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Sociocultural Factors Influencing Infertile Couples to Consult Faith Healers in Southern Punjab

Abstract

Present study explores the sociocultural influences motivating infertile couples to consult faith healers in southern Punjab. The study was conducted under positivistic epistemological stance and tried to find out the causal relationship between sociocultural factors and consultation with faith healers by infertile couples. For the present study, 261 infertile couples were selected from Multan, Lodhran and Bahawalpur districts in southern Punjab. Inclusion criteria for sample consist of couples having primary infertility, married for two years and visiting the faith healer. A semi structured interview schedule was constructed to conduct the cross sectional survey of the sampled population. Descriptive and inferential statistics were applied to find out the relationship hypothesized. Findings indicate that poor socio economic status, religiosity, traditional gender roles, social pressure (family, peer, in laws), appropriateness of faith healing for women to practice were the major factors influencing infertile couples to consult the faith healers in the study area.

Keywords: Infertility, Faith healing, Religiosity, Traditional gender roles, Southern Punjab

INTRODUCTION

World Health Organization (2001) defines infertility as the inability of a couple of reproductive age to conceive or carry a pregnancy to a live birth within two years period of unprotected intercourse. Infertility or failure in conceiving a baby is a problem of global proportion which is affecting 08-12% of couples worldwide. Among the current world population, 72.4 million women are currently infertile

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(Reproductive Health, 2002; Boivin et al., 2007). The biological inability to produce a child has socio cultural implications. The societal belief that a woman is incomplete until she has her own biological children force women and couples to seek infertility treatments. The women who suffer the most are the ones who have internalized societal norms of childbearing & child-rearing. They are the ones who seek medical treatment. The medical industry has provided women more choices of how to deal with their problem because more women are interested in seeking medical intervention. Society usually stigmatized the childless couples and this social stigma of childlessness is dominantly associated with the softer sex who bears the basic blame for barrenness. Paramount pressure from society, especially by the in-laws, friends and neighbors, forces childless women to take steps for the cure of infertility. Beside seeking medical treatment, the under pressure women usually try to find out other traditional, assumingly more effective, ways of treatment and use faith healing to handle infertility crisis.

Healers report that many infertile couples contact them, particularly those who have no evident physical problem. The healers claim that many infertile couples that had lost the hope of having children were able to conceive babies after spiritual-healing (Forsythe& Adam, 2009).While framing infertility as a social phenomenon, Sackey (2002) argues that infertility is contextually defined biology, caught in the webs of social obligations and expectations. The stigma related to infertility gives a meaning and understanding that how and where the boundaries of rationality are set between the individuals and community. Many people tend to give preference to indigenous methods of redressing infertility negating bio-medical reasoning of the problem. Faith healing is a process of healing disease, disorders, ailments and syndrome through the force of religion. Many people are attracted by faith healing. Believers to faith healers have crossed continents just for the purpose of healing through faith. Faith healing may include prayers, visiting shrines, temples or a powerful belief in a supreme being. Spiritual practices usually vary across cultures and religions (Schlitz & Micozzi, 2005). International Institute for Population Sciences (2005) claimed in its survey that in Rajasthan the women having no child were considered as incomplete persons and were stigmatized. Child bearing women warned the infertile women not to cross their path. This was due to the fear of catching inauspiciousness.

Most of the women in the field work area explained that the gaze of jealous infertile women was mainly responsible for subsequent barrenness, infant mortality, pregnancy loss and maternal mortality among the fellow women. To counter such strong forms of stigmatization, most of the women of the area consult faith-healers and spiritual healers for sacred and divine solutions of the problem to regain their value as complete women. Williams (1997) explained that infertility consequences were prominent in the form of negative identity: a feeling of lack of personal control,

depression and grief, stress and anxiety, sense of worthlessness, lower level of life satisfaction, jealousy of other mothers and sense of isolation among infertile women. Fido and Zahid (2004) analyzed the psychological stress among Kuwaiti women with the problem of infertility. The research findings showed that infertility resulted in social stigmatization and placed illiterate infertile women at high risk of serious emotional and social consequences, including tension, depression and suicidal tendency. Whereas educated women blamed nutritional, psychological and marital factors responsible for the infertility. Faith healers were the first choice of treatment for many of the illiterate women and infertile clinics for the educated women. This study provides evidence that infertility leads to social stigmatization and exposes women to depression, loneliness which motivate many illiterate women to seek faith-healing options.

Devereaux & Hammerman (1998) asserted that infertility must be analyzed within the social structures and social institutions. Girls are taught that the motherhood is the final expression of femininity. Families teach their young daughters that dying and aging members of the society will be replaced in an orderly manner so there is a new generation. All this can be possible only through child bearing and rearing. For infertile couples there are several societal messages and restrictions. They have to deal with childlessness, especially the childless women remain more doubtful about their identity and effectiveness. In this context, infertility is no longer a medical condition but a definition of self.

Pakistan is a classical patriarchal society differentiating male and female on the basis of their gender roles engraved in the gender ideology. In a male dominated society when a women cannot conceive baby then her position in family and in society becomes very vulnerable. Unproductive couple and especially women feel themselves incomplete, unprotected, misfit, alone, deprived and stigmatized. Sociocultural dimensions of infertility and the psychological problems associated with this biological phenomenon draw a special attention of the researchers to look at this issue with sociological lens.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Religion is a significant factor that plays an important role in framing people's beliefs about mode of treatment, which results in acceptability of activities and practices suggested by faith healers. Edirne et. al (2010) found that infertile couples get help from religion according to their belief about the treatment. People have faith in faith healers who have characteristics like piousness and control over supernatural powers. The use of different therapies including religious therapies can be the first choice for the problems like infertility, epilepsy and depression etc. Flamm (2004) reported that

many infertile people consider that they are being punished due to their sins by the God in the form of childlessness. The possibility that prayer can increase fertility would reinforce their belief. Even sometimes infertile people have to change their sect to fulfill the demands of the specified faith-healing process. Torosian (2005) found that beside medical treatment, under pressure infertile women acquire more effectual methods of treatment and usually use faith healing to -find a way out of the crisis. There are different non- medical practices which are widely practiced in different religions and communities throughout the world.

Mirza & Jenkins (2004) found in the study that parental role has high importance in the lives of Pakistani women. Child birth is considered as a blessing and childlessness as a reason of pity. Infertility is a serious concern irrespective of social and cultural status of the family and educational attainments. Having children is considered a compulsory way to get respect in a society for a successful marriage. Shah (1986) explored that birth of son is considered essential for continuation of the family name, for strength and security of the family, and for protecting honor of the family, especially its female family members. Ola & Oludare (2008) explore that desire of infertile couples to resolve the problem has resulted in patronage and various treatment methods that are determined by the social, cultural and behavioral factors. The choice of selecting a particular treatment outlet is not dependent upon the choice of the infertile couple but also by the family members. Donkar & Sandal (2009) investigated coping strategies adopted by 615 infertile women. Findings unveiled that the majority of women preferred to keep fertility issues in secret due to its stigmatization. Domar, A. et. al (2005) found that women are considered as a sole cause of infertility so they usually prefer faith healing besides medical interventions. High levels of religious belongingness and spirituality are prominently correlated with lower levels mental and psychological distress. Inhorn & Van Balen (2002) reported that despite the high existence of male infertility, infertility is primarily considered as a female issue. The role of male infertility is extensively underestimated and even kept secret in many societies. Sami & Ali (2006) conducted a study on the cultural politics of gender for infertile women in Karachi, Pakistan. The study explored the psycho-social consequences of infertility for women and its impact on their health. The findings show that motherhood defines women identity in Pakistani culture.

Thorn (2009) reported that the issue of male infertility carries more significant taboo than female infertility. The study further claims that it is very significant for all infertile couples to have access to counseling. The counseling can help improving socio psychological health of the couples. Not surprisingly, infertile couples who are capable of managing the emotional challenges infertility entails, are more likely to carry out the number of treatment cycles that are suggested from a medical viewpoint.

Several studies have found out relationship between socio-economic status of individuals and usage of health care services (Oke, 1995; Oyebola, 1980; Jegede, 1996; & Owumi, 2005). The studies have also unveil that people of poor socio-economic classes have problems of access to health care facilities. This is so because in spite of the availability of modern health care services in metropolis, people belonging to lower socio-economic status still support the spiritual healing, churches and traditional healing methodologies as their final places of treatment. Saeed et al. (2000) and Gadit and Khalid (2002) find in their studies that thousands of people visit shrines in finding out help and healing in times of need. Likewise, many scholars e.g., Farooqi (2007); Yousaf (1997); Qidwai *et al.* (2002); and Gilani *et al.* (2005) have argued that religio-cultural practices significantly influence how health problems are perceived and addressed. The study of Shoaib (2011) analyzed the motivational factors, practices and levels of acceptance of infertile couples towards spiritual healing. Issueless couples were provoked by different factors towards spiritual healing. The study revealed that many issueless couples considered religious healing as more efficient treatment and were found satisfied with role and practices of religious healers (Shoaib, 2011).

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted under positivistic epistemological stance and tried to find out the causal relationship between sociocultural factors and consultation with faith healers by infertile couples. For the present study 261 infertile couples were recruited from Multan, Lodhran and Bahawalpur districts. Inclusion criteria for the selection of couples were couples having primary infertility, married for two years and visiting the faith healer. A semi structured interview schedule was constructed to conduct the cross sectional survey of the sampled population. The collected data was presented in tabular format indicating percentages and frequencies. Descriptive and inferential statistics were applied to find out the causal relationship between variables. The study was limited to the infertile couples visiting faith healers only expressing their quantifiable experiences.

Hypotheses:

The study is driven by the following hypotheses:

- I. Gender is associated with the feeling of infertility.
- II. Educational attainment is associated with the belief in faith healers.
- III. Religion is associated with the practice of Faith Healing.
- IV. Educational attainment is associated with the appropriateness of faith healing for females.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Table No. 1: *Gender of the Respondents*

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	151	57.9
Female	110	42.1
Total	261	100.0

The table No 1 indicates gender distribution of the respondents. The data show that 57.9% respondents of the study were male while 42.1% were female. The table indicates that more than half of the respondents were males.

Table No. 2: *Age of the Respondents*

Age (Years)	Frequency	Percentage
20 – 24	44	16.9
25 – 29	69	26.4
30 – 34	80	30.7
35 – 39	53	20.3
40 & Above	15	5.7
Total	261	100.0

The results of table no. 2 reflect that 30.7% respondents were between 30-34 years of age, 26.4% between 25-29 years, 20.3% were between 35-39 years, 16.9% respondents were between the age of 20-24 years and only 5.7% belonged to the age group of 40 years and above.

Table No. 3: *Educational Attainment of the Respondents*

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	57	21.8
Primary	63	24.1
Middle	62	23.8
Matriculate	48	18.4
Intermediate	21	8.0
Graduation	7	2.7
Master & Above	3	1.1
Total	261	100.0

The above mentioned figures in the table No. 3 show the respondents' educational status. The data reveal that 24.1% respondents were primary pass, 23.8% were up to middle standard, 21.8% respondents were illiterate, 18.4% were matriculate, 8% were intermediate qualified, 2.7% were graduates and only 1.1% respondents had

education of masters and above. The figures in the table indicate that 69.7% of respondents belong to the initial three categories that represent educational level from 0-08years of schooling. In this context, it can be concluded that dominant majority of the respondents were either illiterate or less educated.

Table No.4: *Occupation of the Respondents*

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Govt. job	16	6.1
Private job	33	12.6
Agriculturist	54	20.7
Self employed	48	18.4
Labor	31	11.9
Homemaker	68	26.1
Unemployed	11	4.2
Total	261	100.0

The above mentioned table shows the occupational status of the respondents. According to the data, 26.1% respondents were homemakers and they were not directly participating in paid economic activities of their families. They were participating in their household work and responsibilities. Further, 20.7% respondents were agriculturists, 18.4% were self-employed, 12.6% were doing their private jobs, 11.9% were laborers, 6.1% had government jobs and only 4.2% were unemployed.

Table No.5: *Family Income*

Family Income (Rupees)	Frequency	Percentage
Up to 10000	78	29.9
10001 – 20000	66	25.3
20001 – 30000	42	16.1
30001 – 40000	44	16.9
40001 – 50000	10	3.8
50001 & Above	21	8.0
Total	261	100.0

The table No. 5 is about the total family income of the respondents from all sources. The figures show that 29.9 % of respondents had family income of upto 10,000

rupees, 25.3 % had income category of 10001-20000 rupees, 16.1 % respondents had income group of 20001 – 30000 rupees, 16.9 % respondents' family income was between 30001-40000 rupees, 3.8% respondents' family income was between 40001-50000 rupees, while only 8.0 % respondents had family income of 50001 rupees and above. According to the table, the majority of the infertile couples belonged to lower and middle class families.

Table No. 6: *Duration of Infertility*

Duration (Years)	Frequency	Percentage
2 – 4	88	33.7
5 – 7	84	32.2
8 – 10	71	27.2
11 – 13	14	5.4
14 & Above	04	1.5
Total	261	100.0

The above drawn table No. 6 is about distribution of infertility period of the respondents. In accordance with the figures given in the table, 33.7% respondents were in first category of infertility duration (2-4 years), 32.2% respondents were in second category (5-7 years), 27.2% respondents were in third category (8-10 years), 5.4% respondents fall in fourth category (11-13 years) and only 1.5% respondents were in the last category (14 & above years). The results indicate that more than 65% of the respondents who were visiting faith healers were in between 2-7 years of infertility duration.

Table No.7: *Responsibility of Infertility*

Responsibility	Frequency	Percentage
Wife	55	21.1
Husband	8	3.1
Both	18	6.9
God's will	128	49.0
Supernatural Prowers	52	19.9
Total	261	100.0

The table No. 7 shows the opinion of the respondents regarding responsibility of infertility. It indicates that 49% respondents were of the view that infertility was due to the God's will, 21.1% respondents were holding wives responsible for infertility, 19.9% were holding supernatural powers responsible for infertility, 6.9% respondents said that both husband and wife were responsible for infertility, and only 3.1% were holding husband responsible for infertility. As only 3.1% of the respondents placed

the responsibility of infertility on males, it clearly marks the gendered framing of infertility.

Table No. 8: *Source of Motivation to Consult Faith Healer*

Motivation	Frequency	Percentage
Yourself	41	15.7
Your spouse	67	25.7
Your mother	39	14.9
Your father	4	1.5
Your mother-in-law	28	10.7
Your father-in-law	9	3.4
Relatives	42	16.1
Peers	31	11.9
Total	261	100.0

The table No. 8 reflects the respondents' source of motivation to consult faith healers. It reveals that 25.7% respondents were motivated by their spouses, 16.1% were motivated by their relatives, 15.7% were motivated by their own selves, 14.9% were motivated by their mothers, 11.9% were motivated by their peers, 10.7% were motivated by their mothers-in-law, 3.4% by their fathers-in-law, and only 1.5% respondents were motivated by their fathers.

Table 9: *Sources of Information*

Source	Frequency	Percentage
Relative	58	22.2
Friends	49	18.8
Tradition	23	8.8
Childless couples	43	16.5
Cable TV	14	5.4
Newspaper	11	4.2
Already benefited people	63	24.1
Total	261	100.0

The table No. 9 reflects the referral sources of information to consult the faith healer. As it is evident in the table, 24.1% respondents got information from the people who already had consulted the faith healer, 22.2% respondents were guided by their relatives, 18.8 % were guided by their friends, 16.5% were referred to by other childless couples, 8.8% respondents considered visiting the faith healer as part of their customs and traditions, and 5.4% respondents came to know about faith healer through cable TV advertisements, and only 4.2% respondents' source of information was newspaper.

Table No. 10: *Gender of the Faith Healer*

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	232	88.9
Female	29	11.1
Total	261	100.0

The table No. 10 indicates the gender of the faith healer. The figures shown in the above table depict that 88.9% of the respondents were visiting male faith healers, whereas only 11.1% respondents were visiting female faith healers to cure infertility. The results clearly show that the dominant majority of faith healers are male.

Table No. 11: *Prominent Characteristics of the Faith Healer*

Characteristic	Frequency	Percentage
Saint	40	15.3
Pious	53	20.3
Famous for faith healing	54	20.7
Having jinn	26	10.0
Having supernatural power	48	18.4
Ancestry	40	15.3
Total	261	100.0

The table No.11 shows the most prominent characteristic of the faith healer. It indicates that 20.7% respondents consulted those faith healers who were prominent for faith healing, 20.3% respondents visited pious faith healers, 18.4% respondents visited faith healers that they believed had super natural powers, 15.3% visited saint and ancestries, and 10% respondents visited faith healers that they believed had jinn.

Table No.12: Methods of Faith Healing

Sr. #	Faith Healing Methods	Yes		No		Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
I	Gave Amulets (Taawiz)	86	33.0	175	67.0	261	100
Ii	Asked for the recitation of Holy verses (Wazeefa)	39	14.9	222	85.1	261	100
Iii	Performed (Damm)	35	13.4	226	86.6	261	100
Iv	Gave healing breath water	31	11.9	230	88.1	261	100
V	Asked for Imploration (Mannat)	16	6.1	245	93.9	261	100
Vi	Suggested eating of healing breath food	36	13.8	225	86.2	261	100
Vii	Asked to distribute edibles to poor	12	4.6	249	95.4	261	100
Viii	Asked for personal donation	14	5.4	247	94.6	261	100
Ix	Asked to visit regularly	31	11.9	230	88.1	261	100
X	suggested binding of piece of cloth to some holy place	2	0.8	259	99.2	261	100
Xi	Suggested to apply dust on body	6	2.3	255	97.7	261	100
Xii	Asked to perform prayers regularly	22	8.4	239	91.6	261	100
Xiii	Asked for forgiveness from Allah (Tauba)	29	11.1	232	88.9	261	100
Xiv	Himself offered prayers for the couple	8	3.1	253	96.9	261	100

Table No. 12 shows the multiple methods adopted by faith healers to cure infertile couples. It reveals that 33% of the respondents were given Amulets, 14.9% respondents were suggested for recitation of the Holy verses, 13.8% were suggested eating of healing breath food, 13.4% faith healers performed (Damm). 11.9% respondents were given healing breath water and asked to visit regularly, 11.1% respondents were asked to pray to seek forgiveness from Allah, 8.4% respondents were recommended to perform prayers regularly, 6.1% were asked for imploration (Mannat), 5.4% respondents were asked for personal donation, 4.6% respondents were recommended to distribute edibles to poor, 3.1% faith healers themselves offered prayers for the respondents, 2.3% respondents were suggested to apply dust on their body, and only 0.8% respondents were suggested to bind a piece of cloth to some holy place.

