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EU COOPERATION WITH CIVIL SOCIETY IN EGYPT: ASSESSING THE NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD CIVIL SOCIETY FACILITY

MS. BASSANT HASSIB[1]

ABSTRACT

In response to the changes triggered by the so-called Arab Spring, the European Commission created a new financial instrument: the Civil Society Facility (CSF). The CSF focuses on direct cooperation with civil society, and also targets the regimes to have a legal framework for and build capacities of civil society organisations. Yet, challenges imposed by the complicated political environment in Egypt – including the legal restrictions for foreign funding to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the weak capacities of NGOs – in addition to the EU's conflicting foreign policies and bureaucracy, placed the effectiveness of the facility into questioning. This paper argues that there is a gap between the objectives of the facility and its implementation in Egypt, thus it did not bring an added value yet.

Key Words: European Union, Egypt, Arab Spring, Civil Society Facility, European Neighbourhood Policy

INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the Arab uprisings, the EU came to the realisation that cooperation with mainly government and pro-government forces is no longer sufficient for a real democratic reform. Instead, it needs to engage with the emerging political actors within the society through dialogue, funding and training (European Commission, 2011a). To translate this into action, Catherine Ashton, then the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR) and head of the newly created EEAS, announced a fundamental revision of the ENP (European Union, 2011). The EU promised greater emphasis on direct cooperation with civil society actors and stronger partnership with people. To this end, the Commission launched the Civil Society Facility in 2011 to focus on direct cooperation with civil society, and also targets the regimes to have a legal framework for and build capacities of civil society organisations (European Commission, 2011b, p. 6; European Commission, 2011c, p. 4)

The CSF is a new ambitious instrument, thought as an effective EU response to the uprisings. It aims at enabling civil society actors to become driving vehicles and major actors in any democratic processes. Yet, many challenges still hinder its effective implementation. This paper identifies a gap between the stated objectives of the facility and its implementation in Egypt, where its effectiveness has been rather restricted. Shortcomings within the EU frameworks, the Egyptian partner institutions and the current political environment, reinforce this gap. This research assesses the new CSF in Egypt, from 2011 until 3 July 2013, in terms of funding levels, degree of complementarity with other EU instruments, areas of focus and implementation of the CSF funded projects, and how it fits within the new political and security environment in post-Mubarak Egypt.

Besides a thorough analysis of official EU and Egyptian documents, plus the academic literature on the topic, this article is based on elite and specialized semi-structured interviews conducted in Brussels and Cairo with EU officials, Egyptian officials, as well as local NGO representatives.

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THE CRISIS OF FOREIGN FUNDING TO CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

During the transitional period under the rule of the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) and the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) until 3 July 2013, a crisis of foreign funding to civil society organizations (CSOs) came up and front. Based on articles 1, 11 and 17 of the Law on NGOs 84/2002 and article 58 of its Executive Statute 178/2002, the Minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Fayza Aboul Naga, announced on 12 July 2011 the formation of a Fact Finding Committee headed by the Minister of Justice to investigate foreign funding of NGOs and unlicensed NGOs operating in Egypt (Carr, 2013). Following that, the Egyptian National Council issued a statement under the title, "No to Foreign Funding…No to Foreign Intervention". In a parallel context, the cabinet announced on 27 July 2011 that it unequivocally opposed foreign funding for CSOs in Egypt and considered such funding to be a form of interference in domestic affairs (Al Marikhi, 2011).

39 Egyptian and foreign organisations were identified of having conducted activities without obtaining a license for such activities and were therefore operating illegally. 28 Egyptian CSOs had received foreign funds from USA and the EU without the authorities' consent. Some foreign organisations working in Egypt were accused of violating article 11 of Law 84/2002, by practicing political activity limited to political parties (Abu El Ezz and Tohamy, 2011). On 29 December 2011, Egyptian security forces raided the offices of six Egyptian and various foreign CSOs including the German Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) (Human Rights Watch, 2011). Later, 43 employees from the National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute, Freedom House, International Center for Journalists, and KAS had been referred to Cairo criminal court (Spencer, 2012). Although the US threatened to withhold $1.55 billion in annual aid to Egypt over the case, Prime Minister Kamal el-Ganzouri stated, "Egypt will not kneel" (quoted in Kirkpatrick, 2012). In addition, Judge Sameh Abu Zeid added that the groups did not qualify as CSOs because their purpose was purely political, to influence the political situation in Egypt (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

After Mohamed Morsi becoming state president in June 2012, those 43 NGOs employees were tried and sentenced to prison (Loveluck, 2013). In addition, MB's Freedom and Justice Party drafted a law that further restricted and squeezed CSOs. Many activists and also the EU considered this to be more regressive than its earlier version (Aziz and Thabet, 2013); for example, the need that a government official has to be on board of the NGO was seen as direct interference in the NGO's activities (Berger, 2015. pers. comm.). However, the law never passed, due to the MB's quick removal from power.

For the EU, this presents a major challenge for its newly stated objectives. Egypt's post-revolution governments responded to the increasing public pressure with the invocation of "nationalistic tendencies", including a strong resistance to Western actors. In consequence, many Egyptians now perceive CSOs as politicised with "foreign agendas" – the trust levels among citizens for civil society is very low: 38% (Osman, 2016). This holds a negative connotation to the objectives and credibility of both Egyptian and foreign CSOs. The crisis has also revealed the vulnerability and ineffective use of foreign tools, whether diplomatic dialogue or pressure, threats to apply sanctions or other measures to withhold aid for non-compliance, to pursue their objectives.

OBJECTIVES, STRUCTURE, AND COMPLEMENTARITY OF THE EU'S CIVIL SOCIETY FACILITY

The European Commission (2013a, p. 1f.) allocated annually €11 million to the South[2] under CSF in 2011-2013. The facility consisted of three components: 1) strengthening CSOS

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2 ENP-South region covers ten non-EU Mediterranean countries: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria and Tunisia.

capacities to promote national reform and increase public accountability through "mapping studies/need-analysis" and "capacity building"; 2) supporting CSO's regional and country projects in the form of grants; and 3) increasing the involvement of CSOs in EU-Egypt sector policy dialogues and in the implementation of bilateral programmes (European Commission, 2013a, p. 3f.).

The implementation of CSF requires complementarity with the European Instrument for Democracy and Human rights (EIDHR), the non-state actors and local authorities and other thematic programmes, and the many national European cooperation projects. At the bilateral level, it should complement the National Indicative Programme 2011-2013 where civil society development was included as a specific sub-priority. Thus, CSF should complement EU activities in areas and/or countries where the involvement of the Commission and the ENPI is lacking in terms of engagement with CSOs (European Commission, 2013a, p. 5).

While some countries and issues are well addressed by non-state actor-oriented programmes, such as the issue of gender or culture for example, others are not, and the Neighbourhood Civil Society Facility will first and foremost make better known the existing support mechanisms in favour of non-state actors, and then complement activities that have been discontinued (European Commission, 2013a, p. 6).

Implementation of the CSF in Egypt: Opportunities and Challenges

The CSF started with first calls for proposals by the end of 2011, then the third component was developed over 2012-2013. In Egypt, Component 2 started its implementation and is still ongoing, while Component 1 was stopped, and Component 3 only started to take effect in late 2014 and the implementation started mid-late 2015.

Regarding Component 1, a call was launched in November 2011 where a project "Regional Capacity Building Programme for Civil Society Facility South" including Egypt was awarded a grant, funded under ENPI. The contract was signed in 2012 with the Belgian consultant company Transtec, to carry out mapping studies, identifying and analysing non-State actors' needs and capacities, and implementing capacity-building activities such as trainings, seminars, workshops, exchange of good practices, ad-hoc support, etc. (European Commission, 2011d; 2013b). The implementation started in 2013, however, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stopped it (Bünde, 2015. pers. comm.). The problem lied in the general feeling by the Egyptian government that the EU and "the West" was overly criticising and supporting the wrong people, which might complicate cooperation on certain issues or the implementation of certain projects. A former Egyptian official in the EU (2015. pers. comm.) confirmed that Egypt is not content with the role of the EU with regard to democratisation and civil society. In addition, Berger (2015. pers. Comm.) explained, "that is our issue on the bilateral level with Egypt, because they feel sometimes that we are criticising too much".

It is important for the EU to raise such issues in the bilateral dialogue with the Egyptian government. However, this dialogue is almost absent, and even when it exits it has proven to be ineffective. "Political dialogue does not influence what the government does or wants to do; it depends on the political will of the government" (Bünde, 2015. pers. comm.). As Virgili explained,

> [o]ne of the positive aspects of budget support programmes is the political dialogue between governments that this entails, which is absent in the case of small projects which support individual NGOs. Support to civil society is undoubtedly positive and useful, but it is possible only in the framework of a wider political dialogue with the government; supporting NGOs outside of this framework leads to a reduction in communication channels and a loss of leverage (2014, p. 61).

The main worry for the government is that strengthening o the "watchdog" role of CSOs might unbalance state-society relations and weaken the credibility of fragile new state institutions. So, it is an issue of legislation, but also of trust (Behr and Siitonen, 2013, p. 22).

As CSOs in Egypt lack capacity and have no experience in monitoring the government or skills to mobilise large strata of the society (Hale and Ursu, 2011: 3), a proper mapping study to analyse their needs and pin point their weaknesses was perceived as "potential threat" by the government.

Regarding Component 2, a global call and a local call were made in 2011 to support CSOs-led projects. Under the global call 11 regional projects were granted to 11 organisations (Egypt included in two projects), ranging from €100,000 to €1 million (Saqui, 2015. pers. comm.). Under the local call, two projects were awarded grants. In 2012, another local call was launched, with four projects granted (Table 1). All eight projects received the government's approval (Bünde, 2015. pers. comm.).

However, regarding the areas of focus of the projects, none of the projects under the 2011 call were in the scope of democracy or human rights; and even though the projects under the 2012 call tackled some aspects of human rights, none of them tackled democracy or political participation, as they mainly targeted uncontested areas of human rights (basically women, children, workers and refugees); which explains the government's approval for the projects. It also shows the policy sectors where the EU has an economic/investment or energy interest (water, employment and SMEs).

Regarding implementation, several interrelated factors – related to the EU internal processes, the Egyptian political, legal, and security context, and the capacity of CSOs – impeded the projects' implementation.

First, NGOs criticised the EU's lengthy bureaucratic procedures. After submitting proposals, it requires one year for the allocation of money and signing the contract, then an additional six months for the project to start (Bünde, 2015. pers. comm.). NGOs also miss flexibility in urgent situations and possibilities to fund projects outside the times of the calls (Amin, 2011. pers. comm.).

Second, the financial envelop of the facility is small to match with its stated objectives, in the midst of a very weak status of NGOs and the bleak economic situation after the uprising. A look at the figures in 2011 reveals that Egypt were allocated €600,000 (European Court of Auditors, 2013: 27) and reached €900,000 in 2013 (Bünde, 2015. pers. comm.). This constitutes an average of only 6.8% of the annual € 11 million allocated for the South.

