observed that modernization has resulted in changes in every sphere of social interaction, and particularly in family. Large families are shrinking into nuclear one. Siddiqui, Anwar, & Perveen (2009) also find out that urbanization and industrialization have changed the family setup. Family structure is transforming from extended/ joint to nuclear. They also highlighted the changing status of the elderly in a family. The study determined the low level of religiosity as one of the causes of lower status of old in the study area.

A research study has documented that religious activities are the source of spiritual support and provide chances to interact with people having similar values and beliefs (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011). Due to modernization and industrialization religion has lost its grip on people and this has adversely affected the status of the aged (Niaz Muhammad, Jan, Shah, & Ahmad, 2009). Malik (2003) has observed that modernization has deeply impacted Pakistani society. Many of the rituals and traditions which were once strictly adhered to, are no longer followed enthusiastically. It was also pointed out that young people are less likely to abide by the traditional values. It was also observed that decision making was in the hands of males and particularly the elderly. However, due to multiple factors the decision making is slipping from the hands of male elderly people. Sabzwari & Azhar (2011) state that the declining joint family has resulted in the weak decision making position of the aged in the family. Now the elderly are in a disadvantaged position, whereas the young and productive (economical) members of the family are taking over. This trend is making the aged population marginalized thus enhancing their economic and social dependence. Kimmel, (1990) highlighting the gender concerns, found that women are less disadvantaged as far as the social and economic positions are concerned. Women generally face less difficulty and less discontinuity in their expected behavior in old age. The present study came up with similar findings.

Elderly women even enjoy a more powerful status in old age. Culturally constructed social statuses are backed by the religious dictums which elevate the status of aged women. It can be concluded that social transformation is causing very serious challenges to the socio-cultural fabric of Pakistani society and family is not an exception. The elderly are becoming more vulnerable to this social transformation. However, strengthening of familial arrangements can provide social support to the elderly in Pakistani society.

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Gender Differences in News Media Consumption: A Repertoire Approach

Abstract

Pakistani television has gone through enormous growth and significant structural change since 2001. There are certain factors such as the increased number of channels, the establishment of overseas channels, increased reliance on advertising, more diversified programming, and heightened market competition etc. which have created the new multi-channel media environment which has the potential to reshape patterns of news media consumption and in turn affect the motivation level of consumers. The researcher used two approaches, Uses and Gratification and Rubin (1984) motivational scale for measurements of multiple news media consumption. Using simple random probability sampling with digital dialing, the researcher has successfully completed the survey with 506 people. The result of the study shows that individual factors influence the media repertoire size and the frequency of the media type usage. Demographic variables play a significant role in building the media repertoires; specifically gender has an effect on the new media usage among Pakistani nationals. Females tend to build their repertoire based on entertainment and soft social news and males tend to build their repertoire on learning motivations. Males have a larger repertoire than females and a greater frequency of using different media for various news contents.

Keywords: *Uses and Gratifications, New Media, Media Repertoire, advertising*

INTRODUCTION

Mass communication research on gender and media usage focused exclusively on the viewing habits of women and men indicates the differences in viewing patterns of males and females and the motivation which drives them to use media for gratification. The relation linking gender and media is a concern with few speculative conditions in mass communication research. Many studies are more inclined towards how the female is being portrayed in media as compared to men (Ularu, 2014). From the structural viewpoint several studies were performed to expose gender differentiation in self-representations. With the advent of New Media technology

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both male and female are engaged in making and engendering identity through different available online tools such as weblogs, photo galleries, fan pages, focus group discussions etc. Each one of these tools provides a chance to articulate our preference associated with different fields of our lives. From the functional perspective, the focal point on media users is to explain how the audience uses media. Research showed that personal-level distinctions, for instance, social and economic positions along with a political stance is accelerating to achieve an important position as the consumers of news in the rapidly shifting media settings (Shehata & Strömbäck, 2011). Considering the abundance of outlets in the current news media, it is easy to assume that an individual will engage in the active selection of their news outlet. Diddi and LaRose (2006), whose study looked at news consumption habits among college students, show an opposite phenomenon. According to the theory of media audience (LaRose, Lin & Eastin, 2003), when supplied with an overabundance of options to choose from, the consumers tend to fall into habitual forms of media consumption.

Individuals usually seek out information online to supplement their print news, not to replace it. (Althaus & Tewsbury, 2000). This supplementary idea is also supported by Yuan (2011) where Chinese audiences choose traditional media and new media for their gratification. The researcher confirmed the withdrawing position of national newspapers in the overall news setting and shifts from paper to small screen. Internet news is currently equivalent in weight to TV news as the most useful overview news medium. (Schrøder & Steeg Larsen, 2010). Diddi and LaRose's (2006) explored that students selected Internet and cable TV to satisfy their surveillance, escapism and entertainment needs and as a part of a habitual practice. Diddi and LaRose's (2006) research further illustrated that internet portal sites were among the most frequently consulted news source, second only to campus newspapers. Diversity between women's and men's answers to computer technology is important in advanced education, where internet activities are increasingly becoming a central aspect of the syllabus in a variety of departments. A lot of studies of college students reveal the differences in male and female students of the internet and perception of computer technology (Sherman et al., 2000).

The present research intends to collect visible news utilization with gender difference roles. It posits that male and female news users combine various media podiums in order to develop individual news gathering for their own news usage. The current media settings with the bundle of media agency choices range from traditional news media to new media. This approach permits us to observe how gender differences examine and identify the entire variety of media in order to provide data on the existing situation in accordance with motivation and gratification. These compose the inner style of personal news repertoires, and reveal the relationship with media

utilization. They studied distinction of the structural design of personal news repertoires connected with different motivation and gratification between news customers in the current news settings. Among the major academic propositions, uses and gratifications are frequently functional and study media selection (Diddi & LaRose 2006; Yuan 2011). The main purpose of the uses and gratifications hypothesis is examining, elucidating, and comprehending the elementary emotional requirements that inspire and figure out discrete causes for selecting a certain medium (Rubin, 1983). Uses and gratifications facilitate persons to motivate and participate in certain media use. Another purpose of the theory of uses and gratifications is to study the various methods in which the audience use media to satisfy the requirement of the theory, and to classify the positive and negative consequences of individual media use (Lin, 1996). The U&G posits that viewers choose different types of medium and forms of programs that satisfy the scrupulous social and emotional requirements (Katz et al, 1973).

Previously the uses and gratification research examined the use of a specific form of media and programs for certain gratification. For instance, in instrumental function such as looking for information and incorporating it into the socio-political order, newspapers were used, while for escapism and entertainment, televisions were more frequently used (Katz et al. 1973). Berelson (1949) found newspapers used mainly for information surveillance. Palmgreen and Rayburn (1985) found that learning communication was mostly fulfilled by television and comes under the supplementary gratification usage. Greenburg (1974) in his study found television was a source of learning for children. Perse, E. M. (1986) found females have more fondness towards soap operas than males Papacharissi (2002) found internet as information retrieving and social learning for gratification of audience. Hinnant (2008) investigated and found differences in online activities in ages 18-26 years old for males and females and recommended that those with a higher level of schooling and of a rich background use the internet for further “capital enhancing” actions.

News audiences combine traditional and new media resources and make patterns for news media use. These patterns reflect the persons’ individual design of media repertoire. The differences in news repertoire based on different news agenda in audiences in the current media environment (E Yuan, 2011). Demographic characteristics are found to play a role in influencing news consumption due in part to their relationship with different motivations for consuming news. (Lee, 2013). When the mass media use the study with social systems the results indicate that with high social and economic status segments obtain information and gather surveillance at a faster rate than the lower status group (Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2014). The study by Nathanson, Perse, & Ferguson, (1997) found instrumental and ritualistic viewing patterns among females and males with males having a more goal oriented viewing

style and selective use of television, rather than females who have a ritualistic and relationship oriented style of watching for emotional satisfaction. The Pew Internet Project surveyed by Fallows (2005) showed that men are more involved in the world of technology and interested in devices and new systems when compared with women and they are more confident in their roles as techies and geeks. Communication patterns are also affected by demographic and socioeconomic factors including income, education, age as well as awareness, concern, and perceptions of ecological issues among differing community groups (O'Keefe, Ward, & Shepard, 2002). The survey showed that mature women tend to make greater use of the web communication methods, while elderly men are inclined to utilize the online media for getting information (Jackson, Ervin, Gardner, & Schmitt, 2001) whereas another and later research by the Pew Research Center, Groden (2015) showed that technology and social media are an integral part of a teenager's social life.

The study found persistent differences in the use of technology by teenage girls and boys wanting to socialize and individuals who use multiple media channels for diverse purposes (Lai & Tang, 2015). A research on the Dutch population observed that individuals with lower education levels along with disabled people use web for multiple hours in a single day as compared with individuals with a higher level of education and working people (Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2014). A study by Jackson et al (2001) observed that females utilized electronic mails more than males, and females described computer uneasiness and lower competence in the computer use whereas males are found to be friendly with computer. Similarly in Singapore where mobile phones and internet saturation is amongst the highest in the world, older people suffer from social exclusion because of the unfamiliarity with new expertise in technology, thus creating a socially charged digital divide (Lim & Tan, 2003).

Oscar Westlund (2012) has examined news consumption through the mobile phone. He states that many people today have access to news through the rapid emergence of ICT worldwide. Media selection with gender differences proposed in the present study theorizes news consumption behavior as a complex pattern of media usage as compared with particular media choice. It identifies differences in the patterns and sizes of repertoires in males and females and examines how the diversity in news repertoires connects with the users' motivation and socioeconomic characteristics in the present intricate and complex news media environment. For the present study the following research questions were formulated:

RQ1: What are the gender differences in media selection of news consumer's media repertoires?

RQ2: What are the differences in the frequency of news media usage and repertoire sizes of males and females?

RQ3: How are the motivational determinants for news consumptions influenced by gender?

