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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Managing Editors' Note	06
2. Ruins: Landmines and Colonialism in Kosovo	08
3. Early years Teachers' Perception of Integrated Curriculum in Pakistan	15
4. Are the Activities of Aid Donors in Africa Neo-Colonial in Character?	25
5. Action and the Modern Times: Porphyria's Stupefied Senses	33
6. Legitimizing a Military Dictatorship: The Referendums and General Elections of Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq	39



Elbuni Kqiku (he/him) graduated from Bennington College with a Bachelor of Arts degree with a concentration in Anthropology, Philosophy, and Japanese. His research interests lie in the ecology of war and its lingering material effects. He has conducted field projects in Kosovo studying landmines, their agency and their effects on the environment and the Kosovo Albanian population, as well as their role in the Yugoslav colonial project.

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MANAGING EDITORS' NOTE

Ata Syed

Syeda Rumana Mehdi

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way--in short, the period was so far like the present period that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."

Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*

Although Charles Dickens wrote 'A Tale of Two Cities' in 1859, much of the opening paragraph of the book resonates with us today. 2022 was a monumental year for a number of reasons, both good and bad. Covid restrictions were lifted in the majority of the world, inflation reached record level in many countries, consequences of climate change emerged in full view following deadly floods in Pakistan and heat waves in Europe, many countries experienced political turmoil followed by turnover of governments and world population officially exceeded 8 billion.

Seemingly overwhelming and daunting, 2022 was also a year of discovery and research. From the first animal-human heart transplantation to an understanding of how climate change is not gender neutral, social scientists have a lot more knowledge and a lot more to explore. It is interesting to see various facets of Social Sciences such as Literature, Sociology, Education, Law, Anthropology and Politics come together to develop invigorating intersectional research.

The articles featured in this issue of JLAHS focus on contemporary socio-economic, socio-political, socio-legal and socio-literal issues from numerous regions around the world. From Nigeria to Kosovo to Pakistan, the articles shed light on the fact that the factors, incidents and issues that were supposedly resolved continue to dominate political regimes, social structures and the global economy. True to a social sciences approach, each article brings together the past and the present in order to understand where the future takes us.

In his article titled, 'Ruins: Landmines and Colonialism in Kosovo,' Mr. Elbunit Kqiku studies the impact of landmines in Kosovo which were planted during the war in 1998-1999. Through an ethnographic approach, the article examines how civilians are impacted by these landmines, which can take up to 1100 years to fully disappear. The continued legacy of landmines in the lives of civilians opens up new opportunities for research pertaining to war and conflict, insider-outsider perspective in Anthropology and sustainable peace studies.

Ms. Lubna Adil delves into pedagogy and research and examines the potential of integrated curriculum and intersectional approach in early year education in her article titled 'Early years Teachers' Perception of Integrated Curriculum in Pakistan.' Through a qualitative approach, the article points out the merits and the numerous aspects that curtail the intersectional approach from reaching its full potential. This article too presents an interesting potential for numerous research fields and methodologies to come together to explore this topic in more depth.

Ms. Nabila Okino's article titled 'Are the Activities of Aid Donors in Africa Neo-Colonial in Nature?' is an econo-legal analysis of aid and neo-colonialism. Using Ethiopia and Zambia as case studies, the article aims to show how aid donors are actively involved in state affairs which raises intriguing points about the concepts of nation-state, sovereignty and the post-colonial era.

Ms. Arbia Javed critically examines Robert Downing's poem 'Porphyria's Lover' in her analytical article titled 'Victim of Modernity and Patriarchy: Porphyria's Stupefied Senses.' The article presents interesting similarities to Porphyria and a 21st century woman with regards to their experiences of patriarchy and male chauvinism. The article gives rise to questions about modernity and patriarchy, how patriarchy has evolved over centuries and why it still exists as a strong institution.

Mr. Muhammad Ammar explores political leadership in Pakistan through the lens of dictatorship in his article titled 'Legitimizing a Military Dictatorship: The Referendums and General Elections of Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq.' Based on quantitative research methodology, the article interprets the notion of legitimacy, leadership, democracy and the nation-state through the case study of Pakistan. The article raises interesting questions about dictatorship and its legitimacy in various parts of the world. It also calls for ethnographic research in this area to understand how/why dictatorship varies from country to country.

Overall, this current issue of JLAHS presents a variety of articles each uphold of which the Liberal Arts tradition of critical thinking, innovative research, personal reflection and contribution towards the bigger picture. We hope that the upcoming issues of the journal will continue to move forward in the same direction with the same intellectual fervor and enthusiasm.

RESEARCH PAPERS FROM CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

RUINS: LANDMINES AND COLONIALISM IN KOSOVO

Elbunit Kqiku

Bennington College

Abstract

With current demining efforts, it will take 1100 years to rid the earth of the landmines contaminating it. We have no choice but to live with them. This project aims to analyze the impact of landmines in Kosovo, planted by several outsider and insider military actors during the Kosovo War. Landmines mainly affect civilians, and in Kosovo they have been left primarily by invading forces, which essentially lead this project to view landmines as imperial ruins -- a product of a colonial empire meant to last in the bodies and landscapes of Kosovars even after its fall.

Keywords: Landmines; post-war; ruins

Introduction

I met Agim in the outskirts of Prishtina. The purpose of my project was to interview deminers in order to learn about the labor of the extended temporality of war and its slow violence. This project was more than just an academic endeavor; it was something that affected me personally. During my childhood, the peacekeeping corps often handed out pamphlets warning us of the dangers of retrieving a ball if it fell into a mined area. As time passed, landmines became less and less present in my life. I had forgotten about landmines until I took a class focusing on them, and started researching whether there were any left in Kosovo. Although landmines were removed quite efficiently in urban areas, a number of them remain by the borders of Kosovo.

Agim and I decided to meet for coffee at a local bakery. During my drive to meet him, I passed by Gërmia Regional Park, a large park where the people of Prishtina go to escape the city on the weekend. There were families on picnics, children and adults playing soccer, fast food stands, and young artists playing their music, among others. In a setting like that, it was easy to forget that Gërmia used to be enclosed -- it was a minefield. Then, there is a story every now and then of a jogger finding unexploded ordnance, and having to call

the explosive ordnance disposal unit. Suddenly, the temporality of war becomes complicated. Although the war ended over 20 years ago, its remains are still waiting to kill and maim. Inevitably, the realization hits: the landscape might still be weaponized. The objects left by war actively continue to kill and shape the postwar present. Since the war was a culmination of a colonial project in Kosovo, landmines are entangled with empire. In exploring this entanglement, I will provide a history of the colonial projects in Kosovo, along with a history of the emergence of landmines within this territory. While landmines act upon the world around them, their agency is inherently linked with the Yugoslav colonial project of Kosovo.

This article provides a historical account of landmines in Kosovo and their intertwining with the Yugoslav colonial project there. Based on the historical use of landmines, power asymmetry in war, as well as the colonial history of the place, I conceptualize landmines as imperial ruins -- an object of imperial architecture imprinted in the bodies and landscape of the people of Kosovo. These objects continue to harm and dictate the use of space long after the colonial empire has perished.

Methodology

This research is based on semi-structured interviews with deminers and former Kosovo Liberation Army members conducted between the months of June to August of 2019, as well as a period of one month between December 2019 and January of 2020. Interviews which took place during the summer were done in-person, while due to the COVID-19 pandemic; the interviews during winter were done through phone calls. An important part of the methodology of this article is the anonymity of those interviewed. KLA members were crucial to this project due to their participation in the war and knowledge of landmine use. It is worth noting that the majority of deminers are former KLA members, and their perspective was required for this research to understand the present as well as the historical

context of landmine presence in Kosovo.

Remains of War and Empire

The 1999 war in Kosovo left more than landmines. It left bodies, too. In Batajnica, a neighborhood in Belgrade, a mass grave of Kosovo Albanians laid. The site was a police training center where 704 dead bodies were identified, and it was estimated that there are as many as 1000 (Ristic 2018a), and those were not the only ones. Vlastimir Djordjevic, a former high official in the interior ministry was prosecuted and found guilty of war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Djordjevic testified the following:

"Yes, I was involved when trucks with bodies were coming to Batajnica [a mass grave near Belgrade], but I didn't know when the crimes were committed. I didn't confront those who tried to mask and hide the crimes and I didn't take any measures to find those responsible for war crimes, which I was supposed to do." (Ristic 2018b)

Another mass grave was found in Serbia, close to the Kosovo border, in 2010. The mass grave contained 250 bodies, the site was under the ownership of a state-owned road construction company, and had been built in 1999 after the Kosovo War. The bodies were carried out by the Serbian Special Anti-Terrorist Unit, SAJ. (The Guardian, 2010). As of now, 1,600 people – mainly ethnic Albanians – are listed as missing from the Kosovo War (Bami). These remains are outside of the borders of Kosovo, and the search for the missing continues to this day. Serbia never paid reparations. Furthermore, its government will not grant access to its military archives, as they argue they are state secrets (Bami). The war in Kosovo has left its remains, and now, 20 years after, the people of Kosovo have to live with them and search for them.

When I finally met Agim, he had just finished his shift and was still wearing the uniform of the Kosovo Security Forces, one with the explosive ordnance disposal badge on it. Before he became a deminer, he was a regular soldier at Kosovo Protection Corps. Before that, when he was 18, he had joined the Kosovo Liberation Army guerillas. He began his story by describing the oppression that Kosovar Albanians had faced under the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He described

the protests he would attend with his friends against the dictatorship, and the beatings that they would receive by the riot police. The violence of the regime eventually led to an armed struggle for liberation by the Kosovo guerillas, which he was part of.

Agim's military career started as a fight against Yugoslav oppression. Now, over 20 years after the war, it continues as a fight against the remains of it. The Kosovo War was the culmination of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's oppression against ethnic Albanians. The war, along with its brutality, is still deeply embedded in the minds of the Kosovo people. Peace was decreed, but landmines complicated the temporality of war. Rather than an outburst of violence which ends with the peace accords, landmines show that the violence continues. They embody a slow violence, stretched over time which is constantly present in low intensity, targeting those who are vulnerable (Nixon, 2013). While the war might have ended, its violence still lives in the landscape.

In Kosovo, landmines go beyond slow violence. They also tell the story of a colonial past. Since the 19th century, the imperial project of Yugoslavia has been to cleanse the land of Kosovo from ethnic Albanians. In 1878, tens of thousands of Albanians were expelled from their lands. This continued with the formation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1953, where imperialist policies led to the expulsion of tens of thousands of Albanians once more. (Qirezi, 50) The war itself is a culmination of this project, which succeeded in the expulsion of between 800,000 and 1 million Kosovo Albanians from their lands (Qirezi, 53). The war is over, and some of its imperial architects are dead. However, landmines remain and still dictate which spaces are habitable and in which ways. This further enforces the conceptualization of landmines as imperial ruins which continue to actively cause ruination after the empire is long dead.

By 1999 landmines were most concentrated along the border between Kosovo and Albania, restricting access between the two places. This concentration is not a coincidence. Looking at the colonial history of Kosovo, the next section shows that landmines materialized around the border as Yugoslav rule attempted to separate the Albanian ethnic identity in Kosovo from that in Albania.

A History of Colonialism in Kosovo

In 1878, the Serbian regime expelled 49,000

Albanians from its southern regions, which intensified ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs (Stefanovic, 470). This was just the beginning of the imperial project in Kosovo. By the end of the century, officials of the Serbian government began to describe Albanians as "wild tribes" with "cruel instincts"; the intellectual class joined in on the propaganda as well (Stefanovic, 472). A Serbian politician and public health expert described Albanians as "bloodthirsty, stunted, animal like" and although "the human tail had withered away [...] among the Albanians there seem to have been humans with tails as late as the nineteenth century" (Gay, 82). The imperial project in Kosovo preceded the SFRY. In 1936, Vasa Cubrilovic, a Bosnian Serb academic, presented his work titled "The Expulsion of the Albanians". Cubrilovic argued that the colonization of Kosovo had been too slow, hence he proposed more aggressive policies (Cubrilovic, 100). His proposal was that fertile lands should be taken from Albanians, a series of expensive taxes be introduced, and several policies that make life harder for Albanians in Kosovo be implemented (Cubrilovic, 110). Furthermore, Cubrilovic proposed that the Serbian government secretly fund and assist Chetniks, a paramilitary royalist organization, and that riots be incited then brutally suppressed (Cubrilovic, 111). According to him, gradual colonization would not work, with one of the reasons being "the fecundity of Albanian women which defeated our colonization policy" (Cubrilovic, 130). Thus, "the only effective means of solving this problem is the mass expulsion of the Albanians" (Cubrilovic, 129). Cubrilovic held positions of several ministries throughout his career in the SFRY after World War II.

Since the founding of the SFRY, Albanians had not enjoyed equal rights as other ethnic groups. The

1946 Constitution listed major ethnic groups which enjoyed "equality of rights and duties and equal standing". These ethnic groups listed were south slavic -- the list did not include Albanians (Neofotistos, 886). The SFRY president, Josip Broz Tito, attempted to form the Yugoslav identity, rather than further existing ethnic identities. Thus, Albanians were counted only as Yugoslavs in the constitution. In attempts to replace Albanian identity with a Yugoslav one, the first measures were to try and separate Kosovo Albanians and Albanians from Albania. The SFRY regime started to separate the language based on the dialects spoken. Since Kosovo Albanians speak the Gheg dialect, and those from Albania speak the Tosk dialect, it was a relatively easy distinction to make. Josip Broz Tito's regime referred to Gheg Albanian as Siptarski, while Tosk Albanian as Albanski (Neofotistos, 886). This separation was crucial to attempts to construct the identity of Kosovo Albanians as separate.

However, this was not only a discursive project. By turning to this history, the positioning of landmines in Kosovo shows the material aspects of it. By 1999, once the war ended, the areas that were most densely mined in Kosovo were along its southwestern border. Unsurprisingly, this is the border between Kosovo and Albania. Landmines were placed there by imperial architecture as early as the 1970s, and are the remnants of the Titoist intentions for a separation between Kosovo Albanians and Albanians from Albania. Although Tito is dead, and the SFRY non-existent, landmines not only continue to be a reminder of the imperial projects, but they also act as agents of it. The maiming and killing by landmines continues to enforce the Yugoslav project in the landscape and bodies of the people of Kosovo.