Table 1: Projects funded under CSF in Egypt 2011-2013 (Delegation of the EU to Egypt, 2015)

Pro-gramme	Title	Beneficiary/ Coordinator	Implementation period	Co-Beneficiaries/ Partner(s)	Sector
Civil Society Facility - NSA Local call 2011					
	Enhancing farmers – public managers dialogue over district level water resources management				
		Fayoum Agro Organic Development Assoc.	12/08/2012- 11/04/2016	NA	Water resources manage-ment; local policy dialogue.
	Creation of a Professional Integration Unit to support youth employment and insertion in deprived areas of Greater Cairo				
		Planet Finance	20/06/2012-	Egyptian Association for	Youth (socio-economic inclusion

			19/12/201 5	Comprehensive Development	and empowerment through self-employment)
CSF Global Call – Special Measure: Neighbourhood Civil Society Facility 2011					
	Youth Entrepreneurship Project (YEP)				
		Planet Finance	01/02/201 3- 31/10/201 5	NA	Youth (economic em-powerment; micro-finance CSOs strengthening)
NSA Global Call – Special Measure: Neighbourhood Civil Society Facility 2011					
	Regional Knowledge Network on Systemic Approaches to Water Resources Management				
		IUCN Bureau régional pour l'Europe AISBL	01/03/201 3- 29/02/201 6	NA	Integrated Water Resources Management (policy dialogue; networking)
CSF – NSA Local call 2012					
	Promoting the human rights of domestic workers in Egypt – Scaling Up				
		El Shehab Institution for Comprehensive Development	01/04/201 3- 30/09/201 5	ARCI-T; ARCI-F; El Mastab; "Helpers"[3]	HR (domestic workers protection)
	Expanding Legal Advocacy for Refugees in Egypt				
		Egyptian Foundation for Refugee Rights	13/06/201 3- 12/06/201 6	NA	HR (refugees; advocacy)
	Building an Inclusive Living Environment for Children and Young People with Disabilities				
		Plan International	01/02/201 4- 31/01/201 7	Caritas Egypt, SETI Centre; Upper Egypt	CSOs' strengthening (children and persons with disability; support and advocacy)
		Assoc. for Education and Devel.; El Mandara Kebly Community Devel. Assoc.; Om Dinar Community Devel. Assoc.			
	Social Awareness and sanitary, psychological and educational attention to girls potential victims of FGM in Dar el Salam				
		CONEMUND	01/04/201 4- 21/06/201 6	Nile's Daughters' Association	Combatting FGM (protect-tion and empowerment of girls and women)

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3 ARCI-T: ARCI Comitato Regionale Toscano; ARCI-F: ARCI Comitato Territoriale di Firenze; "Helpers": Association for supporting domestic workers and their families.

Third, the uncertainty during the transitional period sometimes led to the shutdown of the NGOs offices, and brought activities to a halt (Badawy, 2015. pers. comm.). The tense security situation also impacted on the work of NGOs related to how Egyptians view security vs. democracy:

People in the EU institutions believe that stability without democracy doesn't exist, you have to promote both; you need strong democracy to have stability, but you need also a stable environment for democracy to take root. For Egypt, with the security threats at the moment – the events the people are living, the police officers get shot, military soldiers get killed and the situation in Sinai – people are effected by that, and their concerns and main criticism is that we don't see this the same way they see it on the ground (Berger, 2015. pers. comm.).

Fourth, the aforementioned prevailing perception of "foreign intervention" and "foreign agendas" complicated the facility's objectives and the work and image of NGOs, as the "restrictive legislation in Egypt […] and Egypt's crackdown on foreign-funded NGOs are signs of genuine apprehension towards external donors. This is based on a history of foreign intervention and a widespread desire for reclaiming national sovereignty" (Behr and Siitonen, 2013, p. 26; own omission).

Here lies a problem. If the society, which should be part of the civil society, loses trust in NGOs, the work of these NGOs will inevitably fail. So, there has to be a differentiation between the different types of NGOs, their agendas, and the amount of support and trust they have in the society, and then act accordingly.

There are people who are taking in by what the media is saying, by the anti-NGO campaign. By large you see in many countries a tendency to say that whatever is funded from abroad is something we cannot trust, and funnily enough the same thing happens in Europe (Berger, 2015. pers. comm.).

Last but not least, complementarity with other instruments was very low measuring against their already weak status, thus it did not fill the gap. Cooperation with other European CSOs in Egypt was undermined after raiding several foreign CSOs in December 2011. Thematic instruments like EIDHR faced limitations by the restrictive NGO law, weak NGOs' capacities and absence of government support: even for registered NGOs, it takes a very long time – sometimes more than six months – to receive the government's authorization for foreign grants, and in most cases they do not receive a reply at all. Yet, the EU often continues its financial support, which is very risky, as the whole project could be stopped at any point if the government summoned the NGO for non-compliance with the law. Since 2011, some NGOs still await their approval for EIDHR funding, mainly for three reasons: a) the project tackles sensitive issues like torture or assistance to prisoners; b) persons in charge of the project are not appealing to the government; c) the NGO does not submit all or incorrect documents (Bünde, 2015. pers. comm.).

The dilemma regarding non-registered NGOs was that they used to, and – according to the new provisions of the EIDHR/Country-Based Support Scheme – will still get EU funds. This is considered money thrown out of the window, because it is a support to an illegal entity according to the domestic laws, and will eventually be summoned by the government for breaking the law.

Under the local call of CBSS we do not have to tell the government that we will support a certain organisation. If the NGO is a non-registered NGO, the EIDHR still supports them. However, there are usually obstacles if the NGO is a non-registered one (Pierrard, 2015. pers. comm.).

According to Berger (2015. pers. comm.), the NGOs law is one of the most problematic issues for the EU and its democracy promotion. His concern refers to two levels: a) how can we continue supporting Egyptian NGOs – not only political or human rights NGOs, and not only from us as the EU institutions, but also from their partner NGOs in Europe; b) the role of

European NGOs in Egypt like the German KAS who have no longer offices in Cairo – how can they work and function (Berger, 2015. pers. comm.).

He also added

> [t]he Council decision of August 2013 states in the last paragraph that we maintain our strong cooperation with the Egyptian civil society. But, you cannot march into a country then hand up the money to civil society, it has to be done in such a way that: a) it does not harm the civil society; and b) you can actually do this. So, there has to be some sort of engagement with the host authority (Berger, 2015. Pers. Comm.).

Similarly, at the bilateral level, cooperation with the government demonstrates the prolonged EU dilemma of democracy vs. security/interest. First, regarding political dialogue – in addition to the futile dialogue on democracy, human rights and the role of CSOs – most of issues on the top agenda of the dialogue were security/interest based (Badawy, 2015. Pers. comm.). It focused on a) the "dialogue on migration, mobility and security", where the EU offered "Mobility Partnerships" as part of the new ENP, including cooperation with Frontex (European Commission, 2011e; Van Hüllen, 2012; Virgili, 2014, p. 47; Völkel, 2014, p. 15f.); b) trade and investment, where "EU-Egypt bilateral trade has more than doubled. It even reached its highest level in 2012, when it hit 23.8bn euros (from 11.5bn euros in 2004)" (Tran, 2013). The EU also negotiated for a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) (European Commission, 2011f; Reuters, 2014); and c) cooperation on maintaining stability with regards to the Israeli-Palestine issue (Isaac, 2014, p. 155ff.). This adds to the shaky credibility of the EU normative intentions among Egyptians.

Second, regarding financial assistance, the National Indicative Programme (NIP) 2007-2010 and 2011-2013 showed the distributive actions taken by the EU inside Egypt and give a clear picture of the content of policy sectors where the funding is going. Despite the rhetoric of the new ENP and the "Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity" of increasing aid levels under Democracy Assistance (European Commission, 2011b; 2011c), according to the NIP (2011-2013), the EU funding levels in the areas of democracy, human rights and justice to support the transition remained low (11.1 % of the total budget) compared to the other policy sectors where it has an economic/investment or energy interest, and in which European companies can get business deals in those sectors (Staff Member at the Ministry of International Cooperation, 24 November 2015. pers. comm.). Also, only a slight increase compared to the precedent NIP (2007-2010, 7% of total budget) was realised. Thus, there is a gap between the objectives of the newly proposed ENP and the financial aspects to meet such objectives. Table 2 shows the NIP distribution of financial resources.

Table 2: Priority areas and financing in the NIPs 2007-2010 and 2011-2013 in € millions (European Commission, 2007: 38); European Commission, 2010: 30)

NIP	2007-2010	2011-2013
Reforms in the areas of democracy, human rights and justice		
• Support for political development, decentralisation and promotion of good governance	**40**	**50**
• Promotion and protection of human rights	13	5
• Support for the modernisation of the administration of justice	15	15
• Upgrading of regulatory, institutional and legislative environment	10	10
	0	20

Competitiveness and productivity of the economy	220	199
Sustainability of development and better management of human and natural resources	298	200
Total	**558**	**449**

The uninterrupted strict concentration of the EU on economic cooperation with Egypt, despite all concerns regarding human rights, democratisation and CSOs issues, was evident in the EU-Egypt Task Force, concluded on 13 and 14 November 2012 (European Union, 2012). The Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN) announced that

> [t]his is an extremely worrying indicator for the development of a new partnership between the EU and Egypt aiming at promoting democracy and human rights. We fear that this came after pressures from the Egyptian government, which has not shown yet willingness to genuinely consult human rights groups in the political transition process. Furthermore, the representative of EMHRN participating to the roundtable was not allowed to raise human rights issues. Our organisations deplore the lack of strong political will from the EU to implement its public commitment to put democratisation and human rights at the centre of its relations with South Mediterranean countries and to have a full partnership not only with governments, but also with civil society organisations (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, 2012).

CONCLUSION

It has become evident that the new CSF did not fit into the complex political, legal, economic and security environment in post-Mubarak Egypt. A gap arose between the stipulated objectives of the facility and its implementation on the ground, thus it did not bring the promised added value. This gap was reinforced by shortcomings related to the Egyptian context, but also within the EU framework.

First, the Egyptian context presented two main challenges: the resistance and non-trust to CSOs and Western actors, especially after the crisis of foreign funding to CSOs; and the ineffectiveness of EU tools to influence the government's decisions. This was reflected on the implementation of the CSF, where the mapping and capacity building project for CSO was stopped for security related issues and lack of trust between the three parties; and the work of NGOs was hindered due to security considerations.