Heeter (1985) was the first to develop the repertoire method for media consumption and describe the channel-watching routines of television users. Edgerly, (2015) revealed the six distinct media selections in which ideologically driven repertoire and medium centric repertoire are bigger than others. O'Keefe (1998) explained multiple media selection by investigating the multiple news media podiums for health information. This study showed both accompaniment and congregate forms of several media usages for health news. Similarly, Chinese consumers used diverse information media platforms of various news genre including politics and sports and it was observed that there has been overlapping media usage for particular news genre and different news media used for different contents (Yuan,2011). Research showed that personal uniqueness such as social and economic status and devotion for political and current affairs genre are more important forecasters of news utilization in multimedia and digital media environment (Shehata & Strömbäck, 2011). Su, Akin, Brossard, Scheufele, & Xenos, (2015) in their research explained science news consumption and examined viewers' repertoires of science media utilization, and the outcome of these consumption patterns on public perception about science and technology.

Yuan, (2011) observed that females have larger media repertoire than males. Another research has documented that females and older viewers have a greater affinity for television (Kim & Viswanathan, 2015). Individuals' characteristics are also a major determinant of their media use (Coffey & Cleary, 2011). Repertoires are also influenced by institutional conditions; (e.g., incentives, trust, and physical proximity) situational conditions (e.g., urgency, task, etc.), and by the routine use of the media over time (Watson-manheim, 2007). Research suggests that personal determinants (e.g., concentration, enthusiasm, gratification, habits) and structural features (e.g., audience accessibility, ease to digital media use) predict the size and creation of multiple medium repertoires (Kim, 2016; Yuan & Webster, 2006). The study also investigated that those who have more interest and a higher frequency of using multiple media have broader repertoires than users who use media less frequently (Yuan, 2011). Individual preferences reflect micro level approach in media consumption and the outcome of an individual's requirements and inclination.

A leading approach in media choice such as *uses and gratifications* (U &G) specified that active audiences are mediators who use media to satisfy their personality desires and needs (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1963; Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2007). Personal determinants regarding inspirations include entertainment, leisure and friendship, information getting behavior, habit, hobby and escape. Uses & Gratification used to explain the selection of multiple media platforms and different

and divergent media content. The study has discovered that gratification is connected with conventional media podiums like newspapers, print media, television media (Rubin, 1983), and digital media like the web and social media (Ferguson & Perse, 2000). Uses & Gratification includes genre gratification studies for instance soap operas (Perse, 1986), news series and news shows (Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1985), TV reality shows (Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2007) and internet based social websites such as Facebook and Twitter (Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2010). Rubin (1984) classified screening stimulus into two wide ranges - 'ritualistic' and 'instrumental' in small screen viewing. Ritualistic means a lesser active and a greater passive approach in using media, linked with motivational determinants, relaxation and time killing (Rubin, 1984).

Instrumental use as opposed to the ritualistic approach refers to goal-oriented consumption, for instance viewers seek out specific information due to certain requirements, like, the desire for information (Rubin, 1984). U & G research recognizes precise viewing motivations in explaining the attention of diverse content genres. Instrumental motivations explain sports, where consumers watch television for information rather than habit (Cooper & Tang, 2012). Gantz & Wenner (1995) also suggest that viewers watch sports for instrumental motivation. Wonneberger et al. (2011) studied the news viewing patterns and discovered that an increase in television news viewing is associated with political interest and inclination towards news programs. In comparison, habitual viewing of TV is associated with screening the entertainment contents such as soap operas or reality TV shows, thus confirming ritualistic motivations approach for media consumption. Other studies have explained the uses and gratifications scheme and have given hypothetical explanations regarding when and why medium consumers select specific types of media podiums or content genres (Waterman, 1992; Wildman & Owens, 1992). Based on these arguments, the following hypothesis have been formulated:

H1: Men have larger news media repertoire than women.

H2: Learning motivation for men is associated with the use of information-oriented news.

H3: Women's relaxation motivation is positively related to the use of entertainment-oriented news.

METHODOLOGY

The overall rationale of using the quantitative survey approach in this research was to collect data from a huge population of Pakistani society, their nature of media usage and how they build their news media repertoire. The data for the current study was gathered through a computer-based telephonic survey carried out in November 2016 from viewers in Pakistan. The research used random digit-based dialup, the researcher successfully collected data from 506 respondents who were media consumers of age 18 and older, who replied completely to the questionnaire. The collective response percentage was 56 per cent. The results show that there were 52% male respondents and 48% female respondents in the sample. The median monthly personal income was 15,000 to 25,000 rupees, and the median respondent education was matriculation.

A question was asked of the individuals about the number of days in a week they consume any medium for news information. The result described that on average, news audience checks news every day. Various questions were asked of the respondents to classify the type of media they normally use for any genre of news. There were six media types including newspaper, magazines, TV, radio, internet, and social websites. The combination of five-point Likert scale questions ('Never', 'Rarely', 'Sometimes', 'Usually' and 'Always') inquired how regularly people spend time on each medium for diverse type of news. The research investigated the six news genre groups: current affairs/politics, business and finance, entertainment (news about entertainment celebrities and fashion), social news (sensational news and reenactments), news about sports and general news (like information about city traffic and climate, etc.). The questionnaire includes 36 questions in total (six news genres by six news media). For example: A survey question was 'How much time do you spend reading newspapers for politics and current affairs related news?' The researcher has analyzed a participant's motivation for using multiple media through ten questions. The questions have been taken from an earlier research on media usage for motivations by Rubin (1983).

RESULTS & ANALYSIS

Research question number 1 asked how gender differences in media selection evolve the people media repertoires. Table 1 shows the chi square results for each media type against gender categories. Findings show that males and females' choice of media selection is significantly different in television, newspaper, internet and magazines. Males and females have consumed radio, mobile phones and social media with no significant difference.

Table 1 *Chi-Square Association Test*

Media Type	Pearson Chi-square		P value
	value	d.f	
Television	13.31	4	0.01
Newspaper	22.72	4	0.00
Radio	6.69	4	0.15
Internet	12.91	4	0.02
Mobile phone	3.42	4	0.49
Social Media	8.225	4	0.08
Magazine	13.86	4	0.008

The above table shows the independent sample t-test for television, newspaper, social media, and internet and magazines usage in any given day. Levene's test for equality of means and variance indicate that the television viewing and newspaper reading is gender dependent. The F value for television is 13.443 with p value (0.00) indicates that males spend more time in watching television. Similarly, the F value for newspaper is 8.311 with p value (0.004) indicating that males have greater tendency to read newspapers as compared to females.

Table 2 *Levene's Test for Equality of Variances*

Media usage in a Day	F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Television	13.443	.000	1.833	504	.067	.182	.099
Newspaper	8.311	.004	3.055	504	.002	.222	.073
Social media	1.192	.275	-	504	.056	-.222	.116
Internet	2.265	.133	1.915	504	.176	-.162	.119
Magazines	.207	.650	1.356	504	.918	-.008	.077

Social media, internet and magazine reading are not significantly different for gender category. The equality of variance test (F test) and (t test) results are not significant for social media, internet and magazine's reading.

Table 3 *Levene's Test for Equality of Variances on Gender*

Media Usage In a Week	Equal variances assumed	variances not assumed	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Time in a day	Equal variances assumed		4.121	.043	2.284	504	.023
	Equal variances not assumed				2.279	495.363	.023
Time in a day	Equal variances assumed		4.831	.028	.981	504	.327
	Equal variances not assumed				.967	430.773	.334

Levene's test for equality of variances discovers the difference of media usage in a week between male and female. The F test value is 4.121 when p value (0.043) is significant at 5% level of confidence. The student t distribution test for difference of means also defines the same results and significant at p value 0.023. Similarly, F test and t test on time spent in a day for media usage was performed and results show that there is significant difference between male and female for the time spent on news media. The results revealed that males spend more time watching television and readings newspaper in daily life due to greater accessibility and motivational attributes.

Table 4 *Gender and Use of All Media In Numbers*

		Repertoire size					Total
		1-4	5-8	9-12	13-16	More than 20 Channels	
Gender	male	150	68	37	3	2	260
	female	182	40	10	4	4	240
Total		332	108	47	7	6	500

The repertoire size of the audience was shown in the above table; the results show significant difference between the male and female repertoire sizes. More males have repertoire size between 5-8 and in the 9-12 range. Similarly, majority of females have a repertoire size of 1-4 which is lower than males.

Gender and motivational determinants for news consumptions

Table 5 *Rotated Component Matrix*

	Component		
	Learning	Social Interaction	Self-Driven
Find new ideas	.737		
Find out what is required	.743		
Improve what I do	.791		
To be knowledgeable what is happening around	.611	.349	
To keep an emotionally established life		.635	
To join people in circle		.767	
To be entertain			.675
To know about other people's life	.370		.322
To kill time			.823
To be seen as significant person			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

The research conducted a factor study of 10 questions on respondents' motivations for using multiple television channels. The set of questions are taken from earlier studies on television watching motivations based on the gender. A Varimax rotation scheme discovered that five factors having eigen values greater than 1 explored approximately 73% of the total of squared deviations. It was observed that four factors are linked with factor learning (M =3.63 and S.D =1.01), relaxation (M = 3.5 and S.D =1.02) and self-driven (M=2.99 and S.D = 1.02). Learning and relaxation variables are identical to television usage inspirations observed in earlier "uses and gratification" researches. Self-oriented motivations contain an aspiration to recognize more about other's lives and to be more prominent than others. Males have more motivation for the learning prospective and to get new ideas but the motivational levels of female respondents were to get entertained and to kill time as also to know more about other people's lives.

Table 6 OLS Regression for Urdu Newspaper News Consumptions

		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	21.041	1.751		12.01	.000
	Accessible Newspaper	1.018	.170	.235	5.986	.000
	Gender	-3.633	.445	-.347	-8.157	.000
	Religion	-1.638	.817	-.078	-2.005	.046
	Religion	-.230	.272	-.033	-.848	.397
	Education	.015	.143	.004	.104	.917
	Income	.479	.160	.144	2.998	.003
	Age	-.168	.148	-.052	-1.134	.257
	Newspaper usage in day	.444	.257	.070	1.728	.085

The above model output shows that all the control variables have significant effects on news consumption. Age shows the negative effect which means that the older you are, the lesser you read Urdu newspaper for news consumptions. The education pay positive effect on the newspaper consumptions. The results have indicated that the time spend on newspapers is directly related to the amount of news and information received. The accessibility of the newspaper has positive and strong effect on the frequency of the usage of Urdu newspapers.