Table No.13: Women Relevance of Faith Healing

Sr. No	Statement	strongly agree	agree	no opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree	total
I	Appropriateness for Females	49 18.8%	84 32.2%	35 13.4%	56 25.7%	26 10%	261 100%
Ii	Easy performance by females at home	37 14.2%	167 64%	28 10.7%	29 11.1%	0 .0%	261 100%
Iii	Observance of purda	38 14.6%	156 59.8%	60 23%	7 2.7%	0 .0%	261 100%
Iv	Culturally constructed practices for females	41 15.7%	113 43.3%	77 29.5%	30 11.5%	0 .0%	261 100%
V	Faith healing as a sacred activity	94 36%	130 49.8%	26 10%	11 4.2%	0 .0%	261 100%
Vi	Females are more religious than males	72 27.6%	98 37.5%	18 6.9%	61 23.4%	12 4.6%	261 100%
Vii	Faith healing as first choice for females	32 12.3%	138 52.9%	37 14.2%	50 19.2%	4 1.5%	261 100%
Viii	Females are responsible for child birth	39 14.9%	120 46%	9 3.4%	70 26.8%	23 8.8%	261 100%
Ix	Faith healers held females responsible for infertility	27 10.3%	85 32.6%	51 19.5%	86 33%	12 4.6%	261 100%

Table No. 13 consists of nine statements about the respondents' opinion regarding appropriateness of faith healing for women. Majority of respondents 51% consider faith healing as appropriate method for female. Regarding the practice of faith healing methods 76% of the respondents think it practicable for women. Respondents (76%) think that women can contact faith healers while having veil. Respondents (59%) consider faith healing as culturally approved practice. Overwhelming majority of respondents (86%) consider it as sacred activity. Respondents (65%) feel that women are more religious practicing then men. Majority of respondents i.e. 65% consider it as first choice female. 61% of the respondents term female the sole responsible for child birth.

Hypothesis No. 01: Gender is associated with the feeling of infertility

Table No.14: *Association between Gender of the Respondents and their Feeling of being Infertile*

Gender	Feeling of being Infertile		
	Yes	No	Total
Male	12 7.95%	139 92.1%	151 100.0%
Female	67 60.9%	43 39.1%	110 100.0%
Total	79 30.3%	182 69.7%	261 100.0%

Chi-Square= 84.575 Significance= .000 Gamma= .036 Significance Level : $\alpha = 0.05$

Table 14 shows that there is a high level of association between the gender of the respondents and their feeling of being infertile. The Chi-square value (84.575) at 0.000 level of significance indicates high significance and positive association between the two variables.

Hypothesis No. 02: Educational attainment is associated with the belief in faith healers.

Table No 15: Association between the Educational Attainment and Belief in Faith Healers

Education	Belief in faith healers					Total
	Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Illiterate	12 21.1%	34 59.6%	4 7.0%	4 7.0%	3 5.3%	57 100.00%
Primary	6 9.5%	34 54.4%	10 15.9%	13 20.6%	0 0%	63 100.0%
Middle	6 9.7%	44 71.0%	6 9.7%	5 8.1%	1 1.6%	62 100.0%
Matriculate	5 10.4%	26 52.2%	12 25%	5 10.4	0 0%	48 100.0%
Intermediate	2 9.5%	10 47.6%	5 23.8%	3 14.3%	1 4.8	21 100.0%
Graduation	0 0%	2 28%	0 0%	5 71.4%	0 0%	7 100.0%
Master & Above	0 0%	1 33.3%	0 0%	2 66.7%	0 0%	3 100.0%
Total	31 11.9%	151 57.9%	37 14.2%	37 14.2%	5 1.9%	261 100%

Chi-square= 54.28 Significance= .000 Lambda= .035 Significance Level: $\alpha = 0.05$

The above given table No. 15 indicates an association between the educational attainment of the respondents and their belief in faith healers. The Chi-square value (54.28) at .000 level of significance indicates high significance and positive association between the two variables.

Hypothesis No. 03: Religious and culture practices are associated with the practice of Faith Healing

Table No 16: Association between Religious and Cultural Practices of Faith Healing

Religious relevance of faith healing	Faith healing approval in culture					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Strongly Agree	11 25.0%	17 38.6%	8 18.2%	7 15.9%	1 2.3%	44 100.0%
Agree	10 9.5%	45 42.9%	30 28.6%	15 14.3%	5 4.8%	105 100.0%
No Opinion	14 16.5%	54 63.5%	8 9.4%	7 8.2%	2 2.4%	85 100.0%
Disagree	10 37.0%	2 7.4%	8 29.6%	6 22.2%	1 3.7%	27 100.0%
Total	45 17.25	118 45.2%	54 20.7%	35 13.4%	9 3.4%	261 100.0%
Chi-square=40.806 Significance= .000 Lambda= .037 Significance Level : $\alpha = 0.05$						

The above presented table No 16 shows an association between religious relevance of faith healing and its approval in culture. Chi-Square test was applied to test the hypothesis. The Chi-Square value (40.806) at 0.000 level of significance indicates high level of significance and positive association between the two variables.

Hypothesis No. 04: Educational attainment is associated with the appropriateness of faith healing for females.

Table No 17: Association between Educational Attainment and Appropriateness of Faith Healing for Females.

Educational Attainments	Appropriateness of faith healing for females					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Illiterate	31 54.4%	11 19.3%	6 10.5%	5 8.8%	4 7%	57 100.00%
Primary	12 19.0%	29 46.0%	9 14.3%	13 20.6%	0 0%	63 100.0%
Middle	3 4.8%	22 35.5%	9 14.5%	22 35.5%	6 9.7%	62 100.0%
Matriculate	2 4.2%	14 29.2%	9 18.8%	15 31.2%	8 16.7%	48 100.0%
Intermediate	0 0%	6 28.6%	2 9.5%	9 42.9%	4 19%	21 100.0%
Graduation	0 0%	2 28.6%	0 0%	3 42.9%	2 28.6%	7 100.0%
Master & Above	1 33.3%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 66.7%	3 100.0%
Total	49 18.8%	84 32.3%	35 13.4%	67 25.7%	26 10%	261 100.0%

Chi-square= 1.038 Significance= .000 Lambda= .038 Significance Level : $\alpha = 0.05$

The above table indicates an association between educational attainment of the respondent and their belief about appropriateness of faith healing for females. The Chi-square value (1.038) at 0.000 level of significance indicated high significance and positive association between the two variables.

DISCUSSION

Present study explores the sociocultural factors influencing infertile couples to consult faith healers in southern Punjab. The study was conducted with 261 couples consulting faith healing as the method/treatment to cure infertility. The study found that couples belonging to middle and lower class, with less/ lower educational attainment, homemakers/ low paid jobs were more motivated to consult faith healers. Bivariate analysis confirms the strong association between level of education and consultation with faith healers.

Several studies found relationship between socio-economic status of individuals and usage of health care services, especially of Oke (1995); Oyebola (1980); Jegede (1996) and Owumi (2005). They believe that people of poor socio-economic classes have problems of access to health care facilities. This is so because in spite of the availability of modern health care services in metropolis, people belonging to lower socio-economic status still support the spiritual healing, churches and traditional healing methodologies as their final places of treatment. They further highlight other factors, including income, language, religion, education and occupation that impact the utilization of any health care system. The study found that social attributes/ characteristics of the faith healers were also the influencing factors for the infertile couples to go to faith healers like piousness, saint, having spirits/Jinn. Many scholars, e.g. Farooqi (2007), Yousaf (1997), Qidwai *et al.* (2002), Gilani *et al.* (2005) agreed that religio-cultural practices considerably influence how health problems are perceived and addressed. The information behind these health insight and practices is not always written and often passes orally from generation to generation. Pakistani culture is a blend of traditions, rituals, and folk beliefs. The faith system underlying causation of illness and healing regimes is multifaceted and multilayered. Explanations of sickness include possession by jinn, evil spirits, ghosts or fairies, black magic spells that compel people to seek cure of treatment from faith healers. It was found in the study that the cultural/ religious relevance of faith healing was one of the major factors motivating couples to seek the help from faith healers.

Chi-Square analysis showed strong association between religion and adoption of the faith healing as treatment for primary infertility. Shoaib (2011), Saeed *et al.* (2000), and Gadit & Khalid (2002) find in their studies that thousands of people visit shrines in finding out help and healing in times of need. These needs may comprise a search for better health outcomes, fulfillment of desires relating to wealth and success. The way an individual recognizes his or her health is directly related to his/her worldview values, religion and belief systems, Culture, educational level, family and societal structure, the accessibility and availability of health care and many other issues may

impact upon this perception. The study has indicated that relatives, spouse, and mother and in laws were the prominent persons pushing the infertile couples to visit faith healers. Yildizhan et.al (2009) and Matsubayashi et. al (2004) found in their two separate studies that couples living with parents-in-law with the problem of infertility have to face psychological pressure from in-laws, and this pressure is well documented throughout the world. This study also explored interesting facts regarding gendered nature of the infertility. It was found that predominantly women were considered as the sole cause of infertility. It was also found that women due to certain social pressures were more concerned to have babies. Sociocultural justification of faith healing as suitable treatment for women was also an important finding of the study. Domar et. al (2005) found that women are considered as a sole cause of infertility so they usually prefer faith healing besides medical interventions. Inhorn & Van Balen (2002) reported that despite the high existence of male infertility, infertility is illogically considered as female problem. The role of male infertility is extensively underestimated and even kept secret in many societies. Sami and Ali (2006) conducted a study on the cultural politics of gender for infertile women in Karachi, Pakistan. The findings show that motherhood defines women identity in Pakistani culture. Thorn (2009) reported in the study that male infertility trends are to be linked with a more significant taboo than female infertility.

CONCLUSION

This study explored the sociocultural influences motivating infertile couples to consult faith healers in southern Punjab. Findings of study highlight infertility as a socially constructed gendered phenomenon as women solely tend to be considered responsible for infertility. Findings of the study further reveal that poor socioeconomic status, religiosity, traditional gender roles, and social pressure, are the major factors influencing infertile couples to consult the faith healers.

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Prevalence of Facebook Addiction among Gender variation of University Students: A Comparative Analysis

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the Facebook addiction phenomena among the university students. It was hypothesized that female students are more likely to be addicted to Facebook than their male counterparts. Survey research design was used for the study. The sample of the study comprised of (N=400) Facebook users, including 230 females and 170 males. Their age range was between 20 to 40 years. Bergen Facebook Addiction Scale (BFAS), a 6 items self-report scale constructed by Andreassen, Torsheim, Brunborg, and Pallesen (2012) was used in the study. Comparative analysis was carried out to investigate the variation of Facebook addiction among males and females students. It was found that the level of Facebook addiction is significantly different among males and females students of the university. The popular social networking site Facebook is most prevalent among the female university students aged 18-24 years.

Key Words: Facebook Addiction, Gender Variation, University Students and Bergen Facebook Addiction Scale (BFAS)

INTRODUCTION

Online social networking has emerged globally as an indispensable part of everyday life (Hampton, Sessions Goulet, Rainie, & Purcell, 2011). One of the global on-line environments, Facebook, is becoming an increasingly natural environment for a growing fraction of the world's population. From few years, Facebook has become

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the most famous and fastest developing networking website and unavoidable medium for social interaction. Social Networking sites (OSNs) like Facebook have started by catering to specialized groups but have since expanded their reach substantially, permeating virtually every stratum and demographic group in the developed world (Gunuc & Dogan 2013). Different research studies depicts that currently Facebook facilitates daily interactions of over 800 million users spending more than 40 minutes. This social network and technology provides an interesting area of study, although research is still in its infancy. According to Hampton, Goulet, Rainie, & Purcell, (2011) Facebook has become very popular among users of social networking sites. Firstly, it was used only for the purpose of study; later on Facebook became popular as social media throughout the world. In beginning only university students were the main user of this social media but later on public also become the part of this social media. Now, people from all communities and societies are the part of this media (Mahmood & Farooq, 2014).

National Institute of Mental Health and Neurosciences suggest that it is necessary to handle with the uncontrollable and sometimes negative presence of technology on people and mostly teenagers (Balci, 2013). A glance at Google trends shows that “Facebook addiction” has been progressing steadily since late 2008, it is now 4 times what it was then (Facebook, 2014). It have estimated that over 0.35 billion people have Facebook Addiction Disorder (FAD); a term coined by American psychologists to explain an individual’s inability to control one’s actions on Facebook due to Facebook addiction (SickFacebook.com, 2010). The psychologist and psychiatry in USA made a survey from 1,605 participants on their social media habits, study found that almost one third 39% of the participants are self-described “Facebook Addiction” while the 61% respondents admit to escape into the world of Facebook and browse what people are saying and doing in the middle of the night and they prefer to see their friends on social media instead of face to face interactions (Alabi, 2013). Similarly, other studies also seemed agreed that Facebook is so risky for turning into addiction when it is unemployed. A part from this there are so many side effects of these type of social media networking sites which portrays the real picture more and more in short time (Kuss & Griffiths, 2011b).

A study by Thompson & Loughed, (2012) found that 81.4% of the participants were agreed that Facebook is the most important element for social interaction among students at university level. It is known that excessive usage of new technology, such as social networking sites (SNSs) may be especially addictive for adolescents. Different research studies reported that in Pakistan more than 23 million users of Facebook with more than 20 million users are having above 18 years old while only 3 million users are below 18 years. In India the female users are over 16 million while the number of male users is 14 million. So, empirically, it can be said that in India

females are found more addict than the males (EBizMBA, 2012). These figure raised the question that what type of people use Facebook as a source of interaction. Is there a gender effect that adds to the subtleties of Facebook and traits of personality? This research study focuses that the prevalence of Facebook that exists between male and female of different age groups. With the increased accessibility of Internet, Social media and Social networking sites has become an important part of our life, especially for the youth. The excessive use of social networking sites like Facebook is creating a life style addiction which is causing psychological and social problems. Facebook Addiction has become a common pattern in our colleges, universities and even at work places.

The excessive usage of Facebook is a crucial problem worldwide especially among adolescents and there is a dire need to address this issue. Unfortunately, no proper attention has been given to this serious issue in Pakistan. Prior literature is evident that Big-Five model of personality have a considerable relationship with Internet especially with the use of Facebook. But up till now, no research has been done specifically with the six- dimensional HEXACO, model of personality (Michael & Kiboom, 2007) and Facebook addiction among university students not only in Pakistan but all over the world. The advantage of this current study is that it comprehensively examines the six HEXACO – Personality dimensions in relation to Facebook addiction and tries to fill the gaps in a wide array of previous Big-five personality based studies with Internet and Facebook. This current study is being conducted with an objective of assessing the impact of HEXACO Personality traits and Perceived social support on Facebook addiction among university students.

In Pakistan no previous research has studied the association on above said variables. Hence, a profound study is needed to unfold the impact of personality traits and perceived social support on Facebook addiction among university students in Pakistan. Therefore this research probes that if the relationship exists between specific personality traits and Facebook that contribute to the vulnerability of Facebook addiction phenomena among university students. Moreover, this study examined the mediating role of perceived social support between the relationship of personality traits and Facebook addiction. The correlation of personality traits, perceived social support and Facebook addiction is an important issue in our society. Therefore by exploring the predictors of Facebook addiction, the present research was designed to overcome the limitations of previous research and shed further light on the phenomena of Facebook addiction with respect to HEXACO –Personality traits and mediating role of Perceived social support. This study will prove helpful for university students in order to determine the potential negative hazards of excessive Facebook usage. It will alarm those students who neglect their health and studies because the use of Facebook can become habitual or excessive and got addiction.

Hypotheses

Following hypothesis have been made for the study:

1. It is anticipated that Female students are more likely to be addicted to Facebook than their male counterparts.

METHODOLOGY

The nature of this research was descriptive and survey method was used to gather information from the participants. The population of the study was all the students of The Islamia University of Bahawalpur which were selected from the different academic divisions of the university. Total (n = 400) participants were selected as sample of the study by using non probability sampling technique. University students (n = 222) out of (n=400) characterized as Facebook Addicts who meet the specific criteria of Bergen Facebook Addiction Scale were further involved in this research. Only Facebook addict university students were screen out who were age between 20 to 40 years and were enrolled in an academic session of various disciplines and programs of the Islamia University of Bahawalpur. Students having non-addict and non- enrolled in university were not included in sample who have any kind of physical and psychological disability.

The sample was collected from the four campuses of the Islamia University of Bahawalpur i.e. Khawaja Fareed Campus, Abbasia Campus, Baghdad ul Jadeed Campus and Rangers campus. Before collecting data researchers had made a survey of all faculties for their accessibility and visit all the faculties alphabetically i.e. Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Education, Faculty of Islamic Learning, Faculty of Management Sciences and Faculty of Pharmacy were selected for the sample recruitment of both male and female university students. In determining sample size for a probability sample we use the confidence level, confidence interval and population size (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The researcher used the 95 percent confidence level, 5 percent confidence interval with 20,000 current known population of The Islamia University of Bahawalpur. The minimum required sample was 377. The selected sample for this current study comprised of (n=400) students from the university.