Second, the shortcomings within the EU framework were related to the structure of EU policy agenda and funding levels, where the dilemma of democracy vs. security/interest was evident. This consolidates the idea that the EU is an interest-based actor, hindering the credibility of its normative intentions among the Egyptian society. This was shown in: a) the small financial envelope of the CSF; b) most of the CSF funded projects targeted the sectors where the EU has economic interests, while few targeted uncontested areas of human rights, and none tackled democracy or political participation; c) CSF complementarity with existing EU instruments was low compared to their undermined status and futile support; whether as functioning with non-compliance with the NGO law, or not getting government's authorisation to their funded projects; and d) bilaterally, the main focus of cooperation tackled the sectors of energy, regional security, migration, trade and investment, whether in the political dialogue or in the financial assistance. Furthermore, the timing of projects' implementation was considered late by the NGOs, due to the EU routine/bureaucratic course of action.

The challenge now is how the EU, the Egyptian government, and CSOs work together on creating a system that allows the NGOs to operate in line with the law but without too severe restrictions. It is an issue of legislation and security, but also of trust among the three parties.

In parallel context, the EU needs to overcome its questionable normative intentions among Egyptians, which is justified in its flagrant double standards – it kept criticizing the deteriorating conditions of NGOs in Egypt, while it is almost silent when more serious violations are taking place in states like Turkey and Iran, but with which it has vital economic, security and geostrategic interests.

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THE IMPACTS OF HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PRACTICES ON EMPLOYEE'S JOB PERFORMANCE

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to examine the impact of human resource management practices on employees' job performance. Questionnaires were employed to collect the data. The research participants were 464 state officials from 10 city municipalities in Chonburi, Thailand. The data was analysed using structural equation modelling (SEM). Findings showed that (1) recruitment and selection, internal communication, and job satisfaction had a positive direct impact on an employee's job performance; (2) pays and benefits, performance appraisal, and internal communication had a positive direct impact on job satisfaction; and (3) pays and benefits and performance appraisal showed no direct impact on an employee's job performance but had indirect impact on an employee's job performance through job satisfaction. The study notes several theoretical and practical implications of the findings that may extend our knowledge of the various impacts of human resource management practices on an employee's job performance.
Keywords: job performance, HRM practices, job satisfaction

INTRODUCTION

Human resource management (HRM) is one of the most important functions of an organisation to achieve its goals and objectives. It also enhances organisational performance (Becker et al., 1997; Collins, 2007; Kehoe and Wright, 2013) since it could motivate employees to exert their efforts to the maximum extent (Azmi, 2012). Furthermore, HRM systems result in not only organisational profit but also organisational growth (Becker et al., 1997). It has recently received more attention from top managers as a result of its crucial role (Mondy and Mondy, 2014). HRM has various functions, such as staffing, human resource development, compensation, safety and health, employee and labour relations, and human resource research. Albrecht et al. (2015) suggested that HR practitioners should place value on major HRM policies and practices, since they can help firms to achieve their competitive advantage. Personnel selection, socialisation, performance management, and training and development are very common HRM practices employed in HRM engagement strategy models (Albrecht et al. (2015). However, Anakwe (2002) suggests that training and development, recruitment and selection, and performance appraisal are more practised by HR professionals in comparison with other practices.

Globalisation and dynamic changes nowadays affect not only private firms but also public organisations. Since the 1990s, such changes have forced Thailand to adopt decentralisation throughout the country. Power and authorities have been given to local administration. However, this decentralisation has produced very poor results and allows more corruption among local elites (Burns, Hambleton and Hogget, 1994). In Thailand, local government is required to provide efficient public services for local residents. It is empowered to provide the services which meet local residents' needs and desires. This will encourage people to participate in public service provision. Such decentralisation also helps local people to learn, engage in, and become familiar with democracy which will be very crucial for their benefit. According to Thai law, local government has its own human resource management

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regulation which is independent of other public agencies. There are three organisational bodies responsible for HRM policies and practices: the Board of Personnel Standard for Local Government Bureau, the Central Board of Local Government Officials, and the Provincial Board of Local Government Officials.

Even though the Thai local government has the power and the freedom to make its own decision on HRM policies and practices, it still faces many problems, for example involving management structure, management processes, patronage systems, and problems inside the central board itself (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2007). These problems impact on recruitment and selection processes. The local government cannot attract high potential candidates to apply for jobs. Patronage has been deeply-rooted in Thai society for a long period of time. Unfair recruitment and selection is common and problematic (Maher and Bedawy, 2015). Nepotism also obstructs high performers from securing promotion and advancement. Consequently, officials and local government's employees are not satisfied with their jobs. They lack motivation to provide good public services for local people. In addition, their job performances have been declining.

This research, therefore, would like to examine the relationships between HRM practices and employees' job satisfaction and performance. The linkages between job satisfaction and performance will also be explored, and several theoretical and practical implications of the findings about the impact of human resource management practices on employee's job performance will be discussed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining HRM practices

HRM practice is defined as a system attracting, developing, motivating, and retaining employees to ensure that the firm and its members survive (Schuler and Jackson, 1987). It is also defined as a set of practices used by a firm to manage its human resources to obtain competitive advantage (Minbaeya, 2005). It is crucial for organisations to gain competitive advantage (Wickramasinghe, 2007). Effective HRM practices could enhance businesses and organisations to employ their competences effectively. It could also improve organisational commitment of their employees (Zheng et al., 2006). However, poor HRM practices could lead to higher turnover, greater training expenses, and lower morale (Davidson and Griffin, 2006)

Recent research focusing on human resource management practices place importance on HRM practice and its linkage with other variables, e.g. organisational performance (Azmi et al., 2012; Dimba, 2010; Osman et al. 2011), job satisfaction, and job performance (Latorre et al., 2016; Nadarajah et al., 2012). However, each researcher employed different types of HRM practices in their studies. Edgar and Geare (2005) proposed that four main HRM practices, namely recruitment and selection, performance appraisal, compensation and reward, and training, are very crucial for organisational development. Dessler (2007) stated that human resource management practices include human resource planning, recruitment and selection, training, reward system, performance appraisal, health and safety, and fairness concerns. Some researchers studied five major HRM practices, namely selection and recruitment, training and development, career development, performance management and reward practices (Junaidah, 2007; Namazie and Tayeb, 2006). Dimba (2010) focused on similar HRM practices but also studied an additional variable, namely flexible work arrangements. Furthermore, Osman, Ho and Galang (2011) studied the relationship between human resource practices and firm performance. They focused on HRM practices such as human resource planning, staffing, job/work design, training and development, performance appraisal, compensation, and health and safety.

In this study, HRM practice refers to a set of practices utilised by local government agencies. It consists of recruitment and selection, employee participation, internal communication, pays and benefits, and performance appraisal.

HRM practices and job satisfaction

Several studies examine the linkage between HRM practices and the job satisfaction of organisational members (Steijn, 2004; Mudor and Tooksoon, 2011; Paşaoğlu and Tonus, 2014; Sattar, Ahmad and Hassan, 2015). Paşaoğlu and Tonus (2014) examined the relationship between HRM practices and job satisfaction in five private hospitals in Turkey. They found that recruitment and personnel selection, and training and development, are important factors affecting the job satisfaction of employees in private hospitals. They also suggested that changing HRM practices to ensure employees' job satisfaction is vital for an organisation to improve its performance. Mudor and Tooksoon (2011) also found a positive relationship between HRM practices and job satisfaction, and concluded that HRM practices and job satisfaction are strong predictors of employee turnover. They found that training, empowerment, and rewards/incentives are positively related to employee job satisfaction, but that training and rewards/incentives have a greater effect on job satisfaction than rewards and incentives. When taking in-depth consideration of some HRM practices, previous studies have revealed interesting findings, as summarised below.

Recruitment and selection

Recruitment is the process of attracting individuals to apply for jobs in an organisation on a timely basis, in sufficient number, and with appropriate qualifications. Selection is a process of choosing an appropriate applicant best suited for a particular position in an organisation (Mondy & Mondy, 2014). Recruitment and selection is usually viewed as an important process in human resource management since it will attract high potential individuals to apply for a job in a firm. If the firm has systematic and appropriate means to recruit and select suitable individual, this will be very beneficial for the firm to ensure its competitive advantage. Some studies found that recruitment and selection has positive effect on employees' job satisfaction (Petrescu & Simmons, 2008; Byrne, Miller, & Pitts, 2010; Paşaoğlu, & Tonus, 2014). Thus, based on the previous research findings, we hypothesise that recruitment and selection will be associated with the job satisfaction of employees.

H1: Recruitment and selection has a positive effect on job satisfaction

Employee participation

Employee participation is also crucial for organisation productivity. It is defined as a process by which employees at all levels can share their ideas and opinions to influence decision-making and help set the strategy and goals of a company. Some studies found that employee participation has positive effect on employees' job satisfaction (Kim, 2002; Alas, 2007; Petrescu and Simmons, 2008; Richardson et al, 2010; Chapagai 2011). For instance, Kim (2002) found that employees' participation in the strategic planning process is positively associated with high levels of employee job satisfaction. Similarly, Chapagai (2011) examined the relationship between employee participation and job satisfaction using a sample of 146 employees working in Nepalese commercial banks. He found that increased employee participation yields higher job satisfaction, but that female employees perceive a lower level of job satisfaction than their male counterparts. Richardson et al. (2010) found similar findings. They claimed that employee participation on work-related issues can enhance the job

satisfaction and productivity of employees. The study conducted by Alas (2007) provided that satisfaction with leadership will increase employees' participation in change process and causes higher job satisfaction. When employees have a higher level of job satisfaction, their level of participation is increased, which will give them higher life satisfaction. Thus, based on the previous research findings, we hypothesise that employee participation will be associated with the job satisfaction of employees.

H2: Employee participation has a positive effect on job satisfaction

Internal communication

Internal Communication is a tool that top management employs to distribute information and policies and inform employees about the organisation's goals and objectives. Sawar and Aburge (2013) found that good communication between top management and employees yields better job satisfaction. Andreassi, Lawter, Brockerhoff, and Rutigliano (2014) examined the relationship between HRM practices and employee job satisfaction in Asia, Europe, Latin America, and North America. They found the opposite result, since internal communication did not affect the job satisfaction of employees in Latin America, although it did in Asia, Europe, and North America. In addition, the study conducted by Tseng (2006, as cited in Ali and Haider, 2012) found a positive relationship between satisfaction about communication and job satisfaction in terms of work, pay and promotion, as well as satisfaction with supervisors and job satisfaction in general. Thus, based on previous research findings, we hypothesise that internal communication will be associated with the job satisfaction of employees.

H3: Internal communication has a positive effect on job satisfaction

Pays and benefits

Pays and benefits is very important HRM practice, since it could not only attract candidates to apply for jobs but also helps retain good employees and lessens turnover intention. Sawar and Aburge (2013) found a positive relationship between remuneration and employee job satisfaction. Petrescu and Simmons (2008) also found similar results: they suggested that good pays and benefits will increase employee job satisfaction, especially when employees are not members of a union. Similarly, Bowra, Sharif, Saeed, and Niazi (2012) found a positive relationship between pays and benefits and job satisfaction. Furthermore, Salisu, Chinyio, and Seresh (2015) studied the impact of compensation on the job satisfaction of public sector construction workers of Jigawa state of Nigeria and found a positive relationship between compensation and job satisfaction. Thus, based on previous research findings, we hypothesise that pays and benefits will be associated with the job performance of employees.