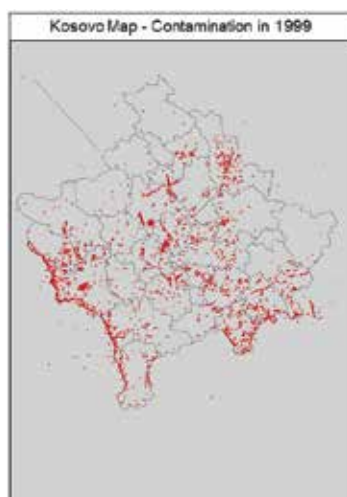


Fig.1 Landmine and UXO Contaminated Areas in Kosovo 1999 (Sada, 5)

What had started as a promising socialist project, had become a brutal regime for the people of Kosovo. While the SFRY might have been indeed socialist for its other republics and provinces, it was nothing more than another colonial empire for the people of Kosovo. The previous racializations that had formed Kosovo Albanians as a different race persisted. During the 1950s and 1960s, ethnic cleansing continued to happen, where hundreds of thousands of Kosovo Albanians were forced to flee to Turkey as a result of deals between Alexander Rankovic, the Yugoslav minister of interior affairs, and the Turkish foreign minister, Memet Fuat Koprulu (Qirezi, 50). During this time, ethnic Serbian and Montenegrin settlers were installed in Kosovo. Simultaneously, monuments were being constructed throughout Kosovo, signifying the slogan of *brotherhood and unity*, which intended to portray a multiethnic society of tolerance and equality – yet, the actions of the Yugoslav functionaries were the very opposite of that. Just like landmines, these monuments still remain in Kosovo.

A few years after the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980, the fascist Serb political leader Slobodan Milosevic rose to power in Yugoslavia. Milosevic applied harsh nationalist rhetoric, especially directed towards Kosovo Albanians. During this time the SFRY became the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia as the center, with Montenegro as the other republic, and Kosovo as the target of potential threat. The period of Milosevic's rule was characterized by mass oppression of ethnic Albanians. Since the vast majority of the population of Kosovo were ethnic Albanians, Kosovo was Milosevic's main target. Kosovo Albanians were massively fired from their jobs, especially civil servants and those whose work wielded political power, by 1990 it is estimated that around 80% of Albanians were fired from public sector jobs (Qirezi, 50). The Milosevic regime set up an apartheid system in Kosovo (Qirezi, 39). The tactics of the regime also used brutal violence in quelling protests, acts of state terrorism such as poisoning primary and high school students by cafeteria food, executions of Kosovo Albanian military personnel, etc. As ethnic Albanian resistance rose in the form of armed struggle, Milosevic and his regime resorted to ethnic cleansing and genocide of the Albanian population in Kosovo.

The oppression turned into an asymmetrical war between the Yugoslav Army and Kosovo Albanian guerillas. Over 13,000 people were killed during the war – the vast majority of them ethnic Albanians

(Domanovic 2014). Over 1,000 ethnic Albanian children were murdered (Begisholli and Fana 2019). Over 20,000 ethnic Albanian women and girls were raped (Haxhiaj 2018). None of the victims of these crimes have gotten recognition from the now Serbian state, let alone reparations.

The atrocities committed against Kosovo Albanians during the war led to the NATO intervention, a series of bombings across Kosovo and Serbia led by NATO. The bombings lasted four months, targeting Yugoslav bases in Kosovo, as well as several locations across Serbia, considering it was the political center of the Yugoslav regime. The bombing campaign led to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ending the genocide, and the liberation of Kosovo was declared. The war officially ended.

What was left, however, were landmines and ruins. During the bombings, the cluster bombs which the North Atlantic Peace Treaty dropped, separated into 289,563 bomblets, 10% of which did not explode (ICRC, 8). Although, there are different estimations, which hold that the failure rate of these bomblets exploding is as high as 20%. The NATO unexploded ordnance are responsible for 1300 contaminated areas (Sada, 4). Furthermore, the FRY was responsible for 620 mined areas in Kosovo by the end of the war (Sada, 1). In total, there are 1920 contaminated areas (Sada, 4).

Although the imperial project provided the blueprint, the battlefield was the optimal opportunity for upscaling landmine use in general, and in Kosovo in particular. It is important to understand what mechanisms allowed landmines to become a major problem. In order to provide insight into this, the next section will focus on the history of how landmines became popular, and how they were used in Kosovo. I argue that landmines are effective only through military-state apparatus which allow for their use en-masse. The Yugoslav colonial rule was the sole owner of this apparatus, and as such was most effective in the use of landmines. The imperial structure of rule in Kosovo and its role in the use of landmines further lead this article to conceptualize them as imperial ruins.

Historical Emergence of Landmines and Their Use in Kosovo

The question of how landmines came to be, and what accounts for their popularity is crucial in order to understand what a landmine is and what its effects are. There are many examples throughout

history that one could point to and shout that it is a landmine; however, one should also note that all landmines "before the twentieth century were used in relatively small numbers" (Monin and Gallimore, 40). Examples before the twentieth century can include the fougasse, which was a hole dug in the ground and filled with gunpowder, rocks, and metal fragments" (Monin and Gallimore, 40). Once the gunpowder would be detonated, the approaching party would be hit with debris and rocks. The caltrop is an even earlier example, "a piece of metal twisted to produce four spikes" (Monin and Gallimore, 45). Unlike the fougasse, the caltrop is victim-operated, where -- similar to a landmine -- it lies in wait. As mentioned earlier, the scale of these early objects, which could be classified as landmines, is not nearly as large as that of modern landmines. Instead, the technological aspect of landmines has to be highlighted here.

The First World War is the period when mines started to become significant on the battlefield, and resulted in the contamination of the world. They were developed "against the backdrop of rapidly accelerating industrialisation" (Monin and Gallimore, 40). This was the first war where weapons could be mass-produced, where there "was one war in the field, and another in the arms factories" (Monin and Gallimore, 42). It was the terrifying new technologies that resulted in the invention of landmines. The invention of the tank is one that also contributed to the rise of the landmine. The tank was an invention that was "capable of driving through trenches and barbed wire" (Monin and Gallimore, 43). Since the Germans "had developed a strong defensive mentality during the war" they were the first to develop the anti-tank mine (Monin and Gallimore, 44). However, the anti-personnel landmine did not become useful in the battlefield until the Second World War. In the war between Russia and Finland in 1939-1940, the Finnish made "extensive use of 'cast-iron fragmentation mines'" (Monin and Gallimore, 49). Furthermore, the invention of the S-Mine is one that became popularized and "is still copied extensively today" (Monin and Gallimore, 49). This is a landmine with two explosions, one so the landmine would be launched into the air, and another once in the air, where steel fragments would discharge "up to 30 meters" (Monin and Gallimore, 49). Thus, while there are historical examples of landmines before the twentieth century, it is not until the twentieth century, with industrialization and mass production, that landmines became significant. It was the

emerging technologies that were changing the way warfare was conducted in the First World War and the landmine was one of them. For landmines to have power, industrialization was needed. How does this historical understanding of landmines then relate to landmine use in Kosovo?

There were two sides that used landmines in Kosovo: the Kosovo Liberation Army -- a guerilla force of Kosovo Albanians fighting for independence, and the Federal Yugoslav Army. Both sides used landmines; however, the extent was largely asymmetrical. The Federal Yugoslav Army already had access to landmines and other weapons as they were an established army. Yugoslavia also had produced anti-personnel landmines since before the Second World War, and after the war it was one of the top ten producers (Landmine and Cluster Munition Monitor). The Yugoslav Army did "adhere quite carefully to military doctrine, and the use of mines was generally recorded in some form" (ICRC, 15).

The KLA, as a guerilla force, did not have a stockpile of weapons. The structures of did not dispose of the necessary infrastructures to mass produce, nor mass transport landmines such that they can be useful in war. Thus, the KLA used mines "sparingly, possibly because their soldiers often operated on foot and carrying large quantities of mines [was] simply not practical" (ICRC, 15).

The flow of weapons mainly came from Albania as a result of the weapons storage looting. The Albanian Revolts of 1997 had left Albania disorganized and poor. However, as a result of this the KLA was able to attain weapons including mines. During the revolt, the people of Albania seized and looted weapons storages, and then sold them to the KLA. A large amount of these weapons were manufactured in China, before the Albanian-Sino split during communist times.

However, it is important to note that they were not able to use mines on a large scale and as efficiently as an army. The landmines did not have as much power for the KLA, as they did for a state-backed army. As mentioned earlier, landmines became popular as a result of industrialization and mass production. However, in order for this mass production to be significant, one needs mass transportation, which is difficult to achieve outside of state-power. The asymmetry in power between the KLA and Yugoslavia reflects in the use of landmines. Landmines were useful for the powerful,

and useless for the powerless.

Landmines as Imperial Ruins

The asymmetry of power involved in the use of landmines in Kosovo leads this article to conceptualize landmines as imperial ruins. Landmines are not simply leftovers from a dead regime, they still continue to omit political power and shape the way in which people inhabit contaminated landscapes. Stoler argues that ruination "is an act perpetrated, a condition to which one is subject" (Stoler, 195). There is intentionality in landmines beyond war, landmines as ruins are meant to continue destroying certain people and places after war ends and continue to do so even after the empire is long gone. They are "political projects" and to "think with the ruins of empire is to emphasize less the artifacts of empire as dead matter or remnants of a defunct regime than to attend to their reappropriations and strategic and active positioning within the politics of the present" (Stoler, 196). Stoler also argues that imperial projects "are themselves processes of ongoing ruination, processes that "bring ruin upon," exerting material and social force in the present." (Stoler, 195). Landmines then are meant to continue causing harm, as part of such imperial projects. They are also "made but not just by anyone, anytime, or anywhere" (Stoler, 202). She argues that large-scale "ruin making takes resources and planning that may involve forced removal of populations and new zones of uninhabitable space,

reassigning inhabitable space, and dictating how people are supposed to live in them" (Stoler, 202). Thus, "these ruin-making endeavors are typically state projects, ones that are often strategic" (Stoler, 202). The Yugoslav project in Kosovo has ended, yet its shadow haunts and harms through the material remains of its weaponry. The concept of imperial ruins is fitting and powerful in its critique. The violence that continues is deliberate – a project with imperial architects, many of whom are still alive today.

Conclusion

The historical emergence and use of landmines is tied to power asymmetries. In Kosovo, they were tools of a colonial project which intended to cleanse the land of the Albanian population and prevent their return. As a narrative distinction of racial difference between two types of Albanians (those of Kosovo and those of Albania) was created by Yugoslav rule, landmines came into play. They were the material product of the narrative distinction -- drawn across racial lines to limit interaction between the newly created identities. As the war proliferated landmines, they became an extension of colonial violence. Although peace accords were signed, the slow violence continues to act as a shadow of empire to this day. Landmines continue to act as imperial agents dictating which ways one can inhabit a space, and which spaces are inhabitable in the first place.

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RESEARCH PAPERS FROM CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

EARLY YEARS TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF INTEGRATED CURRICULUM IN PAKISTAN

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Abstract

The term 'integrated curriculum' is inextricably linked to the curriculum units. This article explored the perception of preschool practitioners and middle management as facilitators and determined the understanding of an integrated curriculum; its efficacy with advantages and disadvantages; and the hurdles and challenges they faced while infusing and integrating the lessons through a variety of approaches. This study adopted the qualitative research methodology, based on the interview protocol as a research tool outlined by Creswell (2012). Within a population of early-year and pre-primary private schools in Karachi, Pakistan, six early years teachers, and three middle-management staff members from five different schools were the sample size of this study. Transcriptions of recorded interviews were coded with further development of the themes and sub-themes. Data analyzed that most of the participants possess an adequate understanding of the integrated curriculum with its implementation in their teaching. Thus, all participants agreed on the practicality of a comprehensively curated and integrated curriculum with much emphasis and agreement on the advantages. Whereas, a few notable disadvantages like access to resources, time constraints, and parental concerns were highlighted which need further study to form productive outcomes. However, respondents lack philosophical and theoretical aspects which are yet to be assimilated with the knowledge of various approaches and the numerous types of integration models that may be adopted. This study suggests further research with a bigger and broader sample to take into account the greater diversity of integration themes, approaches, and modes of teaching while integrating the curriculum.

Keywords: Teachers' perception, integrated curriculum, Pakistan.

Introduction

Since the advent of educational research, there have been many studies through which teaching and learning could be improved and made much more innovative and fun to learn. Considering each individual as an independent identity, there have always been efforts on the part of teachers to adopt strategies that are flexible and widely accepted by all. Dewey (1902), researched the child's life as a whole with the transition to school for the sake of learning world knowledge. He observed that within the formal setting of a school, the child shifts from one subject to another with an unconscious effort. He does not see the compartmentalizing of knowledge into various subjects like language, arts, science, social studies, or arithmetic, hence achieving it effortlessly. During the phase of learning, Beane (1997) envisages four aspects the learners possibly consider and adopt for the curriculum integration: the integration of experiences, social integration, the integration of knowledge, and integration as a curriculum design.

Seeing the perspective and potential of learning across borders, researchers define "Curriculum Integration" (herein referred to as CI) as a combination of various subjects and activities to achieve the learning outcomes of the curriculum, not just the objectives of any one subject (Morris, 2003). In 2010, National Middle School Association defined a curriculum as a combination of various events or actions within a school, which includes including academics, extra-curricular activities, and support programs. Hence, integration means combining two or more things to make a new whole, (Minadzi, 2021). The integrated curriculum has become a globally discussed issue and a challenge for all higher education institutions and schools, Khan & Law (2015). For this purpose, in 1987, the National Association of the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) published numerous resources to facilitate educational reforms. Fraser (2000) asserts that teachers have considerable knowledge of the curriculum and pedagogical skills that ensures that

curriculum integration provides a challenging and learning environment. However, Yvonne (2015) endorsed the integration of themes closer to real-life events which enables the learner to incorporate the subject blends such as language, mathematics, science, social studies, arts, etc.

Review of Literature

The experience of the teacher plays an important role in setting up the objectives and the implementation of the curriculum. Subject understanding and the effective implementation of an integrated curriculum brings a lot of benefit to both the teachers and the learners, Costley (2015). It actively engages the students in lessons and extends their thinking skills; the learning process becomes positive for the students, and teachers are continually looking for ways to engage students in learning and deepen their understanding of the content. Schumacher (1995) outlines the instrumental role of teachers and administrators serving as instructional leaders in attaining the integration level for the given situations and the curriculum demand. Fraser & Paraha (2017), this curriculum design in the hands of talented teachers engage students in deep level learning which has lasting effects on their views of the world and their views of themselves as capable learners.

Many studies are supportive of the view that CI helps children in preparing them for lifelong learning (Lake, 1994). Vars (1991 & 2001) entails the importance of saving curriculum integration and developmentally-appropriate education for any age of students, which may involve political action and educational policies. Education is a holistic approach that considers the Know, Do, and Be (KDB) approach, an imperative for a learner. A study by Drake & Reid (2018) considers that traditional learning expectations are largely associated with the cognitive "know of the curriculum, whereas the international shift focuses more on conceptual thinking of Know rather than memorizing facts. Nevertheless, teachers' good understanding and insight is needed to implement the integration of the subjects within a lesson. This type of curriculum supports the schools to develop abilities and skills that will be needed for the twenty-first century.