The growth in the media channels has given new structures of media consumption. Print media reading has partly shifted from printed paper to internet reading, as has TV viewing and radio listening. Meanwhile, social media has revolutionized the structures of how we receive, consume and forward information and news. When analyzing the first research question we can conclude that gender has a significant effect on online news consumption. The next finding is that the repertoire scheme emphasizes how people join their media links in widespread shapes of medium

utilization for different news satisfactions. The present research discovered both complementary and convergent models of various medium uses (Chaffee, 1986). The study demonstrates that some of the Pakistani news audience uses unusual news media for diverse kind of news; while the remaining joins them for overlapping information. A probable cause for the latter kind of media use can be distinguished through accessibility of different media types for news.

The current scheme may replicate single media consumer's full attention in a particular kind of news with requirements for diverse media to strengthen and get elaborate knowledge about similar data from multiple media. The two schemes present motivations for repertoire size based on personal attributes. It can be difficult to predict the precise characteristics for news viewers in other parts of the world, however the foremost reason for this study was to identify the scheme that unusual users desire diverse combination of media foundations for diverse news gratifications. The aim of the research was completely achieved. Gender and age have different tendency or effect on the choice of television channel. Women and aged respondents were inclined to view television more when compared with men or younger participants correspondingly. These findings are consistent with earlier researches which also found that women and aged audience had a higher attraction for digital media (Comstock & Scharrer, 1999; Cooper & Tang, 2009; Kang, 2002; Taneja et al., 2012). This research also established older audiences' inclination for television and women viewers' inclination for entertainment-based television sources. This was against our estimations; the influence of education was not matched and diverged based on the kind of television sources, an audience select to watch. Respondents with higher qualification described a higher inclination for a private TV channel that mostly transmits news and general information. The people with less education view politics, entertainment and sports news more than anything else.

CONCLUSION

The repertoire-based scheme is specifically associated in the framework in today's Pakistani media. The media is growing day by day in Pakistan in terms of numbers; therefore, it is expected of the audience to adapt accordingly in order to get the contents from multiple sources. During this process they create the cross-media repertoires based on individual factors as well as structural factors. The study shows the results of individual factors which influence the media repertoire size and the frequency of the media type usage. Demographic variables play a significant role in building the media repertoires, specifically gender and the age affects the new media usage among Pakistani nationals. Females tend to build their repertoire based on entertainment and soft social news. The study required further investigation of repeated user analysis and the effect of friends and classmates on individual media choices.

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Understanding Gender Trans/formation in Trans/national Racial Communities: Pakistani Women in First-World Diaspora

Abstract

Gender is a social and cultural construct and every society imposes different characteristics pertaining to gender roles for men and women. Often these roles are manifested in the actions of people in certain settings with gender based practices or constructions differing from one society to another. The patriarchal mode of society deems less liberal positions for women than a society which is matriarchal. Pakistan's mainly patriarchal culture deems women subservient to men but migration and resettlement in a new environment enable these women to exhibit resilience and determination. The rationale of this inquiry is to analyze the impact of migration on Pakistani women diaspora and how female gender roles are transformed, and represented in diaspora literature.

Key words: *Migration, Gender, Transnationalism, Racial Relations, Transformation*

INTRODUCTION

The term diaspora is taken from the Greek word ‘*diaspeirein*’ meaning ‘scattering of seed’. It entails the process of migration of an individual or a group of people from their homeland to adopted-land. The word diaspora has been translated in all dictionaries in relation to the dispersal of Jews after the Babylonian captivity that is believed to be associated with the Jewish experience. However the term has now taken up metaphoric connotations for every one living away from their roots like expatriates, immigrants, refugees, displaced communities and ethnic minorities (Tölölyan, 1991, p. 5). Over the years the term diaspora has proliferated and due to an immense exploration in the field, many issues pertaining to diaspora have looked in like nostalgia, memory, identity crisis, etc. Diaspora, being part of migration, is a fundamental phenomenon

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since it involves the process of moving from one material setting to different and perhaps new and unfamiliar surroundings. Diaspora has always been a part of human civilization around the world due to the large scale migration of people from their homeland to other societies, though the reasons have been different for these displacements. Diaspora is a dynamic process affecting the thinking and way of life of migrants. Diasporic state posits influence on the minds of the immigrants. It not only requires physical relocation but also involves psychological resettlement in host culture. Gender representation and transformation is an important aspect of diaspora as diasporic community forms a trans[national] gendered society, in which they undergo gender based relations and differences, and try to adjust themselves in new surroundings. The recent scholarship has “emphasized the continuous and ongoing process through which immigrants [male and female] reconstitute and negotiate their identity[ies]” (Bhatia and Ram, 2001, p. 2).

Diaspora influences men and women in a different way depending upon their earlier socio-political and cultural contexts. Cultural embeddedness is a matrix of gender, where identities, behaviors and roles are constructed between men and women. This means that gender based roles and practices differ from one society to another. When men and women socially interact with each other in a particular gendered setting, their behaviors transform accordingly. For instance, in most developing countries women are given the roles of caretaker of the house, confined within the four walls but when these women migrate to first world countries they shift from household role to wage earner for family as a result of social mobility, economic autonomy and self-empowerment in diasporic setting. Passing from house-confinement to working outside gives women a certain gender reconstruction by opposing earlier gender stereotypes. Migration also affects men; power that has been traditionally accorded to men and home grown cultural ideology changes when men and women work together inside and outside the home with equal authority. Since ‘diasporic identities are always configured through gender’ (Dwyer, 2000, p. 475), migration in the globalized context provides re-construction and reshaping of gender roles among men and women. Thus it can be conceded that gender is not a static phenomenon but changes constantly and in this way is socially constructed and reconstructed through time and space. Diaspora offers new foundation to gender constructions and reconstructions for migrants, therefore gender roles and/or practices are bound to undergo negotiation and trans/formational process.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Diaspora studies have been male centered phenomenon until very recently. But with the onset of different women’s movements and developmental studies in the field during the 1980’s women have been brought to the center of migration studies in

addition with other fields of inquiries. As a result diaspora is now studied from both male and female perspectives, focusing on different theoretical and analytical tools applicable to gendered analyses without elaboration of sex as a dichotomous instrument. For example Pessar (1986) and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) take a critical stance against conventional hypotheses regarding gender and migration, and assert that diaspora is a gendered process but for a long time gender has been sidelined in scholarly discussions. Since the 1980s diaspora discipline has become gender responsive bringing women into the sphere of international migration experiences which is one of the most important corollaries of diaspora discourse. It emphasizes women's conditions in diaspora by asking questions whether women have been emancipated from presumed gender roles and behaviors of their home grown culture.

Olivia Espin (1999) in *Women Crossing Boundaries* attempts to explore trans/formation of gender and sexuality of women in diaspora through the narratives of women from different backgrounds. These women range in age from the 20s to 70s and their narratives are analyzed in the backdrop of their historical and socio-economic contexts of migration. Her stance is on the psychological impact of migration on women's sexuality and gender roles. Acculturation is a pivotal process for all migrants – men and women – but it entails psychological changes and affects differently in terms of gender. However, according to Espin, acculturation is not an easy process of integration since the internalization of cultural and familial norms has deep roots in the psychology and identity of all human beings (Espin, 1999, p. 5). Cultural up-rootedness formulates ideology and gender roles for people but the process of migration brings interaction between home grown and diasporic ideological understandings in which immigrants tend to be transformed. It may be surmised that the experiences of migrant women will ultimately result in significant social changes in their vantage point, gender relations and sense of identity.

Shahnaz Khan (2002) in her book, *Aversion and Desire: Negotiating Muslim Female Identity in the Diaspora*, attempts to explore the process of negotiating gender identity among Muslim female immigrants in Canada. She interviewed fourteen Muslim female girls of different ages belonging to diverse backgrounds for the purpose of gaining insight into gender discourses and practices in multicultural context that help shape their identities. The accounts of these girls regarding social fluidity of their identities helps us to understand the issues that Muslim women might face in present-day western metropolitan societies and suggest how Islamic female identity is constructed and performed in Canada and how it may be constructed and performed elsewhere in the *First World* (Khan, 2002, p. 22). Individual women experience the diaspora process in different ways than men. Being in diasporic state, women create hybridized gender space for themselves between their previous and current gender ideological contestation and as a result their ontological existence

challenges the fixity of cultural and religious bonds, discursively constructing new and transformed gendered ideologies. According to Khan (2002), women as hybridized subjects initiate new signifiers and symbols of identities (p. 21). When a woman leaves her home grown society and settles in a new community, besides other social structures her gender orientation is deconstructed and reconstructed in a new place. The varying landscape of gender practices across borders allows women to negotiate and reconstruct their gender relations and beliefs.

Monica Ali, the South Asian diaspora writer of Bangladeshi descent, has presented the issues of gender among Bangladeshi diaspora women in her debut novel *Brick Lane* (2003). The protagonist of the novel Nazneen is a typical Bangladeshi teenage girl who settles in London after her marriage with Channu, a middle-aged man who has been living in England for many years. During her initial stay in London Nazneen is strictly inclined to her Bangladeshi traditional beliefs, cultural roots and parental socialization, just as she had promised her father before marriage, “Abba.... I hope I can be a good wife like Amma” (Ali, 2003, p. 27). She is intended for household chores, as a loyal and deferential wife, interacting only with Bangladeshi women and adhering to her traditional dress and norms. Later, however, she has to struggle to negotiate between her traditional self and cross-cultural transformed self; and we see gradual changes in her character. Earlier she had followed a fatalist philosophy; which made her feel that she had no say in her destiny and therefore had to succumb to fate, but as her interaction with her new surroundings expands, she gains self-confidence and forces herself to control her life. The only thing she aspires for is the freedom of which she has been deprived in her patriarchal native land but being in a diasporic state she finds opportunity to exercise her power according to her free will and therefore decides not to leave England. Her adulterous affair with Karim testifies to her sense of the independent self. Although adultery is a sin in Islam and forbidden in any Islamic society, Nazneen indulges in it without considering it as sinful or inappropriate. It is because of her hedonistic approach which grows out of her interaction and the overwhelming effects of western culture. Another example of diasporic gender representation is presented by Tahira Naqvi in her collection of short stories *Dying in a Strange Country* (2001).