Hence, researchers had decided to take twenty respondents additionally to minimize the biasness of respondents. Facebook addicts (n=222) out of total 400 students from IUB who meet the criteria of Bergen Facebook Addiction scale were selected by differentiated in to female Facebook addicts (n=130) and male Facebook addicts (n=92) students. **Bergen Facebook Addiction Scale (BFAS)**. The Bergen Facebook Addiction Scale (BFAS) was used to assess Facebook addiction constructed by (Andreassen, Torsheim, Brunborg, & Pallesen 2012). This Bergen Scale was

consisted of 6 items and respondents were asked to give their opinion on 5-point Likert scale (1 = very rarely, 5 = very often) on the frequency with which they had engaged in addictive Facebook behaviors during the last year. The 6-items of this scale reflecting the six core addiction elements namely mood modification, withdrawal, conflict, relapse and salience (Griffiths, 2005) which is one for each of the six core features of Facebook addiction. Andreassen and his colleagues suggest that scoring "often" or "very often" on at least four of the six items may suggest the respondent is addicted to Facebook. Reliability of the scale Cronbach alpha was .83. (Andreassen et al., 2012). The reliability coefficient for the Bergen Facebook Addiction Scale was found 0.80 for the present study. Meanwhile, Cronbach alpha value shows that scale have sufficient reliability and appropriate for the target population.

The translation of the scale was comprised of following steps and was carried out with the help of professionals who were bilingual. The tool was translated into Urdu language with author's permission through forward- translation and backward – translation method. Three bilingual experts translated the English scale in to Urdu. Then those three Urdu translations were look over by a panel which was also bilingual and they critically studied the three Urdu translations, to finalize the most appropriate Urdu version of BFAS. The Urdu version of the BFAS was again translated in to English by other three bilingual experts, who have not seen the original English version of the scale. This translation is necessary to compare the backward translation with the original English scale in order to check the inconsistency that might have occurred during the translation process. The three English translations were also revised by another bilingual expert to finalize the most suitable items in the backward translation. The final backward translation and the final Urdu version were sent to the original author of the scale.

This phase is the pilot study, where psychometric properties were established for Bergen Facebook Addiction Scale, The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support and The HEXACO Personality Inventory-R. Scoring and statistical analysis of the scales were carried out in a standard method. Descriptive statistics and reliability coefficient were computed by using SPSS V-21. Alpha Reliability of the BFAS was established at 0.80 during pilot study. Cronbach, s Alpha for MSPSS & HEXACO Personality Inventory-R was calculated, which were 0.75 & 0.79 respectively. The data has been collected from the target and desired sample of N= 222 Facebook addicts participants. Facebook addict university students were further categorized as female Facebook addicts (n=130) and male (n=92) Facebook addicts. The data was collected by purposive convenient sampling. In the present study cross sectional, correlational survey study method was used. University students were briefed about the purpose of the study and informed consent was obtained from the

university students. The collected data was analyzed by using SPSS version 21. Descriptive statistics i.e. mean, t- test and S.D were computed. Bivariate Correlation analysis was used to examine relationship between the study variables. Regression analysis was used to predict level of significance among all variables. The mediation effect was computed by using the Barron and Kenny (1986) four step approaches for testing mediation. Testing for mediation involves establishing four conditions:

1. The IV is significantly related to the DV (path c).
2. The IV is significantly related to the MV (path a).
3. The MV is significantly related to the DV (path b).
4. The effect of the IV on the DV (path c) shrinks upon the addition of the mediator to the model.

RESULTS

Table 1. *Group wise differences of male and female population sample for Personality Traits, Perceived Social Support and Facebook Addiction*

Variable	Male	Female	<i>t</i>	95%CI	
	(<i>n</i> = 92)	(<i>n</i> = 130)		<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>			
Facebook Addiction	25.95(2.45)	26.03(2.01)	-.284	-.676	.506
Honesty-Humility	21.17(11.33)	23.91(11.61)	-1.79	-5.819	.352
Emotionality	39.90(10.23)	39.33(9.05)	.445	-1.885	3.147
Extraversion	41.05(9.27)	39.33(9.74)	1.690	-.352	4.584
Agreeableness	21.12(11.09)	23.66(11.11)	-1.681	-5.523	.439
Conscientiousness	20.85(11.04)	23.38(10.74)	-1.708	-5.447	.389
Openness to Experience	40.90(9.34)	38.63(9.18)	1.804	-.211	4.753
Perceived Social Support	72.76(9.08)	72.65(8.97)	.093	-2.305	2.535
Family Support	24.59(3.44)	24.77(3.08)	-.414	-1.050	.686
Friend Support	24.55(3.58)	24.32(3.94)	.448	-.787	1.250
Sig. Other Support	23.62(3.99)	23.55(3.93)	.122	-.996	1.128

The results revealed that Facebook addiction is elevated in female's students. Personality traits Honesty-humility, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness are also higher in female students whereas Emotionality, Extraversion and Openness to Experience are higher in male's university students. Overall level of Perceived Social Support is greater in males as compared to female university students.

CI = Confidence Interval, *LL*= Lower Limit, *UL* = Upper Limit

DISCUSSION

There is a probability that the occurrence of Facebook addiction differs and is not stable according to gender usage pattern. To explore this difference, it was suggested in the hypothesis that there is difference between males and females Facebook addiction. Gender dissimilarities in early researches of the Internet were also proven (Amichai-Hamburger & Ben-Artzi, 2003). Demographic characteristics effect people's social media use in cyber psychology. Among other demographic variables, gender has been found to be a substantial factor effecting usage pattern of social networking sites (Lenhart, 2009).

Results illustrates the difference of mean scores of Females Facebook Addicts is ($M = 26.03$, $SD = 2.01$) and Male Facebook Addicts is ($M = 25.95$, $SD = 2.45$). These findings are supported by previous research as Hargittai (2008) concentrated on demographic variables and determined that females are more expected to use Facebook. Hampton, (2011) explored that when looking at Facebook precisely, there have been researches that found gender variances in Facebook use. In a relevant case, Sandvig (2009) explored that the usage of Facebook was increased predominantly among female students in Malaysian universities, and was the most popular social site among the female university students aged 18-24 years. Female students used Facebook more for entertainment, and for sustaining existing relationships. In another study, Sharifah, (2011) surveyed 380 female students in selected universities from Malaysia and found that there is a high relationship between motives of Facebook use (passing time, entertainment, and communication) and Facebook addiction. The study concluded that the female university students were considered to be Facebook addicts. Other researchers have contradicted findings as suggested by Raacke & Bonds-Raacke (2008) claimed that there was no gender variance for Facebook use. Additionally, Baek (2011) found similar results for using Facebook of males and females population. Fox and Warber (2013) also found that there were no dissimilarities in motivations between men and women Facebook addiction.

CONCLUSION

The current study revealed that female university students are more Facebook addicted as compared to male students. Facebook addiction is a serious and noteworthy, issue among younger university students. The Educationalists and researchers must address this emerging issue and take proper precautions and awareness to avoid the negative hazards of Facebook. The girls having age differences exist in the broader Facebook Addiction population. To investigate the age range among Facebook Addicts one of the hypothesis was tested. Age appears to be a potentially important predictor to include in this study. Because Facebook users' ages range varies widely. This study further explored that younger girls tend to use

more computer mediated communication like Facebook than younger boys. The results of current study supports this hypothesis that Facebook addiction is largely affected the younger university female students as mean score of younger female students range (17-25) is ($M = 26.07$, $SD = 2.199$) and mean score of younger boys range (26-40) is ($M = 25.36$, $SD = 2.128$). The results of this study are verified by some other relevant researches. Facebook addiction is a common problem among young girls under the age 22.

This research has great implication in order to highlight university students use of Facebook is an alarming issue of concern for higher education experts. Most importantly, these findings can encourage other scholars to further study the problems that could be the result of university student's excessive use of the Facebook. Educators and researchers could use this information to identify issues related to Female users of Facebook and define future research directions concerning the demographic variation of Facebook.

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Psycho-Social Risk Factors of Conduct Disorder among Institutionalized Children

Abstract

The purpose of the present study was to find out the main psycho-social risk factors for Conduct Disorder among children and adolescents. For this reason, study was conducted in two phases. Data from children residing in Child Protection and Welfare Bureau, Rawalpindi, were collected after seeking permission. In Phase I, 25 children having some conduct issues, as reported by administration of the Bureau, were selected. Urdu translated version of Disruptive Behavior Disorder Rating Scale (Loona & Kamal, 2011) was administered as a screening tool for conduct related problems. On the basis of screening, 10 participants were selected who met the complete criteria of Conduct Disorder and volunteered to participate in research. In Phase II, bio-graphical interviews were conducted. Content analysis was done through line by line coding and various categories were produced from data that were further rated by another judge. Inter-rater reliability was 83%. Findings revealed the most significant contributing factors for Conduct Disorder including personal factors, peer related factors, and the familial factors. Personal factor as perceived by participants were personal motivation, cognitive deficits, witnessing media violence, urbanization, element of supernatural forces, and abuse. Familial factors included inter-parental violence, marital discord, siblings' influence, family size, and low socio-economic status, presence of step-mother, drug addiction in family, lack of parental supervision, stressful familial situation, and maternal psychopathology. While peer related factors included peer pressure, closeness with peers, and having no peer.

Key words: *Conduct Disorder, Delinquency, Parental Monitoring, Peers, Violence*

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INTRODUCTION

In the field of developmental psychopathology, childhood behavior problems including externalizing and internalizing problems are of significant concern. Externalizing problems consisting of disinhibited behaviors and other expressions of under socialization (Kovacs & Delvin, 1998) act as risk factors for the later juvenile delinquency, adult crime, and violence (Moffitt, 1993; Raine, 2002). Children with externalizing problems have low self-regulation skills that leads to under controlled behavior (Cole, Zahn-Waxler, Fox, Usher, & Welsh, 1996). Thus, it is extremely important to identify and to understand the early childhood behavioral problems to prevent their development in later life (Liu & Wuerker, 2005). The essential features of Conduct disorder (CD) is a repetitive pattern of behavior that is linked with the violation of societal norms and basic rights of others, manifested by presence of one criterion in the past 6 months or three or more criteria in the past 12 months (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2000). The behavior can be categorized into four categories: Physical aggression to people and animals (bullying, fighting, using a weapon, stealing by confronting a victim, and forced sex); property destruction (fire settings, destroy the property of others); deceptiveness or theft (breaking and entering into others property, lying for personal gains, stealing without confronting a victims); and serious rule violations that is, spending night out of home before the age of 13, running away from home, being truant before the age of 13 (APA, 2013).

CD is one of the most common psychiatric disorders among children and adolescents between the age range of 4-16 years (Shamsie, 2001). Findings revealed that up to 40% of those who had been diagnosed with CD in childhood, serious psychological disturbances continued in adulthood (Shamsie, 2001). The disruptive, impulse-control, and CD all tend to be more common in boys than in girls (APA, 2013). Family structures including family size, home discord, and an antisocial parent acts as risk factors of CD (Capaldi & Patterson, 1991). Findings about the juvenile crimes in Pakistan revealed that those adolescents living in the rural set up were more likely to be involved in crimes as compared to those living in the urban areas. And adolescents who lived in joint family system were less involved in juvenile crimes as compared to those living in the nuclear family system (Shamim, Batool, Zafar, & Hashmi, 2009). Findings of a study revealed that low socioeconomic status along with a large family size acted as important factors for anti-social personality disorder (Farrington, 2000).

Patterson (1982) has related parenting styles with antisocial behavior, and believed that parents of children having conduct issues were less consistent with their use of rules; gave more vague commands; their reaction towards their child depended on their own feeling rather than what the child was actually doing; less likely to monitor

their child's whereabouts; and less concerned about their child's sociable behavior (Patterson, 1982). Undesirable parent-child connections are mainly associated with the child's conduct issues (Johnston & Mash, 2001). A study conducted in Pakistan explored the perceived parent-child relationship quality for determining aggression in adolescents. Findings showed that perceived quality of parent-child relationship was significantly related to aggression in adolescents (Fatima & Sheikh, 2009). Children's exposure to domestic violence makes them antisocial. Marital conflict influences emotional regulation of the child. This leads to imprecise appraisal of other social situations and ineffective problem solving (Cummings & Davies, 2002), which is reflected as their conduct related problems. In Pakistan, Feroz, Jami, & Masood (2015) conducted a study that showed that adolescents who perceived more domestic violence at home were more aggressive. Parental psychopathology can also effect development. Depressed mothers find it difficult to set the limits for their child and remain emotionally unavailable for their children, so these mothers are major risk factor of CD for their child. Children exposure to their mother's depression between the ages of 5 and 7 exhibit a successive increase in CD behavior by age 7 (Kim-Cohen, Moffitt, Taylor, Pawlby, & Caspi, 2005). Heavy use of alcohol by parents lowers their threshold for reacting adversely to their child's behavior and also may be associated with inept monitoring of the child's conduct and less parental involvement (Lahey, Waldman, & McBurnett, 1999).

Fergusson & Lynskey (1995) found that the mother's age at the time of child birth, socio-economic status, number of children at the time of birth, and disciplinary parenting practices played an important role in the relationship between the mother's age and conduct problems in child. Joughin and Richardson (2002) suggested that children having teen age mothers showed more conduct symptoms at the age of 8, 10, and 12 years. Children with teen age single mothers inclined to live on lower incomes and they suffered from poor child-rearing practices. Those children who are raised in single parent family have high chances of delinquency (McCord, Widom, & Crowell, 2001). Single mothers are more likely to experience high levels of economic stress as compared to married (Ali & Avison, 1997), and this heightened stress can contribute to youth's increased problematic behaviors. Those children who grow up with single mothers had high chances of to grow up as aggressive (Hilton & Desrochers, 2000). Living in poor and criminal neighborhood increase the chance of delinquency for all those children who are brought up there (McCord et al., 2001). Lahey et al. (2000) reported that the drug availability and the high crime rates in the neighborhood act as risk factor for delinquency. Fite, Winn, Lochman, & Wells (2009) identified disadvantaged neighborhood act as unique risk factor for pro-active aggression which is another type of aggression, clearly predictive of later delinquency and substance use.

The National Research Council and the Institute of Medicine reported that the school policies concerning grade retention, suspension, and expulsion from school did not reduce the undesirable behavior rather they are associated with the increased delinquency in the children (as cited in McCord et al., 2001). Students with deviant social skills and poor academic performance are more likely to continue these behaviors (Barth, Dunlap, Dane, Lochman, & Wells, 2004). Furthermore, the research conducted in Pakistan about the delinquent behaviors suggested that problematic behaviors occur because of poor quality of education and absence of discipline. Half of the community school children were rated by their parents to be having behavior problems (Hussain, 2008). Children and adults with conduct issues have poor peer relationships with the other children having same behavioral problems. Children with CD have more aggressive, unhappy interactions, and rejection by other children without CD (Coie, 2004). Research indicated the strong association exists between the child's antisocial behaviors and their peers. When adolescents enter into a deviant peer group, their rate of school truancy and drop out leads to increase rates of delinquency (Lochman, 2003). Studies aforementioned have revealed many factors leading to CD among children. Literature review suggested in formulating research design for the current study, as none of the study in Pakistan has explored these psychosocial factors in institutionalized children through qualitative approach. Current study will help to delineate either the same factors would emerge or some new dimension will also become evident in indigenous context.

Gender was most consistently documented risk factor of CD (Robins, 1991). CD is more prevalent among boys with a ratio of 6 to 16 percent, while ratio among girls ranges from 2 to 9 percent (National Mental Health Association [NMHA], 2001). Boys with a diagnosis of CD frequently display aggression, stealing, damaging property, and school discipline problems. Girls with CD frequently show lying, truancy, substance use, and prostitution. Whereas, boys exhibit both physical and relational aggression (behavior that troubles social relationships of others), but girls tend to exhibit more relational aggression (APA, 2013). In the large 1999 and 2004 British surveys carried out in Great Britain among children and young people by the National Statistics, 5% of children and young people aged 5-15 met the criteria of CD (Green, Mc Ginnity, Meltzer, Ford, & Goodman, 2005). In terms of class, there is a marked social class gradient with CD more prevalent in lower class as compared to upper class (Green et al., 2005). Ethnicity also holds significance in this regard (see Goodman, Patel, & Leon, 2010). The prevalence of CD around the world is 5% (Scott, 2007). A study in US shows life time prevalence of CD as 9.5%, more prevalent in boys than females with a median age-of-onset of 11.6 years (Nock, Kazdin, Hiripi, & Kessler, 2006). In Pakistan, the crime rates are increasing day by day; there is marked increase in criminal activities from the year 2000 to 2010 (Waheed, 2010). Javed, Kundi, and Khan (1992) carried out a community study in

Lahore to find the emotional and behavioral problems in Pakistan; they found 9.3% prevalence of antisocial behaviors in children. Hussein (2008) carried out a study to determine a prevalence rate of conduct problems among children's attending different school settings in Karachi and findings revealed 48.7% conduct issues in boys and 35.2% in girls. The difference in prevalence rate may be because of use of different methodology, tools, and sample. Children with CD often suffer from other developmental problems, including being bullied (Johnson et al., 2002), having poor social competence, and low self-esteem (Renouf, Kovacs, & Mukerji, 1997), an increased likelihood of repeating a grade in school, being suspended or expelled from school, alcohol dependence, and drug abuse (Schubiner et al., 2000).

Research also revealed that children with CD are at extreme risk for school failure, peer rejection, violent behavior, suicide, serious criminality, and adult psychiatric illness (Kelly, Cornelius, & Lynch, 2002). CD exhibited during childhood and adolescence is a necessary precondition to be diagnosed with the Antisocial Personality Disorder in 18 years of age (Myers, Steward, & Brown, 1998). Therefore, early prevention through exploration of risk factors involved in developing conduct related problems is of utmost importance. Current study is aimed to explore those psycho-social factors in institutionalized children living in Child Welfare and Protection Bureau (CPWB), Rawalpindi. This is the only Center in Pakistan, which keeps and looks after the neglected, abused, or street children having the age range of 8-18 years. None of the previous studies in Pakistan has focused these children to find out psychosocial factors that lead some of the children out of many to develop conduct problems. Since in the CPWB only male children are accommodated, therefore, data is based on male children only. There is a lack of mental health studies for children in Pakistan, especially, on the risk factors of delinquent behavior (Hussein, 2008). Pakistan is undergoing through youth bulge. To harness youth's energies and to make them productive member of the society need much attention.