Key Components and Thematic Units

Since 2010, the California Department of Education has adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) from kindergarten to high school. Based on

students' interest or their experiences, these curriculum units revolve around the central themes. Thematic units are much broader than 'just a topic'. These themes are spread across the curriculum's length and breadth, which means integrating science, social studies, language and literacy, mathematics, etc., Cox (2020). Students' learning is made interesting and engaging through interactive activities, nature study, and first-hand experiences. Hence, they are evaluated for their learning through learning outcomes. To create the classroom unit, there are eight key components which include theme; grade level; objectives; materials; activities; relevant discussion; literature; and students' evaluation.

Models of the Integrated Curriculum

Considering the importance of integration, middle-level educators develop their lessons for young learners. This gives insights to the concerned practitioners and researchers to make productive use of interdisciplinary knowledge to incorporate into their classrooms, (Schumacher 1995). To ensure the comprehensive content and realignment of the matter and skills, the most widely used Fogarty 10 models of integration view the curriculum through a kaleidoscopic range, (Fogarty 2019). She broadly divided integration into three continuums, beginning with the single disciplines, continuing with models that integrate across several disciplines, and models that operate learners within themselves and across a network of learners.

Approaches to Curriculum Integration

To integrate a variety of subjects and knowledge Drake & Burns (2004) and Suryadi B., et al. (2018) proposed four approaches CI can follow. It could be simply a fusion of the existing curriculum with external elements. The multidisciplinary with an additive element of serial lectures. The interdisciplinary approach allows the vision of more than one field, and the transdisciplinary is a holistic scheme. Depending on the grade level, topic, approach, and model the meaning of the CI changes from person to person and source to source. It all varies from school to school and the teachers, (Wall & Leckie 2017).

Knowledge can be compartmentalized into subjects and disciplines but learning cannot take place in isolation. In particular, when talking about young children, they perform and learn regardless of subject boundaries and disciplines. It is anticipated that teachers are capable of handling

diversified themes with clear objectives and learning outcomes. Despite challenges, teachers' understanding of the long-term targets and the competency level of the learners at each stage will help them plan and execute the integrated curriculum with progression. Hence, this research study approaches various early-year and preschool practitioners from different private schools to analyze their views on the research questions.

Research Questions

- Q1 What understanding do the teachers have of Curriculum Integration?
- Q2 Are the participants practicing Curriculum Integration in any form?
- Q3 How practical do the teachers find the approach of Curriculum Integration?
- Q4 What problems do the teachers face in implementing subject integration?
- Q5 Are the participants professionally trained in the notion of Curriculum Integration?

Significance of the Study

This study would give insight to teachers, management, and stakeholders to bring about a change in the traditional style of teaching and realign the delivery of knowledge and skills from the integrated teaching pedagogy in their local setting of Karachi. The research would be a paradigm shift for adult learners to be constructive in their approach and choices. Their personal choices can contribute to the assessment and evaluation of the curriculum redesign. The findings will assist practicing teachers to anticipate the problems, hurdles, and possible challenges while implementing the integration in their lesson units. Nevertheless, the theoretical understanding of the integrated approaches, themes, and models will

streamline teachers' planning and implementation of the lessons across subject boundaries with differentiated instructions.

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to analyze the approaches of an integrated curriculum in teaching and learning from the perspective of early-year teachers and management. This study investigated the prospective challenges and hurdles that come with the integration of one or more subjects through thematic units and opting for appropriate models of integration.

Study Design

This study was based on the Creswell (2012) qualitative approach with an interview protocol as a research tool. Respondents' demographic data collection was made through Google Forms with details of their gender, age, education with professional qualification, designation, type of institute where they work, teaching experience, and consent approval for their readiness for an interview protocol. Interviewee responses were recorded online through the Zoom application. The response data were analyzed via transcription, forming codes, and creating sub-themes with the main themes. Aspers & Corte, (2019) consider interviews as a tool to collect the material for study use that describes the problems and their meanings for qualitative research.

Measures

The interview protocol developed was based on the questionnaire from the dissertation by Mohr & Welker (2017). Table 1 outlines the interview protocol.

Table 1. Interview Questions

1	Have you heard about Integrated Curriculum? If yes, then from where?
2	What is your understanding of an integrated curriculum? How would you define this term?
3	What do you think are the key themes of Curriculum Integration?
4	Which subject integration is the most important for students to learn and why?
5	Do you base your Curriculum Integration on a specific model? And if so, which one?
6	Please describe the collaboration process with colleagues outside of your specific subjects?
7	What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of Curriculum Integration?

8	What are the hurdles or challenges you face while implementing Curriculum Integration?
9	Have you received any professional development focused on Curriculum Integration? If not then are you eager to learn more about curriculum integration after this interview?
10	Do you think knowing more about curriculum integration would make you professionally sound? What particular area do you need the training in?

Sample population

The target population focused on pre-primary private schools of Karachi. The sample for this study comprised 6 early years and preschool teachers and 3 middle management faculty members. To keep a homogenized sample, participants chosen have a minimum of 5 years of teaching experience and have exposure to curriculum integration.

Ethical Consideration

This study included the following research ethics: including informed consent, freedom to withdraw, avoiding plagiarism, and self-plagiarism.

Study Procedure

The study formed codes to develop descriptions and themes. Creswell (2012) describes qualitative data analysis as the use of codes as a way to study the database which is identical in terms of meaning or the central idea. Hence, numerous codes were formed through initial data analysis. In subsequent analysis, codes were reduced to 5 major themes through the process of redundancies.

The usefulness and flexibility of theme analysis for qualitative research were also endorsed by Braun & Clarke (2006). The qualitative data were coded and grouped according to emerging themes. Hence, the five themes categorized from this instrument were, "Understanding of CI"; "Thematic Integration"; "Practicality"; "Challenges, Hurdles and Problems"; and "Professional Growth".

Data Analysis

Analysis of each theme studied the research questions and provided considerable research outcomes. Creswell (2009) defines themes as the comprehensive findings in qualitative data. These themes could also be the headings in the findings section as they display perspectives of the sample group and are supported by quotations and related pieces of evidence.

Results

Theme 1: Understanding of Curriculum Integration This main theme encompassed the subthemes - holistic approach; a combination of subjects; conceptual learning; master skills and; environmental interaction.

The sample group showed an essential understanding and concept of curriculum integration. A participant proclaims that "an integrated curriculum is a kind of holistic approach where two or more subjects could be linked for better understanding; environment, peers and adults interaction play a proficient role in learning". "Whereas the other acknowledges that from the beginning of her career, she has been listening to this term, she portrays her understanding as" we plan our lessons based on active learning built on our students' extensive knowledge, and experience first that are real to students. To develop their desire for the learning process we usually link the lesson or learning with real-life examples."

The management side proved to be a co-planner with the teachers, "flexibility is very important at the age of pre-primary children, they can grasp concepts very easily when we integrate things with other subjects like Math with English or English with Science so it is very easy for children to understand the concepts. I have learned that teaching through integration is more effective than teaching in isolation."

Based on the above responses, the research sample shows a fairly good understanding of the CI. Management and the teachers are of the same opinion that they could have varied approaches to curriculum integration. Learners' prior knowledge, subject integration, and environment play key factors in acquiring and assimilating new information.

Theme 2: Thematic Integration

The broader theme covers the sub-themes – areas

of learning; key themes of curriculum integration; subject integration; the concept of thematic integration was well absorbed by the target participants.

An interesting detailed reply was, "If I want to teach something about insects for instance in Science, I can integrate this lesson in English to make them write a report on it or I can also teach them how to make a 3D model of an insect in their art unit. So, they learn to know and memorize the insect's body parts. Or sometimes I can also integrate it with computer lessons to have them make a poster by using an online tool to create awareness of how insects are important or useful to us.

Another participant covered yet another aspect of thematic integration. "We have to keep in mind all the areas of learning while we are doing the integrated planning. In this way, we can develop an integrated curriculum."

Students are naturally inquisitive, the respondent's execution of a multidisciplinary skill is evident in students' love and concern for their immediate environment, "If the theme is plants and plantations they are visiting the garden, sowing the seeds, watering them, take care of them, and they are growing their plant."

Having the importance of thematic integration, most of the early years and pre-primary school curricula opt for thematic units which are implemented on a bi-weekly or on monthly basis. Objectives and student learning outcomes (SOLs) are spread over various subjects depending upon the nature of information, knowledge, skills, and attitudes. However, the respondents lack theoretical knowledge of the Fogarty curriculum model as discussed in the literature review.

Theme 3: Practicality

Sub-themes are Models of CI; Collaboration; Information and Communications Technology (ICT) integration; Hands-on Activities.

Respondents believe that CI is very practical while inside or outside the classroom environment, which means combining two or more subjects when teaching a topic. "It involves integrating the subject's content and skill development in a topic; they use hands-on activities and look in their

surroundings what they want to learn from."

Talking about technology, teachers have a positive stance, "for young age children are used to technology so it helps a lot to benefit rather than based on a paperwork only."

With the advent of computers and technology, almost the entire mode of education has a new face where ICT plays a pivotal role in sharing and delivering information. Irrespective of the grade or level, technology has its importance and contribution to the dissemination of knowledge on- and off-site. Hence, respondents are all well aware of the technology and blend it well with routine lessons. This makes a compulsion for educational institutions to make proper arrangements of ICT and its supplies.

Reiterating the question regarding the models of CI, unfortunately, none of the participants had knowledge or understanding of the "Integrated Models". Responses received were, "we are not basing it on any specific model but as we are getting guidance from our administration and the school heads so we are trying to implement those and we are doing different courses as well so we are trying to follow whatever has been taught to us and integrate it, there is no specific model as such right now." "Not a specific model, they just tell us about the activities, based on the hands-on activities." This shows the loose hole which needs to be addressed by the school management or the academic heads. Theoretical aspects go hand in hand with an in-depth understanding of any concept.

Theme 4: Challenges, Hurdles, and Problems

Several sub-themes from the main themes - children from diversified backgrounds and cultures; changes in teaching patterns; use of technology from a young age; real-life examples; advantages and disadvantages - parental dissatisfaction, unavailability, or not enough resources; positive and collaborative learning environment.

Talking about the challenges a teacher comments, "The time has changed and all the teaching patterns and teaching styles and for students learning styles are being changed every day." Another adds "With every day we have to face a new challenge because children are coming from

different backgrounds, different cultures and they have different learning styles as well as the world is changing day by day, you cannot like to teach them as we were teaching maybe thirty years ago".

The use of Information Technology (IT) has many advantages but a couple of drawbacks too, "it is a problem or a challenge as sometimes we have plans related to technology and we have to show them something, sometimes we don't have the internet at times it happens connectivity problems so we have to switch over to something else."

Some of the hurdles and problems discussed were, "It is not possible to teach everything in a day, a collaborative environment saves time. CI is a real-world way that motivates its students, to succeed in real life."; "It should be something practical life experiences they should count on. They should add something in their hand to practically apply math over there because we learned not in that manner because we were using only paper and pens."

One of the challenges is the parents. "Parents want something concrete, they want only results. They are not still very much aware of what the child is experiencing, when they are experiencing something, they are learning. But they need something concrete on paper and pen some kind of test results and all that because our mind is still not very much changed. Some parents do understand that if the child is playing so that's what he is learning something but...sometimes we have to convince them and we have to make them understand that No, whether if he is doing any experiments, something working with water a water tub and few sponges or few containers to just measure so they need to understand that yes, their child is learning something that is really something concrete and deep down in his memory."

Talking about some of the disadvantages, the participants expressed, "disadvantage is only time management, actually we cannot manage our time management, if we have a forty-minutes of a unit so it takes so many times when we do the hands-on activities;" "sometimes content is wide it is difficult to plan and implement; at times there is a lack of students' interests, sometimes you know it demands much supervisions from teachers".

Despite the fact, a lot more advancement has

taken place in the educational field, the undue conditions and situations are uncountable and diversified from school to school, area or locality, resources available, teachers' and students' mindset, management, and the parental end. Respondents are aware of the hurdles and challenges and strive to overcome them in their own jurisdictions.

Parental awareness and their contribution as volunteers would help in making a bridge between the school-child-home and so would enhance the CI beyond the school boundaries and bring its true essence to real-life and day-to-day experiences.

Theme 5: Professional Growth

This theme covers the sub-themes such as training; workshops, and courses.

Most of the respondents were part of the short courses, "we do get some workshops and the development programs so yes, that is why we are so aware of that."; "we do often offer such courses and workshops on the same, but there is always something new each time."

Looking forward to proper training, "It would help me out in conducting better classes, if I produce better students, my worth will increase as well, but I want to know how to integrate technology, how to make teachers work with each other to plan effectively."; "there is a room for development for everyone and we still need a lot of guidance and a lot more training to integrate more effectively the different subjects."; "together we can help our students more efficiently. We need more training, it's never-ending."; "of course, we could learn more, that quality teacher never stops learning. I really would like to have training in lesson planning and time management. I think so!"

Irrespective of all the challenges and hurdles, respondents are all geared up to take their work experiences to the next level. They anticipate the conduction of training which would lead them to professionalism.

Discussion

Curriculum integration is defined by various sources and shows a variety of meanings and approaches. This concept was rooted in Dewey School in Chicago in 1898. Traces of its implementations and

progression are dated 1919 Drake & Reid (2020).

Curriculum Integration in Pakistan: The first cycle of curriculum reform in Pakistan was initiated between 1973-1976 (Pakistan Curriculum Design and Development). An article by Husain (1999) briefs the pioneering effort by The Book Group in 1993 which was meant to translate the philosophical and general principles of integration into classroom teaching practices. After months of brainstorming and strenuous exercise, the actual writing of the integrated curriculum was designed for class 1 and implemented in August 1994 in pilot schools.

To study the perception of the teachers and the school management at the pre-primary level this research encompassed five different socio-economic schools in Karachi. A mix of teaching and management staff were interviewed to know their perception of the curriculum integration through which they imply various models of integration, applying numerous approaches where the learners could achieve the core learning outcomes.

Result of the structured interview protocol, various themes with sub-themes were derived. Some of the conclusions were drawn from the research analysis:

Concept of Integrated Curriculum: Respondents were anticipated to have a minimum knowledge of the topic researched hence postulates an understanding of the CI approach as they integrate their lessons in one way or the other. Stretcher (2021) considers this an important factor where teachers use their diverse experience and instructions in a way that the learners are clear of their tasks and can relate to real-life situations. The schools addressed have middle management conducts weekly or monthly coordination meetings where each teacher discusses the weekly plan with the rest. The question is what about the many other private schools in general? Do they have any such coordination meetings where the teachers are knowledgeable enough of this concept?

Thematic Learning: Based on the monthly themes, subject teachers integrate their lessons with relevance and appropriate learning outcomes. Morris, (2003) endorses the importance of planning, be it at the individual class level or the system level. Early years respondents are of the view that lessons in the early years revolve around the monthly

themes which are integrated by the individual areas of learning, or so-called subjects, at different schools. Whereas, the pre-primary respondents of classes 1 and 2 follow inter-subject integration as their teaching is more subject-oriented.