H4: Pays and benefits have a positive effect on job satisfaction

Performance appraisal

Performance appraisal is a formal system of review and evaluation of individual or team task performance. Its purpose is to improve individual performance (Mondy and Mondy, 2014). However, it is often viewed as negative activity since it might affect employees' anxiety about their job security. Bowra, Sharif, Saeed, and Niazi (2012) found positive relationship between performance appraisal and job satisfaction of employees of commercial banks in Pakistan. Darehzereshki (2013) suggested that employees who experienced a good performance appraisal are likely to have higher level of job satisfaction. Brown, Hyatt and Benson (2010) stated that dissatisfaction with a performance appraisal program could result in job

dissatisfaction, lower organisational commitment, and a higher intention to leave. Thus, based on the previous research findings, we hypothesise that performance appraisal will be associated with the job satisfaction of employees.

H5: Performance appraisal has a positive effect on job satisfaction

HRM practices and employees' job performance

Some studies found that HR practices were related to employee performance (Mudor and Tooksoon, 2011; Latorre et al., 2016). However, Mudor and Tooksoon found that HRM practices, namely training and empowerment, have a greater impact on employee job performance than that of rewards/incentives. In this part, previous researches focusing on HRM practices, such as recruitment and selection, employee participation, internal communication, pays and benefits, and performance appraisal were reviewed as follows:

Recruitment and selection and employees' job performance

HRM practices, such as selection, training, performance appraisal, rewards, job design, and involvement could result in employee effort, cooperation, involvement, and discretionary behaviours. These will then lead to an improvement in employee performance that will enhance the organisation's return and profit (Guest, 1997). Ghebregiorgis and Karsten (2007) examined the relationship between recruitment and selection and employee performance among academic staff. They found that appropriate selective hiring will enhance the ability of academic staff to perform their job efficiently. Nadarajah et al. (2012) found similar results. They concluded that selective hiring of academic staff has a positive impact on job performance leading to career development. Hence, we hypothesise that there is a positive relationship between recruitment and selection and employee performance.

H6: Recruitment and selection has a positive effect on job performance

Employee participation and job performance

Employee participation is viewed as an important element for organisations to improve job satisfaction (Ardichvili et al., 2003). According to Sugioko (2010), executives participating in university budget's decision making process reported higher job performance compared to those who did not. Bhatti and Qureshi (2007) argued that employee participation is not only a determinant of employee's job satisfaction and organisational commitment, but also of employee performance. However, Lam, Chen and Schaubroeck (2002) suggested that participative decision-making can have either a positive or a negative effect on employee performance. Hence, the impact of employee participation on employee performance is hypothesised as follows:

H7: Employee participation has a positive effect on job performance

Internal communication and job performance

Modern management techniques, especially human resource management, aim to increase employees' performance via communication (Erogluer, 2011 as cited in Femi, 2014). Some studies found that good communication between top management and employees will enhance job satisfaction which will result in better employee performance (Litterst and Eyo, 1982; Sawar and Aburge, 2013). In addition, Femi (2014) found a relationship between effective communication and workers' performance, productivity and commitment. Thus, we hypothesise that internal communication will have a positive impact on employee performance.

H8: Internal communication has a positive effect on job performance

Pays and benefits and job performance

Typically, financial incentives as a part of a firm remuneration package will increase an employee's productivity (Pouliakas, 2010). Some researchers have examined the impact of pays and benefits on employee performance. For instance, Nadarajah et al. (2012) found that compensation has a positive impact on the job performance of academic staff, leading to their career development. Bowra, Sharif, Saeed, and Niazi (2012) found that pays and benefits had no relationship with employee performance. However, the research conducted by Sawar and Aburge (2013) found that fringes and benefits could lead to job satisfaction and greater employee performance. Therefore, we hypothesise that pays and benefits will affect employee performance.

H9: Pays and benefits has a positive effect on job performance

Performance appraisal and employee performance

HRM practices, such as selection, training, performance appraisal, rewards, job design, and involvement could result in employee effort, cooperation, involvement, and discretionary behaviour. These will then lead to the improvement of employee performance and enhance the organisation's return and profit (Guest, 1997). Bowra, Sharif, Saeed and Niazi (2012) also found that performance appraisal was associated with employees' job performance. Similarly, Bowra, Sharif, Saeed, and Niazi (2012) found that a performance appraisal system can best enhance employee performance. Hence, it could be implied that performance appraisal will have a positive impact on employee performance.

H10: Performance appraisal has a positive effect on job performance

Job satisfaction and job performance

Job satisfaction is an individual's general attitude towards his/her job (Robbins, 1999). Hackman and Oldham (1975) stated that a higher job satisfaction will increase productivity, reduce absenteeism, and lower employee turnover. Schermerhorn, Hunt, Osborn and Uhl-Bien (2011) argued that job satisfaction has impacts on employee performance and turnover intention. However, the relationship between job satisfaction and employee performance is controversial (Byrne, Miller and Pitts, 2010). Judge, Thoresen, Bono, and Patton (2001) found a reciprocal relationship between job satisfaction and employee performance. They also found that the relationship will be stronger if the characteristic of the job is more complex. According to Christen, Iyer, and Soberman (2006), job satisfaction has a positive relationship with employee performance. Furthermore, the study conducted by Sawar and Aburge (2013) also supported the argument that there is a positive linkage between these two variables. However, Fu and Deshpande (2014) found no direct impact of job satisfaction on employee performance, although they found it had an indirect impact on employee performance through organisational commitment. We therefore hypothesise that there is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and job performance.

H11: Job satisfaction has a positive effect on job performance

METHOD

Sample

The study was based on a survey undertaken in 10 city municipalities in Chonburi, Thailand. Questionnaires were distributed to all state officials (N=618) working in the municipalities and collected directly by the researchers and research assistants. The overall response rate was 75.1 percent, and 464 questionnaires were used for data processing. The average age of respondents was 36.7 years (SD = 9.5). In terms of demographics, 62.9 percent of the sample was female, 49.6 percent single, 56.0 percent hold a bachelor's degree, the average tenure was 9.2 years, and the income median was about 19,108.4 Baht/month.

Measures

For all measures in the study, except demographic questions, respondents indicated their level of agreement with the items using a 5-point Likert response scale anchored by (1) strongly disagree and (5) strongly agree.

Recruitment and selection

Recruitment and selection was measured using the three-item recruitment and selection questionnaire (RSQ) developed by the authors. This measurement revealed scores showing an alpha reliability of .97. Example items include: "My organisation has a recruitment and selection system based on fairness"; "Recruitment and selection in my organisation is transparent"; and "Recruitment and selection of at my organisation is conducted on the basis of merit".

Employee participation

Recruitment and selection was measured using the four-items employee participation questionnaire (EPQ) developed by the authors. This measurement revealed scores showing an alpha reliability of .94. Example items include: "I have an opportunity to express my views and ideas"; "My organisation gives opportunities for the employees to participate in making decisions on important issues and policies"; and "Employees in my organisation have an opportunity to participate in decision-making on HRM policies".

Internal communication

 The Internal Communication Questionnaire (ICQ) was developed, comprising of three items. This measurement revealed scores showing an alpha reliability of .97. Example items include "There is good communication between departments in my organisation"; "My organisation has efficient internal communication which enhances the organisation's performance"; and "Information I have got from internal communication is up to date".

Pays and benefits

The pays and benefits questionnaire (PBQ) included three items. The reliability analysis revealed the Cronbach's Alpha of .96. Example items include: "Pays and benefits at my organisation are appropriate and adequate"; "Pays and benefits at my organisation are just and fair"; and "My organisation provides good pays and benefits".

Performance appraisal

The performance appraisal questionnaire (PAQ) consists of three items. The reliability analysis revealed the Cronbach's Alpha of .95. Example items include: "My organisation has a proper

performance appraisal system"; "The performance system in my organisation is transparent"; and "The performance system of my organisation is conducted based on proper criteria".

Job satisfaction

The job satisfaction questionnaire (JSQ) consists of four items. The reliability analysis revealed the Cronbach's Alpha of .97. Example items include: "I have a good relationship with my colleagues"; "I am satisfied with my working environment"; and "I am recognised by other members of the organisation".

Employees' job performance

The employees' job performance questionnaire (EPQ) consists of four items. The reliability analysis revealed the Cronbach's Alpha of .97. Example items include: "I perform proper leadership in my organisation"; "I can cooperate well with people from different departments"; and "I can work efficiently with other colleagues from different departments".

Analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was employed to test and validate the measurement models. This analysis allows for the full focus to be on establishing construct validity for seven constructs: recruitment and selection (RS), employee participation, (EMP), internal communication (IC), pays and benefits (PB), performance appraisal (PA), job satisfaction (JS), and employees' job performance (EP). Structural equation modelling (SEM) was then employed to analyse the collected data. SEM consists of two well-known multivariate techniques: factor analysis and multiple regression analysis (MRA). The SEM model provides estimation of multiple and interrelated dependence relationship, defining a model to explain the entire relationships between variables. The SEM model also has an ability to represent unobserved concepts in the relationships (Hair et al., 2014).