METHODOLOGY

Objective of the study is to explore the psychosocial risk factors that underlie the development of conduct issues in institutionalized children. Present research is qualitative where biographical follow up interviews were conducted to cater the large contextual information. Research was carried out in two phases. In Phase I, screening for CD was conducted on children residing in CPWB. After screening, children who met the criteria of CD were selected for the biographical interviewing in Phase II. For the present study, the data were collected from the CPWB. It is the only Punjab Government center in Rawalpindi for those children's who were run away from their homes and were involved in some economic activities. These individuals are then brought to the Bureau by the police force because of their involvement in the

activities which are not appropriate for their age. So because of feasibility and accessibility, the data were collected from CPWB. The sample comprised of boys ($N = 25$) having the age range of 11-16 years ($M = 13.4$; $SD = 2.18$). For the present study, 25 children with antisocial tendencies were selected on the basis of reporting by administration authorities about their conduct related issues. Later out of 25, only 10 children were selected for the interviews.

Translated version (Urdu) (Loona & Kamal, 2011) was used for screening of CD to accurately identify children and adolescents having highest score on DBDRS. There were total 16 items which were related with CD that measure Aggression (8 items), Destruction of Property (2 items), Deceitfulness and Violation of Rules (3 items each). Alpha coefficient for (Urdu version) is .91 and both Spearman Brown, and Split-half correlation for Conduct items is .89 (Loona & Kamal, 2011). DBDRS have four response categories that are *never*, *very often*, *often*, and *always*. There was no cut-off score; if the individual scored on three categories, or the combination of categories, then the individual is having CD. Higher scores represent the high severity of conduct issues in the and low scores represent the less severity of conduct issues. It was rating scale for parents and teachers, so in the present study rating scale was taken by teacher/attendant of that child in CPWB about the child's current behavior.

Follow up in-depth interviews were conducted along with the specific guidelines based on the literature which helped the interviewer to remain focused about the objectives of the interview. Biographical interview guide mainly included questions related to symptoms and psycho-social factors that may lead to development of conduct problem in participants. Open ended questions were asked through which every setting of life (i.e. family, school, and neighborhood) was covered. The interviewer did not rigidly follow the guidelines rather order was changed case to case and additional questions were also asked depending upon the interviewee's response (see Patton & Quinn, 1990).

Proper procedure was followed to obtain the permission from the CPWB in order to collect data from children present in the Bureau. Research purpose, its significance, and use of the information so obtained through interviews were shared with authorities and participants. It was assured to authorities and participants that information would be used only for research purpose and would be kept confidential and anonymous. Written consent was taken from each child who participated in the research. No refusal came from any participant for the participation in the present study. After taking the permission, the DBDRS was used for screening purpose in Phase I on those individuals who were willing to participate. Out of 25 children, 10 highest scorers were selected for the follow-up biographical interviews in Phase II. They had high scores on the scale and met the full criteria of CD in Phase II. Consent

of the parents of five participants who were available on call was also taken. For rest of the children, parents had no contact with administration. In such cases, consent of attendants and authorities was sought. Parents of those 5 participants were also consulted for verification of the information obtained from the respective participants. Interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed. During the interview, memo writing was also done to clearly understand the context of what the participants were reporting. Maximum 30-45 minutes were spent on each interview. After that, content analysis of textual information was done.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Content analysis was used to extract psychosocial factors leading to conduct problem based upon participants' responses in follow up interviews. First the content was analyzed through line by line coding and then codes were assigned to the core component of communication. After that these codes were then categorized into major categories. After establishing the categories, their inter-rater reliability was checked where two independent judges gave consensus about the categories emerged (Krippendorff, 2004). The frequencies and percentages were tabulated for respective categories. In Phase I, data of 25 boys currently having some delinquent tendencies, as reported by administrative authorities and respective attendants, were collected from the CBWB by using DBDRS. Ten participants with highly delinquent tendencies were selected who scored highest on the scale. Table 1 shows the frequencies and percentages along symptoms of CD among 25 participants.

Table 1: *Prevalence of Conduct Problem Behavior (N = 25)*

Themes	Categories	f (%)
Aggression to people and animals	Initiate scuffle	20(80)
	Initiate physical fighting	20(80)
	Hurt physical others	20(80)
	Bully others	17(68)
	Stealing by confronting a victim	18(72)
	Uses weapon	12(48)
	Hurt animals	9(36)
	Forced sex	9(36)
Destruction of property	Destroying other’s property	16(64)
	Involved in fire settings	6(24)
Deceitfulness	Telling a lie	22(88)
	Stealing without confronting a victim	13(52)
	Dacoit	8(32)
Serious violation of rules	Truancy form school	15(60)
	Truancy from home	9(36)
	Staying out at night	14(56)

Table 1 that highest scored category is telling a lie, and the lowest scored category is the involvement in fire settings. The most evident or reported behavior is initiate scuffle, physical fights, and physically hurt others and the least reported behaviors are involved in fire settings, being dacoit, forced sex, and hurting animals. If three or more categories or in the combination of the categories were endorsed, then the diagnosis of the CD is given. On the basis of prevalence of symptoms, 10 participants were selected for the further interviewing to explore psychosocial factors in developing CD.

Table 2: *Frequencies and Percentages along Demographic Variables (N = 10)*

Demographic Variable	f(%)	Demographic Variable	f(%)
Age in years		Non-working	7(70)
12-13	7(70)	Education of father	
15-16	3(30)	Illiterate	8(80)
Onset of CD		Primary	1(10)
Childhood-onset	10(100)	Matric	1(10)
Adolescent-onset	0	Occupation of father	
Age of onset		Army	1(10)
5-6	2(20)	Mason	4(40)
7-8	6(60)	Painter	2(20)
9-10	2(20)	Flower seller	1(10)
Educational level		Shop-keeper	1(10)
Class 1	2(20)	Auto-driver	1(10)
Class 2	2(20)	Family size (No of siblings)	
Class 3	3(30)	1	1(10)
Class 4	2(20)	2	1(10)
Class 5	1(10)	3 (3)*	1(10)
Past employment status of children		4	1(10)
Non workers	3(30)	6	2(20)
Workers	7(70)	8 (1)*	2(20)
Barber	1(10)	9	1(10)
Shoe polisher	1(10)	12	1(10)
Beggar, flower seller	1(10)	Family structure	
Car washer	1(10)	Joint family system	3(30)
Server	1(10)	Nuclear family system	7(70)
House servant	2(20)	Divorced/Second marriage of parents	4(40)
Education of mother		Intact families	6(60)
Illiterate	9(90)	Family income (in rupees)	
Primary	1(10)	1000-10,000	9(90)
Occupation of mother		11,000-20,000	1(10)
Working	3(30)	Residential Area	
School maid	2(20)	City slum	1(10)
House maid	1(10)	Urban areas	2(20)
		Rural areas	7(70)

Note. * = step siblings.

Table 2 shows that age range of the sample is from 12-16 years. All participants have childhood-onset of conduct issues that is before ten years of age. Maximum participants have age onset of conduct issues between 7- 8. All have educational level less than primary. Most of the participants were earning money previously before coming to the Bureau. Majority of mothers and fathers were illiterate. All fathers and only three mothers have working status. Five participants have number of siblings above 4 and 5 participants have number of siblings below 4. Only three participants were from joint family system. Four participants have divorced or step parents and three participants have step siblings too. Two participants have only one step sibling, and one participant have three step siblings. Most of the participants have the family income range less than 10,000 PKR and only one participant having the family income range as more than 10,000 PKR. Seven participants reported about that their houses are located in rural areas, 3 in urban areas, and only one participant reported about the urban slum.

Out of ten participants, 8 participants were street children. Among these 8, only one participant left his house when he was 7 years old; 6 participants reported that when they were 9 years old they left their houses, and only one participant left his house when he was 10 years old. Out of 10 participants, 7 participants were brought to this center by the police officers, 1 participant lived in jail with his mother and now he has been sent to the Bureau by the police administration because of his aggressive acts in the jail; 1 participant was brought by the media (Geo news); and one participant was brought by his own father because of the behavioral issues. Before coming to bureau, seven participants got education from schools. One participant got nursery level education and then left the school because of no interest in studies; 3 participants got education up to class 1 and then left their school and home both; one participant got education up to class 2 and then left the school and home both; one participant got education up to class three and he was expelled from the school because of truancy; and only one participant got education up to class 5 and then left the school and his home too. Sample of the present study belongs to three different provinces of Pakistan that is Punjab, NWFP, and Sindh. During the interviewing, some participants were very vocal as compared to others, for example, Case 3, 4, 8, 9, and 10. It was not due to their verbal abilities, but as unique style of responding (i.e., rude and excited).

Table 3: *Prevalence of Conduct Related Behavior among Screened Participants (N = 10)*

Themes	Categories	f(%)
Aggression to people and animals	Initiate scuffle	10(100)
	Initiate physical fighting	10(100)
	Hurt physical others	10(100)
	Bully others	10(100)
	Stealing by confronting a victim	9(90)
	Uses weapon	8(80)
	Hurt animals	7(70)
	Forced sex	2(20)
	Destruction of property	Destroying other’s property
Involved in fire settings		4(40)
Deceitfulness	Telling a lie	10(100)
	Stealing without confronting a victim	8(80)
	Dacoit	2(20)
Serious violation of rules	Truancy form school	9(90)
	Truancy from home	8(80)
	Staying out at night	8(80)

Note. Multiple responses exist for each category.

Table 3 shows that highly endorsed categories present in screened sample is initiating scuffle, physical fighting, hurting others physically, bullying, destroying other’s property, and telling a lie. After that, second highest scored category is stealing by confronting a victim, and truancy from school. Third highest scored category is use of weapon, stealing without confronting a victim, truancy from home, and staying out night. Fourth highest category is hurting animals. Involvement in fire settings is the second lowest scored category where 40% of participants reported about it; and the other least reported category is forced sex and being dacoit; only 20% participants reported about their involvement in these delinquent behaviors. Themes, codes, and categories of the risk factors were identified by the content analysis of the responses given by the participants during the interview. After the content analysis, various themes and categories of the risk factors were identified. Total 37 categories were established which were rated by a clinical psychologist other than researcher. Out of 37 categories, 31 categories achieved agreement among both raters. The total inter-rater reliability agreement established is 83%.

Table 4: *Categories and Themes of Risk Factors (N=10)*

Themes	Categories	f(%)
Abuse	Physical abuse	10(100)
	Sexual abuse	2(20)
Family influences	Inter-parental violence	7(70)
	Parental separation	4(40)
	Siblings influences (elder brother)	2(20)
	Family size	2(20)
	Low socio-economic status	2(20)
	Presence of step mother	2(20)
	Lack of parental Supervision	2(20)
	Drug addiction in family	1(10)
	Stressful familial situation	1(10)
	Maternal psychopathology	1(10)
	Self-motivation	Enjoy wandering
Enjoy to bully others		2(20)
Enjoy fighting		4(40)
No personal interest in home		4(40)
Enjoy stealing		1(10)
Enjoy to tease others		1(10)
Peer's influence	Peer pressure	6(60)
	Closeness to friends	4(40)
	Having no friends	1(10)
Cognitive deficits	Deficits in social skills	6(60)
	Low risk perception	4(40)
Media exposure	Media violence	3(30)
Urbanization	Desire to get urban	2(20)
Supernatural things	Black magic	1(10)
	Paranormal presence	1(10)

Table 4 shows the major themes of risk factors contribute in development of CD. Risk factors that contribute to the development of CD were abuse, family influences, self-motivation, peers influence, cognitive deficits, media exposure, urbanization, and supernatural things. Family influences majorly inter-parental violence and parental separation/single parenting, and peer influences including peer pressure to indulge in deviant activities followed by closeness with deviant peers emerge as major social factors as per participants' responses. Abuse, self-motivation, and cognitive deficits reflect personal or psychological factors. Media exposure to violence and urbanization are community related factors. Interestingly, two participants also reported a factor of any supernatural force that has brought such a negative impact on his life. As a secondary analysis which was not the main objective of the study consequences of having CD among participants were also explored. Table 5 shows the themes and categories of the consequences of CD. Five major themes were generated that is abusive, school influences, risky behaviors, drug related behavior, and family clashes.

Table 5: *Themes and Categories of the Consequences of CD (N=10)*

Themes	Categories	f (%)
Being abusive	Physical abuse	8(80)
	Sexual abuse	2(20)
School influences	Punishment from teachers	5(50)
	Expulsion from school	2(20)
Risky behaviors	Physical injuries	3(30)
	Self-mutilating behaviors	4(40)
	Prostitution	2(20)
Drug related behaviors	Drug use for pleasure	4(40)
	Drug supplier	2(20)
Family clashes	Parental conflicts	1(10)

Table 5 shows the major consequences of CD that produced the adverse effects in the life of participants including being abusive, indulging in abusing physically followed by sexually. In academic setting, experiencing punishment from teachers and 2 were even expelled from schools. Risk taking and risky behaviors increased that are reflected as experiencing more physical injuries, self-mutilating behaviors, and indulging in prostitution. A few started taking drugs to seek pleasure and 2 also indulged in supplying drugs to drug users. One also report that his deviant activities led to family clashes including conflicts between parents over his behavior.

The aim of the present research was to explore the psychosocial risk factors involved in developing CD among children. Children included in sample were institutionalized in CPWB. Administrative authorities and respective attendants of those children based upon their observations reported about the current conduct related issues of the children that had been present for the past 6 months (see APA, 2013). Out of 25, 10 children were screened through DBDRS for the further biographical interviews. After the interviews, information was thoroughly analyzed to extract codes through line by line coding. Line by line coding is used to identify the multiple categories in the content (Weber, 1990). After line by line coding categories were formulated by merging, overlapping codes. Lastly, these were extracted by using interpretative approach (Moretti et al., 2011). Through employing this method, themes and categories reflecting risk factors for CD were identified.

For the present research, the sample comprised of boys only. That may be taken as a sampling bias, but CPWB only accommodates boys. Target population for present study was institutionalized children who are living in controlled environment rather than roaming around streets without supervision and monitoring. This is the only institute that provide residence to homeless or street children therefore data were collected from children residing there. This was proved by the study conducted among Navajo Indians (531 male and 203 female respondents), results showed that

earlier age and male gender rather than female act as risk factor for CD (Kunitz et al., 1999). Since present research only targeted boys, therefore, we cannot claim that this does not exist in girls. The reason for more prevalence in boys can be high testosterone level and cultural factors where aggression in acceptable behavior in boys and parents often encourage that in boys as approved gender role. Boys are also more outgoing and parental monitoring and supervision gets less with age, which also promotes deviant activities in boys (Helgeson, 2012). The demographics, low family income separated or divorced parents and large family size contributes to the development of the CD. According to the findings, all children had childhood onset of CD. Research evidence shows that symptom profile and severity of symptoms of CD and functional impairment was significantly higher in childhood onset than adulthood onset (Jayaprakash, Rajamohanam, & Anil, 2014). Present research findings also revealed that all the participants have educational level less than primary level. Research findings revealed an increased likelihood of repeating a grade in school, school failure, being suspended or expelled from school among children with conduct issues (Schubiner et al., 2000).

Findings revealed that those families having lower societal status (i.e. low income, poor housing, low social social class), or having large family size act as significant predictors of anti-social personality disorder at age 18 (Farrington, 2000). Those families where the number of siblings are large, but the resources of the families were very less; parents find it difficult to feed their all children, so they put their children to do some work at very early ages (for example father of Case 5 reported that he was flower seller so how could he feed his all the children) and these children were exposed to disadvantaged environment at the early ages. Seeing the various hardships outside, make them tougher to face the hardships, and meet their needs through delinquent means. Whereas, among low socio-economic status, the greatest prevailing insecurity was homelessness and hunger (for example, brother of Case 10 reported that we are poor people our eating [resources] is not good [sufficient]). Once the basic needs are not met, familial conflicts increase and the children may become truant from the home to get the financial and psychological relief for some time.

Divorced and separated parents increase the risk of conduct issues in the children, according to the findings, 4 participants had divorced parents, and research findings suggested that higher divorce rates are found between parents among those children who have conduct issues (Sholevar, 2001). There is a prevailing myth that step mother is “a wicked mother”. Participants generally believed that their step mother were very clever because she was the only one who was responsible for their parent’s separation. Someone replacing the role of biological mother leads to distress in the child and child may develop the hatred for the new mother. Marital discord causes CD in children, which is further one of the possible outcome of CD as well. Two-way

relationship exists marital conflict and CD (Fincham, Grych, & Osborne, 1994). This is also reflected in current study where participants perceived parental conflicts as reason for their conduct issues and in consequences conduct issues of the child also led to parental conflicts. According to findings, factor that has strongest impact on the participants for developing conduct issues was *family influences*. Out of total, 7(70%) participants had witnessed inter-parental violence and showed conduct symptoms; marital conflicts influence child's behavior because of its effect on emotional regulation.

Children exposed to domestic violence in their early stage may become antisocial. According to social learning theory, children imitate adult's behavior, if adults behave aggressively; children behave the same way through copying the actions of their adults (Bandura, 1969). Research showed that family discord and maladaptation strongly correlated which is associated with a roughly two-fold increase in risk for CD symptomatology (Meyer, Rutter, Silberg, Maes, & Simonoff, 2000). In the present research, 5(50%) cases reported where father initiated violence towards mother, and sometimes children tried to help mothers, but got punished by their fathers (for example, Case 3 reported "during the fight when we intervened to save our mother, father also beat us"), so the boys identify their father as more violent and they are likely to use same patterns of behavior in the future. Feroz et al. (2015) also found positive predictive role of childhood exposure to domestic violence for developing aggression among university students.

In a research on the 177 clinically referred children aged from 7 to 13 years, association was found between CD and several features of family functioning which was maternal parenting (lack of paternal supervision and persistence in discipline) and paternal adjustment (paternal anti-social personality disorder and paternal substance abuse) (Frick et al., 1992). Whereas, in the present research 2(20%) participants reported about lack of parental supervision; 1(10%) participant reported about his paternal drug usage; and only 1(10%) participant reported about the maternal psychopathology. All these parents' related factors lead to lack of monitoring and supervision at their part that lead to conduct problems in children (Patterson, 1982). CD result from a child's attempt to cope with a hostile environment or to gain social status among friends or *peer pressure* is referred to as one of the main reasons for getting into delinquency. According to the findings, 6(60%) participants reported about the affiliation with deviant peers. Research demonstrated that friend's delinquency predicted delinquency and substance use, and older male friends predicted antisocial behavior (McAdamsa et al., 2014). Present study also revealed that more the closeness with such friends; more is the chances of antisocial behaviors. Research in past also indicated that having the deviant peers with antisocial behaviors; and the more closeness with the deviant peers result into more

frequent deviant behaviors evidenced in boys rather than girls (Paul, Kathryn, & Hillary, 2004). In cultural context too, boys are approved to be more social and outgoing and once there is lack of supervision and monitoring by parents, conduct issues increase. Present research finding revealed that *peer rejection* is another risk factor of CD. Only 1 participant reported about that. Research findings showed that peer rejection and aggression in the early school years related with the early starting of conduct problems (Shari & John, 2002). Peers are very significant socializing factors. Healthy peer interaction with same age group leads to development of socially approved behaviors. Social rejection may lead to lowered self-esteem that later become evident in the form of overt aggression.