The researcher is of the view that most schools consider pre-primary classes that are levels or grades 1 and 2 to be more formal and follow traditional teaching styles rather than be an extension of early years where students are expected to train and prepare for the formal assessments and evaluation means. As a result, the teaching is in isolation where the learners see no link within the subjects offered. The transition from pre-primary to primary level is disconnected and disengaged rather than bridging the levels naturally and systematically.

First-hand experiences: Curriculum integration helps teachers in making concepts concrete through real-life examples as well as exposure to first-hand experience. Most of the respondents report these experiences to be purposeful and engaging but demand enough time and resources as learners are naturally inquisitive and want to avail the opportunities at hand. Research on CI explains the integrated approach being achieved with real-life situations and interactive strategies. Therefore, hands-on activities are not only playful for the learners, but they also develop the learner's knowledge-based, skills, and attitude. Tudor (2013) explains that children learn to interact socially, emotionally, and cognitively and lend helping hands to each other. These skills enable teachers and learners to learn the dynamics of life in real time.

On the contrary, schools which fail to create a conducive environment for the learners, just absorb enough to get good grades but fail to be skillful or assimilate meaningful information, Gustlin (2012). The majority of the kindergartens and Montessori setups in Pakistan fail to provide the desired learning environment for youngsters as they fall short of providing enough space, provision of enough educational resources, more student strength, or perhaps non-trained staff at par with the institutional financial needs. The schools are set up in residential areas hence, the learning is structured and compartmentalized and restricted to table and chair options. Teachers face numerous hurdles and challenges due to insufficient resources, limited time constraints, or classroom management issues.

Activities are sometimes meaningless, which incur a considerable amount of time and finances too, Morris (2003).

Role of Technology: ICT's role in curriculum integration is much more than relevant before, rather the role of the computer is inseparable from education. All the participants make good use of computer technology in their teaching and learning. Maribe & Twum-Darko (2015) study shows that teaching and learning models (TLMs) help both the teacher and the learner to make a variety of comparisons. These resources lead to creativity and innovation. To meet this end, schools in Pakistan are resourcing teachers and learners with computer and digital labs. The ratio per user may not be sufficient as a single lab with a limited number of workstations is not enough for the entire utility of the school. This might be the case in many schools yet there are schools that fail to provide this facility for today's learners so challenges are there to address at their respective levels.

Models of Integrated Curriculum: However, the study revealed that all the participants are unaware of the integrated models. This poses the biggest hurdle for the teachers in understanding the suitable approach toward a lesson/unit with a particular model, whereas, Newman (2016) elicits the curriculum integration survey based on Fogarty's models which are currently being used and are important to carry out the lesson productively.

Professionalism: Teaching the pre-primary level is not just a profession it demands intrinsic motivation and passion to deal with young learners and reach the individual to address their needs and scaffold them to make them independent and happy learners. The interview protocol concluded with the notion that all the participants are eager to learn more about the integrated curriculum to meet the challenges they face in teaching and learning within and beyond the classroom setting. Their enriched and in-depth understanding of the subject shall benefit them professionally and develop them as productive practitioners.

Establishing formal training and research centers at the early years and pre-primary levels shall be progressive for the teachers, administrators, and stakeholders bringing benefits to young learners.

Recommendations

The outcomes of this study suggest the following recommendations:

- The stakeholders, management, and teachers should consider curriculum integration as a need of time with concrete and systematic planning, integration, evaluation, and replanning with progression like any teaching cycle.
- Training sessions and workshops on integration are key to endorsing its importance theoretically and practically. Clear guidelines should be provided for integrating subjects and areas of learning through well-defined themes and thereof the selection of appropriate approaches and models to adopt.
- The institutions need to upgrade the provision and availability of resources which should quantify to suffice the number of learners.
- The managerial and faculty staff members should be reflective practitioners to meet the standards of quality of teaching which are conducive to learning.

Conclusion

Extensive research has been done on curriculum integration in USA and UK. The concept has emerged with a number of benefits for teachers, learners, administrators, and stakeholders. It builds on prior knowledge and experiences and derives meaningful information and ensures learning across the subjects and disciplines as discussed by Fogarty's curriculum model image.

This research carried out on a small sample shows a fairly good understanding of the curriculum integration of respondents in the private schools of Karachi. However, diversified perspectives of CI can be further studied to bring awareness and harmony among different school setups.

This study suggests further research on a bigger sample size to take into account the diversity of integrated themes, approaches, and modes of teaching while interconnecting the curriculum units. Similar research could be carried out for primary and secondary schools to see the progression of intra and interdisciplinary approaches with advanced models of integration.

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RESEARCH PAPERS FROM CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

ARE THE ACTIVITIES OF AID DONORS IN AFRICA NEO-COLONIAL IN CHARACTER?

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Abstract

This essay critically analyses the claim that the activities of aid donors in Africa should be understood as neo-colonial. This assertion implies that aid and the activities of donors are not provided for the benefit or development of African states, but to retain structures of dominance that are ultimately to the benefit of donor states/institutions. While discussing the differing perspectives on sovereignty, this essay adopts a constructivist approach in explaining that aid, both from the global North and South that compromises the ability of a state to make its policy decisions and control its developmental narrative can create neo-colonial structures. By using Ethiopia and Zambia as case studies, this essay asserts that aid relationships are by themselves not neo-colonial. However, relational issues like historical, political, geographical and social factors, play an important role in determining the extent of a state's agency in aid negotiations and whether such relationships become neo-colonial.

Keywords: Neo-colonial, Nigeria, international aid, Africa, political economy

Introduction

The decolonisation of Africa led to the emergence of politically independent but poor states with weak institutions and fragile economies (Moyo, 2010:32). Following the successful implementation of the Marshall Plan between 1948 and 1952, which facilitated the reconstruction of European countries after the Second World War, aid was considered an effective way to raise African countries out of poverty, boost their economies and contribute to the development of the continent (Moyo, 2010:36-37). Shortly after the independence of most African states, there was an outpouring of aid from former colonial powers, on the basis of ongoing responsibility for their former colonies or to sustain relationships in order to "safeguard their access to raw materials" (Fraser, 2009:47). Although "African states had become politically sovereign and

formally equal in the nation-state system, [they] were unable to guarantee even their own administrative existence without support" (ibid). For countries like the United States, their eagerness to provide aid to African countries was borne out of their desire to suppress the influence of the Soviet Union and the spread of communism in Africa, thus "altruistic largesse" was far from the intended aim (Lagan, 2018:61). Overtime, the provision of aid by western donors has hinged on conditionalities and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) intended to create liberalised economies, foster democratisation and/or create policy settings, which accommodate their interests (Whitfield & Fraser, 2009).

The proliferation of donors and their permeation in almost all sectors within African countries is viewed with suspicion by scholars, actors and inhabitants of the continent. For critics, the so-called developmental aim of aid is averse to the systematic underdevelopment and vicious cycle of dysfunction that prevails in most countries in the continent (Moyo, 2010). This essay critically analyses the claim that the activities of aid donors in Africa should be understood as neo-colonial in character. This claim implies that donor activities/initiatives are ultimately to the benefit of donor countries, who exert external dominance over sovereign countries "to such a degree that they [are] not genuinely self-governing" (Langan, 2017:4). Langan, citing Nkrumah, defined neo-colonialism "as the continuation of external control over African territories by newer and more subtle methods than that exercised under the formal empire" (ibid). This essay refers to aid in the form of budgetary support, project aid and blending aid initiatives, provided by states, regional bodies and International Financial Institutions (IFI) like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In light of this definition, I will discuss the notion of sovereignty by exploring whether the activities of aid donors have the capacity to delimit the powers of sovereign African nations. By adopting a constructivist

approach, I will analyse the meaning of sovereignty and how its understanding impacts upon whether the relationship between a donor state and a recipient state can be considered neo-colonial. This builds on Brown's point which expresses that the existence of aid relationships relies on the sovereignty of African states, who have the authority to acquiesce to the presence of donors and negotiate favourable terms (Brown, 2013). However, unlike Brown's position that sovereignty as a right to rule is unaffected by aid, I will argue that the right to rule and the autonomy of states over their policies are not entirely mutually distinct. This essay will also examine some categories of aid and whether its application has interfered with sovereignty.

To provide a more practical analysis, two case studies will be considered: Ethiopia and Zambia. These case studies provide important examples of how a country's history, political leadership, ideology, and relationship with other states, play a role in determining the degree of control of their policy space and consequently in determining the type of relationship that exists between a donor and a recipient state. More so, the blossoming south-south partnership between China and the case studies will be examined to determine whether such relationships are also neo-colonial in character or reveal a renewed sense of African agency. I will conclude that donor aid by external powers (both from the North and the South) can be neo-colonial in character, depending on the degree of autonomy that exists in negotiations and in the policy space. However, it ultimately depends on African states to determine if relationships with aid donors become neo-colonial.

A Different Approach to Sovereignty

Sovereignty is generally understood as encompassing states' authority over a territory and their control of institution, laws and policies therein, it is also frequently assumed to be a "fixed and exogenous attribute of state" (Lake, 2003:305). There has been increasing controversy regarding the meaning of sovereignty and the importance of distinguishing the types of action that take away the reins of power and control from sovereign states and those that merely dictate policies for said states. Brown, quoting Whitfield and Fraser, explains that sovereignty is a "realm of political action free from foreign influence" (Brown 2013: 266,267). Other commentators like Krasner allude to sovereignty

through the Westphalian model, which emphasizes territorial control (Krasner, 1999). Therefore, a point is made to distinguish between sovereignty in its fixed sense (legal independence) and sovereignty as it relates to a state's ability to make decisions for itself. It is useful to consider the constructivist approach to sovereignty in order to understand its nuances and how it is not necessarily of a fixed or absolute character but an evolving notion that changes depending on circumstances and the actors involved. Wangwe, explains that "sovereignty is a product of interactions with social agents...which would vary from state to state and over different historical periods" (Wangwe, 2004:385). He further posits that sovereignty is not an "absolute or elemental feature, but of a relational character which has to be specified in terms of particular rights and obligations states claim in respect of other actors" (ibid). Lake, in his analysis of the constructivist notion of sovereignty noted that although sovereignty is still seen as an absolute condition, the practice of a state, its conditions and its relations play an important role in understanding the concept of sovereignty (Lake 2003, 305). This approach goes beyond the legal or territorial understanding of what sovereignty is, but places focus on how historical, political and social structures have the capacity of shaping the relationship between donors and recipient states.

Indeed, for states to become players at the international scene, they at various points, compromise their autonomy by acceding to international instruments, such as human rights treatise; or voluntarily enter international loan agreements that give the lenders far-reaching powers in the domestic operation of states (Krasner, 1999:). Wangwe explains that most states do not operate with complete autonomy regarding their actions and policy decisions but operate with a degree of constraint. He states that "the developing world have been particularly subject to deliberate attempts to restrict their policy choice" (Wangwe, 2004: 385). For African states with a history of colonial subjugation, the relationship between the external and internal is even more delicate – where aid is laced with conditions and adjustments, it constitutes a "loss of voice" and goes to the core of the identity of such states (ibid: 384).

Brown, while conceding that the autonomy of a recipient state is invariably compromised in aid relationships, emphasizes that a distinction between

authority and control is necessary (Brown, 2013:267). He explains that the former stems from the right to rule, anchored by the politico-legal independence of a state, is hardly compromised in the aid relationship. State control on the other hand is more fluid and penetrable. Although a useful distinction, I argue that authority or politico-legal independence and control are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts. For instance, the issue of securitization arguably falls within the ambit of a state's authority. However, the provision of development assistance informing policies, which have led to increased securitization to "regulate the lives and activities of the developing world" (Fisher and Anderson, 2015:133) and to avoid the "spill over" of security threats, poverty and underdevelopment to western states (Abrahamsen, 2005:61) - can be considered an intrusion into a critical policy space that possibly delimits the sovereignty of a state. The numerous and complex perspectives on sovereignty makes it challenging to come to an overarching conclusion on whether a donor's relationship with a recipient state strips the recipient of their authority and/or control. Hence, the importance of examining each relationship on its own merit.

Sovereignty Compromised by Aid?

Langan, 2018, in his work on *Neo-Colonialism and Donor Intervention* presents three categories of aid: project aid, budget support and aid blending. Project aid and aid blending are considered types of aid where the donor state, IFIs or Development Financial Institution (DFI) directly provide monies for specific initiatives or where donor aid, public aid and DFI capital is mixed within a particular project (Langan, 2018:76). However, these types of aid have been criticised for their role in regressing growth in Africa and creating a system where poor labour standards are rife, no job security, increased poverty and underdevelopment (ibid). Through the lens of neo-colonialism expounded by Nkrumah, Langan explains that one of the reasons there has not been real development in Africa, regardless of the many years of aid dependence is because aid is used by western donors as a form of "revolving credit – whereby western governments recoup their investment through the bringing about of policy change in African countries conducive to their own economic and commercial interests" (ibid 63).

This position holds some credence, especially when past aid architecture is examined. Between the 1980s-1990s, aid provisions were hinged on

conditional lending processes that created SAPs in African states (Fraser, 2009:57). In most African countries, SAPs led to undue social hardship and made vital sectors redundant, leading to a rise in unemployment and increased poverty (Langan, 2015:203). For example, SAPs in Mozambique's cashew sector led to the collapse of the industry while in Kenya, relaxation of import control under SAPs led to an influx of substandard goods which led to job losses of approximately 70,000 people (ibid). With the decline of SAPs and conditionalities since the 1980s, donors have asserted that the respect for country ownership "will ensure that they are not pressurized to undertaking premature trade openings and economic liberalization" (ibid:104) hence, the adoption of aid forms like budget support which was intended to enable African states to fund social programmes through homegrown policies. Scholars like Langan (2015, 2018), Nilson (2004) and Alvarez (2010) express skepticism about the so-called country ownership of budget support, explaining that the "creeping conditionality" still persists. Ideally, this type of aid gives states the leverage to decide the policies they prefer. However, there have been instances where donors and IFI's have directly or indirectly threatened to withdraw budgetary support where the recipient state tows a policy direction that is not agreeable to the donor. The bullying and strong-arming of the Ghanaian government under the leadership of Kufuor, into discarding a policy on the increased tariffs on poultry import that the IMF was not keen on, serves as an example (Langan, 2018:72). One of the principles in the Paris Declaration on the Effectiveness of Aid speaks to the ownership of aid by recipient states and how they exercise "effective leadership over their development strategies" (OECD 2005). The declaration was a recognition of the role of recipient states in deciding and controlling their policy strategy with donors respecting states' decisions and assisting in strengthening capacity, where needed. This is however a far cry from reality, where donors have prioritised the furtherance of their own developmental agenda and interest, thereby dictating policies in recipient states.

If we think of sovereignty, not as a "fixed and exogenous" concept but as a relational feature that evolves depending on state practice and engagement, the activities of donors, as explained in the context of budgetary support, may be deemed neo-colonial. Arguably, when donor

action dictates, hampers or compromises the ability of a recipient state to control its policy space, especially when such intrusion does not accrue benefits to the recipient state, such donor relationship can be considered far-reaching and a co-opting of the sovereignty of the recipient state. Recalling Brown's distinction between authority and control, it is difficult to divorce the two concepts in light of the ripple impact that some donor policies/decisions have on the economy and livelihood of a recipient state.