RESULTS

Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)

As a preliminary step, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to test the validity of the measurement models. This is a comparison between theoretical measurement models and reality (the empirical data). Hence, the overall model fit and construct validity were examined according to Hair et al. (2014). Figure 1 illustrates the results of CFA, and overall fit details are detailed in Table 1.
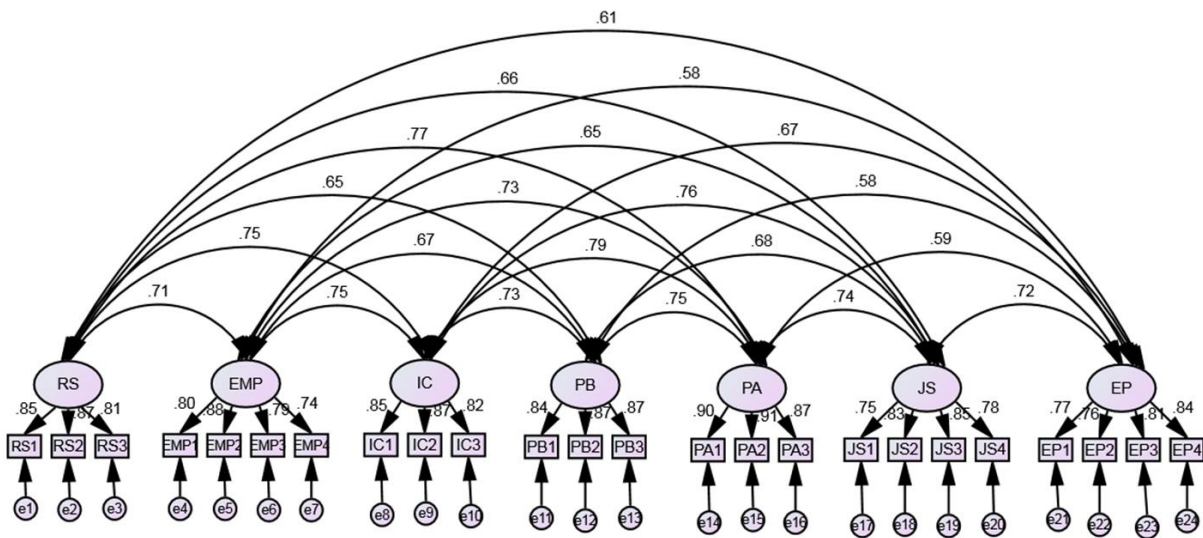
Chi-square = 513.973, df = 231, Chi-square/df = 2.225, p = .000, GFI = .914, AGFI = .888, RMSEA = .051, RMR = .024, NFI = .941, CFI = .967, RFI = .930, AGFI = .888, PNFI = .788

Figure 1: Hypothesised measurement model specification (CFA model)

Table 1 includes selected fit statistic from the CFA output. The overall model chi-square is 513.973 with 231 degree of freedom. The *p*-value associated with the result is .000. This *p*-value is significant using the Type 1 error rate .05. Thus, the chi-square goodness-of-fit statistic does not indicate that the observed covariance matrix matches the estimated covariance matrix within sampling variance. However, this study has the sample size of 464. The significant *p*-value is expected according to Hair et al. (2014). The value of RMSEA, an absolute fit index, is .051. This value indicates additional support for model fit. The normed chi-square is 2.225 and is considered an acceptable fit for the CFA model. According to the incremental fit indices, the CFI has a value of .967, which exceeds the suggested cut-off values. In addition, the AGFI has the value of .888, which reflects a moderate model fit.

Table 1: The CFA goodness-of-fit statistics

Goodness-of-fit statistics	Acceptable values	Results
Chi-square	Significant p-value expected	Chi-square = 513.973 Degree of freedom = 231 p-value = .000
Absolute fit measures		
Goodness-of-fit index (GFI)	>.90	.914
Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA)	<.07	.051
Root mean square residual (RMR)	Low	.024
Normed Chi-square	Between 2 and 5	2.225
Incremental fit indices		
Normed fit index (NFI)	Approach to 1.0	.941
Comparative fit index (CFI)	Above .92	.967
Relative fit index (RFI)	Approach to 1.0	.930
Parsimony fit indices		
Adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI)	Approach to 1.0	.888
Parsimony normed fit index (PNFI)	Approach to 1.0	.788

Source: Hair et al. (2014)

Convergent validity and discriminant validity were examined according to the construct validity of each construct. Table 2 and Table 3 illustrate the convergent validity and discriminant validity respectively.

Table 2 Standardised factor loadings, average variance extracted, and reliability estimates

	RS	EMP	IC	PB	PA	JS	EP
RS1	0.85						
RS2	0.87						
RS3	0.81						
EMP1		0.80					
EMP2		0.88					
EMP3		0.79					
EMP4		0.74					
IC1			0.85				
IC2			0.87				
IC3			0.82				
PB1				0.84			
PB2				0.87			
PB3				0.87			
PA1					0.90		
PA2					0.91		
PA3					0.87		
JS1						0.75	
JS2						0.83	
JS3						0.85	
JS4						0.78	

Table 2 (Cont.)

	RS	EMP	IC	PB	PA	JS	EP
EP1							0.77
EP2							0.76
EP3							0.81
EP4							0.84
Average variance extracted	71.2%	64.7%	71.7%	74.0%	79.8%	64.6%	63.3%
Construct reliability	0.990	0.991	0.992	0.991	0.994	0.992	0.992

Table 2 displays standardised loadings. The lowest loading obtained is 0.74, linking employee participation (EMP) to item EMP4. The average variance extracted (AVE) estimates range from 63.3 percent for EP to 79.8 percent for PA. The construct reliabilities range from 0.990 for RS construct to 0.994 for PA construct. All construct reliabilities exceed 0.70, suggesting adequate reliability.

Discriminant validity also was examined. All AVE estimates from Table 2 are greater than the corresponding interconstruct squared correlation estimates in Table 3 (Above the diagonal). Thus, the test indicates there are no problems with the discriminant for the CFA model.

Table 3: Construct correlation matrix (Standardised)

	RS	EMP	IC	PB	PA	JS	EP
RS	1	.50	.56	.42	.59	.44	.37
EMP	.71***	1	.53	.45	.53	.42	.34
IC	.75***	.73***	1	.53	.62	.58	.45
PB	.65***	.67***	.73***	1	.56	.46	.34
PA	.77***	.73***	.79***	.75***	1	.55	.35
JS	.66***	.65***	.76***	.68***	.74***	1	.52
EP	.61***	.58***	.67***	.58***	.59***	.72***	1

Significance level: * = .05, ** = .01, *** = .001
Note: Values below the diagonal are correlation estimates among constructs, diagonal elements are construct variances, and values above the diagonal are squared correlations.

SEM Analysis

According to SEM analysis, all exogenous latent variables were allowed to co-vary in the hypothesised model (Kline, 2005). Hence, the full SEM model including all indicators was tested. The fit indices of initial SEM test for the hypothesised model are presented in Table 4. The information in Table 4 shows the overall fit statistics from testing the hypothesised model. The chi-square is 530.370 with 248 degree of freedom ($p < .05$), and the normed chi-square is 2.139. The model CFI is .967 with RMSEA of .050. All of these measures are within a range that would be associated with good fit. These suggest that the model provides overall good fit. The overall model fit changed very little from the CFA model. The standardised path coefficients are illustrated in Figure 2.

Table 4: Comparison of goodness-of-fit measures between hypothesised SEM model and CFA model

Goodness-of-fit statistics	SEM model	CFA model
Absolute fit measures		
Chi-square	530.370	513.973
Degree of freedom	248	231
p-value	.000	.000
GFI	.912	.914
RMSEA	.050	.051
RMR	.028	.024
Normed Chi-square	2.139	2.225
Incremental fit indices		
NFI	.939	.941
CFI	.967	.967
RFI	.932	.930
Parsimony fit indices		
AGFI	.893	.888
PNFI	.844	.788
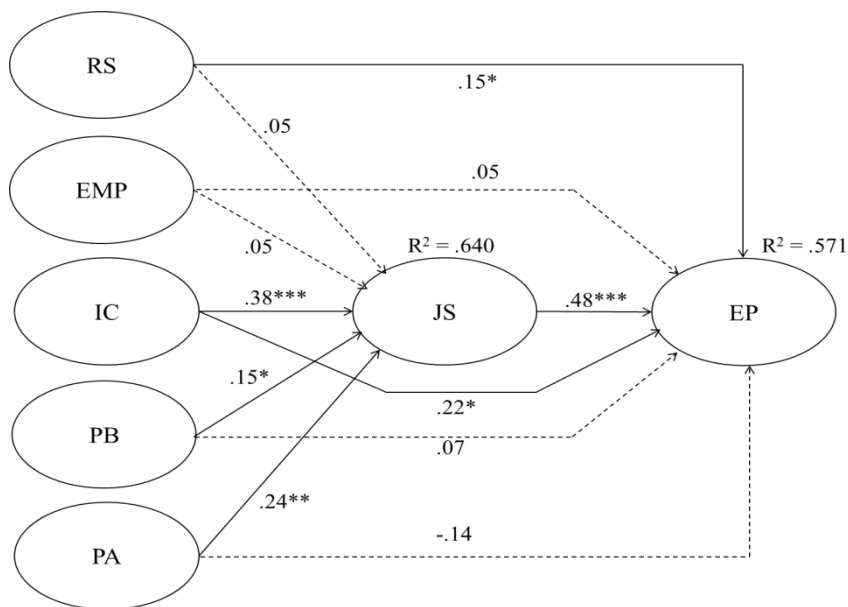
Chi-square = 530.370, df = 248, Chi-square/df = 2.139, p = .000, GFI = .912, AGFI = .893, RMSEA = .050, RMR = .028, NFI = .939, CFI = .967, RFI = .932, PNFI = .844

Significance level: * = .05, ** = .01, *** = .001
-------- Non-significant
_____ Significant

Figure 2: Standardised path estimates for the hypothesised SEM model

Based on the residuals and modification indices information from the initial SEM model, we conducted the post hoc analysis delineating two direct relationships: between RS and JS, and

between EMP and EP. The model was then re-estimated. The model fit statistics are shown in Table 5 and Figure 3.

Table 5: Comparison of goodness-of-fit measures between hypothesised SEM model and CFA model

Goodness-of-fit statistics	SEM model	Revised SEM model
Absolute fit measures		
Chi-square	530.370	451.808
Degree of freedom	248	247
p-value	.000	.000
GFI	.912	.923
RMSEA	.050	.042
RMR	.028	.027
Normed Chi-square	2.139	1.829
Incremental fit indices		
NFI	.939	.948
CFI	.967	.976
RFI	.932	.942
Parsimony fit indices		
AGFI	.893	.907
PNFI	.844	.849

Table 5 shows the overall fit statistics from testing the revised model. The chi-square is 451.808 with 247 degree of freedom ($p < .05$), and the normed chi-square is 1.829. The model CFI is .976 with RMSEA of .042. All these measures are within a range that would be associated with a good fit. This suggests that the model provides an overall good fit. The overall model fit changed very little from the hypothesised model. The standardised path coefficients are illustrated in Figure 3.
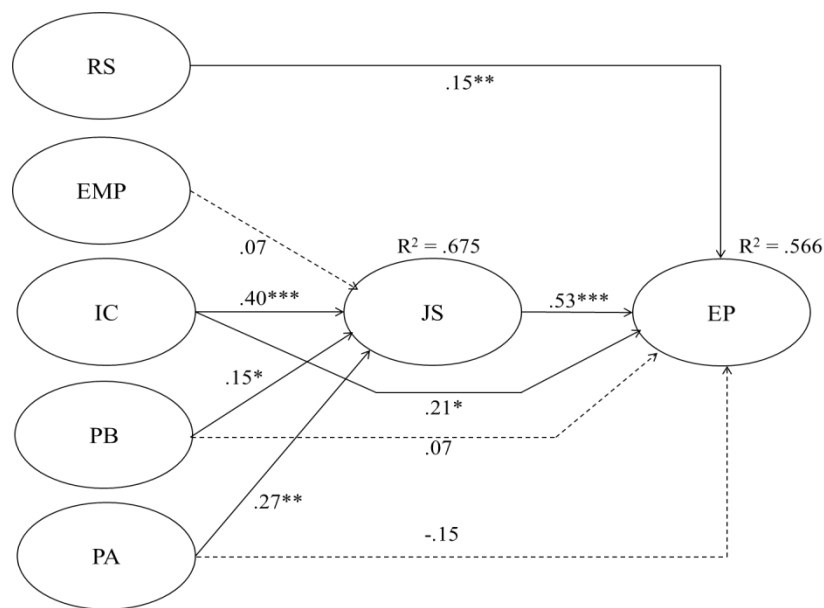
Chi-square = 451.808, df = 247, Chi-square/df = 1.829, p = .000, GFI = .923, AGFI = .907, RMSEA = .042, RMR = .027, NFI = .948, CFI = .976, RFI = .942, PNFI = .849

Significance level: * = .05, ** = .01, *** = .001
-------- Non-significant
_____ Significant

Figure 3 Standardised path estimates for the revised SEM model

The direct effect, indirect effect, and total effect between latent variables are exhibited in Table 6. The table shows that the most influential factors directly affecting job satisfaction are internal communication, performance appraisal, and pays and benefits in that order. In addition, job satisfaction, internal communication, recruitment and selection, and pays and benefits are the most influential factors affecting employee performance. Interestingly, pays and benefits and performance appraisal have no direct impact on employee performance but have an indirect positive impact on employee performance through job satisfaction.