Any form of *abuse* is a stressful experience for a child. As the child grows and the abuse intensifies, the child is forced to deal with the tensions associated with the abuse fueled with anger and frustration (Jaffee, Moffitt, Caspi, & Taylor, 2003). Abuse or maltreatment came up as major contributing risk factor for the CD, experienced by all the participants in different forms. A study conducted on 70 substantiated cases of child abuse showed that 50% of the sample met the criteria of the CD in which 65% of the sample was physically abused and 62% of the sample faced sexual abuse (Lyttle & Brodie, 2010). According to present research findings, all the participants experienced physical abuse and only 2(20%) participants faced sexual abuse showing the severe symptoms of CD. According to present research, *self-motivation* and positive attitudes about the delinquent behavior was third major theme that contributed to the development of the CD. Participants reported that they get involved in risky behaviors because they get rewards in terms of goods, money, enjoyment, and fun. That's why they were more involved in risky behaviors. Self-motivation was proved as risk factor for CD by the study conducted on 24 juvenile offenders from 11 to 18 years old. Results showed that positive expectations or positive attitudes towards delinquency, liking what they do, and getting pleasure from these activities acted as risk factors for CD (Simoës, Margarida, Matos, & Foguet, 2008). It was also proved by psychoanalytic theories where the Id is considered as a dominant in behavior; delinquents just do what they want to do; they are more concerned with their biological needs and desires without thinking about consequences (Muuss, 1996). It can be assumed that in delinquents, Id based on pleasure principle is more dominant as compared to ego and superego, so they did whatever they wanted to do.

Cognitive deficits were another major theme, reported by more than half of the participants. Six participants reported about low social skills and 4 participants reported about low risk perception (for example, Case 3 reported, "when any one calls me with names, I beat them, otherwise not"). It shows that aggressive child has hostile attribution of others' behaviors and attend to the hostile cues only, having

hostile attributional biases, more inflexible in their choice of response, value the aggressive response, and then act out in a violent way. It was proved in past study focusing at associations between trajectories of conduct problems and social-cognitive competences through childhood into early adolescence. Results showed that in contrast to individuals with low conduct problem levels, all conduct problem groups presented with difficulties in both social-cognitive domains (Oliver, Barker, Mandy, Skuse, & Maughan, 2011). Exposure to violence through media is another risk factor that contributes to CD. It was confirmed in a research that media violence exposure is related to poorer executive functioning and this relationship may be stronger for adolescents who have a history of aggressive–disruptive behavior (Kronenberger, Mathews, Dunn, Wang, & Wood, 2004). Feroz et al. (2015) also found link between community and media exposure to violence in childhood as a predictive factor for aggression among university students. Current study revealed that 3(30%) participants reported about exposure to media violence, for example, Case 1 reported, “when I was in anger, I used to cut my hands, I saw in dramas where people hurt themselves”. So it means that exposure to violent media leads to violent acts in children and adolescents through observational learning. *Urbanization* is another main reason for getting into delinquency. Participants living in the rural areas were much inspired by the urban lifestyles that most of the children ran out from their homes to explore happening in the inner-city. World population growth is anticipated to be concentrated in megacities, with increases in social inequality and urbanization-associated stress.

A study conducted in Sao Paulo revealed the socio-demographic correlates, aspects of urban living such as internal migration, exposure to violence, and neighborhood-level social deprivation were associated with impulse-control disorders and high social deprivation with substance use disorders (Andrade, Wang, Anderoni, Silveria, & Alexandro-Silveria, 2012). Main research findings revealed that 2 (20%) participants reported about the desire to get urban, which became the cause of truancy, hence, migration from the rural areas to urban setting which are populace, lack cohesion, and much complex life patterns. Thirst for curiosity, exploration, stimulation, and risk taking in the absence of supervision and monitoring can be the reason for developing CD. According to the present research findings, another risk factor perceived by 20% of participants was *supernatural forces*. People surely believe that behind their illnesses or behavioral disorders there are certain supernatural elements which caused them to occur. This was proved by the study conducted to determine the public stigma against people with mental illness and the results showed that rural residents had significantly higher stigma scores for perceiving the supernatural causes behind the illnesses (std. $\beta = -0.09$, $p < .01$). So it was concluded that rural residents showed higher levels of stigma (Girma, Tesfaye, Froeschl, Moller-Leimkuhler, & Muller, 2013). In the sample of the present study, 7(70%) belonged to rural areas having

uneducated and socioeconomically less privileged background. Culturally, when anything goes drastically wrong beyond expectations, people often rationalize this because of some spell casted by others who are jealous of one's prosperous life. Sometimes things when really get out of control then there is inclination in masses, especially with less education, to justify it as some *asar* or *saya* [under the influence of some supernatural force as of jinn]. That may be the reason for participants giving same reason for their behavior either as denial or not understanding the real factor. As a secondary analysis, outcomes of CD were also explored to establish effect on social, school, and personal functioning of the participants. According to DSM-V (APA, 2013), the criterion of every psychological disorder is that it must affect the functioning of the individual's life. Those children and adolescents who faced abuse at the early stages of their lives, they learned this abusive pattern and used these patterns frequently in their later life. They imitated the aggressive behaviors and became abusive towards others (Bandura, 1969). According to present research findings, all the participants experienced physical abuse and only 2(20%) participants faced sexual abuse showing the severe symptoms of CD. Victims of childhood abuse were never comfortable with others closer to them; their early experiences taught them not to trust anyone, and they learned the same abusive behavior and acted out in more aggressive and violent ways (Berman, 2013).

Present research finding revealed that 8(80%) participants reported about *being abusive* towards other. *Family conflicts* act as a risk factor as well as a consequence of CD. Marital discord causes CD in children, which is also an outcome for CD. It means two ways relationship exist marital conflict and CD (Fincham et al., 1994). Once child has deviant peers he spend much of time outside home and indulge in deviant activities, Culturally, it is taken to be mother's prerogative or responsibility to look after children at home, and father is devoid of such responsibility being bread winner. Quite often male child in a family is more outgoing that is why because of cultural restrictions, being female, mother cannot keep an eye on activities outside home of her male child. Living in neighborhood socioeconomically low and with less educated inhabitants, which is fertile turf for deviant activities, it becomes a huge task for mother to have control over activities of male child. Living in poor and criminal neighborhood increase the chance of conduct disorder in those children who are brought up there (Lahey et al., 2000; McCord et al., 2001). In such cases, father's role needs to be very important. Once father is absent physically or psychologically, deviant activities increase, so is parental conflict consequently.

Punishment and school expulsion was reported by the participants in the current study as outcome of their conduct related problems. Parche and Fortuna's (2011) findings revealed that 5(50%) participants reported about the frequent school punishment and 2(20%) reported about the expulsion from school. Children having the conduct issues

have no interest in studies, their major interest in outside activities was wandering, fighting, etc., as a result school dropout, expulsion from school, and punishment occurs. Substance use was another consequence that was associated with the CD. Four (40%) participants reported about their intake of drug. A study revealed that CD increases the risk of substance use and abuse in adolescents regardless of gender (Disney, Elkins, Matt-McGue, & Iacono, 1999). Participants reported about drug use because they wanted to take drugs for the sake of enjoyment.

Disadvantaged neighborhood is a risk factor for pro-active that later predicts delinquency and substance use (Fite et al. 2009). Another finding about the consequences of CD is the involvement in *risky or self-injurious behavior*. Because of risky behaviors there were high chances of their injuries. Three (30%) participants reported about their involvement in self-injurious behaviors. As CD leads to self-injurious behaviors was proved by research findings that 57% adolescents were identified as having self-harming symptoms at admission, in which children were reported to have high symptoms of CD as compared to adolescents (Preyde, Watkins, & Frensh, 2012). Three (30%) participants reported about experiencing increased physical injuries. A study in British Colombia showed that children with the behavioral disorders had more than 1.5 times sustaining odds of injuries than those without behavioral disorders (Brehaut, Miller, Raina, & McGrail, 2003). Because of low risk perception and sensation seeking participants may get involved in risky behaviors (Helgeson, 2012), hence, get more prone to physical injuries.

Although the present research provides an insight about the CD with special reference to its risk factors and consequences among institutionalized male children, nevertheless, various limitations are associated with current study that needs to be considered in future research.

- Sample was collected form the one specific welfare center in Rawalpindi that is not a representative of whole Pakistan which reduces the generalizability of the findings. In future, a large sample from different cities, different centers, or from the children who are out of school or home can be taken. Further purposive sampling was used. In future, random sample if possible can be considered.
- Current was retrospective study where information was taken through biographical interviews. Participants recollected their information about their past memories, but there may be chance that these participants may hide or controlled their information. Although, information was verified from some of the available family members, there were some parents who did not have the exact information about their child's outgoing activities. Some family members were also inhibited about giving their information. Therefore,

information can be collected from peers, either from school, or from neighborhood including significant others from the family members.

- Current was a cross-sectional study. CD being developmental in nature changes in due course of time. Therefore, in future longitudinal studies are recommended.
- For analysis, content analysis was used. In future, grounded theory is recommended to devise theory in indigenous context.

Implication of the present study based on three levels i.e. personal, familial, and peer level. These implications are especially suggested for the CPWB and the like where children are institutionalized. For those children who are risk takers, sensation seekers, and have low cognitive skills; certain activities for the sublimation of their negative energies can be planned to channelize these into positive outcomes basing upon their interests, for example, for children having interest in sports, sports activities can be promoted. Those children who are sensation seekers, thrill based or adventurous activities can be planned, for example, skating, bicycle racing, mountaineering, etc. Vocational training is highly recommended along academics to promote their survival and become productive member of the society. Self-advocacy training to speak for their rights is important to promote this very life skill to discourage sexual and other deviant activities. Assertive training is also helpful where peer influence is high to make them indulge in deviant activities.

It is suggested that communication skills of children can be improved, as sometimes because of hostile attribution or lack of social skills children develop such problems and are unable to seek help of others when they need it. Some of the children were not accepted by their families and disruptive familial patterns including parental conflicts were existing in their homes. Lack of supervision and monitoring is one of the underlying reasons for deviant activities in children. Therefore, if possible, workshop for respective parents can be arranged to improve upon their parenting skills and disciplinary techniques without getting punishing and hostile. For those families whose parents were divorced, foster parenting can be one of the options. Volunteers can be sought who could facilitate in these children's development. Those families who live in a very low socio economic status, financial help is recommended with the cooperation with *Bait-ul-Maal* and like to fulfill their basic needs so that family should accept their child and not leaving them in institutions.

CONCLUSION

In the present study, various psycho-social risk factors were found to be associated with the development of CD among institutionalized children that can be grouped as social, personal/psychological, community based, and supernatural forces.

Demographically most of them belonged to low socioeconomic and uneducated class with large family size. Consequently, participants were experiencing marked disruption in their social, school, and personal functioning that confirmed diagnosis of CD for the participants of the study.

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Gender Representation through Animal Metaphors: An Analysis of Urdu Proverbs

Abstract

Proverbs are words of wisdom and wit presented in short phrases or sentences, they represent culture, myths, folklore narrative, societal norms and gender distribution in different societies. Gender specific proverbs using animals as metaphor to equate human qualities is an intriguing area and the present study unfolds the representation of males and females through animals in Urdu proverbs. Forty Urdu proverbs (having animal metaphor) have been collected and studied by adapting Fati-Rabat's (2013) categories of analysis through gender perspective. The analysis shows that out of forty proverbs, there are 8 animals related to male gender while 10 are related to female gender. Twenty one times male animals have been found to be represented as negative and 18 times females have been represented in negative by using animal metaphor. Frequency of negative male representation is higher than that of female representation. This reflects that although society generally approves devaluation of females and praise of males (Ncube & Moyo, 2011) but this particular study shows that when it comes to using animal representation, male gender can also be presented as negative image or ridiculed.

Key Words: Proverbs, Gender, Animal metaphor, Urdu Proverbs

INTRODUCTION

People often use proverbs in their daily communication in both speech and writing. These short meaningful statements connect them to their heritage and ancestral knowledge. Proverbs are wise sayings that are rooted in culture and traditions and loaded with meanings. Proverbs express some implicit or explicit message about general truth or common practices (Profantova, 1998:306-307). The elements that constitute these sayings are simple, short and relevant to common understanding.

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A person belonging to a particular culture or setting can easily relate to the entities in proverbs and decipher their meanings. These wise sayings have a general truth and applicability principle and if relevant can be applied in any situation. Only the context and actors need to be appropriate for their usage. Proverbs transmit and transfer cultural knowledge, opinions, wisdom and experience, worldview and reality and are apt in reflecting norms and behavioral patterns of the people (Malinauskienė, 2004:4). These sayings have strong bonds with the culture, philosophy, general observations, practical truth and other aspects of human life (Dell, 2006). Since proverbs are applied and used every day and their scope is quite broad, it is very important to first understand and explore the term ‘proverb.’ There is no single definition of the term ‘proverbs’. ‘There is no generally accepted definition which covers all specifics of the proverbial genre’ (Grzybek, 1994, p.227). One thing noticeable about proverbs is that they have their roots in oral traditions and for centuries they were not documented. Proverbs have got the element of word play and arrangement of ideas that people could easily remember them and pass them on to their next generations. In the words of Dominguez (2010), ‘Values and beliefs are codified and manifested in all aspects of linguistic communication, such as popular expressions, shared vocabulary, oral traditions, conversational rules and modes of interaction, and even linguistic modes of creativity’.

Sociologists, anthropologists, ethnographers and historians have worked upon proverbs from different perspectives in order to find out that how these sayings are deep rooted in our society and cultures and how they impact our daily discourse. Folklorists like Granbom-Herranen (2010) has worked upon male and female representation and found that proverbs are seen as part of masculine patriarchal speech while women have been reflected as subjugated and objectified entities. These explanations are substrata for the researchers of 20th Century. To unfold male chauvinism, scholars like Kerschen (2012:3) have tapped various cultures focusing on the myths, traditional practices, norms, rituals, songs, rhymes and legends. They are of the view that proverbs are the best source to look in to the cultural practices, belief systems, distribution of gender and representational systems. It is significant that these areas should be studied because they represent societal beliefs and their evolution through times.

Objective

To explore male and female genders represented through animals in selected Urdu proverbs

Research Question

How have male and female genders been represented through animals in selected Urdu Proverbs?

Proverbs reflect cultures of a society and its attitudes and behavior towards genders. They are product of social thinking and are sensitive to people, surroundings and even flora and fauna i.e. about means of representing flowers and animals. The current research explores gender representation in Urdu proverbs through fauna i.e. animals. This will help future researchers who want to work on proverbs having the references of plants and animals. It also helps in understanding symbolism through animals, anthropomorphism and animal metaphors for future researchers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The word ‘proverb’ has its roots in ‘Middle English: from Old French *proverbe*, from Latin *proverbium*, from *pro-* '(put) forth' + *verbum* 'word' The English Dictionary 3.0 defines proverbs as, ‘A phrase expressing a basic truth which may be applied to common situations’. The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs gives the definition as, ‘A proverb is a traditional saying which offers advice or presents a moral in a short and pithy manner.’ As these sayings have their roots in culture so it is significant to take a look at this aspect. The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy (Third Edition, 2002) defines proverbs as ‘short, pithy sayings that reflect the accumulated wisdom, prejudices, and superstitions of the human race’. These definitions show that proverbs are multi-faceted and have layers of meanings. These are condensed with the extensive usage of imagery, metaphor and symbolism and the nature of proverbs can be realized through the saying *Proverbs are like butterflies, some are caught, some fly away* (see www.deproverbio.com). This proves that proverbs not only have multiple meanings but the meaning undergoes changes along with the changing context and situation. It is possible that certain proverbs disappear with the time while others hold to be universally true across cultures. There are proverbs which carry the same meaning but their manifestation/ presentation is different in different cultures. For example, the proverb ‘Near the church farther from God’ goes like ‘*Charagh talay andhera*’ in Urdu.

The usage of metaphor and imagery does not change the meaning rather it gives a different color and flavor to the saying. We find cultural, social and religious elements in the proverbs but one interesting aspect that needs attentions is the metaphor of animals i.e. representation of message through animals. For example, we can see the presence of such items in the following proverbs:

Ants in one’s pants
Bats in the belfry
Barking dogs seldom bite

Since proverbs originated from oral tradition and have folklore background, the usage of such concepts as animals is significant as humans began civilization by domesticating animals and using them in their routine life and activities. Proverbs use

personification and anthropomorphism through animal characters in proverbs. Maddox (n.d.) has given difference between two terms. She believes that both are used to attribute human characteristics to inhuman things. Personification is to present an abstraction as a person or an embodiment of some trait. She has given example of a proverb, ‘wisdom has built her house, she has set up its seven pillars’, where wisdom is personified as feminine feature. She has also given examples of ancient Gods that were personification of natural and intellectual phenomena. On the other hand, anthropomorphism is an ascription of human quality to a Deity or to anything impersonal. It is popular story telling trope. Inanimate objects can also be anthropomorphized like vegetables in *Vigge Tales*. She concluded that the difference is that personification is treated as synonym of an embodiment while anthropomorphism is used in general contexts.