Sino-African Relations: Neo-Colonial or Evidence of African Agency?

With the burgeoning South-South relations gaining prominence, there has been a progressive change in the donor regime in most African states. China's relationship with Africa is not new, it dates as far back as when China sought the support of African states in its diplomatic tussle with Taiwan (Rich & Recker 2013: 62). As at 2007, over 800 Chinese companies were conducting business in 49 African states (ibid). Although China has since become the second largest bilateral donor in Africa, after the USA, the exact scale is not clear because of the merger of "traditional aid packages and other forms of investment" (ibid:68). Economics, however, remains the mainstay of the relationship between China and Africa. This is mainly because China adopts a non-interventionist approach in its international relations. This can be seen through its constant reluctance at the United Nations, to intervene in policies or actions that it believes will compromise the sovereignty of states. One of the reasons China's relationship is positively viewed by some, is because it provides a development alternative hinged on trade, with the absence of interventionist policies that seek to change the state system and structures. Rich and Recker express that China operates a 'don't ask, don't tell policy' which essentially means that "as long as China has access to resources, they will not criticize or involve themselves in the domestic affairs of African states" (Rich & Recker, 2013:71). Critics, especially from the global north, find the dynamics of the Sino-Africa relationship unsettling. In one of her interviews, former Secretary of State of the United States of America, Hillary Clinton made this point:

"...[O]ur view is that over the long run, investments in Africa should be sustainable and for the benefit of the African people. It is easy – and we saw

that during colonial times...to come in, take out natural resources, pay off leaders, and leave. And when you leave, you don't leave much behind for the people who are there. You don't improve the standard of living. You don't create a ladder of opportunity. We don't want to see a new colonialism in Africa. We want, when people come to Africa and make investments, we want them to do well, but we also want them to do good. We don't want them to undermine good governance. We don't want them to basically deal with just the top elites and, frankly, too often pay for their concessions or their opportunities to invest (Clinton 2011)".

The neo-colonial criticisms of China's aid relationship with Africa finds root in the assumption that China is only concerned with making profit and acquiring stakes in Africa as opposed to a genuine interest in Africa's development (Asongu & Aminkeng, 2013:266). Indeed, China is taking a lot from Africa, but it is argued that it is also providing what Africa needs based on states' prescriptions (ibid). The provision of Foreign Direct Investments in areas like transportation and power, and loans to fill infrastructure gaps, with the aim of boosting economic growth, are some reasons Sino-African relations are seen as beneficial (Bräutigam 2018). Moyo (2011:111) explains that "...Africa is getting what it needs – quality capital that actually funds investment, jobs for its people and that elusive growth. These are the things that aid promised but has consistently failed to deliver."

Africa's relationship with China, just like its relationship with western donors paints a picture of unequal economic and power dynamics. Hence, both relationships have the potential to be neo-colonial or imperialist. However, one stark difference is China's non-interventionist approach in the governance and policy space and its complete focus on trade, business and other economic relations. With China, African states feel more confident that "there are no hidden charges' With the nature of Africa's relationship with China, African states are in a prime position to exert their agency and "tailor [their] relationship and address socio-economic matters" (Asongu and Aminkeng 2013:274). Taylor bluntly states that "any problem in

sino-African relations is found within Africa itself, with neo-patrimonial regimes that care little for development or properly directing inward investment, be it Chinese or any other" (Taylor 2007: 145). Although I disagree with Taylor's single brush-stroke analysis of the inherent neopatrimonialism of all African states, he makes a good point about African states directing the tide and making most of their relationships.

Case Studies

From East to West, African states function differently and uniquely. In the course of this essay, one of my major postulations has been that aid relationships operate differently, from state to state. The case studies that would be examined below historicise and contextualise some of the issues raised and I will conclude on whether aid relationships between states have been neo-colonial.

Ethiopia

In 2018, Ethiopia was reported to have received the highest Official Development Assistance (ODA) in Africa, from western donors and other non-traditional donors (OECD 2018). What is perplexing about the Ethiopian situation is their ability to largely control their policy scene, while still maintaining the inflow of aid from diverse donors and sustaining its relationship with donors. Unlike most aid-recipient African states, Ethiopia was not colonized, thus it did not kick-start its aid relationship as a country with "weak domestic policy-setting structures" (Furtado & Smith:131). Because of its position as a sovereign entity without a pre-existing history of dominance and subservience, Ethiopia saw and still sees aid negotiations as transactions between equals (ibid). Ethiopia dictates the sphere of government agenda it wants donors to operate within. With an intense monopoly in public enterprises, the government ensures it has complete control of key industries, leaving non-contentious areas like social development programmes for donors (Furtado & Smith, 2009:141). The success of aid in Ethiopia is generally attributed to the low level of corruption, culture of discipline and widespread commitment across all governmental levels to the development of the state (ibid: 132). Brown and Fisher discuss the idea of a "developmental state", these are states that "...possess strong willed visionary leaderships, whose commitment to delivering plans renders them particularly attractive partners" (Brown & Fisher, 2020:185).

Admittedly, Ethiopia's leaders have historically been committed to the development of the state, grounded in the desire of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to "transform the country and break out of poverty" (Cheru, 2016:595). However, the state's leadership has been known for being authoritarian, with blatant disregard for human rights and a culture of silencing dissent (Human Rights Watch, 2010). This begs the question, why do western donors reel over Ethiopia without attempting to change its policies and essentially turning a blind eye to its misdeeds? The political and security interest of donors, arising from Ethiopia's location in a relatively unstable part of Africa, may serve as an explanation. One of Brown and Fisher's interview participants, an aid official, explained the tradeoff donors operating in Ethiopia make as follows: "Why do donors put up with it? We are here because Ethiopia is a strategic country and we have mutual interests. Ethiopia holds a key strategic position and we want to support it – 'maybe at all costs'" (Brown & Fisher, 2020:195). Statements like this give life to assertions that aid relationships are solely created for donors' benefit, as Langan put it, "altruistic largess" is a far cry from their intentions.

On Ethiopia's relationship with China, there are arguments that China's heavy presence in the state and Ethiopia's deepening debt profile to China creates an unequal imperialist structure, which is detrimental to the development of the country. As explained in the preceding section, China seems to provide what recipient countries need. In the case of Ethiopia, China has contributed to its infrastructural development, provided quite a number of FDIs, and most importantly, leveraged on its relationship with the South to attract more aid from the North (Cheru 2016). When Ethiopia is examined through its historical relationship with aid donors, its geographical location, its political ideology and other relational factors, it is easy to see a pattern of a state with a development agenda, that has control of its decisions and policies and effectively asserts its agency in negotiations.

Zambia

The political economy of Zambia is one that is riddled with economic liberalisation policies, debt crisis and numerous economic reforms fostered by conditionalities and structural reforms (Fraser, 2009:302). The emergence of the Movement for

Multiparty Democracy in the 1991 election was a turning point for Zambia's economic strategy and its protracted dependence on aid (ibid). Fredrick Chilumba ran on a privatization manifesto that attracted donors and paved the way for the deepening of Zambia's debt burden (ibid). Fraser asserts that although Zambia's free-market ideology was pleasing to IFIs, it also opened the country to "spectacular looting of the national fiscus, negative growth rate, deindustrialisation... and increasing poverty (Fraser, 2009:303). Kragelund, explains that Zambia's debt burden was at \$7.1 billion, which prompted the government to open itself up to more aid" (Kragelund 2014: 154). This eventually led to a "limited space for the Zambian government to create its own policies and a consequent reduction of the country's sovereign frontier (ibid). He further expounds that although the Zambian Government have consistently tried to take control of the 'sovereign frontier', traditional donors have pushed back by proposing constitutional reforms with the aim of reducing Zambia's autonomy (ibid). The eligibility for the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative which required neo-liberal reforms serves as an example. One of the reforms required was the privatization of the Zambian National Commercial Bank (Fraser, 2009:312-313). As a result of the public outcry on the impact such privatization will have on job security and the availability of loan facilities in rural communities, President Mwanawasa tried to renegotiate terms with the IFIs (Fraser 2009:313). However, the IMF was quick to remind Zambia that it "risked forfeiting US\$1 billion in debt relief" - Zambia eventually caved (ibid 314). This is just one of numerous examples of the push and pull that has hampered Zambia's ownership of its development agenda and its policy space.

Zambia is also not excluded from the financial support that China offers. China has provided support to Zambia in the form of grants, loans and economic technical cooperation agreements (Rakner 2012:10). Through the provision of loans and grant to facilitate infrastructural development, China has been able to provide development finance to Zambia with minimal concessions (Kragelund, 2014:157). With the growing presence of non-traditional donors and the change in the political scene, Zambia in recent years, has been

emboldened to disagree with traditional donors and de-privatise companies in key industries (ibid). Although their relationship with traditional donors persists and deep economic challenges still exists, there is evidence of Zambia regaining control of its "sovereign frontier" (ibid:153).

Discussion

I chose Ethiopia and Zambia as case studies as they are flip sides of the same coin. The case study of Ethiopia shows what happens to a country when it has complete agency. The case study of Zambia shows the consequences of when external parties are dominant in the economic and political scene. When compared to Ethiopia, it is clear that donors do not control the policy decisions of Ethiopian as they do in Zambia. As explained, this could be as a result of Ethiopia's non-colonization, assertiveness in negotiations, political will and development agenda. Zambia's weak institutions on the other hand, high debt profile and existing conditionalities attached to aid makes it difficult for the state to negotiate favourable policies. Therefore, when donors impose oppressive conditions, as they have in Zambia that gags the recipient state and essentially puts them between a rock and a hard place, such aid relationship can rightly be considered neo-colonial.

Conclusion

This essay has asserted that aid relationships can be neo-colonial, depending on the level of control that recipient states have in the policy space. By discussing the varying meanings of sovereignty, I expound that sovereignty goes beyond static politico-legal independence but extends to states' ability to make decisions for themselves and control their developmental narrative. This is usually influenced by a state's historical formation, political ideology, negotiations and relationships. The use of Ethiopia and Zambia as case studies demonstrate this point by showing how the dependency created in Zambia as a result of colonialism and the state's long history of dysfunction contributed to its "loss of voice" in negotiating aid. The case of Ethiopia on the other hand shows that the many interests of donors shape the dynamics of donor-recipient relationship, which is not always grounded in benevolence.

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RESEARCH PAPERS FROM CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

ACTION AND THE MODERN TIMES: PORPHYRIA'S STUPEFIED SENSES

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Abstract

Why did Porphyria, of Robert Browning's *Porphyria's Lover*, come straight from a storm, labored to improve the conditions in the cottage, and gave in to her lover's whims while he lay inside, all the while, quite comfortably? What made her do nothing, as per the narrator of the poem, in response to being strangled? Why did she act like the puppet of a puppeteer and not like a person of will when being killed? As bizarre is her lover's wish to love her unnaturally perpetually i.e. by murdering her, it is just as bizarre that Porphyria lets go of her life with the ease reported by the narrator.

Robert Browning's *Porphyria's Lover* may be narrated by the lover, but the actions of Porphyria speak for themselves and tell us of her struggle between the outer world and her inner self. Her actions, or lack thereof, can be taken as a microcosm for the modern woman living in a patriarchal world, where their existence, much like Porphyria's—after whom the poem is named but much of the critical work present on it revolves around the lover—has been treated as secondary and whose realities also come to a halt in response to the gaze of the Other all too often. In the *Madhouse Cell*, Porphyria was an equal participant, and should be looked at that way.

Keywords: *Literature, Medusa, Porphyria, poetry*

The mythological model of the clash between Athena, the rational, and Medusa, the so-called untamed, that forms the condition called The Medusa Complex, is employed for the explanation of symbols as seen in the poem, which in turn sheds light on the frequent trauma faced by the modern woman living in a patriarchal world.

The human body synthesizes a molecule called heme to maintain regular blood flow and transport oxygen to cells all around the body. But, if the synthesis of heme is disturbed and, say, the normal function of the human body is also disturbed, an

"intermediate" chemical accumulates in the cell (About Porphyria); a chemical that comes into being against the will of nature; a chemical that half the body avoids while the other half fights to create. That chemical messes with the heartbeat of a person, their digestion, and is found to even "freeze" subjects as they experience seizures and paralysis. It also manifests itself in certain psychiatric conditions like hysteria, anxiety and depression (Burgoyne et al.) etc. That intermediate chemical that causes all of this is, as a matter of fact, called porphyrin. And this medical condition is called Porphyria.

Around 70 years before the first case of Acute Porphyria was diagnosed, a Victorian poet named Robert Browning wrote a dramatic monologue about a crazed lover who, in hopes of preserving his love, strangles his beloved while they share an intimate moment in a cottage. The poet initially named it *Madhouse Cells* (in conjunction with another poem, now called *Johannes Agricola*) but later renamed it to *Porphyria's Lover* (qtd. in Gribble 32) – Porphyria being the name of the woman who is so loved. Porphyria, as a cluster of blood diseases, existed even before the first case of Acute Porphyria was diagnosed a good few decades after Robert Browning wrote his dramatic monologue, and it is safe to say that is not a mere coincidence that he used the same term so fittingly for the protagonist of the poem, whose actions, or lack thereof, leave the close reader baffled. Porphyria came to be a disease increasingly diagnosed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; did Browning know this would be the case when he chose night time as the setting of the poem? Could he have known that a common symptom among Porphyria patients is bruising of skin due to exposure to sunlight for which they are recommended to wear "tightly-knitted clothing" (About Porphyria) (like Porphyria's "cloak", "shawl", "gloves" and "hat") for protection? It is also not up for debate whether the character of Porphyria suffered the said condition or not. What is notable here is that this malady, that shares the name of the

woman who "shut the cold out and the storm" (Browning 7) for her lover, whose "blue eyes [laughed] without a stain" (Browning 45) and whose "rosy little head [was] smiling" (Browning 52) as she was being strangled to death, manifests itself through certain mental disorders too, some of which are depression and hysteria, the symptoms of which can also be seen in the character of Porphyria, as the close reader can note. An unintended but, nonetheless, striking connection between the woman who comforts a "heart fit to break" (Browning 5), "blaze(s) up" (Browning 9) the cottage and then quite abnormally gives in to death, and a disease named after her with similar mental conditions entailed as symptoms gives us a head start into a detailed analysis of her character. If it was not Porphyria that Porphyria suffered from, it was definitely something like it: something that brought on hopelessness, rendered her thinking faculties limp, her mind numb and her otherwise "glid[ing]", "kneel[ing]" and "blaz[ing]" self unresponsive in the face of death.