Table 6: The direct effect, indirect effect, and total effect between latent variables

		RS	EMP	IC	PB	PA	JS
JS	DI	-	.076	.402	.154	.266	-
	(*p*-value)		(.31)	(.02)	(.05)	(.02)	
	IE	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(*p*-value)						
	TE	-	.076	.402	.154	.266	-
	(*p*-value)		(.31)	(.02)	(.05)	(.02)	
EP	DI	.151	-	.210	.068	-.148	.528
	(*p*-value)	(.05)		(.05)	(.46)	(.12)	(.01)
	IE	-	.040	.212	.082	.148	-
	(*p*-value)		(.36)	(.01)	(.03)	(.02)	
	TE	.151	.040	.422	.150	-.008	.528
	(*p*-value)	(.05)	(.36)	(.03)	(.04)	(.93)	(.01)

Hypothesis testing

According to the SEM analysis, the revised model fits with the empirical data. The relationships between each variable are illustrated in Figure 3. The results of hypothesis testing show that six hypotheses are supported (*H*3, *H*4, *H*5, *H*6, *H*8 and *H*11) and five hypotheses are not supported (*H*1, *H*2, *H*7, *H*9, and *H*10), as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7: Results of hypothesis testing

Hypothesis	Hypothesis testing
H1: Recruitment and selection has a positive effect on job satisfaction	Not supported
H2: Employee participation has a positive effect on job satisfaction	Not supported
H3: Internal communication has a positive effect on job satisfaction	Supported
H4: Pays and benefits has a positive effect on job satisfaction	Supported
H5: Performance appraisal has a positive effect on job satisfaction	Supported
H6: Recruitment and selection has a positive effect on performance	Supported
H7: Employee participation has a positive effect on performance	Not supported
H8: Internal communication has a positive effect on performance	Supported
H9: Pays and benefits has a positive effect on performance	Not supported

H10: Performance appraisal has a positive effect on performance	Not supported
H11: Job satisfaction has a positive effect on job performance	Supported

DISCUSSION

This study examined factors affecting job satisfaction and employees' job performance. The results supported the positive direct impact of recruitment and selection on employees' job performance. These findings are similar to those found in other studies (Ghebregiorgis & Karsten, 2007; Nadarajah et al., 2012). Besides recruitment and selection, internal communication also had positive direct impact on employee performance, which is also relevant to the findings of previous research (Erogluer, 2011 as cited in Femi, 2014; Litterst and Eyo, 1982; Sawar and Aburge, 2013; Femi, 2014).

We found that job satisfaction is affected by several HRM practices, namely pay and benefits, performance appraisal, and internal communication. Pay and benefits had a positive direct impact on job satisfaction. This finding supports the findings of several studies (Sawar and Aburge, 2013; Petrescu and Simmons, 2008; Bowra, Sharif, Saeed and Niazi, 2012; Salisu, Chinyio and Seresh, 2015. Bowra, Sharif, Saeed and Niazi, 2012) found a positive relationship between performance appraisal and job satisfaction. Their finding is supported by the results of this study and also supported by the findings of Darehzereshki (2013) and Brown, Hyatt and Benson (2010). Internal communication is another factor affecting employees' job performance. This supports the results of previous research, such as the studies conducted by Sawar and Aburge (2013), Tseng (2006, as cited in Ali & Haider, 2012), and Andreassi, Lawter, Brockerhoff and Rutigliano (2014). However, the study by Andreassi et al. (2014) also found that linkages between internal communication and job satisfaction varied from continent to continent. For example, internal communication has a positive impact on the job satisfaction of employees in Asia and Europe, but not in Latin America.

In this study, job satisfaction had a positive impact on employees' job performance, which is relevant to the results found by some studies (Schermerhorn, Hunt, Osborn and Uhl-Bien, 2011; Christen, Iyer and Soberman, 2006; Sawar and Aburge, 2013). However, this finding differs from the results of the study of Judge, Thoresen, Bono and Patton (2001), who found a reciprocal relationship between job satisfaction and employees' job performance. The results of Fu and Deshpande (2014) indicated no direct impact of job satisfaction on employee performance. However, it had an indirect impact on employee performance through organisational commitment as a mediator. Job satisfaction in this study also mediated the relationship between performance appraisal and employees' job performance, as well as the relationship between pay and benefits and job performance. Pay and benefits and performance appraisal showed no direct impact on performance, but had an indirect impact on performance through job satisfaction.

Top management of related municipalities should concentrate on how to improve employees' performance so that employees can provide better service delivery to citizens in their communities. The results of this study suggest that executives should place importance on job satisfaction, internal communication, recruitment and selection, and pay and benefits in that order. Internal communication is the highest priority for increasing employees' job satisfaction. It can be improved by focusing on providing good internal communication as well as distributing up-to-date information on a regular basis. Performance appraisal systems should be fair and transparent with proper evaluation criteria. Fair and adequate pay and benefits are also important to enhance the job satisfaction of the employee. This will in turn promote job performance. The results also suggest that recruitment and selection should be transparent and

fair. Furthermore, the system should be conducted based on merit. These will be very importance issues to enhance the performance of municipalities' employees.

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MOBILITY, DIFFERENTIATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION: A STUDY OF DEMAND FOR SUB-CATEGORIZATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES.

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ABSTRACT

The paper will enquire into the history and context of differentiation and sub-categorization that emerged as a new phenomenon in states of Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Tamil Nadu. In few states, this demand resulted in setting up of commissions of enquiry and policies to rationalize reservations. Scheduled Castes are an administrative category consisting of various touchable and untouchable castes grouped together for the purpose of reservation policy in 1935. Such grouping places all of them under one umbrella category without taking into account the internal distinctions among them. However, reservations could not remove the prior existing internal differentiations between all the castes listed in Scheduled Castes. The study attempt to understand the phenomenon of 'sub-categorization' through careful examination of three variables used for our analysis which are: Mobility, Differentiation and Identity formation. The process of differentiation does not emerge as a contemporary issue that can be theorized solely on the basis of inefficiency of reservations or non-uniform impact of mobility at sub-caste level among Scheduled Castes group. Scheduled Castes practice internal social hierarchy within themselves and were also divided among them as can be observed in the case of South India (the right and left hand divisions). In every state or region there are two or more dominant SCs groups tend to be dominant in social, cultural, economic and political aspect in comparison to their counter parts. The rising sub-caste consciousness and differential access to state resources and opportunities further divided Scheduled Castes.
Key Words: Scheduled Castes, Reservations, Mobility and Identity Formation.

INTRODUCTION

The policy of reservations for welfare of Scheduled Castes is being implemented across India since six decades. However, the demand for adequate representation among Scheduled Castes arose only four decades back in state of Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Punjab became the first state in 1975 that classified its Scheduled Caste population into two halves: those who are adequately utilizing reservations and those who are less benefitted. Similarly, Tamil Nadu became the latest state in this process which identified a small group of Scheduled Castes that are not able to avail reservations proportional to their population in 2008.

There are four factors that generate a sense of competition and intra-caste differentiation among the unified category known as Scheduled Castes. The issue of differentiation of SCs is based on 1) social division and internal hierarchy being practiced among them, 2) inadequate representation of sub-caste groups proportional to their population in any state or region, 3) the variation in pattern of socioeconomic mobility and their consequences at sub-caste level, and 4) discourses of self-identification through formation of discrete identities engendering sub-divisions among them.

The factors responsible for social transformation of Scheduled Castes include social processes such as (Sanskritization, Westernization, and Industrialization) and reservation of

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seats in government jobs, higher educational institutions and in legislative assembly. The acquisition of political power, educational improvement and occupational change became the major assets for upward mobility of Scheduled Castes. The degree of socioeconomic mobility achieved at sub-caste level among Scheduled Castes is perceptible at their receiving ends. This varying degree of upward movement directed towards division of social groups into: Mobile and Immobile groups; further differentiating them and generating a sense of competition. In every region; there will be one sub-caste group among SCs turned out to be dominant in contrast to its other counter-parts for e.g. Mahars in Maharashtra, Malas in Andhra, and Pariahs in Tamil Nadu, Pulayas in Kerala and Chamars in North India. The inconsistency in diffusing reservations for Scheduled Castes impedes the progress of community as a 'whole' and act as a major factor for demand of sub-categorization.

Thirdly, discourses of 'assertion' and process of 'identity formation' among Scheduled Castes surfaced during nineteenth century in forms of protests and social movements at grass root level. The collective mobilizations among Scheduled Castes instigated during their active participation in Bhakti movement (Chokhamela, Kabir, Ravidas etc) in nineteenth century and socio-religious reform movements like Ad-Dharm movement in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. The main aim of Scheduled Castes assertion was to re-define and re-establish their polluted social identity in the society. In parts of Uttar Pradesh; there are instances where Chamars groups of SCs re-writing their own history via introducing new genealogies of myths and substantiating their new identity that is 'respectable and dignified' in public discourse. The process of politicization of Scheduled Castes is beneficial for selected number of sub-caste groups consciously participating in identity struggle.

Due to these above stated factors there are contradictory and contrasting identities emerging among the dominant and the small and marginal groups of Scheduled Castes with regard to reservations, representation in legislative assemblies and identity based movements give rise to a phenomenon named 'Sub-Categorization' that require a systematic analysis.

OBJECTIVES

- Utilization of reservations by various sub-castes of Scheduled Castes in various states in India
- To analyze the consequences of varied socioeconomic mobility levels among SCs especially strengthening caste solidarity through identity formation and intercommunity interaction patterns resulting in differentiation
- Assessing the rationale and viability of proportional demarcation of reservations among Scheduled Castes.