Gray (1990) has observed that proverbial cats are more distinguished and numerous than as beasts. He has given examples of cat and lion proverbs and emphasized that the lion is portrayed as noble and brave while cat’s image is bolstered by her proverbs. Many other bestial species like dove, eagle, leopard, goat, owl and elephant have fewer references in proverbs as compare to cats. While animals from medieval life like the dog, the horse, the cow, the fox, the ass, the cock, the crow, etc. are more frequently represented in proverbs. Fox is presented in proverbs as swindler or thief, horse as well disciplined and dutiful servant while dogs are seen between horse and fox. Dogs are presented as abject and lowly personalities that are necessary servants whose loyalty is important. Tartu (2001) opines that the pet question for authors working on proverbs is frequency of occurring of these animals. He observes that domestic animals like cat, dog, horse and ox dominates the rest of the species as far as frequency results suggest. Thus proverbs are rich source of animal presentation as types, symbols, stand-ins and metaphors.

Nakhavaly & Sharif (2013) worked on semantic derogation of women in Persian proverbs. They believe that proverbs reflect vision and culture of people living in a society. The discrimination and derogation is reflected from proverbs because it shows attitude of social system towards women. Persian is not a gender language but their data shows proverbs having elements of oppression and violence. They have given statistical figures. 179 out of 12,000 Persian proverbs have semantic derogation of both sexes. However frequencies for both genders are different. Eighty four percent include semantic derogation against females and 16% includes discrimination against men. It is reflected through female portrayal as evil, inferior, worthless and capricious beings as opposite to men who are presented as avaricious and cruel. Rasul (2015) has studied gender and power relationships in Urdu and English proverbs and concluded that women in both English and Urdu proverbs have been mentioned as weak, stupid, unintelligent and talkative. Schipper (2010) concluded

that in proverbs women are associated with beauty and men with intelligence. Noor (2015) in his extensive study on Pashto proverbs found that people use proverbs for different means for example to assert, to establish power, to highlight weakness of the opposite gender especially women. Bhattacharya (2014) is of the view that women in proverbs like *zar, zan aur zameen* (woman, money and land) are equated with commodities and are source of all evil. These studies have looked at the portrayal of females as human beings or societal/ familial beings but there is scope to explore both the genders from some other angle and animal representation can be a fertile area for this purpose.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the present study, forty Urdu proverbs (having animals as subject) have randomly been selected from and divided into two major categories i.e. male and female. The category 'male' contains those proverbs where male animal is the subject and vice versa. For in-depth linguistic and gender exploration in the selected proverbs, Fati-Rabat's (2013) categories have been modified and expanded. Rabat (2013) has given categories like *Inferiority, weakness, stupidity, ill-nature, sex object, ugliness, positive, and shrewd* in her analysis of Moroccan proverbs while exploring female representation. To keep the analysis neutral, counter categories for the above listed items have been devised and the collected proverbs have further been divided and analyzed. Following are the categories adapted from Fati-Rabat (2013):

1. Inferiority versus Superiority
2. Weakness versus Strength
3. Stupidity versus wisdom
4. Ill nature versus Good nature
5. Sex Object versus Authority
6. Ugliness versus beauty
7. Positive versus Negative
8. Shrewd versus Foolish/ Innocent

These categories show representation of both the genders using metaphor of animals for positive as well as negative characteristics. Under these categories, proverbs are classified and analyzed and gender representation is explored through animals. The collected proverbs have been coded by using alpha-numeric coding. The number represents the category starting from the first category up till the eighth category, while the alphabets separate each proverb from the other. The proverbs are further divided into sub-sections 'male' and 'female'. The coding is used to organize the data and this method further facilitates the analysis where these proverbs are referred by mentioning alpha-numeric coding.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

This section provides detailed analysis of the collected proverbs. The proverbs have been categorized by using adapted categories from Fati Rabat (2013). The categories are eight in number and each section has been discussed under separate headings.

Table No 1. Inferiority versus Superiority

Male	Female
1A. <i>Apni gali me Kutta b sher hota hai.</i>	1F. <i>Bili ne sher parhaya bili ko he khany aya.</i>
1B. <i>Dhobi ka kutta ghar ka na ghaat ka.</i>	1G. <i>Bili ke galy me ghanti kon bandhy ga.</i>
1C. <i>Kutta bhonky chand ko kia.</i>	1H. <i>Murghi ki bang kaun sunta hai.</i>
1D. <i>Gadha kia jany zafraan ka bhao.</i>	1I. <i>Ghar ki murghi daal braber.</i>
1E. <i>Bander kia jany adrak ka sawad.</i>	1J. <i>Mari hue makhi se shehad nae nikalta.</i>

This category judges animals in proverbs as superior or inferior. Three proverbs on male animals in this category are about dog. Dog is considered an inferior being in Urdu culture as opposed to West where it is admired. Thus inferiority of dog is emphasized in these proverbs. For example in 1A there is double negative used for the animal. Dog is brave in only his area and he is powerless outside the domains of his area. His bark has no effect on the surrounding world as he means nothing to anyone. It is interesting thing that a washer man's dog is worthless and has no place whether at home or *ghaat*. There is an element of 'faithfulness' in 1B because washer man's dog stays and follows his master but has no permanent place because he has to run back and forth which puts this animal as inferior helpless creature. Donkey is portrayed as innocent animal who does not know price of saffron. Monkey does not know taste of ginger. Both monkey and donkey are present as inferior beings that have nothing to do with others job.

All the proverbs reflect the inferior nature of both male and females represented in them. Cat is a domestic animal but there it is presented as a powerless tutor who can be easily predated by powerful student and the students in this proverb is lion which generally has positive portrayal. Thus she should not tutor the powerful animals and should stick to status of domestic animal. In other proverb, she is presented as metaphor for impossible task. Hen, also a domestic animal and she cannot voice herself like cock as nobody listens to her. Hen is considered as luxurious food but the domestic hen is considered as lowly as common '*daal*' or pulses/ lentils. Bee is precious as it makes honey but a dead bee is worthless as it can no longer make honey. Thus, she is worthy as long as she labors and worthless as she dies.

Table No 2. Weakness versus Strength

Male	Female
2A. <i>Kuttay ka kutta beri.</i>	3D. <i>Bakray ki ma kb tk khair manaye gi.</i>
2B. <i>Kambakhti jab ae oont chory to kutta katay.</i>	3E. <i>Dubli billi chohon se kaan katati hai.</i>
3C. <i>Oont key munh me zeera.</i>	3F. <i>Jis ki laathi us ki bhains.</i>

Male animals are presented as symbol of strength. Camel symbolizes physical strength. The cumin seed is mentioned in contrast to camel and it is translated in English as a drop in ocean. The strength of camel is also reflected in comparison to dog as it is bad luck that one had to face dog after being spared by camel. This proverb 2B can be related to a famous Urdu proverb *Oont ki pakar aur aurat kay maker se Allah bachaye*, which means that one should be saved from the grip of camel (being envious and strong animal) and deception of woman. Dog is dangerous but less dangerous as compared to camel. The other proverb about dog in this category depicts that a dog can have only dog as enemy. Thus, dog needs equal strong partner for fight. Buffalo has been represented as weak creature that can be tamed by stick as in 2F. This proverb points towards enormous size of buffalo which can be overpowered only by someone who has the power to control her through stick. A weak cat (in 2E) fears mouse despite fact that she is stronger than mouse. Goat is presented as a mother (of male goat/ billy goat) who has to face hardship or slaughter (in Pakistani and Muslim context) one day and she would not be spared that day.

Table No 3. Stupidity versus Wisdom

Male	Female
3A. <i>Bawaqt e zarurat gadahy ko bhi baap banana parta hai.</i>	3C. <i>Bhains ke agay been bajana</i>
3B. <i>Na kutta daikhay, na kutta bhonky.</i>	3D. <i>Aqal bari k bhains.</i>

Donkey is portrayed as good natured, slow and blockish creature in European and ancient Mesopotamian proverbs (Broyle, 2005). Donkey is loyal and obedient servant of master. His good nature is ironically manipulated by others. He is so slow and stupid that he can be manipulated by anyone for benefit. Donkey is foolish but those who manipulate him are wise (3A). In 3B, dog is portrayed as intellectual being who does not bark without seeing. Its English translation is what eyes cannot see, mind does not accept. Dog is domestic animal who barks only when he sees something unfamiliar. Otherwise he keeps quite. Buffalo also a domestic animal, has been presented as stupid being. Samian, Ismail and Muslim (2016) have explored cow as symbol of stupidity in Malay proverbs and same is the case with Urdu proverbs. Her huge size is compared to abstract intellect. Her size is nothing as compared to human intellect that is non-tangible and is controlled by small brain. Thus a huge animal can be controlled through brain.

Table No 4. Nature versus Good Nature

Male	Female
4A. <i>Tanhai pasand dewta ho ga ya janwer.</i>	4F. <i>Bhirron ke chattay ko mat chairro</i>
4B. <i>Jab tak taryak ae ga saanp ka dassa mar jae ga.</i>	
4C. <i>Saanp se dassa rassi se b darta hai.</i>	
4D. <i>Saanp nikal gya ab lakir peet ke kia faida.</i>	
4E. <i>Saanp ka bacha sampolia.</i>	

Just like man, animals too are both good and ill natured. Ill nature can be understood as bad tempered, manipulative, aggressive or evil. A contrast between god and animals is presented through man that a lonely being can either be a god or an animal. Man is social so he cannot live alone but animals and gods do live alone. Snake has been considered ill-natured throughout human history not only for its poison but for his devil nature that led to condemnation of Adam and Eve. ‘Taryak’ (in 4B) is recommended medicine for snake poison if given on time. The sooner the better, the later the useless. Once a person becomes victim, he dreads even rope (in 4C) that looks like snake. It is no use to trace snake after he has left as he has displayed his evil nature. The child of an ill-natured/ evil animal i.e. snake (in 4E) will be evil like the parent. ‘Bhir’ or wasp is a flying insect having sting and is presented as female in Urdu proverbs. She makes hive for living and can be enraged if someone disturbs the hive. Thus, she is embodiment of danger and anger that can be invoked through disturbing her home. In this proverb the aggressive nature of female animals/ insects.

Table No 5. Sex Object versus Authority

Male	Female
	5A. <i>Maindki ko zukam hona.</i>

Females are represented as sex objects in proverbs as personification of beauty and delicacy. The counter word for this quality is authority which is characteristic of male gender and is often depicted in proverbs. There is no proverb in category of authority from selected proverbs. Animals are not presented as sex objects like women but their characteristics can be compared to respective genders. The delicateness of a woman is represented by mentioning a female frog that she is so sensitive that cannot even bear common cold.

Table No 6. Ugliness versus Beauty

Male	Female
6A. <i>Kahin gadha b ghora ban sakta hai.</i>	6C. <i>Naak pe makhi na baithne dena.</i>
6B. <i>Bander si shakal or khawab shahzadi se shadi kerne ke.</i>	6D. <i>Boorhi ghori laal lagam.</i>

Beauty of animals is criteria for their price and job they do. Horse is a beautiful animal while donkey is a lowly and ugly creature. Though both are used for riding but a donkey can never takes place of a horse. The monkey is presented as embodiment of ugliness. An ugly man is like monkey and must never dream to marry a princess. Housefly is an ugly creature and no one likes its presence. While ‘ghori’ or mare should not dress as young as it does not enhance beauty and reduces grace instead. It emphasizes that females with time and age lose their youth as well as beauty.

Table No 7. Positive versus Negative

Male	Female
7A. <i>Kuttay ko kheer hazam nae hoti</i>	7C. <i>Aik machli sary talaab ko ganda ker deti hy.</i>
7B. <i>Kuttay ki pooch teri rehti hai.</i>	7D. <i>Jahan gur, wahan Makhian.</i>
	7E. <i>Do mulaon me murghi haram.</i>
	7F. <i>Ghar ki rookhi sookhi pardes ki murghi se behter hy.</i>
	7G. <i>Khisayani bili Khamba nochy.</i>

Dog is portrayed in negative light in 7A and 7B. He cannot digest anything good. It can be inferred that he should not be given any respect or honor because he is not habitual of good treatment. His steadfastness is targeted in other proverb through his tail. Like his tail can never be straight, he cannot change his habits. All female animals are presented in negative light. Fish is an aquatic creature and her character is center of focus here. A fish can destroy all pond water or other fish in pond if her character is not good. This proverb points towards negative influence of a person but there is no sufficient evidence that why fish (female) is the symbol of contamination and negativity. Houseflies are attracted by sweet things thus wherever there will be sweets, the bees will come there. One hen cannot be shared by two ‘mulaas’ (religious priests). This is equivalent to ‘too many cooks spoil the broth’. Hen is represented as a precious or valuable entity thus represents positive portrayal of females. Thus she is reason of fight and prohibited for two persons and permissible to only one. The dry bread at home is better than meat in a foreign land. Cat has negative representation in the proverb (7G). CAT as female animal has been presented as mad creature. Embarrassment is a positive attribute and a person is only embarrassed after realizing his/her wrongdoing. Cat’s embarrassment is presented as

negativity here because she does not know how to deal with it and she does stupid acts.

Table No 8. Shrewd versus Innocent/Foolish

Male	Female
<i>8A. Daikhen oont kis karwat baitha hai.</i>	<i>8B. No so choohay kha k billi haj ko chali.</i>

The adjective shrewd refers to artful, cunning or tricky nature and innocent can be taken as its antonym. Camel is presented as shrewd creature as it is difficult to predict in which direction it will sit. The cat is also presented as shrewd creature that preyed nine hundred mice and is now going to pilgrimage. Even this act of pilgrimage cannot make her innocent in eyes of society. God can forgive her but society will never forget her dark past. This proverb can be included in Positive versus Negative but the meaning of this saying has the element of cunning acts (performed by cats) that is why it is placed in this category. To have an overall distribution of animal metaphors to represent genders, there are 8 male animals mentioned in the sample. Male gender has been portrayed 21 times as negative and 4 times as positive. Following table shows the distribution of metaphors along with their positive and negative portrayal:

Male Representation	Dog (8)	Monkey (2)	Camel (3)	Donkey (3)	Horse (1)	Lion (2)	Snake (4)	Rat (2)
Positive	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
Negative	8	2	2	3	-	1	4	1

For female gender, 10 animals have been represented 18 times as negative and 2 times as positive beings. Consider the table below:

Female Representation	Cat (5)	Honey bee (1)	Fish (1)	Hen (4)	Frog (1)	Buffalo (3)	Housefly (2)	Goat (1)	Wasp (1)	Mare (1)
Positive	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Negative	4	-	1	4	1	3	2	1	1	1

Although these animal metaphors mean to emphasize negativity (for both the genders as shown by their frequencies) but negative male representation (21 times) is greater than negative female representation (18 times). Although the difference is less and positive female representation is also very low i.e. 2 times, the numeric findings go against the general notion that females are negatively represented in proverbs. When it comes to animal metaphor female gender is represented less negative than the male

gender. While male positive representation is greater than positive female representation.

CONCLUSION

The research focuses on animal representation in proverbs in terms of gender. These qualities of animals can be anthropomorphized to portray genders. The diversity of animal attributes has similarities with human behavior and character. Animals are presented as metaphors for mankind reflecting their attributes and nature. Proverbs are saying that hence strong bonds with culture. Thus, gender representations of animals have correspondence with roles of men and women in society. The frequency of occurrence of domestic animals is greater than other species. Fati-Rabat (2013) has devised eight categories for female representation in proverbs and this research adapted those categories having a pair of opposite adjectives in each categories. The animal proverbs are categorized in them. Thus human categories are applicable to animals. The findings of animal proverbs can be applicable to humans. Dog is presented as inferior being in these proverbs. Men are considered superior and in Pakistani society it is considered abusive to compare a man with a dog but interestingly in the sample dog has been associated with male gender and represented as negative. Monkey is symbol of ugliness and inferiority and is used as abusive expression. On the other hand, cat's domesticity can be taken at par with traditional domestic role of females. Like cat should not tutor lion, woman cannot tame man. Also woman is considered something impossible to understand easily thus like cat is presented in proverb as an enigma. Just like pilgrimage of a cat is unacceptable to this society, it never forgives and forgets wrongdoing by a female and her acts become mark of her identity.

Cow/ buffalo, also a domestic animal, has been often metaphor for females. The traditional society wants females to be like cow that is slow, stupid, dumb and obedient. Males are powerful in patriarchal society and they own women as might is right. Camel is presented as symbol of strength. His masculinity represents dominance of men in Pakistani society. He sets the standards of society. Hen can also be taken as metaphor for woman. The proverbs put both in same shoe and portray them as weak and inferior in comparison to their male-counterparts. No one listens to hen like women. The society accepts voice of men, their rules and dominant roles. The character of female gender is reflected through these proverbs. Like a fish is capable of contaminating pond, a single evil woman can destroy whole society as women perform the role of mothers. Snake is a dangerous animal and is symbol of evil. He has always negative connotation, He is dangerous for both his poison and evil nature. Ironically, it is associated with males more frequently thus emphasize negative representation of males. To discuss future implications, this topic can be

expanded to full-fledged thesis with more proverbs as data to be analyzed. This research explores fauna in proverbs and in future flora can be explored. A study on anthropomorphism in animal proverbs may be conducted. There is broader scope for comparative study where Urdu proverbs can be compared to English, Malay, Persian or other proverbs and this research will reflect cultural differences through proverbs. Researches can be conducted by drawing comparative studies between Urdu proverbs and proverbs of our indigenous languages for example, Pahto, Saraiki, Punjabi and Balochi etc. -These proverbs can also be studied with a prospect of cross-cultural analysis of languages, customs and world views. These analyses have their pedagogical value and can be used as teaching and learning resources in order to study translation, cultural studies and linguistics. Proverbs appeal to logic and reason. They are deeply embedded in ideologies, norms and culture of society.

They are fruit of wisdom of people as they are based on experiences and are transmitted from generation to generation. They are short, simple, make use of familiar vocabulary, classify the idea and legitimize the thoughts of society. This research explored gender ideologies in animal proverbs. The animal characteristics described in them have similarities with humans. Thus, animals are anthropomorphized in proverbs. The frequency of negative portrayal of female animals is less than that of male animals. Although society approves the devaluation of women and praise of man but when it comes to mentioning of genders as animals, male gender is also portrayed as negative. According to Hussain (2004:129), 'Proverbs are used to ignore, trivialize and distort the image of women'. This is crystal clear in data and its analysis.