All of these stories are interwoven with each other by a thread running through the stories by means of a female character named Zenab. Naqvi deals with the theme of gender and culture which is set in an extended immigrant Pakistani-American family living in North America. Her stories portray the immigrant experiences of women with recurring topics of daily life in a light manner without cultural or identity collision in diversified America. All characters are depicted in a way in which they come to reconcile and negotiate differences and bring a balance to their dual identities; “the search for identity, therefore seems to be maturing and mellowing into

a negotiation, where it is not necessary to be exclusively one or the other, and is more viable to be a hybrid product of several cultures” (Lisa, 2002, p. 277). Thus in diaspora gender identities are presented in relation to the other, where identities are accepted as transformed.

METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on the responses and challenges of Pakistani trans-migrant women regarding gender roles, as presented in Pakistani diaspora literature. In developing the parameters of this inquiry, the following objectives are established; a) to analyze the psychological imprinting of diaspora on Pakistani immigrant women and b) to examine socio-cultural collision and aversion in diaspora with respect to gender roles and practices. Since this study is undertaken to explore the psychological imprinting of migration upon the female immigrants moving from their national and cultural boundaries to new adopted societies, it is a theoretical descriptive/interpretive analysis. I attempt to examine the gender transformational process and elements involved in this transformation in the backdrop of Lacan’s idea of ‘Innennwelt’ and ‘Umwelt’. Lacan develops a relationship between a person’s inner-self and the outer-world by using the German terms *Innennwelt* (inner world) and *Umwelt* (environment) to emphasize the interaction between inner and outer worlds for human entrance into society. This study is delimited to Kamila Shamsie’s novel *Salt and Saffron*.

DISCUSSION & ANALYSIS

The novel *Salt and Saffron* (2000) centers around the three dimensional experience of the Pakistani girl Aliya, who returns to Pakistan for summer vacations after graduating from America. On her way back from America she stays for a few days with her relatives in England. Aliya is the main character and narrator of the story: a natural storyteller, who develops her storytelling technique from her grandmother’s bedtime stories. The whole story is told in flash backs, in which she moves between Pakistan, America and England and from the present to the past. The stories within the story are very significant in understanding Aliya’s mental development and revisiting of old traditions and values. Her social and cultural dispersion in the diaspora contributes to her diasporic consciousness and interaction within the new socio-cultural environment and shapes her personal identity. The novel is not only a journey of the protagonist from Pakistan to America and England but it also portrays Aliya’s ideological travelling from Pakistani cultural conventions to Westernized cultural values. Aliya is a descendent of the aristocratic Dard-e-Dil family who settled in Pakistan after the emergence of Pakistan, during the middle of the twentieth century. The Dard-e-Dils are an influential and affluent family that traces its roots to the ancient feudal clan of Taimur Lang. The whole family is divided into the old and

new generations having traditional and modern mental makeup respectively. Characters belonging to the old generation continuously try to reestablish family ancestry and refer back to ancestral stories with keen pride whereas the younger group is skeptical about family claims and attempts to deconstruct these claims by questioning the authenticity of the past. Aliya is a new generation Dard e Dil who moves to America for higher studies. Transnational movement enables her to revisit her family history by looking into the familial and social constructs embedded in her family stories, time-and-again commenting about her family stories. After living for four years away from her family she deconstructs her familial aristocratic lineage and the class and gender division pertinent to her family tradition and Pakistani society. She finds herself caught between two ideological constructs; the Pakistani conservative outlook and the contemporary American diaspora where she becomes a liberal individual.

The trajectories of Lacan's *Innennwelt* and *Umwelt* (p. 63) are woven in Aliya's life in the form of old and new, eastern and western thoughts and values. According to Lacan, the idea of the self evolves through interaction between the self (*Innennwelt*) and the outer world (*Umwelt*). There is an evident connection between an individual and society since both are interdependent and interconnected. She considers class and gender discrimination critically and transcends the class snobbery infused in her character by her familial background. Her diasporic experience provides her with a broadminded view to investigate class snobbery and gender discrimination. Societies, whether patriarchal or matriarchal, operate on social and cultural standards that construct roles for the male and female. Social positions of male and female determine their roles in their home culture and in the diaspora.

The process of migration has psychological effect on immigrants' gender roles, practices and ideologies that challenge and structure the gender construct of male and female immigrants. Pakistani society is a patriarchal society where life for women is very restricted and women are expected to comply with tribal beliefs and traditions (Niaz, 2003, p. 175). Women have far less breathing space than men and are always subservient to their male counterparts. In Pakistan, like many other patriarchal societies, gender roles are defined on the basis of biological sex. Sex is a defining factor and determines social and political positions for men and women who are treated differently from the very beginning and are given attributes that are pertinent to masculine and feminine orientation. For instance, from very early life boys are given different toys from girls and girls are dressed differently from boys. These hierarchical patterns based on gender bifurcation ascribe roles for males and females and further lead to gender discrimination. Shamsie is against the prevalent gender oppression of women in Pakistani society and gives vent to her disillusionment with regards to the social structure that denies women equal space and significance in *Salt*

and Saffron (2000). Women have always been judged under strict social codes and they have minimal liberty. Shamsie presents this gender biasedness through the episode of Mariam's elopement. Mariam's character has been presented as caught in the gender wise segregation. She loves a man belonging to the lower strata of society but she is not allowed to express her sentiments or to talk to him throughout the story. Her love for Masood is as silent as the sea and conforms to societal norms. Aliya informs Celeste about Mariam's love and Celeste is touched by Mariam's passion and celibacy especially in terms of the social and cultural norms. She cannot believe Mariam's reticent temperament but Aliya confirms her views, stating that "Pakistan isn't as obvious as America. Our love stories are all about pining and separation and tiny gestures assuming grand significance" (p. 98).

The concept of love is altogether different in Pakistani society, where the majority of women are not permitted to choose their partners and marriages are arranged by family members. America is an egalitarian society with equal acceptance for men and women. Women are given adequate personal freedom and independence in American society and culture and are not socially and morally fettered; they are free to move in society; to develop relationships with whoever they wish to and live on their own without dependence on family members. In such a culture women are independent in deciding their future plans such as marriage and bearing children, they can make choices as to whether they wish to complete their studies and then, whenever they wish, to decide on the subject of marriage.

Certain cultures in our world promote various perspectives of the appropriate roles and place for women within the social order and do not offer much independence to women. For instance hierarchical cultures operate on the assumption that women are expected to hold marriage and children as their primary goals and interest (J. LaVelle Ingram, 2014). Similarly women who live on their own are considered morally bad, therefore they cannot abandon the protection of the family but being in America this autonomy is possible for women also. Whenever women from different cultural practices arrive in the US, their cultural norms collide with the new environment and they begin to question their homeland traditions, transforming their earlier ideologies with the passage of time. This is also true of Aliya's character; she lives in America for four years and these years prove to be transformative for her. The immigration to America and the liberal culture of the US results in the social and cultural repositioning of Aliya. She is influenced by western cultural traditions particularly those regarding gender and class equality. She belongs to a family structure where gender and class inequality are accepted and women are marginalized in a society dominated by men. In the same way, poor people are pushed to the periphery and looked down upon; Karachi, the city that forms the backdrop of the novel, is entangled in class consciousness and the city is divided on the basis of living

standards. Clifton and Defense areas are characterized as sophisticated and posh regions because the wealthiest strata of society live in these locations. People belonging to refined areas like Defense and Clifton, are reluctant to meet and establish family relations with the people of poor areas.

The character of Mariam is very important to understand Shamsie's disillusionment about class and gender discrimination. Mariam symbolizes the new generation that is against the gender and class intolerance embedded in aristocratic families. She is more concerned about humanity than about humanly constructed class consciousness. She loves Masood, the family cook, and without thinking about the class differences elopes with him. Her family members are so heartbroken that they regard it as a blot on the family pride. Everyone in the family reacts against it in its own way particularly the reaction of Dadi, who is hostile that she goes to the extent of calling the whole clan morally wrong and leaves the family saying; "I hate you. I hate this whole bloody clan" (p. 104). She was very angry at Mariam's elopement and labels her, 'whore' (p. 104) which Aliya cannot endure and slaps Dadi. She believes that, "In slapping Dadi I proved I did not think like her" (p. 113). Dadi's reaction against Mariam's elopement with Masood is testimony of the aristocratic and patriarchal construction of Pakistani society, since people are divided on the basis of class and gender, one class is distanced from another even as men from women. Masood is a servant and as such it is not acceptable for a member of a sophisticated family to elope with a servant.

Furthermore, Pakistani society is in favour of patriarchy and restricting females to prescribed yardsticks. Since Mariam elopes with Masood she commits two grave offenses and becomes a blot on the family honour. The family believes that they have been humiliated and consider it immoral. Aliya tries to defend Mariam against societal conventions; since she already knew that Mariam's case was not pardonable for the Dard e Dil family because they "couldn't see beyond their own class prejudices" (p. 112). Gender discrimination, coupled with the class consciousness and feudal structure of Karachi, engenders disparity between men and women and consequently leads to social hierarchy. In the class-conscious society of Karachi, people belonging to the upper strata of society look down upon the inferior strata of society. They do not want to mix with them and this status consciousness creates a gap between the different classes of society. Elite or aristocratic families do not mingle with the lower classes; let alone indulge in marriages. The Dard e Dil clan traces its roots to the royal Mughal family and is therefore concerned about family status. In their feudal structure no member of the family can think of mingling or marrying a person lower in status than them. In marrying the family servant, Mariam rebels against the social structure related to gender and class consciousness. None of the family members appear to accept this marriage except Aliya; who defends

Mariam against all the accusations of the family. Mariam's elopement with Masood is significant in Shamsie's disillusionment and the criticism of gender and class divide in Pakistan. Aliya is the mouthpiece of Shamsie in criticizing and deconstructing class boundaries which separate people on the basis of social status and transnational movement or diaspora, enables Aliya to transgress the barriers of class.