SCHEDULED CASTES AND THEIR DIFFERENTIATION

There are about 1,100 Scheduled Castes under the revised list of Scheduled Castes in 1957. They are dispersed in almost all parts of India sometimes sharing common identity and sometimes acting as distant and disparate masses of small communities within themselves. They also contain their own peculiar forms of traditions, customs and own set of rules and internally differentiated on the basis of their different occupational engagement. They practice varied degree of pollution and untouchability against each other (Issacs, 1965, p. 29).

Ibbeston (1974) first systematic occupational classification during census of 1881 observed the occupational hierarchy practiced among Scheduled Castes of Punjab where weaving is placed at the top and scavenging at the bottom, where a weaver will never accept food or water or will inter-marry among scavengers. According to Desai (1976, p. 39-42), the Scheduled Castes population of Gujarat state represented a heterogeneous character and they are socially and occupationally arranged in a different social position in hierarchical order. The

major Scheduled Castes groups of the state are Dheds, Meghwals, Chamars and Meghwals in which Bhangis are situated at the bottom and Chamars are situated at the top.

Deliege (1999) argued that the untouchable groups are well aware of their internal differentiation, whereas the official euphemism or constitutional categorization "Scheduled Castes" ignores such kind of distinction and gave them a unified and homogenous identity. There is a problem of nomenclature or formation of generic names since colonial times to post-independence where Scheduled Castes are denoted through various names such as Achhuta, Untouchable, Asprishya, Shudra, Ati- Shudra, Scheduled Castes (given by upper castes or other social groups), Dalit (a symbol of their self-identification) that resulted in fragmented growth of identity of such groups of people.

Mendelsohn and Vicziany (2000) focused on the practice of hierarchy and differentiation of Scheduled Castes based on religious and cultural lines. Similarly, Judge (2014) recognized the claims and counter-claims of superiority in which Mahars of Maharashtra and Chamars of North India are notable in their socioeconomic mobility and identity struggle. According to Singh (2014, p. 5) Scheduled Castes group epitomize social division among themselves. They embody gotra exogamy and differentiation among them is observable at social, occupational and religious levels.

ANALYZING MOBILITY AND INEFFICIENCY OF RESERVATIONS

Understanding Mobility:

There are four approaches to analyze mobility in caste structure of India. They are as follows:

1. The process of 'Sanskritization' is one of the significant cultural processes for bringing positional change within Hindu social order. According to Srinivas (1966, p. 6) it is defined as the process by which a 'low' caste Hindu or tribal or any other social group changes its customs, ritual ideology and way of their life. This process approves one caste group for claiming higher status than he/she is born and often resulted in upward mobility. The change took place within a stable hierarchical order without modification of the structural system itself in which it is occurring. The process has limited effect on lower caste groups as well as they were unable to bring any structural change in their position they upheld in society.

2. The process of 'westernization' was introduced through new economic and political regulations during colonial times, resulting in modernizing Indian customs and traditions while abolishing evil practices (female infanticide, Sati etc.).

3. There is emergence of a new criterion of status evaluation (vertical or structural change) or changes within the parameters of the system (horizontal mobility or positional change) through Sanskritization and Westernization, where Marriott (1968), Rowe (1968) and Silverberg (1968) emphasizing mobility occurring at group level while undermining the other levels of mobility namely family and individual.

4. The last approach to understand mobility within Indian social system is contemporary in its nature (focusing on mobility at individual or family level) as it analyzes mobility through multiple reference models while examining the patterns and trends of mobility in different frames of reference. The works of Damle (1968) understands mobility in two different frames that is rural and urban settings. Damle (1968), Marriott (1968) and Lynch (1974) are the advocates of reference group theory proposed by Merton[2] in 1957,

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[2] Merton in his book Social Theory and Social Structure (1957) argued that the process of anticipatory socialization is only functional for individuals aspiring for mobility in an open social structure and the same pattern would be dysfunctional for bringing any kind of social change in status of lower caste groups in closed social system. In a relatively open structure the open groups after anticipatory socialization are absorbed in the reference group (non-membership group) but in society like

whereas Lynch alternative to this proposed his own theory of Dichotomization which is well suited to the case of untouchables or Scheduled Castes of India that induces status differentiation and integration of lower castes into higher institutions. Government of India through providing welfare measures in form of reservations acting as a third party devising status differentiation and re-defining their socioeconomic position among Scheduled Castes.

The above listed four social processes were able to produce socioeconomic change in status of Scheduled Castes but there is variation in development acquired at sub-caste level where reservations and these social processes were unable to generate uniform pattern of socioeconomic mobility among Scheduled Castes.

Inefficiency of Reservations and Variations of mobility among Scheduled Castes

Saberwal (1972) in his study in Punjab during the survey of industrial townships, explored number of processes involved in transformation of closed system of Indian society. He describes how the political processes led the Dalits to higher level of consciousness of their rights and how the former relationship between the caste and occupation has been eroded. He explained the processes of change and mobility by using one variable in his research, which is "Industrialization". Patwardhan (1973) focuses in her study, the groups of SCs whom are migrated to Pune (Maharashtra) and highlights the consequent changes occurring within the family structure, kinship organization and customs among Dalits. She underlies the non-homogeneous character of the class of individuals lumped together for all legal purposes under the wide umbrella term 'SC'. She examines the comparative perspectives of purity and pollution among the various untouchable groups like Mahars, Mangs, Chambars, Holars and Dhors, thus creating a sub-system of caste within the broad cluster of SC.

Sachidananda (1977) analyses the status of the Scheduled Castes elites where he also observed status becoming an individual matter. His study seeks to cover the status of educated elite in their own society as also their status in wider local community. It also examines how the SC elites are absorbed in the general social elite.

Ramaswamy (1974) in his study observes the differences and well defined hierarchy among Scheduled Castes. Not all of them cannot be recognized through untouchable status as they internally practice degree of pollution and religious cleavages. All of them are not adequately represented in reservation sector as in the case of Andhra where Malas are utilizing maximum benefits in comparison to the other SCs groups such as Madigas and Rellis. Ramaswamy (1984) also argues about the limited avenues open for acquiring socioeconomic mobility among Scheduled Castes that only benefitted small number of SCs. The growth of literacy and emergence of small section of educated elite in Andhra Pradesh is the testimony of non-uniform impact of mobility on SCs. Ramaswamy study of Scheduled Castes namely, Malas and Madigas in Andhra Pradesh (1986, p. 399-403) confirms Saradamoni's (1981) study among Pulayas of Kerala, where he observes that Pulayas are the most advanced group among SC population in state; the same situation Ramaswamy found in case of A.P. where Malas occupy better position than Madigas in state. A mass of SC people are not benefitted through welfare measures.

Mathew (1986) unfolds the process of awakening of Pulayas in Kerala and Mahars in Maharashtra. He made an in-depth study of the social mobility of these two SC groups who have many similarities. He highlights the various factors of social mobility of these two SCs groups especially the influence of ideology and the organizational protests and movements,

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India this process is dysfunctional as the identity of any individual is ascriptive in nature and untouchables are not authorizes to imitate upper caste groups.

which have made them aware of the need to respond to state measures more than any other castes. He considered education as an important avenue of the social mobility of the Pulayas and analyzes the change in their occupational and economic statuses. Ram (1988) in his study focused his attention towards the correlation of status mobility in caste and class structures. He believes that the study of social mobility in India in general and Scheduled Castes in particular has to deal with status mobility in caste structure as well as class structure but have been ascribed with low status in caste structure. Dahiwale (1989) analyses the various factors of occupational mobility among SCs. He observes that consciousness, economic hardships, ideological impact of ideas of Phule, Ambedkar gave self-awakening of their own degraded position, reservations and other benefits are the factors responsible for mobility among SCs.

Ram (1989) observes that as a result of social mobility among the SCs, a new class emerged in the city of Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. He finds that the most important indicator of mobility is the social perception of individuals about their own social status and mobility. The new middle class arising out of social mobility among the SCs is either not in the position to identify with the middle class in general or with the SC masses. Thus, the SC middle class is seeking for a new identity. He noted limited and uneven impact of reservation policy.

For more instances of socioeconomic and political mobility in tabulated form are shown in Appendixes.

Assertion and Identity Formation

In recent years, the Scheduled Castes/ untouchables challenge the discrimination and exploitation against them by asserting themselves through movements and political parties. According to Pai (2013, p. 30-31) "Assertion at the grass roots is not the product of the mobilizational activities of Dalit movements or parties. Rather it is a phenomenon that is much larger and deeper than, and predates the emergence of movements and though in many cases it underlies the construction of Dalit identity-it has an independent existence". However, Assertion at the grass roots is the post-independence phenomenon. Unlike movements carried out by several Scheduled Castes or untouchables and establishment of parties they do not took any political shape. The assertion took place due to state inadequacy to improve socio-economic conditions of SCs. Dalits have constructed alternative ideologies such as Ambedkarization to create political consciousness. This assertion does not create any homogenization rather it has led to the fragmentation and divisions among sub-caste groups. The emergence of sub-caste identity across many states has led to competition among Sub-castes everywhere best exemplified in field of reservation. There have been demands for higher quotas for the more backward among the Dalits in a number of states. The BSP in 2001 proposed a 'most Dalit' quota of 6% for the smaller and poorer sub-castes in U.P. which also supported by other parties in hope of gaining support.

The example of sub-caste rivalry is the socio-political division at the grass roots between the chamars of western U.P. who have historically been the most prosperous and educated group, thus creating hostility with other groups. In 1931 census, out of 21% percent of depressed classes in the population, Chamars made up of 1.2% in comparison to other sub-castes such as Dhobis, Bhangis, Pasis. In the colonial census, they managed to change their name from the Chamar to Jatav/ Kureel, which they claim is a distinct group much higher than other sub-caste groups. Prosperity gained from the leather industry, set up in parts of North-India in the colonial period, and enabled them to enter politics giving them an advance over the others (Lynch, 1974).

The construction of Dalit identity and because of it they became more active in both forms of assertion-grass root activism and electoral politics. In contrast, the Balmikis, during the colonial and post-colonial period, under-went the process of Hinduism due to which they

are less attracted towards Ambedkarization. The fault lines of Dalit unification are further exposed, as many lower castes like Dhobi, Pasi, Bhangi etc seldom use the word Dalit to define themselves, since their individual caste identities are more significant for them. BSP was initially viewed as Chamar party and other sub-castes took some time to move towards it (Pai, 2002). Kumar (2002) explained in his study the emergence of Dalit Leadership tracing the history of events of rising political consciousness among Dalits, the rise of BSP and what are the failures of Dalit leadership? He conceptualizes the concept of "Dalit" as well as "Their Leadership" in democratic politics. His study also "analyzes various processes like rapid politicization of Dalits, nature and dynamics of organization of Dalit leadership, its articulated demands and its allies and mobilizational pattern" (2002, p. 40).