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Factors Affecting Academicians Burnout in Higher Education Institutions: A Systematic Review of Literature

Abstract

The current study presents a systematic review of literature regarding the predictors affecting academicians' job burnout in higher education institutions. It is also an in-depth study of the relevant literature regarding variables and sectors. The objective was to reach the main predictor that affect academicians' burnout. The literature is based on the study of the latest databases in social sciences. The results of the research introduce the review of literature in a systematically organized methodology to evaluate factors affecting burnout among academicians. The study also concludes that academicians, students, policy makers and administrators must be aware of stress, burnout, demands and resources of job along with suggesting coping mechanisms and framing policies for making the working environment congenial.

Keywords: *Job Burnout; Factors, Job Stress, Academicians, Higher Education Institutions*

INTRODUCTION

Job burnout is described as a psychological response to occupational stress characterized by exhaustion, lack of motivation, and feelings of frustration along with negative emotions that reduce professional efficacy at workplace. There are two main

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factors, i.e. institutional and individual that trigger negativity among employees. former include workload, control, rewards, fairness, value and social network (Maslach & Leiter 2008), while the later relate to demographic factors (Cordes *et al.* (1997). Burnout may also be the outcome of conflicting changes in the job design of organizations, where individual wants do not correspond with organizational expectations (Maslach & Leiter 2008). In the recent past, the incidence of burnout has dramatically increased particularly in the education sector which form the backbone of knowledge economies (Khalid, Irshad, & Mahmood, 2012). Professional well-being is a multidimensional process and Taris, Van Horn, Schaufeli and Schreurs (2004) emphasize the need of “positive evaluation of various aspects of one’s job, including affective, motivational, behavioral, cognitive and psychosomatic dimensions” (p. 366-377). On the contrary, burnout is caused by imbalance between job demands and job resources (Demerouti., Mostert, & Bakker, 2010). The imbalance is responded to by employees in a negative and stressful manner (Hartig, Kylin, & Johansson, 2007) that nurture feelings of disaffiliation with the organization. It may also result in drastic consequences for individuals and organizations if it ends in job loss.

Practically, it seems all the more probable if job demands increase with decrease in relevant resources at the same time (Karasek, 1979; Khan., Rasli, Khan, Yasir, & Malik, 2014). Primarily in environmental response, stress is one of the outcome of daily interaction between a person and the environment. Job stress is the deforming force that disturbs and interrupts the free flow of work in various ways. For example, it can be the outcome of job demand in terms of working hours and its disconnect with familial needs of the employees. It is also observed that stress is one of the main factors of job burnout and turnover intentions (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001; Griffin, Hogan, Lambert, Tucker-gail, & Baker, 2010; Rai, 2010). According to various studies, burnout is defined as a specific form of multidimensional chronic stress that includes emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment (Kristensen, Borritz, Villadsen, & Christensen, 2005; Maslach & Jackson., 1981). Some researchers view it the last step and negative extreme of stress because of its exponential impact on the professional and the profession (Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007). Among the contributing factors, the role of family life cannot be overlooked however (Bekker, Croon, & Bressers, 2005).

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the context of higher education, the existing literature points to the insurmountable pressure academicians undergo in fulfilling job demands. In many cases, they fail to

appreciate the significance of and to reconcile their responsibilities in dealing with workload, their duty as researchers and to measure their output for future career goals (Goldenberg & Waddell, 1990; Khan., Rasli, Khan, et al., 2014). Entrusted with the primary task of teaching, they are also expected to perform additional responsibilities found relevant to organizational objectives. They are expected to attend meetings, give their valuable input as members of committees and assist the administrative machinery. At the same time, they also have to look after their individual career goals as researchers and professionals. When combined these factors may trigger feeling of exhaustion and can thus lead to burnout (Khan., Rasli, Khan, et al., 2014). Owing to the competitive environment of higher educational institutions, academicians also carry the burden of doing well to impress their high-ups, meeting targets set by the administration and attending different socio-educational events as necessary requirements of their professional growth. All these professional etiquettes become more relevant in less secure jobs with poor horizontal and vertical communication, and conflicting institutional trends (Calloway., 2003; Gupta, 1981; Johnstone, 1993; King, 2002; Ling., 1991; Moore, 2003). Overall, dissatisfaction with job and the resultant stress is viewed as logical offshoot of the interplay of demands and expectation in the job design that promote negativity and disarm professionals to display commitment and to perform in the workplace (Khan. et al., 2014; Raza, 2012).

The recent trends of innovation and creativity in higher education institutions (Drazin & Schoonhoven, 1996) have considerably added to the imbalance between individual and institutional demands. It is observed that majority institutions particularly in developing economies strive for less expenditure and increased earnings. The same is displayed in the hiring criteria of academicians where every effort is made to meet the institutional objectives with low paid professionals. Job demands have also multiplied as professional growth and promotions are linked with research productivity. Some academicians may find these accomplishments superhuman or at the least imaginative than practical. Thus, traces of burnout in behavior may be observed in the form of absenteeism, anxiety and health problems. At the same time, this has also its negative bearings upon the productivity of the organization. Because of these effects, employees are found interested neither in their job nor in relationships with colleagues.

Several research endeavors establish that job burnout has negative effect on the well-being of academicians and the institutions that negates the idea of productive job performance (Bakker, Demerouti, & Verbeke, 2004; C. Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Along with reduced productivity, the rate of turnover also increases (Kim & Stoner, 2008; Nissly, Barak, & Levin, 2005). Research studies that bring different

dimensions of the phenomenon of burnout into the limelight include (Demerouti, et al., 2001; Kalliath, O'driscoll, & Gillespie, 1998; Khan, Rasli., Yusoff., & Ahmad, 2015; Schwab & Iwanicki, 1982). Other factors that are found relevant to job burnout among academicians are highlighted below. The sustained pressure of students is a potential contributor to burnout among teachers. Several research findings testify that American and Canadian teachers (63%) view departmental problems of students as the most stressful factor in teaching environment (Kuzsman. & Schnall., 1987). Research studies also show other causes of stress but primary origins of teachers' stress are from emotional outbursts and derogatory remarks of students that result as a consequence of the overall academic environment rather than directly related to teachers (Lee & Smith, 1993). This is also attributed to the low amount of engagement of students during teaching hours that otherwise positively affect their academic behavior. Further, research studies indicate a healthy connection between academic achievement and students' engagement (Khan, et al., 2015; Khan, Yusoff, & Khan, 2014; Khan., Rasli, Khan, et al., 2014; Klem & Connell, 2004).

Teachers, no doubt, must be model par excellence responsible for the overall performance of their students. However, some parents expect more from them and feel less hesitation in attributing a low individual performance to teacher. In doing so, they assume teacher to be answerable for everything, which may become a potential cause of stress for a teacher. Sometimes, direct interference of parents in the student-teacher relation may aggravate the situation to a level that it causes stress and burnout (Cockburn, 1996). Technological machines have considerably added to the efficiency of teachers, have lessened their burden and have therefore proved a huge support to avoid stressful situations (Agbatogun, 2010; Calloway., 2003; Moore., 2005). However, teaching by nature is a highly complex job and asks for more responsibility and activities which can potentially lead to stress and burnout, the risk of which can be considerably minimized by ensuring the meaningful employment of modern technology in teaching strategies (Gupta, 1981).

Unlike developed nations, the developing countries are still struggling with their financial resources to acquire state of the art technologies and more importantly to train teachers to utilize those resources properly. The later part of this challenge has been found of great concern as majority of the teachers find themselves inexperienced and less competent to manage and appropriate the use of technological resources (Fimian & Santoro, 1983; Terry., 1997). In a sense, there are many more teachers in these countries who have not been able to reap the benefits of these technological tools. Globally, education is ever-growing, endless, and creative and has become the best platform for committed people to learn and spread knowledge. It is also significant for individual success and societal prosperity (Hargreaves, 2002; Özer &

Beycioglu, 2010). Like education, health professionals also face challenges in hiring and promotion policies, increased patients load, less salary, reduction of funding and limited chances for professional opportunity to upgrade their education (Drolen & David Harrison, 1990). Professional experience, job satisfaction, environment and culture also add to the pressure. Researchers have found the debilitating effects of adverse work environment on the desire for professional development among academicians in higher education institutions (Correnti, 2007; Desimone, 2009; Khan., Rasli, Khan, et al., 2014). According to Shirom (2005) burnout is one of the essential outcomes of stress mostly in developing countries. It is not generic but the outcome of working environment combined with pressing family issues. Particular job conditions are directly associated with the incidence of job stress such as sidelining stakeholders in the decision-making process and to restrict the process to selected few individuals, the presence of familial and social problems and the ever increasing expectations of institutions from their employees. Those employees who are less exposed to these multiple but polarized fronts mostly feel trapped and fall prey to stress resulting from the apparent conflict between the nature and environment of work where work demands and the degree or level of controlling mechanism appear disproportionate (CUPE, 2003).

Researchers have been attempting to highlight the problem with a view to draft models based on elements, contents and demands of jobs along with career concerns of employees to minimize the incidence of job stress and burnout (Sainfort, 1991). In this connection, job stress is explained from both negative and positive aspects. Mostly, researchers focus its negative features to individual interface and use different types of stressors such as work overload, role ambiguity and role conflict (Beehr & Newman, 1978; House, 1981; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964). The positive aspects of stress include life changing events which produce a state of challenge coupled with pleasure for individual (Bhagat, McQuaid, Lindholm, & Segovis, 1985). It is observed that sometimes demands motivate the academicians to do more study or practical exercise. In the context of research, less or no resistance at times deprive it from the status of being called overload for a researcher. Further, stress is inversely related to performance in its negative sense i.e. increase in stress decreases performance of an individual (Jex, 1998). It also directly affects the overall organizational targets reducing the capacity to utilize time and resources. In stressful situations, employees tend to waste time and thus become less productive to the disadvantage of the employer (Ganster & Schaubroeck, 1991). Also relevant is the deteriorated physical health of employees undergoing stress that increase the frequency of absenteeism, less productivity, dissatisfaction and turnover (Cummins., 1990; Spielberger., Ritterband, Sydeman, & Reheiser, 1995).

Stress related studies are complicated and cannot be dealt with in all their subtleties by a single researcher within limited time and resources. Therefore, job stress, which is implicated for more organizational functions and quality of work life, can be a fruitful focus of research. Primarily, there are two perspectives on stress in this context. Firstly, an employee perspective that relates to his or her psychological well-being and secondly, organizational perspective, which is associated with behavioral and attitudinal correlations. Job stress is forecaster of job satisfaction and leads to dissatisfaction (Kaur.R. & Chaddha., 1988). Schabracq & Cooper (2000) have presented a detailed view of the results of job stress that include. no motivation at work, reduction in performance, increased absenteeism and turnover, less organizational commitment, and no quality in product and services. Similarly, Raza (2012), conducted cross-sectional survey of education sector regarding occupational stress, job satisfaction in Pakistani universities where he identified that there were four main factors of job stress including job demands, work overload, dissatisfaction and social responsibilities. Likewise, Watts and Robertson (2011) conducted a cross sectional study to investigate factors of burnout in university academicians. They found that the number of students was one of the predictors in burnout and established its higher rate of burnout in young or less experienced academicians (Doyle & Hind, 1998).

The cross-sectional study of Bhatti, Hashmi, Raza, Sheikh and Shafiq (2011) investigating job satisfaction among academicians found management role, workload pressure, performance pressure, role ambiguity and association with colleagues as the major contributors to the prevalence of job stress. In addition, they also found low salaries and less healthy environment as potential stressors. Agbatogun's (2010) study on stress and burnout among academicians in Nigeria concluded that by using recent technologies during teaching profession in education would minimize workload and thus job stress. We have also observed the positive consequences of the use of technology on the mental health of academicians and on the overall quality of education. In the context of gender, Martinussen, *et al.* (2007) found no significant differences in burnout among academicians but in the context of age, it was observed that young academicians were more exhausted and less satisfied in comparison to the older or experienced ones. On the contrary, Lackritz's, (2004) cross-sectional study of academicians in higher education institutions found gender-based difference while investigating burnout. Similarly, Byrne investigated the relationship between demographic variables including age, gender and marital status with burnout. The author found marital status an important indicator that created differences in the dimensions of emotional exhaustion and disengagement. Overall, the findings of the study concluded that academicians quit their respective organizations due to less

resources and high demands like workload, lack of career development and job insecurity (Tytherleigh, Webb, Cooper, & Ricketts, 2005; Winefield et al., 2003).

Objectives of the study

- a. To investigate the factors of job stress and burnout among the academicians in higher education institutions.
- b. To determine the factors of job stress and burnout to effect the job performance among the academicians in higher education institutions.
- c. To identify the challenges to academicians in higher education institutions.
- d. To demonstrate the policy recommendations to the relevant institutions/organizations in Pakistan.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method of systematic literature review is applied to investigate the main predictors of job stress and burnout among academicians (Khan, Yusoff., & Khan., 2014; Watts & Robertson, 2011). The study is guided by a clearly stated objective and scrupulous selection of existing research studies to dig into the core of the problem (Croucher, Policy, Work, Economic, & Council, 2003). For the purpose of the current study, various research studies have been reviewed that are found relevant and rewarding. Assisted by search engines like Google, Google Scholar and other well-known databases, many works including research papers, books and articles with extensive citations were downloaded and reviewed from Taylor and Francis, Jstor, Web of Sciences, Willy Online Library, Sage and Science Direct as shown in Table 1.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Table 1: *Stress and Burnout Related Databases and Publishers*

Variable	Name of Database/Publisher	Frequency	Countries
Job Burnout, Education, Stress	Taylor and Francis	15	UK, Australia,
	Emerald Insight	2	Canada,
	Online Wiley	6	USA,
	Google Scholar	5	Turkey
	Sage Publisher	8	Pakistan,
	Science Direct	6	Spain, South Africa, Nigeria
	Web of Sciences	1	
	Books	15	

The study also followed the systematic method where the researchers included both the inclusion and exclusion criteria for selection of papers from the said databases. This method was also supported by prominent researchers (Wallace et al., 2005; Yusoff & Khan, 2013). The review included only those research endeavors that were found relevant to burnout, stress, job stress in the context of higher education sector. Further, those research articles and papers which related to burnout but in the context of health, banking and primary and secondary education were excluded due to the different nature of the work environment. Overall, the approach of the study was qualitative in nature. The reviewed literature included studies that had also used quantitative and mixed method approaches however.

In the current study, the researchers examined the factors that affect stress and burnout by the systematic review of the literature. Therefore, it has been revealed that stress and burnout is chronic problem in every profession. On the other hand, very few of the study were conducted on stress and burnout empirically in Pakistan, but still there is high level of stress and burnout among the academicians. The results may be due to difference between the practical work. In the same way, it is observed that teaching profession improve the social activities both by practical and psychological needs of the society. Moreover, review of research studies, few organizational factors are identified among the academicians like role stressor, technology support, parents pressure, student interactions, challenges in the jobs, professional development and autonomy (Khan., Rasli, Khan, et al., 2014).

In further detail, the researchers evidently discussed in his research paper that professional development is an important issue of discussion among the academicians. In the support of the result, study conducted in UK determined that higher education institution employees are more stressful especially in working relationship, lack of control, communication and resources (Tytherleigh, et al., 2005). Moreover, due to repaid changes in the education sector, the individual faces challenges in the form of professional development, technological changes and resources. The results of the study also indicated that stress and burnout are directly associated with demands. on the other hand, it is also observed from previous studies, that stress and burnout is the imbalance between demand and resources. The results of the study will be helpful in the examining of factors affecting stress and burnout among academicians, which can further suggest to the policy makers to reduce the stress and burnout by designing at both individual and organizational (Khan et al., 2014; Khan, Yusoff, et al., 2014).

CONCLUSION

The aim of the current study was to investigate the predictors of burnout among academicians in higher education institutions through systematic review of the literature. The paper is guideline for future research studies to investigate the increasing trend of burnout and decreasing of academicians performance both individual and organizational (Chiang & Liu, 2017; Khan, et al., 2015). The study concluded that the imbalance between job demands and job resources triggered stress and burnout. The findings revealed inverse relationship of job demands and job resources with burnout (Khan, Yusoff, et al., 2014). The study also identified significant stressors including the more demanding and less rewarding organizational policy and role of administration, lack of supervision and supervisory support, role ambiguity, role conflict, lack of resources, academic problems, workload, research productivity, student performance, parent involvement and low salaries (Doyle & Hind, 1998; Watts & Robertson, 2011). Moreover, it has concluded from the above discussion that younger staff are more burnout as compare to older. It was also revealed that in adverse working conditions, academicians were exhausted and less committed that also influenced their individual and organizational performances. Overall, the study was an attempt to inform the mangers, policy makers and researchers and to impress upon them the need for revisiting and resetting the job design with view to manipulate the available human capital in the larger interest of the employees and the higher education institutions.

The research study recommends that qualitative data analysis may useful to the initial step in the stress and burnout. Due to this data analysis the performance of the students, individual and organization will be improved. Furthermore, the current study recommends proper measures to the effect that will save academicians from the factors that affect them and shove them to stress and burnout. This research study will enable the academicians to minimize the stressors and design and redesign their responsibilities, which affect their performance.

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Factors Affecting Women Participation in Local Bodies' Election in Pakistan

Abstract

Women's participation in political process is essential for their political empowerment. This paper analyses factors that affect women participation in the electoral process in Pakistan. Although, in Pakistan, local Bodies elections have been conducted by the government a few times, but women's participation in the electoral process remained remarkably low due to people's perception that it violates the prevalent norms and values of the society. The study is based on the analysis of secondary data regarding socio-cultural, political and administrative constraints to women participation in the Local Bodies' election in Pakistan. The study concludes that misinterpretation of religion, male dominancy, patriarchal society, illiteracy, Purdah and lack of support from political parties are a few factors which affects women participation in local bodies' elections. Furthermore, poor management, lack of security and confusing polling process also hamper women participation in the electoral process. The study recommends that for ensuring women participation in the local body's election, separate polling stations/booths should be established, security personnel should be provided to the women polling stations, informal agreements of the Jirga/Punchayat and workers of political parties for barring women should be discouraged. Formal and informal education of the masses and the role of media are also important for creating awareness regarding women political rights.