In reconstructing the story of Mariam and Masood beyond the class boundaries, she attempts to interpret her own love story with Khaleel who belongs to Liaquatabad, a socially inferior area of Karachi. She first meets Khaleel on a journey between America and the UK and learns that Khaleel is an American of Pakistani origin, who has never been to Pakistan and whose family belongs to Liaquatabad. In the beginning she displays an aristocratic demeanor when she realizes that Khaleel belongs to the wrong side of the city and that her cousin would make fun of her choice as Khaleel hails from Liaquatabad in Karachi. Aliya cannot think beyond her inborn snobbery and Khaleel comments on this when he says, 'Don't pigeon-hole me, or my family, in Liaquatabad' (p. 63). She finds it difficult to free herself from the inherited class consciousness though she tries 'very hard not to pigeon-hole Liaquatabad' (p. 63). Khaleel asks Aliya, if she would visit him in Liaquatabad and Aliya finds it difficult to answer the question: it is a 'moment when the whole world holds its breath' (p. 64) since the question takes her back to the time when she was in college.

Another boy belonging to the lower strata of society, wanted to converse with Aliya but it was difficult for her to carry on a conversation because she was incapable of thinking beyond class prejudice. The boy realizes this early on and tells Aliya, 'the insurmountable problem is that when you think of me there's logic to your thoughts' (p. 64). Sometimes, people are so entangled in social practices that they cannot deviate from these prevalent norms and even if they attempt to, they find it difficult to traverse social and familial fetters. Thus, she feels embarrassed to disclose to Khaleel about her cousin Samia who states, 'the poor live in Liaquatabad. The poor, the lower classes, the not-us' (p. 43) but since Khaleel is settled in America, he has assimilated into western life, where money and class do not matter in the same way that they do in Pakistan. She tries to console herself by thinking that Khaleel is not socially inferior though he belongs to a substandard area. Aliya's perception about the class divides, which form the major concern of her family, changes with the passage of time. Living in America provides Aliya a discernment to appraise people that is different from her earlier appraisal. Aristocratic family values have been transmitted to the younger generation by old family members through different means such as oral family tales, family roots, past events and personalities. In spite of the family ancestry and claims of superiority transmitted to Aliya's generation, Aliya looks for

its authenticity by questioning and reinterpreting past claims; she constructs and deconstructs family superiority claims at the same time ironically narrating the stories of Dard e Dil's affiliation with the Mughal dynasty. When she deconstructs the claims of Dard e Dils, she comments that Dard e Dil had such a small territory that it could hardly be called a kingdom; thus showing her skepticism about her family's claim to past glory.

Diaspora being a trans-national and trans-cultural movement influences Aliya's perceptions about class and gender relationships that have been inscribed in Pakistani society and passed on to the new generation. Diaspora develops Aliya's relationship with her adopted society thus enabling her to subvert class and gender boundaries in Pakistan. Since Lacan articulates the idea of self-reflection through social identity formation; according to him, self (identity) is not self-validated; rather it is understood only in relation to the external world. The existence of ego is based on the reliance of self to the outside world. The ego is formed in the mirror stage as the outcome of relational association of self and the external world. The geographical dislocation beyond the Indian subcontinent and into the West affects cultural and racial relationships among people, enabling them to reevaluate and reduce societal and gender differences. Class identification and class discrimination of Pakistani people remains inactive in the cosmopolitan movement and consequently affects social relationships with others at home and abroad. Relocation in the Western culture is symptomatic of construction of trans-national cosmopolitan identity.

The character of Aliya, drawn in the multicultural Western society, is the exponent of Shamsie's idea that nationalism or ethnicity has to be reconsidered in globalization and be transformed accordingly. Migration into transnational and global culture influences immigrants' perception about their identities leading them to adapt to the transformation into the social order so as to fit into mixed racial context. The world has become a composite of mixed origins, and what is required for the survival and sustenance is the sense of change. Immigration for Pakistani women and adaptation to the Western society offers fluidity in their identities. It provides new opportunities for them, offering them social and gender freedom. Pakistani patriarchy is negotiated in Western society, and this involves the gender position of Pakistani women being improved as a result of the interruption of established gender constructs of Pakistani society. Aliya's perceptions about different societal and cultural norms of her family change after living in America for four years. For instance, she reconsiders female subjugation and class biasedness in her family structure. Mariam Apa is a victim of gender biasedness since she is not given freedom to choose a match for herself. She loves Masood but it is hard for her to plead her case in the patriarchal and class conscious conventions of her family which result in her elopement with him. Elopement, itself, is a double edged offence in her family because on the one hand

she stands against gender oppression and on the other she rebels against the hierarchy of the feudal system. Mariam becomes the victim of the extended hatred of the entire family leading Aliya to acknowledge this atmosphere of hatred in these words; “I could almost hear the scissors snipping away the strings which bound Mariam Apa to our lives. Here, now, the story was shaping; the one that would be repeated, passed down, seducing us all with its symmetry” (p. 132). Since mixing with the socially inferior class is not acceptable in Aliya’s family therefore no one appears to endure her offense and some members even go to the extent of erasing Mariam’s existence from family records as she is considered a blot on the ‘family reputation’ (p. 132).

Aliya is the only person in the family who revisits Mariam’s story in order to prove her forgivable. She views her in relation to the strict social codes and concludes that she is more sinned against than sinning. Aliya’s perception about Mariam is not based on Pakistani societal conventions; rather she evaluates her in relation to the standards she receives from Western society and questions the unnatural limitations of gender and class. Aliya’s favourable attitude towards Mariam causes a rift between Aliya and Dadi who calls Mariam a ‘whore’. As a reaction Aliya slaps her showing that in slapping Dadi, Aliya does not look at things from her Dadi’s perception. Dadi is unable to think beyond the constraints of the feudal system but Aliya belongs to the new generation and living in America transforms her outlook, she challenges these social constructs. Although Dadi has been a significant personality in Aliya’s life and the foundation of Aliya’s stories but now they are in contrast with each other just because of differences in their ideologies.

Dadi’s ideology is based on past connections and can be determined from her expressions, ‘what we are, we are’ (p. 97); while for Aliya it is outdated. She believes in change and says, ‘just because a thing has always been so, it does not always have to be so’ (p. 173). Aliya believes in negotiation and reconstruction of identities and regards socio-cultural constructs as hurdles in the process of renewal of identities and her identity undergoes evolution through the process of negotiation in social and cultural interaction. This negation involves conscious and unconscious response of individuals to social and cultural constructs. Aliya attempts to deviate from stereotypical gender and social hierarchical patterns and feels that these conceptions regarding women and class should be changed and improved in our society.

CONCLUSION

In view of the fact that identity is a fluid phenomenon and involves a process of social structuring of an individual against social relations or internalization of dominant social norms and values Aliya develops her self-perception in relation to discursive social practices. Socio-cultural embedment structures her thinking and

behavior. The prevalent social situation provides her the basis to define her identity. Similarly identity is not a static phenomenon with ever changing social structures; the perception of identity whether individual or collective undergoes transition in a specific social order. Lacan states that the function of imagination or the mirror phase, 'is to establish a relationship between the organism and its reality – or, between the *Innennwelt* and the *Umwelt*. Lacan states that identity is a socio-psychological process of becoming subject and establishes interactional relations between inner and outer world for human entrance into society. In order to locate her self-identity in relation to social reality, Aliya feels her position to be contrary to her home grown ideologies. Whatever has been fed to her regarding gender structures and class system is negotiated and transformed in diaspora. She comes to her self-realization through conflict between her inner self and outer society. Diaspora upholds the daughtering of Aliya; who is influenced by the new environment and some aspects of her personality are improved. Living in a gender-tolerant society where male and female are equal entities, she also develops a gender unbiased attitude. She also breaks away from the inherited snobbery and challenges class-clash and the societal discrimination prevalent in her family. She revolts against the Pakistani class system and untangles the mystery of Mariam Apa's elopement who preferred marrying a lower class servant to an arranged marriage within her same class. Diasporic mirroring plays a vital function in the realization and/or transformation of Aliya's gendered identity in contrast to the identity embedded in her familial and societal conventions.

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Tenets of Sociology of Literature: A Sociological Perspective of Miller's The Crucible

Abstract

There is a dialectical relationship between literature and society. Though research has been conducted on the sociological perspective of literature but exploring the tenets of sociology of literature from Miller's plays has not yet been conducted. This qualitative study is rooted in the sociology of literature especially in its three tenets i.e. reflection, social control and the influence theory and will attempt to explore these three tenets in Miller's play The Crucible. This play reflects the social, religious, political, and legal institutions of the Puritan community of seventeenth century Salem, Massachusetts. It discerns the patriarchal and hypocritical social context of the Puritans of Salem and their character traits i.e. religious harshness, hypocritical licensing, and their opposing pleasure, arts, and necromancy. In the theocratic society of Salem, the people were controlled by law and religion (social control). The 'influence theory' has also been explored in this play since it impacts people through developing critical thinking among them. Miller produces the sense of 'within'—arousing emotions of pity and fear and 'without'—producing critical thinking among the audience. The objective of this research is to highlight the dialectical relationship between the circumstances and literature especially The Crucible.

Keywords: *Literature, Sociology, Reflection, Social Control, Influence*

INTRODUCTION

There is a relationship between society and literature because the circumstances in a given society exerts influence on its literature. Literature is the reflector of the

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temper, mood, and environment of a society at any given time (Hallen, 1966). Earlier, the literary critics analyzed the works of literature through intrinsic approach i.e. analyzing their inner structures, imagery, metaphors, rhythm, delineation of character, dynamics of plot and so on but a modern literary critic adopts the extrinsic approach because they analyze literary works in the perspective of the context or circumstances in which it is produced (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972). The present study, using the research method of textual analysis, will attempt to explore the tenets of sociology of literature in Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, originally published in 1953.