It is established that Robert Browning was a poet of merit and it has been explained why. Critics have long sat with a hermeneutic microscope in their hands and been reading between his lines through it, discovering newer ways and methods by which his poetry is impactful. For a poet of his stature, the more is learned the less is known. The very open-endedness which makes his poetry great demands further fulfillment. The Psychoanalytic tradition and the work of Robert Browning have been walking hand-in-hand since his poems came to be. Critics have worked on and off on both, the reasons why Browning writes unusual characters and his portrayal of women in his poems. A plethora of work is done on the monologues, especially on a few renowned works like *The Last Duchess*, *Andrea Del Sarto* and *Porphyria's Lover*. While most of the critics closely read the dynamics of the mad men's minds and their psychologies in the poems, rarely any attention is paid to the subjects of their monologues, as to how their presence in the scenes came to be, how it fits in the scenes and why it fits the way it does.

We may not have direct dialogues by the subjects of said monologues, but their actions are capable of speaking louder than the words of men who speak in their absence. Despite his disagreement with Annie E. Ireland's argument, Harold Bloom writes that her article on "Browning's Types of

Womanhood" is "unusual" as it discusses not his "skill in the general depiction of character but specifically...his ability to portray women in his poetry" (50), which tells us that insight into the actions of Browning's women may not be as common despite them being in the same Madhouse Cells as the men who speak, as it is in the case of *Porphyria's Lover*.

It has been proven that Porphyria's lover was a megalomaniac, was defensive (Sutton 289), had the saviour complex (Christ 398), belonged to a lower class than her (Maenhout 28), possessed the typical male gaze (Knoepfmacher 142) and whatnot. But, when it comes to Porphyria, little more than the obvious claim of her objectification and reduction to a source of gratification is made.

The few works that do not deal with Porphyria's lover's treatment of her, claim that it was either an inclination towards erotic asphyxiation that explains her unprotested strangling or the wish of her lonely upper-class self to be loved by someone more humble. I argue against these common hypotheses, and explain her condition through the model of the Medusa Complex. The term originally coined by Gaston Bachelard, psychologist Marion Woodman conducts a Jungian analysis of it in her book *Addiction to Perfection: the Still Unravished Bride: a Psychological Study* to expand on the fight between the "social and the personal" and the resulting burnout that tends to freeze its subjects. I argue that Porphyria was superimposed with a plethora of standards to stand up to—the gaze of the Other constantly on her—while her primitive and more personal desires fought to be fulfilled, resulting in the temporary stupefaction of her senses: her metaphorical death by asphyxiation.

I hypothesize that Porphyria was not her normal self or in her right mind in the events that take place in the poem; instead, she was fighting a mental battle all the while, the culmination of which is represented by her death in the poem; that she had what some psychologists and researchers call The Medusa Complex.

The Medusa complex is an informal symbolic name that is sometimes used by psychologists for better understanding of the cleft between "the head and the body", the psychopathology of "affections and emotions, petrified expression of anger that has not been processed, . . . defense mechanisms of isolation

of affect." etc. It is called The Medusa Complex not because the subject freezes as a result of cancelling opposites—which may seem like the case upon initial reading of the terminology in relation with the poem, but because of who those opposites are symbolized by and how they came to be.

The term Medusa Complex can be properly explained by breaking down the dynamics of the original mythological symbols that stand for the mental states in discussion. Athena, firstly, the goddess of War, turned the beautiful maiden Medusa into a snake-haired Gorgon, is symbolic of the rational, superego-tistic side of us, the one that gives a just, calculated judgment. Medusa, on the other hand, turns one man after another into stone without ever having her thirst quenched, is symbolic of the irrational, wild, id-like streak that exists in us.

According to the myth, notably, Athena punished Medusa for seducing Poseidon in her temple and breaking her vow of celibacy. Hence, Medusa was always the one who wanted more than what belonged to her, and Athena only did justice by penalizing a wrongful act. As Mento and Settineri put it in their paper 'The Medusa Complex: The head separated from the body in the psychopathology of negative affects', "The unconscious seduction is punished by the element of rational Athena" (2). But, even after she is cursed by Athena, Medusa continues to haunt men and take lives, making it near to impossible for anyone to come close to her, let alone slay her. This persistence in fight is symbolic of the back and forth interplay of a person's conscious and unconscious desires; Athena curses, but Medusa persists in the form of a continuous fight. The interplay is furthered by more just, heroic figures trying their hand at beheading Medusa, most of whom failed, and when Perseus did succeed, Medusa's head is still believed to be used to turn the Kraken into stone to save the life of Andromeda, symbolizing lack of an end to the cycle of interaction among the opposing forces. The human psyche, psychologists like Marion Woodman like to say, works just like that: we push behind our seducing desires which then fight our law-abiding faculties which then try to keep up the fight only to lose all over again. All of this keeps going on endlessly, and the loop only breaks when an event of a high magnitude disturbs the natural continuity of it all. The nature of this "event" is also what will be pointed out in the instance of Porphyria and her lover as we go along

to dissect the poem in the following paragraphs.

In order to effectively comprehend and take the analogy of Athena and Medusa into consideration, although, we have to keep aside the alternate myth that states that Medusa was raped by Poseidon, that she did not seduce him and that she was finally slain by Perseus for the rescue of Andromeda. It is only the ping pong effect of the condition between the Gorgon and the Goddess and the heroes that we are concerned with, because it is representative of what hypothetically went on in the mind of Porphyria.

All the action performed by Porphyria made up all the action performed by anyone in the monologue—the lover did not move at all: this compulsiveness on her part to be everywhere and do everything for everyone is one facet of the complex that resulted in her paralysis. The other facet is her need and wish to be at rest and not pander to the expectations and desires of the social institutions of which she is a part but be by herself and for herself. But, as Marion Woodman puts it in her book *Addiction to Perfection: The Still Unravished Bride*, there is an "outbreak of chaos as soon as the daily routine is completed" (12) for people obsessively going about life to ignore the reality of it and of themselves. People, especially women, have a snake-haired Gorgon in them who is constantly "reaching, reaching, reaching, wanting more and more and more." (Woodman 9) out of life, and so they find things to attach themselves to. This is how addictions and compulsive behaviors come into being.

Porphyria enters the poem and the cottage in the very beginning of the poem after a good four lines have described the storm which "tore the elm-tops down for spite, / And did its worst to vex the lake" (Browning 3-4) to set the scene of her arrival marked by a natural rush, a rapid occurrence of uncontrollable phenomenon taking place one after another at their own will and pace, waiting for no man. The weather in the beginning of the poem has often been associated with Porphyria being "dominant" and "heroic" (Sinha 74) for she is the one who "shut the cold out and the storm," (Browning 7) but this same dominance and heroism could be taken as an attempt to overcompensate for her lack of power in other matters of life that may or may not have taken place outside the cottage before she entered it, matters like the storm itself.

Moreover, shutting a storm out is not a small feat; it is an image that speaks of herculean or, in this cases, Perseus-like, capabilities, and surely a mere mortal soaked wet could only "shut out a storm" when they are trying to prove a point to either themselves or someone watching. Their action can be taken as "a symbol of a previous fault fixing" (Mento and Settineri 7). This overcompensation, Marion Woodman writes, is due to dissatisfaction with one's own present state (121) and compels one to do what would get them closest to the desired state of perfection against their faults. Note here that efforts are made to get close to the perfect, desired state but the perfection is not reached, for it is not humanly possible to be both, Athena and Medusa. The most one can do is try to behead the latter.

As Gribble puts it, "a succession of tasks must be performed before Porphyria can sit down by her lover and call his name" (26) and calls it a pattern by which "desire is deflected and denatured" (27). The same dominant Porphyria then "kneeled" to make "the cheerless grate / Blaze up, and all the cottage warm" (Browning 8-9) which shows the "social dutifulness that separates her from him" (Gribble 26) and the "institutional surveillance operating on desire" (Gribble 31) which has shaped her wants to fit the social frame of dutifulness. If the cottage was the opposite of warm, was then the lover lying in cold all the while? If yes, why did he, a warm-blooded human after all, not light up the fire for himself, let alone Porphyria, as a humane if not romantic gesture, who he knew would be coming in from a storm? It was she who, after dealing with people outside the house, facing a storm, gliding in despite it and shutting it out, knelt down to light a fire. She then withdrew "from her form" (Browning 10) the soaked clothes. One would think that her lover would at least get up to help her with the cloak and shawl and do the due diligence i.e. ask her if all is well or if she would like something warmer. When called, "no voice replied" (Browning 15) and so she took it upon herself to do what followed. All of this inaction could simply be taken as the idle mood of the lover or any other reason, but the sheer contrast of action in all spheres executed by Porphyria can easily mean this: she has taken it upon herself to be the responsible one, to take care of everything everywhere. "Porphyria conforms herself to the contemporary comfort-giving ideal of womanhood" (Gribble 27). The compulsion to do everything and fix all that needs fixing is a behavior close to obsession, and how does an obsessive person, or woman in this case, fare in a society where

their actions are either not valued by those most close to them or seen as unimportant in the face of the big picture i.e. the world outside the cottage? How do rationality and perfection go about and function in an environment that has varying values at play, where their existence is constantly questioned and their need contested?

As we see, on the other hand, there is the lover: a symbol of Porphyria's more irrational, non-conforming self who breaks rules away from the eyes of people and hides in cottages with her lover. Gribble calls it her "preparedness to compromise herself by the indulgence of "struggling passion"" (27). It is theorized by Ross that Porphyria belonged to the upper class and her lover from a lower class: their relationship being a menial thing to Porphyria, only an escape from the keeping up of a societal facade, while it meant more to her lover. If that is taken to be true, it can be safely said that Porphyria's lover was, actually, representative of her more irrational, untamed side—of which he was a tool—that did not care for the rules of the society and needed to indulge in sins of the soul. At the same time, her "feast" and life outside home, or "cottage" at least, was, like Ross puts it, the opposite of her baser self i.e. composed, conforming and disciplined. The theory of their class difference presents a possible reason behind the sharp contrast of their behaviours. Her compulsivity could be due to the shame felt in resorting to a means of pleasure. Despite all her need to stick to the rules set by society, be everywhere and achieve perfection in all her actions, there is more that Porphyria needs from her lived experiences and, to add to the questions posed above, how do perfection and the need to exist in spite of it exist in the spirit of the same person? What happens to the rope when it is pulled with great force from both ends?

The "cold outside world and a warm interior" and the fact that "the vermilion dye of porphyry is obtained by pulverizing ("porphyρίζing") a hard red shell or equally hard red slab of rock" that Knoepfelmacher points out (151) also corresponds to the two types of behaviours we are concerned with. It should be noted that while Porphyria's rational side works compulsively, her secretive side functions in sheer contrast i.e. the warmth inside is tripled by the fire she lights, her long hair and the arms of her lover. The anxiety of perfection that she strives for as opposed to the peaceful state of comfort that she yearns for, "moral and market values" (Gribble 28), are the two opposites that are

constantly at war with each other, losing in the mid the normality and humanness of Porphyria.

The clash between the storm-shutting, cottage-blazing, compulsive and rational Porphyria and her sinning, looking-for-simple-pleasure, wilder self is made clear. While talking about Medusa as the representation of the darkest impulses of the psyche, Mento and Settineri also talk about its ability to paralyse and "annihilate the will" (7) which is what happens to one suffering from depression.

The causes of depression are multifarious and its symptoms sometimes resemble that of a burnout (Depression: What is burnout?) such as feeling down and experiencing reduced performance. After continuously working for others and ignoring her own health and well-being in the process, Porphyria, when faced with a moment of deep comfort and rest, gave in to it. She was "Too weak, for all her heart's endeavour, / To set its struggling passion free" (Browning 22-23), that "passion" could be her compulsiveness to get everything done. Her lover saying "That moment she was mine, mine, fair," (Browning 36) could be her final, unconscious, decision of staying where she was; her ego felt in that moment a strong pull from the passionate side and that which only wished to lie there and, as a result, could do neither but, instead, gave up in the moment. "Triumph, and a sardonic recognition of futility, jostle for space" (Gribble 12) as Porphyria rests between extremes, frozen, immobile. The narration of the lover dictates Porphyria's intentions, her desires and her emotions while her actions throughout the poem tell a different story

"As a shut bud that holds a bee" (Browning 43) she rested, without a worry of what went on in the garden, and "Laughed the blue eyes without a stain" (Browning 45) as the burden of here and there, or work and play, or mind and heart vanished in that moment. "...all it scorned at once is fled," (Browning 54) and all night long she has "not stirred" (Browning 59) for she is finally catching her breath in the scary face of the incapability of doing anything else. Even if she wished, she could not move, for in the battle that went on in her mind, the swords had struck the final blow in the fight to decide upon the supremacy of one force over another. As a result of that blow, neither of the forces won, and the body controlled by said mind froze. The stasis that is the end of the poem is not simply her physical death, but the final surrender of her ego. It is the ultimate

burnout. As a result of the constant clash between herself, her wishes and the gaze of the Other on her, her ego threw all the weapons in a ditch and lay down defenseless for anyone from either side to trample over her as they please.

What is seen in the poem could be the beginning of depression; clear signs of exhaustion and reduced performance already present can turn into any number of prolonged symptoms post-narrative. This state of stasis Mento and Settineri call "the fall of the head of Medusa," which is marked by "the forces of disintegration of personality and a total slavery" (8). That is, in trying to balance the expectations of the people around us and our own wishes, what Gribble calls "social constraints and libidinous energies" (20), we sometimes end up doing neither due to the extremity of the confusion: the stupefaction of the ego takes place instead.

Gribble writes that "God progressively absents himself in nineteenth century discourse, this is perhaps because the religious function is being usurped by the", note here what she calls, "power of other discourses operating on social experience." Times were changing; it was the same century in which Sigmund Freud produced his major works in an effort to explain the workings of the human mind, and his tripartite model of consciousness, too, spoke of id, the pleasure principle, and superego, the reality principle. Dramatic social and psychological changes and discoveries can then be traced in the work of a poet who was, himself, known to explore the mind of man.

It is true that every action has an equal and opposite reaction and what can also be taken to be true is that some actions oppose themselves and the reaction is often a lack. When constant efforts find halt in the form of inaction, there is almost always an explanation behind the inaction. In the case of Porphyria and all the characters like her that exist fictionally (Ophelia, of Hamlet, for example) and in real life, the explanation usually resembles the one shared here: action usually stops not because the subject is exhausted, but because the subject does not have any other recourse other than being exhausted. It is the finality and the sharpness of the reaction that makes one rethink the nature of the action, much like the rethinking of Porphyria's actions and all the action not performed by her lover in the beginning, at least, for the reader very well knows how our protagonist's inaction in the end of the narration came to be.

To conclude, Porphyria—the pliant Porphyria, could neither suffer in the hell that are people, and nor could she simmer in the fountains of her personal heaven without feeling guilt coming from within herself; the struggle that went on in her head that had her give in quietly to a fatal embrace ended in a deafening silence of her soul. The constant choosing and doing, the picking between right and

wrong, society and personality, will and wishes ended in a stark state of darkness where neither of the dualities existed. Porphyria jammed her feet in the quicksand of purgatory, not being able and not wanting to enter heaven or hell, ready to be taken in and transported anywhere but away from the burden that is choice. She gave in and she gave up.