Key Words: *Women, Participation, Local Government, Constraints, Empowerment, Pakistan*

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INTRODUCTION

Political participation involves wide range of activities and is not just limited to voting. Political participation, according to UN includes “*the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government*” (United Nations, 2005:33). Similarly, Jahan (2014) held that women political participation means the ability of women to equally take part with men at all the levels in those decisions which affect them (Jahan, 2014). Women’s political participation is considered a landmark in women’s empowerment. Women’s political empowerment means their ability and freedom to exercise their choice and freedom to vote, participate as candidates in elections, participation in political demonstrations and say in decision making (Ibrahim, 2012).

Although half of the World’s population is women, but due to discrimination they are lagging behind men in all spheres of life (Rahman & Naoroze, 2007). Despite the fact that women play a crucial role in national development, they are still denied advantaged position and are deprived of their political rights due to various socio-culture and political factors (Hakim & Aziz, 1998). The current political landscape upheld by recent elections, however, presents an encouraging picture of women political empowerment whereby the number of reserved seats for women has been increased as well occupied by women folk from the provinces of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Another breakthrough in the same line of efforts has been the Peshawar Chief Justice order that commanded to stop results of constituencies i.e. NA-5 Nowshehra and NA 25 Lakki Marwat in which women were barred from exercising their right to vote. Women in Pakistan are fighting a fierce battle for political representation. While years of hard struggle by women advocacy groups has led the political spectrum become broader to include more women, there are however, still areas in the country specially Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where women cannot cast vote.

A large segment of women folk is therefore prevented from getting into the mainstream politics because they don’t have identity cards and are not registered voters. In case they cross these hurdles, community elders and local officials bar them from casting their votes under the garb of cultural or traditions violation (Saleem, 2013). Women in Pakistan were bestowed the suffrage in 1947 (Lewis, 2007), and their right to vote was reaffirmed in the national elections in 1956 under the interim constitution (Britanica, 2007). In the constitution of Pakistan from 1956 to 1973, reservation of seats for women has been guaranteed but this remains true in theory only and has not been translated into practice. Pakistan has been ranked 146 out of

187 countries by UNDP's Human development Index 2013 due to unsatisfactory human development indicators in comparison to other countries of the region. In addition Pakistan's could not achieve the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) targets like education, health, human rights employment and gender equality (UNDP 2014). Over the last three decades, the development process has also passed through remarkable changes throughout the world (Jabeen & Iqbal, 2010) stressing the need for the increased involvement of women in political process. In line with these international efforts, since 1980s Pakistan has also introduced various reforms in the form of liberalization, decentralization, devolution and democratization which demand greater citizen participation in decision making and political process (Chhetri, 2013). This new approach towards governance emphasizes people's involvement in the development process, irrespective of their bio-physical being (UNDP Gender Equality, 2008). It is now thoroughly acknowledged that the goal of balanced development will remain elusive without the active involvement of women in the political processes (Kamal, 2000). In this regard Kofi Annan Secretary General of the United Nations stated that "*realizing our goals while discriminating against half of the human population is almost impossible*" (DFID, 2007, p.1.). In the context of Pakistan also, women political participation is considered marginalized. In this connection, the government of Pakistan has taken initiatives for framing supportive policy measures in order to push women in the mainstream political process at the grassroots level. These efforts are enumerated below.

Women throughout the world have struggled for their political rights. With a clear exception of Saudi Arabia, no country on the global landscape exists which doesn't acknowledge or grant women the right to participation and representation in politics both at national and local level (Ottaway, 2004). The International Community made commitments in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Aurat Foundation, 2012), Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to provide equal opportunities through the provision of quota in politics (Government of Pakistan, 2006). So far, 99 countries have adopted various measures to attain gender equality in politics. In Pakistan women were given the right to vote and representation since its inception in 1947, while the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) assures full citizenship rights to women (Shaban, Shah & Naeem, 2014). In almost all the previous constitutions of Pakistan, seats were reserved for women 1956 (10 seats), 1962 (6 seats) and 1973 (10 seats) both at the provincial and national level. But so far as local body's elections are concerned, women were denied representation in the era of Ayub Khan in the 1959 election. However, they got their representation in the Local Government Ordinance Punjab (1979), NWFP (1979), Sindh (1979) and Baluchistan (1980) as seats were again reserved for them (McCarthy & Sultana, 2004).

Like other countries, Pakistan has also ratified the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA) for ensuring gender equality in all spheres of life (UNDP, 2008). While at the national level, the situation is also conducive for involvement of women in governance. At present, various constitutional and legal provisions provide a conducive environment for women's participation in the political process as well strengthening the system of governance at the local level in the country (Kabeer, 2003). Article 32 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 states that *"The State shall encourage local Government institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions special representation will be given to peasants, workers and women"*. While according to Article 37 *"The State shall- (i) Decentralize the Government administration so as to facilitate expeditious disposal of its business to meet the convenience and requirement of the public"* (Khattak, 1996). Article 140-A. *"Local Government – Each Province shall, by law, establish a local government system and devolve political, administrative and financial responsibility and authority to the elected representatives of the local government"* (Farooq & Mittha, 2012).

Similarly, Local Government Ordinance 2001 ensures the participation of marginalized sections of the society such as women and peasants or workers by the allocation or reservation of 33 and 20 percent seats respectively (Bari, 2000). Moreover, the National Policy on Women's Empowerment is principally geared toward achieving the goal of gender parity in all social, economic and political fields. Additionally, The Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) being in action on both national and provincial level mainly aims at the capacity building of institutions for ensuring women involvement in political process (Zahid, 2004). Furthermore, gender mainstreaming has been given high priority in development planning to deal with gender inequality at the institutional level and to incorporate gender perspective in policy and practice as well (Javed & Khan, 2006). In the year 2000, the then Army Chief General Pervez Musharaf introduced Devolution of Power Plan (2000) and took a bold decision, reserving 33% seats for women in the local government (Saleem, 2006). In this context, 36106 women counselors were brought into the system by the first ever local government election held under the local government ordinance 2001.

Similarly, within a total of 36,066 seats being reserved for women in 6,022 union councils, 32,222 were filled through direct election while 3,898 were filled at the tehsil and district level through indirect method of election. Later, the representation of women was reduced considerably by lowering down the number of women

counselors from twenty one to only thirteen through an amendment in the Local Government Ordinance (LGO). According to Patthan (2006), this resulted in lowering down the number of women counselors from 36,066 to 24,528 putting negative impacts on the system (Pattan, 2006). After Musharaf's rule came to an end in 2008, the 18th Amendment was made to the Constitution, in the light of which the provincial assembly of Baluchistan passed the Local Government Act in 2010, whereas the provincial assemblies of Punjab, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa passed their LG Acts in 2013 (Ali, 2013) seats are . Only two seats are allotted to women in the guaranteed seats in the village/neighborhood councils as per this Act. Women will have 20% representation if the total membership of the village/neighborhood is 10. However this is further reduced to about 13 percent if their membership is 15 in total (Democracy Reporting International, 2013). This representation to the women in local government is an attempt to provide opportunities to the Pakistani women for participation in political process (ADB, 2008) which will lead to their social, economic and political empowerment (World Bank, 2005).

Objectives of the Study

The study aims to investigate the socio-cultural, political and administrative constraints to women participation in Local Bodies' election in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) Pakistan.

This paper discusses women's participation in local bodies' elections in the framework of the developmental theory of gender roles. This theory is based on the assumption that segregated gender roles are prominent in the traditional societies, and such segregation spreads to a number of spheres, leaving influence on almost all the aspects of women's lives (Shvedova 2005). Gender differences in electoral process has been one of the most discussed topics in political science (Tingsten 1937 in Inglehart & Norris 2000). Pakistan, being one of the developing countries with traditional social structures, is one of those countries where women's voting behavior has been constrained by different social, political, religious and cultural factors. In the light of the developmental theory of gender roles, it becomes evident that women's segregation from electoral process has remained and still remains one of the significant issues faced by women in Pakistan. As a result of which, women are disempowered not only politically but also in other spheres of life. Education (both male and female) remains the main sphere(s) influenced by the constraints, which not only limits their participation in the electoral process, but also leads to the lack of awareness among the masses, particularly women. Furthermore, the socio-cultural, administrative, religious, political, and security issues are also important factors that limit women's participation in the electoral process, at the local level in particular,

and at the provincial and national levels in general. A holistic approach is needed to address the variety of concerns and to ensure women's participation at various levels.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on secondary analysis of socio-cultural, political, administrative and security constraints on women participation in local body's election in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A methodical review of relevant literature was carried out with the help of books, articles and journals. Relevant material was also searched with the help of internet. There are a number of causes for lack of women participation in Local Bodies Election in Pakistan which are discussed as under:

The history of local government in Pakistan reveals that the first two military rulers were less interested in involvement of women in local bodies' elections (Khattak, 1996). In addition, the political parties also showed little interest in facilitating women in the political process (Yousaf, 2013). In Local Bodies election held on May 30, 2015, the local activists of different political parties stopped women from casting vote in different union councils of District Swat and Lower Dir of Malakand Division. Similar situation was observed in Dara Pezu, and Khero Khellakki Marawat District and in Janikhel area of Bannu where women neither contested elections nor were allowed to cast vote due to a verbal agreement between the local political leaders and elders of the area (Sadia & Shah, 2015). *In this regard women of a few Union Council in Timergara Dir Lower protested in front of press club Timergara and demanded re-election in those union councils where women were stopped from casting votes in Local Bodies Election 2015* (Daily Aaj, 2015). The religious parties also left no stone unturned in keeping the women away from contesting poles and casting votes. In district Sawabi and Malakand Division, the religious leaders declared that the Nikah, Namaaz-I-Janaza and all other religious rituals of women candidates and voters would be boycotted (Mooraj, 2004).

Similarly in 2005 local bodies' election, the opposition of religious parties to women voting resulted in loss of approximately 650 seats in different union councils throughout NWFP (KPK) (Bano, 2009). Furthermore in rural areas of Pakistan, the religious leaders have a say in the affairs of the people and they can easily mold public opinions against or in favor of particular issue. The religious leaders created hurdles in participation of women in local government election leading to their political disempowerment. The position of women is susceptible in Pakistani society especially in rural areas where their role is limited to domestic chores (Afza & Rashid, 2009). Girl's education is considered of least importance in these areas and is considered violation of the norms and values of society (Memon, 2007). According

to United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Pakistan ranked 123 out of 148 countries in 2012 Gender Inequality Index (GII) including education (UNDP, 2013). It further implied that only four in 10 of Pakistani women at the age of 15 could read and write, as compared to 70% of men. This alarming educational disadvantage is attributed to inequality in education system (Global Campaign for Education 2012). Research studies also conclude that lack of educational facilities especially in rural areas' restricts the role of women to the household activities (Awan, 2012). In addition, lack of education leads them to ignorance and hinders their participation in the electoral process (Kazmi 2005: 94; Sheikh, 2009).

Furthermore, due to illiteracy the women lack information about the importance of political participation or the balloting process which further disengages women from public life (Gine & Mansuri, 2011). Due to illiteracy, the elected counselors are also unable to show exemplary performance to pave the road for women's participation in politics. According to Jabeen (2004) almost 95 % of the women councilors lacked literacy, were unaware about their duties, rights, and their main objective was to get honorarium (Khattak, 1996). Similarly, Bari (1996) in her research study of the Punjab concludes that due to illiteracy even the women counselors often do not know the contents of the document they sign. In such a situation, we cannot expect Pakistani women especially the rural women to exercise their right to vote or contest local bodies election. The constraints to women's equal participation in local bodies election is deeply rooted in the socio-cultural setup of South Asian Countries in general and Pakistan in particular (Omvedt, 2005).

Due to patriarchal structure, male dominancy and strict pro-men cultural values, women cannot go out of their homes for casting their vote or for contesting elections (NCSW, 2010). Similarly, men's perception of the role of women is also one of the responsible factors in prohibiting women from participation in political activities (Isran & Isran, 2012; Tisdell, 2002). In some areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Punjab, rural women are dependent on men due to which most of the time they do not cast vote at all (Butt & Shahida, 2012). In addition, in local bodies election of 2001, thousands of women seats remained uncontested due to opposition of the male and no females were allowed to contest election in districts like Kohistan, Lower Dir and Battagram in N.W.F-P (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Dera Bugti in Baluchistan (Qureshi, 2006). Consequently due to rigid patriarchal structure in rural areas of Pakistan, the women cannot participate in local government election which is used as a platform for entering mainstream politics (Farooq, 2003-04). Pakistan is a traditional society and the roles are assigned on the basis of sex. Home management is considered women's responsibility while man's domain is outside home (Shaban, Shah & Naeem, 2014). This demarcation between public and

private, inside and outside worlds is maintained through the notion of *Purdah* in Pakistan (Asian Development Bank, 2000). The only distinctive feature between private and public life in Pakistan is the notion of *Purdah*. The custom of *purdah* is shaped by cultural practices and is a barrier in the way of social mobility which leads women to dependency and marginalizes their special status (Sharma, 2014). In rural areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh and Baluchistan, due to the observance of *purdah*, the male members of the family do not allow the women to go out of their houses particularly to public places like polling stations (Kabeer, 2003). The problems become more severe in those areas where there is no separate polling stations for women or the staff of the polling stations is male only (UNDP 2005). Furthermore, due to strict norms and observance of *purdah*, deadly feud explodes on a mere doubt that strange males would dishonor the family by squinting at the family woman or electoral staff may touch the woman's hand through assisting her in vote casting or simply by checking her CNIC (Yazdani, 2004). Hence in rural areas, due to strict *Purdah* system the women cannot exercise their right to vote or contesting elections which leads to their political disempowerment.

Women in rising democracies like Pakistan are unable to participate in political process due to the security threats, particularly the women candidates who visit their constituencies (Ballington & Karam, 2005). In addition, the women voters also avoid visiting polling station for casting vote due to the potential security threats (Gine & Mansuri, 2011). In Pakistan, in Local Government Elections of 2015, violent clashes occurred in all districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. District Wasabi of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was reported to have high number of incidents followed by *Upper Dir* (9), *Lakki Marwat* (8) *Shangla & Mardan* (7 each) (FAFEN, 2015). Due to these poor security arrangements across Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, polling at various polling stations was suspended while many people injured when masked men opened fire on women polling stations in union councils of district Peshawar (Akbar, 2015). Furthermore, due to lack of security personnel women were also barred from entering police stations for casting vote (Saeed, 2015). Poor security arrangement led to low participation of women and as a result the ratio of women voting was far less as compared to those areas where proper security arrangements were made.

Women in some parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province could not cast their votes due to institutional and administrative problems including female polling personnel non availability and absence, the existence, presence and unnecessary interference of male polling staff, nonexistence of female polling stations/booths and men and women sharing the same booth (FAFEN, 2015). In addition owing to administrative mismanagement, delays were observed in starting polls at women polling stations while the voting process was also confusing and slow (Casey, 2015). Research

studies also confirmed lack of participation of elected women councilors in their respective councils during the first period of local government system (Yazdani, 2002-03). The women councilors were not informed in time regarding the meetings of their respective councils and only 50 percent of them attended that meeting which was called for the election of chairman (Ballington & Karam 2005). Furthermore, the CIET Social Audit Report (2004-2006), confirmed that only 1/3 of the elected women attended meetings of the council (Jabeen & Iqbal 2010). Similarly, Alam (2004) noted that in Baluchistan province, only one third of women councilors received timely notification of council meetings and only 13% attended the meetings of their respective councils. In addition, in some parts of KPK province, male members of the elected women councilors attended the council meetings on their behalf (Bano, 2009).

CONCLUSION

Participation of women in the political process is very essential for their empowerment. Since the independence of Pakistan, local government election has been held from time to time but women participation in the electoral process remained very discouraging. Pakistan has ratified various international and national agreements for ensuring women participation in political process. The Constitution of Pakistan also guarantees women participation in local government elections. Although women participation in the political process at the grass roots level is on the top of the agenda of the government as well as civil society organizations, yet there are various political, social and cultural hurdles which hamper their involvement in the electoral process both as voters as well as candidates. In the past the rulers both military and democratic were not in favor to allow women to take part in local government elections.

The study concludes that the religious leaders are also responsible for restricting women in the political process. Some of the religious leaders are misinterpreting the teachings of religion and put hurdles in the way of women to take part in the political activities. In addition, due to illiteracy and ignorance, the women are unaware about the importance of their participation in the local government elections. The study also summarizes that due to male dominancy and men's perception of women, their women role is restricted to the household activities only and the women cannot go out of their private spheres for casting vote or contesting elections. The situation has further been worsen by the custom of *Purdah*, which do not allow women to visit polling station, show her hand to the male staff for putting edible ink and cast vote in combined polling stations. Security issues are also limiting the women participation both in urban and rural areas. In the local bodies' election of 2015, various women

polling stations were attacked and people received injuries as well. Administrative mismanagement (e.g. confusing and slow voting process, interference of male staff in the women polling stations /booths, shared polling booths and delay in starting polls) seriously hampered women's endeavors to contest election or cast votes.

The study on the basis of findings recommends that for ensuring women participation in the local government elections, election commission should be made independent and strict laws should be framed and implemented for punishing workers of political parties and religious organizations who are involved in stopping women from participating in local government elections. Media both print and electronic should be used for creating awareness about women's political rights and importance of casting vote in elections. Formal and informal education of women is very crucial for creating awareness and motivating women to participate in local government elections both as voters and candidates. Political parties should maintain gender balance as far as women representation is concerned. Women should be allowed to take part in the decision making process of their political parties at the local, provincial as well as national levels. In this way they will be able to raise voices for their political rights.

The study also recommends that Election Commission of Pakistan should make proper arrangement for establishing separate polling stations or separate polling booths for women. Women polling staff should be deputed for supervising the women in voting process. Strict security should be provided in the premises of the women polling station so that the women can cast their votes in peaceful environment. Male polling staff should not be appointed in women polling stations. In addition, interference of men in women polling stations should be discouraged. The district administration in each district should keep a check on the informal agreement of Jirga/Punchayat for barring women from casting vote in the local bodies' election.

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