Sociology is the developed, systematic, and scientific study of the society and has been defined by critics in various ways: the science of social phenomena (Comte, 1896); general science of society (Davis, 1949); "science that deals with social groups" (Johnson, 1960, p.2); "science of social institutions" (Durkeim, 1901, p.22); science of collective behaviors (Park, 1921); and as the study of human interactions and inter-relations, their conditions and consequences (Ginsberg, 1950). Shah (2017) quotes Jones, Ogburn and Mimkoff, and Young and Williams' definitions of sociology: the study of man-in-relation-to-men; scientific study of social life and the scientific study of social aspects of human life respectively.

Objectives

The aim of this study is to:

- Ascertain to what extent Miller's *The Crucible* is related with sociology;
- Discern the dialectical relationship between circumstances and literature in which it is produced in order to explore to which extend social institutions put their influence on the individuals of a certain society.

Research Question

This research attempts to answer the following question:

- How are 'reflection', 'social control' and 'influence' reflected in Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature is one of the institutions of society and sociology is the study of this institution (Albrecht & Wellek) that has been defined by different critics in the sociological perspective: literature is a record of men's experiences, thoughts and feelings; what they have seen in social life (Hadson, 1998); literature is the reproduction of life because it represents life (Wellek & Warren, 1949); literature should play an interventionist role in serving society (Ushie, 2008); literature should not be created in vacuum but in a particular time and space, and it should be written for a particular community (Oshin quotes Ngugi, 1990). Sociology of literature is one

of the branches of sociology. Both sociology and literature deal with the social world of man, his assimilation with it, and his desire to change it. Seeds of sociology of literature are reflected in Plato and Aristotle because both were interested in the relationship in art/ literature and society (Al-Salam & Morsy, 2017). Plato rejects poetry because it was not attributing to social reality. In *The Republic*, he vocalizes that both painter and poet are thrice removed from reality. Aristotle presents social and ethical function of art. He believes in social reality and the reality of the world of senses. According to Aristotle, a work of art does not imitate nature but reflects reality (Baktir, 2003).

Literature is the mirror of society in which it is written. It became more powerful in the eighteenth century with the emergence of the novel. Mathew Arnold declares that literature can be appropriately understood in its social and cultural contexts. Herder (1791) believed that the social, geographical environment, race, customs and political conditions of a certain area play a significant role in the emergence and development of literature. Madame de Staël also believed that there is the influence of race, climate, women and religion on literature (Swingewood, 1972). The sociological approach to literature is made scientific and systemized by H.A. Taine through his three categories of literature i.e. race, milieu and environment (Katscher, 1886). Marx and Engels gave economic turn to sociology of literature. For Plekhanov (1976), literature is the reflection of class struggle. Goldman's theories of genetic structuralism and 'totality' played a significant role in sociology of literature. His theories claim that all reflection on the human sciences is made within society (Goldman, 1967).

According to Lowenthal (1961), the writer's task is to invent a plot, to describe action, to describe the relationships of the characters, and to emphasize certain values and the task of the sociologist of literature is to relate the experience of the writer's imaginary characters and situations to the historical climate from which they derive. According to Escarpit (1968), literature is a socio-cultural fact not an aesthetic one. The presence of the tenets of sociology of literature especially theory of reflection, social order and influence in Miller's *The Crucible* have not been taken into consideration because very little research has been done from the perspective of the sociology of literature but this drama has not been studied in the frame of reference of these three tenets. Literature reflects the ills of society in order to make it realize its mistakes and make amends (Duhan, 2015). During the last few decades, several researches have been conducted in the realm of sociology of literature i.e. Costanzo Cahir (1999) explored the solitude of American society in the works of Herman Melville and Edith Wharton; Amy E. Singer (2011) investigated social inequality in children's literature, and Hase (2014) explored literature as a social institution. Different researchers i.e. Williams (1959) analyzed Miller's plays in the

perspective of social questions and developing social thinking; Schissel (1994) rediscovered the witches in the male-dominated Salem society; Reed (2007) scrutinized Salem's witch-hunting in the perspective of feminism and cultural sociology; Hooti (2011) has attempted to search identity in emotional, moral and social predicaments. These researchers have attempted to study Miller's *The Crucible* in the perspective of sociology but the present research will explore the three tenets of sociology of literature i.e. 'theory of reflection', 'social control' and 'influence' in Miller's *The Crucible* since it has not yet been investigated.

Tenets of Sociology of Literature:

1. There is a dialectical relationship between literature and society.
2. Literature is a reflection of society that created it: literary works reflect social, economic, religious, political, environmental, moral and domestic values of the society that produced the texts (Albrecht, 1954). According to Mark Twain (1898), literature is the product of race, epoch and era.
3. Literary creation reveals the determined social situations.
4. Literature is an agency of social control.
5. Literature impacts the people's attitudes and behaviors (The Influence Theory).

METHODOLOGY

The present study is qualitative in nature; the paradigm of research is sociology of literature; the type of research method is textual analysis and a text-critical method is used in order to collect primary data because only one text of Miller i.e. *The Crucible* has been taken in order to explore the tenets of sociology of literature from it. The secondary data were collected from the published articles and books.

RESULTS & ANALYSIS

The findings of the present study are to:

- i. Explore the presence of one of the tenets of sociology of literature i.e. 'reflection theory' in Miller's *The Crucible* through the reflection of social, religious, political and legal institutions of the Puritan community of the seventeenth century.
- ii. Discern 'social control' through controlling the inhabitants of the theocratic society of Salem by law and religion.
- iii. Investigate another tenet of sociology of literature i.e. 'influence theory' through this play's impact on the people by developing critical thinking among them.

Reflection theory is one of the tenets of sociology of literature and according to this theory a literary work reflects the social realities through the socio-political, religious,

economic, and moral values of the society that creates it. Miller's *The Crucible* reflects the Salem of 1692: it speaks to the history; it is not the history (Dabbs, 2017). It reflects social institutions like family, political, legal, religious and, economic institutions of seventeenth century Puritan Salem. In 1608, five years after the death of Queen Elizabeth, the Puritans or Separatists separated themselves from the Church of England, left England and settled in Holland. Later, fearing that they would lose their identity as a religious community in a foreign land, they applied for a charter to settle in the Virginia Plantation - a vast tract of land which included what is now New England in The New World. Far more representative in attitude toward the Church of England were the Puritans who joined the Massachusetts Bay Colony under the leadership of John Winthrop. Whatever their difference, with respect to the Church of England, the basic beliefs of both groups were identical since both held with Martin Luther that no people or bishop had a right to impose any law upon a Christian soul with consent (Baym et al., 1994).

The Puritans' lives were very hard in that vast tract of land. Baym, et al., (1994) quoted Bradstreet's father who told the people in England to come over and join them if their lives were endued with grace because there was no house where one had not died due to the terrible winter and the devastating infections that were the result of the summer heat (p.3). God's law and the teachings of Christ were observed in all institutions of the Puritan societies and they believed that God's hand was present in every event as also that He rewarded virtue and punished vice. The Puritans had confidence in God's design and that everything could emblemize something. According to Bremer (2009), the core of Puritanism was an understanding of God and the individual's relationship to Him. In writing about Bradstreet's writings, Adrienne Rich observes that seventeenth-century Puritan life "faith underwent its hourly testing, the domestic mundanities were episodes in the drama; the piecemeal thoughts of a woman stirring a pot, clues to her "justification in Christ" (Baym et al., 1994).

The Puritans were committed to leading an exemplary social life: following the path of righteousness, to be the children of light walking in darkness. Having first brought their personal life under the rule of God, the Puritans believed that their family would become a godly realm, their parish a godly realm, and society as a whole a godly kingdom. The foundation of the first institution of society i.e. the family was the relationship between husband and wife. Husbands and wives shared responsibilities in the supervision of their children. The Puritans' view of a proper society was that of a living organism in which each person had his or her distinct complementary role. They regularly gathered with friends and neighbors for social occasions i.e. feasting, telling stories, and sharing news. The Puritan families were insistent upon the proper observance of Sabbath because the commandment mandated that the Lord's Day be kept holy by fasting, worshiping, and avoiding labor. Bremer (2009) states that for

the Puritans, the institution of law was also subject to the requirements of God's law. They sacralized the economic institution, believing that it was an individual's duty to use God's bestowed economic gifts effectively in the tasks to which they had been called. Religious, social, economic, and political realities of the Puritans reflected in Miller's *The Crucible* are totally different: the word "Puritan" is associated with "prudish", "sexually repressed", "prohibitionists", and "busybody snoops". They are also known as theocrats, regicides, witch-burners, Indian killers, and bigoted heresy hunters (Bremer, 2009). According to Keller (1983), some of the typical traits of Puritans were hypocrisy and hypocritical licensing - saying one thing, doing another, sanctioning without sanctifying self-destructive ends, honoring the past while ensuring the future without sacrifice of self, condemning something and attracting one to it at the same time, and benevolence and destructiveness existing in one person.

Employing the reflection theory, one of the tenets of sociology of literature, the evil traits of Puritans are investigated from Miller's *The Crucible*. This play reflects the patriarchal social context of the Puritan community. The Puritans believed in Eve's role in the original sin, therefore women were subordinated to men in religious, social, legal and political spheres of life. In this play, female children i.e. Mary Warren and Mercy Lucas work as servants in the homes of Salem villagers while Abigail worked in the Proctor's home. She says to her uncle about Elizabeth: "She hates me, uncle, she must, for I would not be her slave. It's a bitter woman, a lying, cold, sniveling woman, and I will not work for such a woman!" (Miller, 2008, p. 12). Abigail was replaced with Mary Warren in the Proctor's home and the Proctor asks her: "Be you foolish, Mary Warren? Be you deaf? I forbid you to leave the house, did I not? Why shall I pay you? I am looking for you more often than my cows!" (p. 21). Mercy Lucas was the Putnam's servant and is also treated harshly like other female servants. Mr. Putnam bullies her seeing her in Mr. Parris' home: "Why aren't you home?" (p. 16). Religious and political institutions are reflected in this play because the action takes place in Salem - a Puritan community in 1692. The Puritans were a religious and political party during the Salem witchcraft trials and the play depicts many Puritan traits.