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RESEARCH PAPERS FROM CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

LEGITIMIZING A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP: THE REFERENDUMS AND GENERAL ELECTIONS OF AYUB

Muhammad Ammar

When a dictator begins to lose legitimacy, they try framing themselves as democrats. This paper explores how two military dictators in Pakistan—Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq—attempted to strategically use the electoral process to legitimize their regimes. Guided by Carl J. Friedrich's definition of legitimacy, the paper comparatively analyzes Ayub Khan's 1960 referendum and 1965 elections as well as Zia ul Haq's 1984 referendum and 1985 elections. This is done by contextualizing the regimes' desperations for legitimacy that led to the referendum/elections, narrating the events of the polling exercise and then evaluating how it affected public perceptions of legitimacy and, in turn, the power of the two leaders. Accordingly, the paper relies on primary sources (interviews, newspaper articles and speeches) as well as secondary sources (research papers, journals and books) to provide a broader understanding of the two leaders' electoral maneuvers. Ultimately, the paper concludes that both Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq failed to legitimize their rules through their manipulated referendums and general elections; however, Ayub Khan was able to maintain a firmer control of state affairs during this process than Zia ul Haq.

Keywords: politics, military, Pakistan, legitimacy, elections

Introduction:

In just over eleven years after independence from the British in 1947, Pakistan was governed by four heads of states and seven prime ministers. In the following eleven years, it was ruled by one president, Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, who spearheaded Pakistan's first coup d'état and imposed the country's first martial law in October 1958¹. Eight years after his resignation due to social

and political unrest, a cluster of high-ranking army generals led by General Zia ul Haq dislodged the civilian government of the populist Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, suspended the constitution and declared martial law again². While Zia assumed power as a "reluctant coup-maker" promising to hold elections within 90 days, he went on to serve for a record eleven years as Pakistan's longest serving ruler before his mysterious death in 1988³.

It is interesting to see how military administrators in Pakistan have been able to rule a nation with such strong cultural diversity and political sentiments for decades. While researchers often individually discuss the policies of Pakistan's military rulers and their socio-economic impacts, this exploration aims to comparatively analyze how Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq tried to deal with perhaps the most pertinent threat to military rulers anywhere in the world: the dilemma of legitimacy.

In an interview with Roedad Khan, a senior bureaucrat during the two regimes, he explained that a lack of legitimacy was the single most significant factor threatening both rulers. Both rulers were "painfully aware" of how they were, at the end of the day, "usurpers", and hence were ultimately "bound to fail, bound to be thrown out"⁴. For military rulers, as argued by political theorist Robert A. Dahl, "an indispensable ingredient for their legitimacy is a dash or two of the language of democracy"⁵.

As a critical part of their attempts towards legitimacy, both Zia and Ayub had, similar to other military rulers in Asia and the Pacific like Bangladesh's General Ziaur Rahman, stressed on how their rules were a "transitory (but entirely necessary) stage along the road to a fully democratic political system"⁶. To this end, Ayub

¹Wayne Wilcox, "Pakistan: A Decade of Ayub", *Asian Survey* 9, no. 2 (1969)

²Shahid Javed Burki, "Pakistan under Zia, 1977-1988", *Asian Survey* 28, no. 10 (1988)

³Masood Akhtar Zahid, "Dictatorship in Pakistan: A Study of the Zia Era", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXII, No.1 (2011)

⁴Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

⁵Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁶May, R.J., Stephanie Lawson, and Viberto Selochan. "INTRODUCTION: DEMOCRACY AND THE MILITARY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE." In *The Military and Democracy in Asia and the Pacific*, edited by R.J. May and Viberto Selochan, 1-28. ANU Press, 2004.

devised a system of indirect elections, called Basic Democracies, which he strategically used to achieve victory in both the 1960 referendum and the 1965 elections, while Zia capitalized on prevalent religious sentiments, using his Islamization program to be reinstated for a further five years in the 1984 referendum, and then installing the Prime Minister of his choice in the 1985 elections.

In this paper, I examine how both rulers attempted to use the power of the polls to their advantage, by conducting referendums and general elections that would provide legitimacy for their governments without compromising their control over state affairs. In doing so, I comparatively analyze the events leading up to and after Ayub Khan's 1960 referendum and 1965 elections as well as Zia ul Haq's 1984 referendum and 1985 elections to evaluate their impact in legitimizing the two regimes.

Methodology

The methodology of this essay draws upon both primary and secondary sources. As part of primary research, I conducted two in-depth interviews: one with Dr. Rasul Bakhs Raisani, an award-winning author and a professor of Political Science at the Lahore University of Management Sciences, and another with Mr. Roedad Khan, a retired civil servant of Pakistan who occupied senior positions in the bureaucracy under six different heads of state, including both Ayub and Zia. Combining factual historical narratives, public perceptions about both rulers' actions and their informed opinions about the motives of the rulers' moves, both individuals thoroughly discussed the economic, socio-political and ideological differences of Ayub and Zia's regimes as well as the tactics of legitimacy they used to garner stability.

Apart from these interviews, I also examine primary sources such as newspaper articles and speeches to gain a better understanding of the climate around the referendums and general elections, such as by looking at documented polling figures and turnout rates as well as by analyzing direct quotations from both leaders.

In terms of secondary sources, I use research

papers, journals, books and newspaper articles to evaluate the success of both leaders by gauging public perceptions and analyzing historians' informed perspectives on the referendums and general elections. I also draw upon theoretical literature to explore the definition of legitimacy that guides this paper.

What is Legitimacy?

Legitimacy matters. In addition to being a central concept in political science and a question that almost all political philosophers have to grapple with, it also embodies "a fundamental process that is basic to social organization" as a whole.⁷ But there are significant theoretical and methodological differences between what scholars mean when they refer to legitimacy.

Weber famously classifies legitimacy in sociological terms as a subcategory of domination, noting the most stable form of order is one which "enjoys the prestige of being considered binding", a trait he classified under the banner of "legitimacy"⁸. This paper's notion of legitimacy is guided, however, by Friedrich who offers a much clearer definition of legitimacy. In his view, the "question of legitimacy" is the "question of fact whether a given rulership is believed to be based on good title by most men subject to it [*italics mine*]".⁹ Friedrich adds to his definition by asserting that legitimacy does not always equal legality; it is more a 'question of fact' than a question of law. Moreover, as Stillman elaborates, the phrase 'believed to be based' signals that legitimacy is judged by the "opinions or feelings of men" or, to put it another way, in the court of public perception.¹⁰ This court is determined by the beliefs of 'most men' (a majority opinion) and consults only men 'subject to' the rule. Furthermore, Stillman explains a title as "the reasons for or justifications of the ruler's ascension to and continuation in rulership" — such a title is considered good when it is "congruent with the beliefs of most men".¹¹

Barring their androcentric language, the characteristics of Friedrich's notion of legitimacy are especially important in defining the legitimacy this paper discusses. Since it deals with military rulers who rose to power through unconstitutional and, by exten-

⁷Morris Jr. Zelditch, "Theories of legitimacy." In *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Inter-group Relations*, ed. J. Jost, B. Major (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 33-53.

⁸Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, eds G. Roth and C. Wittich (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), 3 vols., vol. I, p. 212.

Carl Friedrich, *Man and His Government* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), 234.

⁹Peter G. Stillman, "The Concept of Legitimacy." *Polity* 7, no. 1 (1974): 34.

¹⁰Stillman, "Legitimacy", 34.

¹¹Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

sion, illegal means, the distinction between legality and legitimacy is an important one, since the two rulers were more focused on establishing a 'good title' to extend their reign than attempting to legalize it. Furthermore, the emphases on public perception and majority opinions of those who are 'subject to [the rule]' are also especially important, since the legitimacy that the rulers derived from referendums and general elections is ultimately determined by the views of the electorate and not of any other external actor.

Zia ul Haq and Ayub Khan: Legitimate Leaders or Military 'Usurpers'?

Both Zia ul Haq and Ayub Khan rose to power by the strength of their uniform and not of the ballot box; they did not enjoy the legitimacy of being lawfully chosen representatives.¹² Therefore, both the leaders presented the same rationale as a justification for their takeovers: that the intervention of the military in state affairs was the need of the hour to save the country from a plunge into chaos and anarchy.¹³ As Marcinkowska observes, both leaders were fully aware of the inevitability of failure of an illegitimate regime, and had risen to power by capitalizing on the public's skepticism about elected leaders and propagating the illusion that their takeover is a temporary phase in the country's transition towards a democratic system where free and fair elections would be held to respect the opinions of the public.¹⁴ Following Marcinkowska's observation, it is fair to say that both the leaders set out to try and legitimize their rules through manipulated electoral exercises with the dual purpose of securing the consent of the masses and, simultaneously, maintaining a firm grip over the state machinery.

Contrasting the two rules, Dr. Rasul notes how Ayub tried to legitimize his rule with reference to the secular notions of stability and modernity, but Zia, being a far-right pan-Islamist leader, legitimized his rule with reference to his Islamization program, harnessing the strength of Pakistan's "strong religious constituency".¹⁵ Yet while both leaders existed at two ends of the political spectrum and differed

ideologically, their strategies to gain legitimacy still bear remarkable similarities.

The Referendums of 1960 and 1984

Evident in Zia's defensive remarks of being "as legitimate as anyone else" in a press conference before the referendum and Ayub's premature reassurances of respecting "the wishes and desires of the people", the illegitimacy of the two rules was as glaringly obvious to the leaders as it was to the public.¹⁶ Both leaders recognized the need to seek, or create the illusion of seeking, public consent for governance in the form of a vote-of-confidence. These referendums were an attempt by the two leaders to seek a "good title" for their personal authority so that they could consolidate their own power before they stepped towards the sham elections that they would later hold.

Unlike Zia, who made little effort to conceal the source of his strength, Ayub wanted history to view him as a political reformer and a democrat rather than an authoritarian military dictator.¹⁷ He rejected calls of direct elections by universal adult franchise on the premise that voters could not resist the temptation of bribery and only millionaires would dare contest elections, while adding that: "[...] at the same time we cannot divorce the broad mass of the people from the affairs of the state."¹⁸ Rejecting direct democracy, Ayub implemented a new indirect electoral system of Basic Democracy, where he divided the country into 80,000 tiny constituencies divided equally between West and East Pakistan: "bodies of men which represent the people and are in close touch with them so that the functions of rural development, social welfare, and national reconstruction can be carried out."¹⁹ This was the birth of a system of indirect elections in Pakistan, which Ayub used to attempt to seek public validation through a vote of confidence on 14 February 1960. As expected from an election run by a dictator, the result was very one-sided: an overwhelming majority of Basic Democrats (95.6%) expressed confidence in the Presidency of Ayub.²⁰

¹²Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

¹³Grażyna Marcinkowska, "Military Coups D'état in Pakistan: Reasons, Execution and Methods of Legitimization", *Politeja*, No. 10/2 (2008): 149-182

¹⁴Rasul Bakhsh Rais, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 2)

¹⁵Pakistan Times Overseas Weekly, December 16, 1984, p. 3; The Editorial Staff, *Dawn* (Karachi), 2 December 1958

¹⁶Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

¹⁷D. N. Wilber, *Pakistan: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*, (New Haven: H.R.A.F., 1964), 25; Altaf Gauhar, "Pakistan: Ayub Khan's Abdication",

¹⁸Third World Quarterly 7, no. 1 (1985): 102-31

¹⁹Embassy of Pakistan, "BASIC DEMOCRACIES TO BE ESTABLISHED", *Pakistan Affairs* 12, no. 10 (May 15, 1959), p.4

²⁰Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2

Similarly, Zia announced a national referendum on December 19, 1984, explaining in a television address how people would be asked simply if they supported the "Islamic ideology of Pakistan" and the government efforts for the "Islamization" of all laws.²¹ The misleading nature of the referendum, however, was evident in how a yes vote to Islamization would be translated as a vote of confidence in Zia, electing him as President for a further five years. Despite his claims of basing the referendum on the "principles of free and fair elections", it was unsurprisingly a "rather one-sided affair" similar to Ayub's referendum.²² The official tally, which stated a turnout rate of 60% where 97.7% of valid votes had been positive, was challenged by both opposition leaders, who claimed a turnout rate of between five and ten percent, and independent observers such as the Washington Post, who reported major voting irregularities and questioned whether the turnout had exceeded even 30%.²³ At the time, the poet Habib Jalib wrote this couplet of the voting climate: "shahr meñ hū kā aalam thā / jin thā yā referendum thā. [There was an air of solitude in the city / It was either a ghost or the referendum]".²⁴

Some believed that if Ayub had conducted the referendum based on the universal suffrage of an adult franchise similar to the methodology employed by Zia, rather than in the form of indirect election through 80,000 Basic Democrats, Ayub would have still received a majority vote.²⁵ Altaf Gauhar, a senior bureaucrat, commented how in a referendum under universal suffrage, "a majority of the voters would probably have expressed confidence in [Ayub Khan], given him a popular mandate and relieved him of his anxiety about legitimacy."²⁶ While the impartiality of Gauhar's claim is questionable as he was a close aide of Ayub Khan, the leader's decision nevertheless signified his desire to play his cards safe. Zia was able to do the same by the tricky nature of the question posed, where a 'no' to Zia essentially meant a 'no' to Islamization. As the Economist dubbed it, it was "a heads I win, tails you lose referendum".²⁷

But how successful were both these overwhelmingly state-manipulated exercises in legitimizing the two leaders' military rules?

In Zia's case, despite the absence of transparent voting figures of the turnout rate and the referendum results, critics highly dispute the claim that the referendum allowed Zia to redeem himself and secure the willful consent of the governed, and argue conversely that in many cases the referendum proved counter-intuitive. Zahid's claim that the "exaggerated [referendum] results tarnished the presidency and its incumbent" is reinforced by the public discontentment around the Hobson's choice they had been presented with, evident in how some voters marked the yes column of their ballots "Islam yes" and the no column "Zia no", and subsequently had their votes declared invalid.²⁸ For most of the country, the day held no significance and there seemed to be no point in casting a vote. To call upon Jalib as a voice of the people again: "din unnīs december kā / be-ma.anī be-haṅgam thā [The day of 19th December / Was meaningless and unexciting]".²⁹

For Ayub, too, the establishment of the Basic Democracy system and the indirect elections carried out were, as Kundi remarked, "[a] quest for the legitimacy of his rule which he could not afford otherwise."³⁰ Since Ayub's declared purpose of the political framework was political education, as he believed that "such important issues should not be left to the people", the design of the system received some praise from external observers; Tinker, for example, found the ideology of the system to be "genuinely revolutionary" in the rejection of the Western dogma of a parliamentary party system.³¹ But in reality, the system only strengthened the power of the wealthy feudal elite who "benefitted hugely from state patronage" and helped Ayub bypass senior political leaders through a system "that was ideally suited to bureaucratic control and manipulation".³² The "revolutionary" system had become "an easy prey to bribe and

²¹The Editorial Staff, Pakistan Times Overseas Weekly, December 9, 1984, 1, 3.