The Puritans opposed pleasure and the arts because they considered joy and laughter to be symptoms of sin. In the play, Parris asks Abigail: "And what shall I say to them? That my daughter and my niece I discovered dancing like heathen in the forest? (Miller, p.10)" Religious refugees settled in New England in 1608 with the purpose to establish a Bible-based society. This gave birth to Puritanism which states categorically that there is no place for those who indulge in witchcraft in the Puritan society of seventeenth century because the Bible abjures necromancy. The Bible says about witchcraft: "Let no one be found among you who sacrifices their son or

daughter in the fire, who practices divination or sorcery, interprets omens, engages in witchcraft, or casts spells, or who is a medium or spiritist or who consults the dead. Anyone who does these things is detestable to the Lord” (Deuteronomy 18:9–12). This play takes place in Puritan society and deals with the historical witchcraft trials of Salem town. Throughout the play, the word ‘witch’ or ‘witchcraft’ has been used sixty seven times in this play. Parris sees his own ministry in danger due to his own niece- Abigail, daughter - Betty, and servant – Tattuba’s indulging in witchcraft: “We cannot leap to witchcraft. They will howl me out of Salem for such corruption in my house” (p. 14). The religious harshness of the Puritans is reflected in *The Crucible*. Puritanism in its secular and religious principles exercised self-restraining and self-corrective agencies (Ellis, 1888). The Proctor irritatingly mentions Parris’ frequently frightening from hell: “Can you speak one minute without we land in Hell again? I am sick of Hell!” (p.30). “He may turn his head, but not to Hell!” (p. 28) and later says: “I have trouble enough without I come five mile to hear him preach only hellfire and bloody damnation” (ibid.).

Law is another institution of society that is reflected in *The Crucible*. The historical witchcraft trials of Salem town reflect on the American justice system. This play deals with the trial rituals and the attitudes that surround it. The administrators of justice i.e. Danforth and Hawthorn are confused by the rift between civil and religious law in the Salem theocracy (Marino, 2015). The Holy Bible describes death as the penalty for witchcraft but both judges in Salem release those who confess their involvement in witchcraft. Instead of using their judicial experience, they simply rely on the evidences of the children i.e. Abigail and Mary Warren given the court. Danforth says: “The entire contention of the state in these trials is that the voice of Heaven is speaking through the children” (Miller, p. 88). They rely wrongly on the so-called victims of the witchcraft. As Danforth says:

One calls up witnesses to prove his innocence. But witchcraft is ipso facto, on its face and by its nature, an invisible crime, is it not? Therefore, who may possibly be witness to it? The witch and the victim. None other. Now we cannot hope the witch will accuse herself; granted? Therefore, we must rely upon her victims - and they do testify, the children certainly do testify (p. 100).

The economic institution is also reflected in the witchcraft trials of Salem. Land was the source of earning for the villagers of Salem. Mr. Putnam wants to get the land of his neighbor, Giles Corey. Putnam’s conduct during the witch trial hysteria was due to the financial motivation (Boyer, 1974). Giles exposes Putnam’s lust for land: “And there is none but Putnam with the coin to buy so great a piece. This man is killing his neighbors for their land!” (p. 96).

Another tenet of sociology of literature “social control” has also been explored in *The Crucible*. In the theocratic society of Salem, the people were controlled by law and religion. According to Nye (1958), there are three different types of control i.e. direct control, punishment and reward, indirect control - affectionate identification with non-criminals, and internal control - conscience or sense of guilt. In the rigid Puritan society of this play, direct control is reflected in the form of law and religion. Both Judges and Parris fail to perform their role and their delinquent behavior becomes the cause of inadequate social control. According to Nye, “most delinquent behavior is the result of insufficient social control” (p. 4) which in Salem gives birth to the execution of twenty innocent people; by the institutions of law and religion at the same time that it results in Parris’ departure from Salem; Abigail’s turning into a prostitute in Boston; ruination of the farms of the victims “Certain farms which had belonged to the victims were left to ruin, and for more than a century no one would buy them or live on them” (ibid.); and breakdown of the power of theocracy in Massachusetts.

Another tenet of sociology of literature is the Influence theory. According to this tenet, literature casts its impact on the attitudes and behaviors of the people in various ways both desirable and undesirable (Albrecht, 1954). According to the influence theory or functionalist perspective, society is a system of interconnected parts that work together in developing harmony and balance; each part influences and is influenced by other parts (Mooney, 2007). *The Crucible* being modern drama has impact on the people through developing critical thinking among them and exerts influence on the audience, arousing feelings of pity and fear. Miller produces the sense of “within” and “without” on the audience of this play: “within” in the form of producing emotions of pity (for Proctor and other characters of this play who were hanged by the law of Salem) and fear in the audience according to Aristotle’s definition of tragedy and “without” in the form of producing critical thinking among them. “Without” enables the audience to think beyond the scene that takes place in this play but exerts influence on the modern man to think critically of the social realities around him. Miller annexes the audience with the characters through the realization of the desire- positive desire for pleasure and negative desire for lust, greed or envy. The realization that desire affects individuals and their behavior keeps the audience engrossed in the play. Miller’s critical thinking enables the audience not to think only in the historical context of the witchcraft trials of Salem of 1692 in which action of that play takes place but also to think in contemporary America of McCarthyism- the practice exercised in the United States of making accusations of subversion or treason accusing someone of being a Communist without proper regard for evidence in 1950s.

CONCLUSION

The relationship between literature and society is not new but American literature especially Miller's *The Crucible* has not been studied in the perspective of the tenets of sociology of literature i.e. Reflection theory, social control and influence theory. Employing the method of textual analysis and framework of sociology of literature, the present study is an attempt to explore these tenets in *The Crucible*. The findings of the study show that there is a dialectical relationship between circumstances and literature in which it is produced and social institutions that exert their influence on the individuals of a certain society that is reflected in this play.

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Perceived Susceptibility of Dengue Fever in District Swat

Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to find out “perceived susceptibility of dengue fever in district Swat” Pakistan. A sample size of 354 respondents was randomly selected through proportional allocation method from Tahir Abad, Banr, Engaro Dehri and Usman Abad of Swat. The association of independent variable (perceived susceptibility of dengue) and dependent variable (practices for control) were tested by using Chi Square test. The perceived susceptibility regarding dengue fever shows that association of practices for control was found highly significant with living area ($p=0.004$). Likewise, practices to control dengue was significantly associated with high population density ($p=0.001$). In addition, practices to control dengue and tires dumped on roofs was significantly associated ($p=0.016$) i.e. water accumulated inside used tire placed on the roofs is one of the hidden breeding place for dengue mosquito. It is concluded that those families living in overpopulated and congested communities were more vulnerable to dengue epidemic. The study recommended regular check of congested and overpopulated area for dengue vectors and its breeding places, moreover, strict rules needs to be devised and implemented to avoid improper dumping of tires and garbage materials that promote breeding of dengue mosquito and subsequently the spread of dengue fever.

Key words: *Dengue fever, residential area, Population density, sanitation.*

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INTRODUCTION

Dengue fever is a break bone fever, which appears with symptoms of headaches, high temperature, muscular/bone pains and decrease of platelets (Gubler, 2010). Dengue fever is a viral disease which has four stereotypes (DENV-1 to DENV-4) and is transmitted through the female mosquito known as *Aedes aegypti*. The serious circumstances of dengue fever are Dengue hemorrhagic fever and Dengue Shock Syndrome (Guzman, 2002). The Dengue hemorrhagic fever has symptoms of high temperature, bleeding, low platelet counts and plasma leakage due to low concentration of proteins and albumins in blood (Pan American Health Organization, 1994). Dengue shock syndrome occurs after 2-7 days of dengue hemorrhagic fever along with symptoms of low blood pressure and pulse, belly pain and restlessness (World Health Organization, 1997). The health belief model (HBM) is the theoretical approach to dengue prevention. The basic parts of HBM are perceived severity, perceived susceptibility, cues-to-action, perceived benefits, perceived barriers and self-efficacy.

The perceived severity is concerned with how people look and understand the health consequences and outcomes of dengue fever. The perceived susceptibility is also known perceived vulnerability which is associated with risk and enhances the chances of diseases. These two principles (perceived severity and vulnerability) of HBM model collectively cover the susceptibility aspects of the health. The principle of cues-to-action is associated with anything that may improve awareness or interest to control diseases and improve health related planning. The cues-to-action could be an awareness campaign using electronic, print and social media for health education. The principle of perceived benefits refers to the beliefs of the people in the value of adhering to health related procedures to control the disease with positive outcomes. Self-efficacy refers to the confidence of people in taking action to accomplish a task in health education. The Health Belief Model (HBM) is a step by step approach to prevent dengue fever and also encourage people to clean up dengue breeding places regularly. Similarly, perceived barriers are concerned with the assessment of people about obstacles to change their behavior and perceived costs which prevent people from taking action to control disease. If the perceived benefits do not balance the perceived costs, the proposed activity will not be implemented (Strecher & Rosentock, 1997).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historically the dengue fever was considered as “water poison” disease in 265-420 A.D. which was reproduced in water by flying insects. During the 18th and 19th centuries, international business increased the spreading of dengue fever throughout the world. The most recent outbreak of dengue fever was recorded in Africa, Asia and

North America in 1779. After World War II, dengue hemorrhagic fever also spread to Southeast Asia and affected the Caribbean and Latin America in 1980 (Gubler and Clark, 1995). Brazil and the western pacific countries like Malaysia, Philippines and Vietnam also faced this outbreak recently (World Health Organization, 1999). The dengue hemorrhagic fever emerged for the first time in Manila in 1953 and became generalized in Southeast Asia in 1970, spreading to India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka in 1980 (Gubler, 1997). The first dengue epidemic occurred in Pakistan in 1994 and lasted two years in Karachi. (Paul *et al*, 1998; and Wasayet *al*, 2008). Afterwards, the epidemic occurred regularly during the months of August to December (Tahir *et al*, 2010). The congested houses and standing water also provided a suitable environment for dengue proliferation (Feltrimet.*al*, 2011). In most urban areas, the control over dengue virus is not practiced properly due to poor public health facilities and water management (Gubler, 2002).

The study conducted in Thailand showed that those villages were more prone to dengue fever which were in the neighborhood of urban areas (Tipayamong kholgul & Sunisa, 2011). The study identified some sociological factors that drastically increased dengue outbreak. These factors included, patterns of houses, cleaning and examining water containers, sanitation and drainage systems, flower pots and uncovered water containers as breeding places for dengue larva. Large family size and dense population also increased the vulnerability of dengue fever. According to the study, six variables drastically increased dengue outbreak. These variables included housing density, ignoring checkup of water containers, discarding broken items, vase at home/garden, ignoring protective methods against mosquitoes/information and water storage at homes (Bhandaret *al*. 2008). Lack of proactive role from government in dengue awareness and prevention and poor co-operation from communities to search dengue breeding places promoted dengue spread. The study also determined that the cargo services, poor management of swimming pools, discarded broken items, garbage, and internal displacement of people increased vulnerability to dengue fever. Moreover, hot and rainy climate was one of the main factors which amplified the dengue fever. However, it was suggested that government should install early warning system to monitor temperature properly to prevent the spread of dengue fever. (Feltrimet *al*, 2011).

Hypotheses

1. Poor sanitation in living areas is associated with failure of dengue control practices.
2. High population and congested houses are associated with failure of dengue control practices.

3. Discarded and broken items, garbage and tires dumped on roofs are associated with failure of dengue control practices.

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted in Swat valley of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Persons affected by dengue fever in these streets of. Tahir Abad, Banr, Engaro Dehri and Usman Abad were the potential respondents for this study. The researcher conducted a pilot survey to determine the number of dengue cases, which turned out to be 4440; according to the Sekaran table (2003), 354 patients was selected for study.

The conceptual framework is Table-1 and data was collected from respondents through interview schedule and face to face interview. The Chi Square was used to measure the relationship between dependent (practices for control) and independent (perceived susceptibility of dengue) variables. The mathematical form of Chi Square test (Taj, 1978) is given below

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^c \frac{(O_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{e_{ij}}$$

Table 1 *Conceptual framework*

Independent variable	Dependent variable
perceived susceptibility of dengue	Practices for control

For conducting Chi-Square Test the following conditions are supposed to be fulfilled;

1. Select respondents randomly and independently.
2. Selection of respondents without replacement.
3. Sample size must be fairly large; at least 10 and no expected frequency is less than five in cells of contingency table.

The Fisher Exact Test was used in the case of simple Chi-Square test when the last condition has been violated. The Fisher Exact Test numerically can be expressed as,

$$\text{Fisher Exact Test} = \frac{(a+b)!(c+d)!(a+c)!(b+d)!}{N! a! b! c! d!}$$

Where a, b, c, d and “n” represent the observed numbers in four cells of contingency table and the total number of observations respectively.

RESULT & ANALYSIS

Frequency and Percentage Distributions regarding perceived susceptibility of dengue

Various perceptions of respondents about dengue susceptibility are given in Table-2. The results show that the families of 50.3% respondents were more susceptible to dengue fever than others. It is evident that a big chunk of families had not checked the mosquito breeding sites and other discarded and broken items in their environment; therefore, most families were prone to dengue infection. Similarly, high proportions of respondents (77.4%) stated that their environment was more prone to dengue outbreak than others. The residential areas of most of them were congested, overpopulated and were not active in organizing at Mohallah level for eradication of dengue vectors. These findings were supported by Woodward et al (1998) who also pointed out five major causes of dengue susceptibility in the Asia Pacific region namely population density, political inflexibility, poverty, dependency and loneliness. The entire sample population or 100% were frightened of dengue fever because of lack of available vaccines and the fatal nature of the disease.

61.3% respondents, in the study, stated that poverty made them more susceptible to dengue fever. The government hospitals were not provided with proper laboratory investigation and isolation wards for dengue patients and the masses had to visit private health units for medical tests and other diagnosis for dengue fever on their own. Poverty, therefore, increased the vulnerability of the poor as they had to borrow money for treatment and in some cases remained unattended. 57.1% of the respondents stated that the density of population in their area increased dengue threat. This result was supported by Ahmad (2011) who found that susceptible factors for dengue epidemic were urbanization, overpopulation and poor management of water containers. A majority of respondents (92.7%) identified that poor health and unhygienic conditions increased dengue susceptibility. The people, therefore, that had malnutrition, lack of health facilities and large quantity of garbage in their surrounding environment were more prone to dengue infections. Similarly, high proportion or 78.2% respondents identified that tires dumped on roofs enhanced the occurrence of dengue epidemic. These tires stored water in the rainy season which was not checked and which provided a suitable environment for dengue vectors to breed. Feltrimet *al.* (2011) supported results that improperly dumped tires brought through cargo services, discarded broken items, garbage, movement of people and climatic factors increased vulnerability for dengue outbreak.

Table 2 *Frequencies and percentage distribution of respondents regarding perception of Dengue susceptibility (N=354)*

Statements	Yes	No	Don't know
Your family is more susceptible to dengue than other.	178(50.3)	176(49.7)	00
Your living area is more prone to dengue spread than other.	274(77.4)	80(22.6)	00
The rumors about dengue spread frighten you.	354(100)	00	00
Poverty in your area makes it more susceptible to dengue.	217(61.3)	131(37.0)	6(1.7)
High population density in your area increase dengue threat.	202(57.1)	47(13.3)	105(29.7)
Poor health and unhygienic condition increase susceptibility to dengue.	328(92.7)	4(1.1)	22(6.2)
Tires dumped on roofs enhance the occurrence of dengue.	277(78.2)	74(20.9)	3(8)

* Data in table show frequencies & parenthesis show the percentages.

Association between perceived susceptibility and practices for control

Different factors are involved in dengue mosquito breeding in addition to biological and geographical factors like urban and semi urban areas of tropical and subtropical regions. There are some sociological factors like population growth, housing pattern and tires dumped on roofs etc. which increase dengue susceptibility. To ascertain the association between perceived susceptibility and practices for control, Table 3 offers an explanation:

The result shows that highly significant associations were found between living areas and practices for control ($p=0.004$) and population density and practices for control ($p=0.001$). Therefore, the study stated that those susceptible to dengue infections was increased for people living in congested and high population localities which significantly affected the practices for dengue control. Moreover, the association between tires dumped on roofs and practices for control were found to be significant ($p=0.02$). It is evident from this finding that dengue mosquitoes can breed in areas where tires are dumped on roofs and hold rainy water thus making the masses more susceptible to dengue infection. These results were supported by Ahmad (2011), who determined that vulnerable factors for dengue outbreak were the displacement of people, over population, poor management of water containers and old tires. On the other hand, the result shows a non-significant (0.308) association between family susceptibility to dengue and practices for control. Moreover, the association between poverty in the area increases the susceptibility to dengue and practices for control

were found non-significant ($p=0.060$). Similarly, the data shows that a non-significant (0.096) association was found between poor health/unhygienic conditions and practices for control. These results are against that of Woodward et al (1998); they pointed out major causes of dengue susceptibility in the Asia Pacific region including poverty.

Table 3 Association between perceived Susceptibility and practices for control (N= 354)

Perceived Susceptibility	Perception	Practices for control		Total	Chi-Square (P=Value)
		Yes	No		
Your family is more susceptible to dengue than other.	Yes	149(42.1)	27(7.6)	176(49.7)	$\chi^2=0.427$ (0.308)
	No	155(43.8)	23(6.5)	178(50.3)	
	Don't know	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	00(0.0)	
Your living area is more prone to dengue spread than other.	Yes	228(64.4)	46(13.0)	274(77.4)	$\chi^2=7.094$ (0.004)
	No	76(21.5)	4(1.1)	80(22.6)	
	Don't know	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	
Poverty in your area makes it more susceptible to dengue.	Yes	179(50.6)	38(10.7)	217(61.3)	$\chi^2= 5.627$ (0.060)
	No	120(33.9)	11(1.3)	131(37.0)	
	Don't know	5(1.4)	1(0.3)	6(1.7)	
High population density in your area increase dengue threat.	Yes	181(51.1)	21(5.9)	202(57.1)	$\chi^2=14.433$ (0.001)
	No	44(12.4)	3(0.8)	47(13.3)	
	Don't know	79(22.3)	26(7.3)	105(29.7)	
Poor health and hygienic condition increase susceptibility to dengue.	Yes	284(80.2)	44(12.4)	328(92.7)	$\chi^2= 4.679$ (0.096)
	No	2(0.6)	2(0.3)	4(1.1)	
	Don't know	18(5.1)	4(1.1)	22(6.2)	
Tires dumped on roofs enhance the occurrence of dengue.	Yes	236(66.7)	41(11.6)	277(78.2)	$\chi^2=8.260$ (0.02)
	No	67(18.9)	7(2.0)	74(20.9)	
	Don't know	1(0.3)	2(0.6)	3(0.8)	

*percentages are given in parenthesis and in the last column the parenthesis pertain to P=Value

CONCLUSION

It is concluded that those families living in overpopulated and congested communities were more vulnerable to dengue epidemic. Similarly, poverty, high population density, unhygienic conditions like discarded broken items and tires dumped on roofs which hold rainy water also accelerate the susceptibility of dengue outbreak. It is also identified in the study that people who were more susceptible to dengue epidemic followed minimal practices for dengue control and lived in high population density,

dengue breeding regions. These people also dump tires on the roofs of their houses or other places which in turn hold rainy water, thus providing breeding grounds for mosquitoes. The study proved the hypothesis that there is no relationship between poverty and perceived susceptibility. Therefore, the hypothesis "Poor sanitation in living areas is associated with failure of dengue control practices." was rejected. Hypotheses numbers 2 and 3 were verified and proved i.e. "High population and congested houses are associated with perceived susceptibility to create hurdle to dengue fever prevention" and "Discarded broken items, garbage and tires dumped on roofs are associated with susceptibility to dengue fever to create obstacles in controlling dengue fever in district Swat". The study recommends that regular check be conducted of congested and overpopulated area for dengue vectors and its breeding places and regulating storage of tires or dumping such materials that can provide breeding place for dengue vectors.

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