²²William L. Richter, Pakistan in 1984: Digging in, Asian Survey 25, no. 2 (1985)

²³William L. Richter, Pakistan in 1984: Digging in, Asian Survey 25, no. 2 (1985); The Editorial Staff, Washington Post, December 20, 1984, p. A-31

²⁴<https://www.rekhta.org/nazms/referendum-shahr-men-huu-kaa-aalam-thaa-habib-jalib-nazms>

²⁵Altaf Gauhar, "Pakistan: Ayub Khan's Abdication", Third World Quarterly 7, no. 1 (1985), p.102-31

²⁶ibid.

²⁷The Editorial Staff, The Economist, December 8, 1984

²⁸The Editorial Staff, Indian Express, December 21, 1984, p.1

²⁹Habib Jalib, "Referendum" [Translation by Author], <https://www.rekhta.org/nazms/referendum-shahr-men-huu-kaa-aalam-thaa-habib-jalib-nazms>

³⁰Mansoor Akber Kundi, Militarism in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan, Pakistan Horizon 56, no. 1 (2003)

³¹Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1); Arif Hussain, "Inside Pakistan: An Assessment of President Ayub Khan", The World Today, vol. 23, no. 8, 1967, pp. 339-347

³²Kunal Mukherjee, "Ayub Khan's Basic Democracy and Political Continuity in Contemporary Pakistan." India Quarterly 72, no. 3 (2016): 268-77. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48505506>.

corruption" – the same evils it had meant to tackle.³³ In short, the Basic Democracy system was "neither basic nor democratic", as Paul remarked, and instead symbolized a "top-down model designed by the military and its chief so that real democratic forces would not emerge as a challenge to the garrison state."³⁴

While the referendums in practicality were very similar due to their undemocratic nature, they affected both leaders differently. In Zia's case, the referendum became a subject for comics, with Zia's own political ally Pir Pagaro humorously attributing the high turnout to "voting by angels".³⁵ Despite Zia's attempts to justify the question posed in the referendum by denying that he had asked for a vote on Islam, but on his government's services for Islam, it was an open secret that the referendum was another attempt by Zia to use the banner of Islam to consolidate his own political position. Dr. Rasul attributed his ideology to "political interests" and Roedad Khan termed Zia the first military leader "who realized that he must have his own constituency" and hence "made full use of Islam".³⁶ Zia's referendum, therefore, accomplished little more than having exposed his desperation in covering the illegitimacy of his reign under the banner of Islam.

Ayub, however, followed his referendum with a range of skillful political maneuvers aimed at consolidating his power. To subdue political elites who may have posed resistance or opposition to his regime, he enacted the "Public Offices Disqualification Order and Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order", which allowed him the power to dismiss whichever politician he deemed 'corrupt' for seven years.³⁷ This enabled him to govern with virtually no political opposition for the first six years of his reign, having "inhibited political activity" through the "firm policies of the Government and the disarray of the opposition grouping".³⁸ Ayub's rule started to become increasingly paternalistic as the state

"eschewed the language of public participation in the name of nationalism", establishing what Waseem termed a "cult of unity".³⁹

By combining his referendum with such maneuvers, Ayub was successful, to a great extent, in fostering an environment conducive to his rule in a fashion that Zia was unable to replicate. Hostile criticism from political parties and the general public was eventually minimized, and at times even rendered ineffective. While it is controversial whether the people of Pakistan welcomed Ayub's move towards Basic Democracies or not — Alavi asserts that the "system was universally hated due to its oppressive nature" while, on the contrary, Saikia believes that an "overwhelming majority supported the referendum" — the absence of a strong resistance movement against the referendum means that any feelings of resentment stayed latent and did not translate into mass mobilization until the end of the decade.⁴⁰ Therefore, Ayub was able to use the political climate after his referendum to strengthen his grip over the state machinery and start creating the illusion of a "good title" before the country moved towards the general elections of 1965.

The General Elections of 1965 and 1985

Ayub, in his rise to power, had promised democratic elections by declaring that "When the time comes, your opinion will be freely asked", having conveniently added that "events alone can tell" when that time would be.⁴¹ In a political déjà vu for Pakistanis, Zia, too, tried to present his military takeover as a 90-day transitory period before general elections would be held in October 1977, declaring in his maiden speech that "only democracy can save the nation" and promising to not "dissipate [his powers] on anything else".⁴² But the crisis of legitimacy was ever present and "pricked Zia as much as it had pricked Ayub".⁴³

Long overdue, in 1965, Ayub held the first presidential

³³Arif Hussain, "Inside Pakistan: An Assessment of President Ayub Khan", *The World Today*, vol. 23, no. 8, 1967, pp. 339–347

³⁴T. V. Paul, *The warrior state: Pakistan in the contemporary world*, (Gurgaon: Random House India, 2014): 75.

³⁵Masood Akhtar Zahid, "Dictatorship in Pakistan: A Study of the Zia Era", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXII, No.1 (2011)

³⁶Interview to Hussain Haqqani, 7 December 1984, "President of Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq's Interview to Foreign Media", Vol. III, Jan-Dec 1984, (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan), pp. 275-81; Rasul Bakhsh Rais, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 2); Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

³⁷W. M. Dobell, "Ayub Khan as President of Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs* 42, no. 3 (1969)

³⁸Norman D. Palmer, "New Directions for Pakistan," *Current History*, February 1964

³⁹Waseem, M. (1989). *Politics and the state in Pakistan*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 164-165.

⁴⁰Alavi, H. (1983). *The state in crisis*. In H. Gardezi & J. Rashid (Eds), *Pakistan: The roots of dictatorship: The political economy of a praetorian state* (pp. 40–93). London: Zed Press; Saikia, Y. (2014). *Ayub Khan and modern Islam: Transforming citizens and the nation in Pakistan*. South Asia: *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 37(2), 292–305.

⁴¹Mansoor Akber Kundi, "Militarism in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan", *Pakistan Horizon* 56, no. 1 (2003).

⁴²Grażyna Marcinkowska, "Military Coups D'état in Pakistan: Reasons, Execution and Methods of Legitimization", *Politeja*, No. 10/2 (2008), pp. 149-182; *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 6 July 1977.

⁴³Zahid, "Dictatorship in Pakistan", 18.

elections of Pakistan under the same system of Basic Democracy, or indirect elections. The elections saw Ayub's political strength challenged by a united opposition led by the sister of Pakistan's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah, whose emotional appeal to Pakistan's masses "had remained unabated since independence in 1947".⁴⁴

Similarly, having promised elections within ninety days of his takeover, the party-less elections Zia held also came after eight and a half years in the spring of 1985, aiming to politically isolate the dominant Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and populate the National Assembly with "political lightweights", while retaining his seat as the President.⁴⁵

Ayub was able to secure the Presidency with a decent majority of 62.7%, which strengthened his self-portrayal of a democratically elected President ruling by the will of the masses and not a military leader ruling by force.⁴⁶ Zia also succeeded in being able to appoint a candidate of his choice as the Prime Minister following the 1985 elections, the Sindhi Muhammad Khan Junejo from the Muslim League.⁴⁷

Neither of the two elections, however, were devoid of controversy and allegations of using state machinery to influence election results. Ayub's political opposition repeatedly pressed on the government's unfair regulations before the polls, publishing a "34-page White Paper, listing ten specific charges and demanding a judicial inquiry" and accusing the government of politically motivated "kidnapping, coercion and arrests all over the country" just three days before the elections.⁴⁸ In Zia's 1985 elections too, political parties were greatly agitated by the exclusion of party platforms from the election; while most of them, including the influential Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) chose to boycott the elections, Zia detained almost all the opposition's leaders for the period of elections as a "safety

precaution".⁴⁹ To top it off, election campaigns were severely restricted as candidates were restricted from using loudspeakers, holding public meetings or carrying out processions.⁵⁰

But despite their victories on paper in the polls, were the two military leaders successful in 'legitimizing' their rules through their attempted 'civilianization' and 'democratization'? An analysis of the events that followed both elections may help answer this question.

In Ayub's case, critics believe that despite his electoral victory, Ayub had failed to cultivate public trust in the system of Basic Democracy, with Altaf Gauhar noting how people's loss of faith in the system was "among the first seeds of disenchantment" to spark nineteen weeks of the most widespread urban unrest Pakistan had seen in November 1968, which culminated in Ayub's forced resignation from the Presidency in March 1969 and his re-imposition of martial law.⁵¹ Commenting on Ayub's political ideology, Roedad Khan attributed the agitation of the people of Pakistan, mobilized by the political parties, in 1968 to a rejection of Ayub's political philosophy, as they "saw through" the covert attempts of Ayub to set up a dynasty, rather than a democracy, and hence "threw him out" when given the chance.⁵² But before these mass protests happened, Ayub still enjoyed the same kind of unfettered control over state machinery that he had held before the elections had happened. In this way, although the elections did not consolidate Ayub's position and instead sowed the seeds for his eventual overthrow, they did not challenge his authority in their immediate aftermath.

Zia's fate was worse. The newly elected Prime Minister Junejo confronted Zia ul Haq on their first meeting with an unusual query: "When will you withdraw martial law?"⁵³ Junejo repeated his praise for democracy and criticism for martial law until Zia

⁴⁴Al-Mujahid, "Pakistan's First Presidential Elections", 280.

⁴⁵Zahid, "Dictatorship in Pakistan", 22.

⁴⁶Al-Mujahid, "Pakistan's First Presidential Elections", 292

⁴⁷Babar Ali, "Pakistan: Dim Prospects of Free and Fair Elections", *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, no. 31 (1988), p. 570-572

⁴⁸Al-Mujahid, "Pakistan's First Presidential Elections", 287; *Leader* (Karachi), Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1964, and Jan. 1, 1965; *Dawn*, Dec. 4, 24, 28, 30 and 31, 1964.

⁴⁹Hamid Khan, "Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan", 2001, pp 373

⁵⁰Tahir Kamran, "Politics of Elections and Autocracy in Pakistan: Apprising the Electoral Process during Zia ul Haq's Regime", *Journal of Political Studies* 15 (1), p. 25-39

⁵¹Altaf Gauhar, "Pakistan: Ayub Khan's Abdication", *Third World Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1985), p.102; W. M. Dobell, "Ayub Khan as President of Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs* 42, no. 3 (1969)

⁵²Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

⁵³Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

lifted martial law on 31 December 1985. Accordingly, Zia's grip over the country began to loosen as Junejo began to act independently, taking "his office too seriously", as Roedad Khan put it.⁵⁴ As the army started to feel "sidelined" and "dominated" by the civilian bureaucracy and the democratic setup, Zia exercised his constitutional powers as President, granted by the Eighth Amendment, to dismiss Junejo along with his cabinet on May 29, 1988, promising yet again to hold "fair elections" within 90 days.⁵⁵ Zia's attempt to install civilian rule in Pakistan thus proved to be a "blunder" as Dr. Rasul called it, and an "experiment" that "failed" in Roedad Khan's view, since the legitimacy lent by civilian rule came at the cost of undermining Zia's position as the Head of State and compromising the undisputed powers he once enjoyed.⁵⁶ Zia's political experiment, far from legitimizing his rule in the eyes of the masses, isolated him even more on the public front. At the same time, some political observers characterized the public response to the dismissal as "indifferent", owing to a lack of public support of the Junejo government, since Junejo had been a 'selected' rather than an 'elected' Prime Minister from the start.⁵⁷ The dissolution of the National Assembly though exposed openly Zia's lack of sincerity in his resolve to restore democracy. With his fate to be sealed by an unfortunate plane crash in less than three months, Zia had, towards the end of his rule, "exhausted all of his political cards, including Islam, to legitimize his rule".⁵⁸

Conclusion

Having differed vastly in their political ideologies, both Ayub and Zia had risen to power as a result of military coups and hence employed similar tactics to seek legitimacy for their rules. This paper aimed to comparatively evaluate the success of the leaders' electoral maneuvers — referendums and general elections — in convincing the general public that their rulership was "based in good title" and, simultaneously, in maintaining a firm control of state affairs amidst these measures.

While Ayub's indirect electoral system of Basic Democracies received criticism from historians, his 1960 referendum may have succeeded in adding a touch of legitimacy to his rule. His aggressive political measures following the referendum ensured

that there was no significant reactionary outcry of the public and, more importantly, any legitimacy acquired did not come at the cost of his hold over the country. On the other hand, Zia's 1984 referendum was largely rejected. Zia had tried to create the illusion of giving the people a choice but his low-turnout referendum signaled a lack of confidence in his regime and proved futile in providing his rule with any legitimacy. Yet, in both Ayub and Zia's cases, the referendums had not compromised their control over state affairs.

The two elections, on the other hand, sowed the seeds for both rulers' declines. Ayub's indirect Presidential election provided only short-term stability to his rule, extending it for a few more years. Eventually, his Basic Democracies system failed to secure the public acceptance needed to lastingly relieve him of the title of being a military dictator and large-scale citizen mobilization within three years of the election led to his downfall. The aftermath of Zia's elections was even more disastrous. The exclusion of major political parties and the heavy restrictions on candidates had agitated both the public as well as his opposition and openly exposed the undemocratic nature of the elections. Even though Junejo's public support was also fragmented, Zia's decision to sack him exacerbated the legitimacy crisis, alienating the public more than ever. Clearly, Zia's attempt to install a subservient civilian rule in Pakistan was a political blunder, forcing him to choose between acquiring legitimacy or retaining undisputed powers — a choice that ultimately proved fatal.

To sum up, both Ayub and Zia ultimately failed to legitimize their rules through their undemocratic referendums and general elections. To refer back to the definition of legitimacy outlined earlier, neither of the rulerships were "believed to be based on good title by most men subject to it". At the same time, Ayub's referendum and general elections may be considered more successful, since at least his own power remained relatively uncompromised in the short-term. Zia's crisis of legitimacy, as an active threat to his own power, proved to be more severe; neither his ideology of Islamization nor his flirtation with civilian rule could help overcome it.

⁵⁴Rasul Bakhs Rais, "Pakistan in 1988: From Command to Conciliation Politics", *Asian Survey* 29, no. 2 (1989), p.199-206; Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

⁵⁵Babar Ali, "Pakistan: Dim Prospects of Free and Fair Elections", *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, no. 31 (1988), p.1570-572

⁵⁶Rasul Bakhs Rais, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 2); Roedad Khan, Interview with author, April 2019 (Appendix 1)

⁵⁷Politics of the Power Elite, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 23, No. 26 (Jun. 25, 1988), p. 1302

⁵⁸Rasul Bakhs Rais, "Pakistan in 1988: From Command to Conciliation Politics", *Asian Survey* 29, no. 2 (1989), p.199-206

Evidently, as both these histories make clear, a dictatorship's quest for legitimacy will always be futile unless the regime is prepared to alter its nature to that of a true democracy.

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