The work of Judge (2014) book traces the changes, which have taken place among Dalits. How Dalits changed their strategy from struggle to caste equality to the assertion of their identity, a process that had become more pronounced in Punjab in formulation of new identity "Ad-Dharmis". They have oriented their struggle for social equality through the assertion of caste identity. Narayan (2011) study is based on the political consciousness, participation and mobilization among the Dalits of U.P; by tracing the social and political history of these groups of people. It examines the process of politicization of Dalit community through their internal social struggles and movements and their emergence as a political public in the state oriented democratic political setting of contemporary India. Rawat (2012) in his study provides a valuable piece on Dalit history and tracing history of Chamars in North India. It helps us to understand why the ex-untouchables of India came to invest in a politics of identity? How formulating a distinctive new identity through movements carried out by such groups of people in early 1920's and which had received major political success.

Sub-Categorization of Scheduled Castes

The process of sub-categorization pointed towards the demand of adequate representation of the most marginalized among Scheduled Castes and is rooted in ineffective implementation of reservations and variable consequences of socioeconomic mobility on all sub-caste groups coming under SC list. The context of such demand was based on the matter of visibility or representation in state level policies. The following states undergo the process of sub-categorization:

- **Punjab:** Puri (2004) gave historical account of Scheduled Castes in Punjab in which he elaborately explains the various communities under SCs: their difference in proportion and socio-economic and political status. Judge puts light on social change in status of Dalits while discussing the formation of identity among Dalits of Punjab. Juergensmeyer (1988) gave valuable information on the origin of Ad-Dharm movement how this movement is one of the most successful Dalits mobilizations in entire sub-continent in Doaba Region in Punjab. Jodhka and Kumar (2007) study was based on issue of sub-classification of Scheduled Castes: the story of Punjab in which both of them traces the history of events of agitation among communities of SCs (Balmiki and Majhabi), the context of classification, the political procession of quotas within quotas among SCs.

- **Haryana:** Aggrawal and Ashraf (1976) in their study traces the history of origin of special privileges and welfare measures for SCs with particular reference to Haryana and the difference among several sub-groups of SCs whom are getting benefits from welfare measures along with empirical evidence; the study mainly focuses on 3 larger scheduled caste groups- Valmikis, Dhanuks and Chamars of Haryana and mainly seek the differences among them in terms of their consciousness/awareness about their rights and benefits, educational attainment, socio-economic and political status. Both of the authors do offer a comparative framework but they do not shoe the instance of conflict among different groups of Scheduled Castes. Sharma (1986) in his book talks about mobility of Chamar

caste in post-independence era-due to transformation of agricultural economy towards industrial economy. Decline of cottage and craft based industries in place of them; large industrial enterprises had increased. Chamars gain access to these industries due to their skills (leather works) which gave them increased opportunities to acquire economic wealth. Study has been taken place in Karnal (Haryana) where it traces the increased consciousness among Chamars, their educational improvement and other such factors, which are responsible for their spatial and occupational mobility. Malik (1979) in his study trace the efficiency of reservation benefits among Scheduled Castes while taking into account several constitutional acts and amendments meant for welfare, protective and development measures for Scheduled Castes of Haryana. He examines the upward mobility among Scheduled Castes of Haryana (specific to Ambala), what are the sources of mobility for such individuals, what is the level or degree of mobility they achieve and what is the change mobility brings in their socio-economic and political status.

- **Andhra Pradesh:** Chalam (2009) traces the assertion among Dalits and emergence of their identity and consciousness in states of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. The number of dominant groups of SCs in India and emergence of leadership pattern (Dalit and Bahujan Formation) among some of these groups. Sambaiah (2009) examine the Dandora debate on the question of caste-based categorization of SC reservation in A.P and it focuses on the arguments and counter arguments around the question of categorization. Reddy (2009) traces the beginning and social background of movement, the strategy and outcome of movement with analyzing difference among SCs on caste and class lines and which certainly act as a basis of exploitation and oppression. Rao (2009) provides an elaborate introductory account of reservation policy of India, the historical context of divisions, and the context of sub-categorization in states like Punjab, Haryana, A.P., Maharashtra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Tamil Nadu.

- **Uttar Pradesh:** The Hukum Singh commission proposed categorization of dalits into two schedules: schedule 'a' comprising chamars, jatavs and dhusias and schedule 'b' comprising 65 other castes in the SC category. Of the 21% reservation available for dalits, the committee recommended the reservation of 10% for the castes in schedule 'a' and 11% for that in schedule 'b'. The castes in schedule 'a' constitute the traditional support base of the BSP. It was alleged that although they constitute only about 50% of the dalit population in the state, they were unfairly enjoying almost 80% of the benefits of reservation owing to their comparatively well-off status and patronage of leaders such as Mayawati. In 2001 chief minister of U.P. on june 28 announced policy of 'quotas within quotas' to the most backward among scheduled castes. To formulate this into a provision, he constituted the social justice committee, headed by Hukum Singh and co-chaired by Rampati Shashtri (Rao. 2009).

- **Bihar:** In Bihar also Nitish Kumar government also set up in august 2007 maha dalit commission to suggest ways for the uplift of the most deprived communities from amongst the scheduled castes. The commission was headed by Vishwanath Rishi. The commission submitted its 186 pages report in November 2007, comprising 116 recommendations to improve the condition of 'maha dalits'. Of the 22 SCs in Bihar the commission identified 18 as maha dalits seeking special measures to uplift these communities through a series of affirmative action initiated by the state government. The list excluded the 'dominant' castes like paswan, Dhobi, chamar and pasi from the most deprived group. It is no coincidence that all these four excluded sub-castes from the Nitish Kumar agenda of 'maha dalit' are known to have political affiliations and also serves their political motives. It created a list

of castes deemed to be in need of special attention that included musahar, bhuiyan, mehtar, dom, rajwar, nat and halal khor sub-castes (Rao, 2009).

- **Karnataka:** Karnataka state government appointed a judicial inquiry commission, under the chairman-ship of justice Sadashiva, to study the imbalances among different communities in utilizing reservation benefits. Its broad parameters were specified and no new communities were to be included in the SC list as claimed by different dalit organizations. The government has set a deadline of September 2007 for the commission to submit its report (Rao, 2009).
- **Tamil Nadu:** Tamil Nadu was the latest to join the league to appoint a commission under the chairmanship of Justice M.S. Janardham, on March 25, 2008 to study the modalities of providing reservation for Arunthathiyars within the existing quota for scheduled castes. The commission has professed that it had gone to all aspects of the issue in detail and recommended that this community needed to be empowered (Rao, 2009).

Therefore, different positions have been taken by different scholars to substantiate their finding on the impact of demand of sub-categorization on scheduled castes. Rao (2009) argues that sub-categorization further divides scheduled castes on sub-caste and political lines. The study of Jodhka and Kumar (2007) shows that how in Haryana during the period of implementation of sub-classification the most marginalized among scheduled castes were able to secure jobs and enroll them in education sector. Chalam (2009) in his work suggests that it is necessary to change the uniform policy of the government in providing the same kind of prescriptions for different problems of various sub-caste groups coming under scheduled castes list. Reddy (2002) in his study raises the questions have the reservations really helped the scheduled castes for development and achieving mobility? Kumar (2009) in his study provides the argument on the basis of various legal and constitutional barriers in the way of sub-classification of scheduled castes? He also tries to analyze the rationale behind the implementation and withdrawal of sub-categorization and how it's impacted such groups.

CONCLUSION

The study observed the heterogeneity and internal social hierarchy practiced within Scheduled Castes while tracing the antecedents of Scheduled Castes differentiation and their internal social hierarchy through which they cannot be placed as one homogeneous unit. Secondly, affirmative action policy is ineffective in uplifting the small and marginalized groups among Scheduled Castes. Some of the major Scheduled Castes groups are Chamars of Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, Mahars of Maharashtra, Pulayas of Kerala, Malas of Andhra Pradesh. The inadequacy of reservations reaching till ground level is due to the incapacity of all sub-caste groups to access those benefits. There is difference in level of difficulty faced by SCs in socioeconomic and political realm as due to their different social standing in society. This incompetent structure of reservations causes variation in uniform consequences of mobility generating intense competition and conflict among Scheduled Castes. Thirdly, the main aim of identity bases movements was to fight against inequality and injustice in unity (Scheduled Castes mobilized under one collective struggle) but later on individual sub-caste groups follow different path for obtaining political mobility that further fragmented their growth and progress uniformly. Jatavs, Ad-Dharmis and Ravidasis of Punjab and U.P., Adi-Andhras and Adi- Dravidas of South India followed the path of Bhakti resurgence; on the other hand, some of them followed the path of conversion e.g. Pulayas of Kerala converted to Christianity and Mahars of Maharashtra to Neo-Buddhists. Lastly, education, maximum utilization of reservations, socio-political consciousness, and active participation in identity struggle were other factors responsible for the diversified progress of Scheduled Castes.

The phenomenon of sub-categorization was based on certain contexts and demands as discussed earlier in this study. It was termed un-constitutional and abolished in every region except Bihar where it has been implemented. There was a constant feud of state and central authorities based on conceptual clarity of some of the constitutional articles. Constitutionally, Scheduled Castes constitute a 'homogeneous whole' and constitute a class by themselves so they cannot be further sub-classified. Secondly, Scheduled Castes came in virtue by President and got a constitutional status. Only President of India can include/exclude any group from SC list. Sub-categorization disturbs the presidential list and state governments cannot exercise their executive and legislative power under Entry 41 of list II and Entry 25 of list III. The commissions set up by various state governments did not submit their report to National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Tribes before categorizing Scheduled Castes groups which considered as the violation of article 338 (9).

The process of sub-categorization cannot be referred to as totally irrational demand of certain marginalized groups that are inadequately represented in opportunity structure but it was unable to show any remarkable impact on Scheduled Castes in any of the state it was implemented. Only in the state of Haryana it was observable out of the seven other states. Secondly, the demand of adequate representation initiated from the active and conscious groups among SCs not from the grass root level. Thirdly, reservations were never being implemented for acting as panacea for removing every form of inequality and injustice. Undoubtedly, there is variation observed in social standing of each of the sub-caste group among Scheduled Castes but there is a need to carefully examine the situation of non-uniform development of SCs community as a whole through data collection and impact and consequences of reservations within reservations on these social groups.

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SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY: A STUDY OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

The presence of Muslims in India dates long back and today they form the largest minority of the country, yet they are seen as the 'other'. Their present condition owes much to their non-native religion and troubled past of partition. They have been considered as an unreliable fifth column, who threatened the unity and strength of Hindu nation. They continue to bear the brunt of partition and face exclusion in spheres of economy, education and spatial segregation. This paper attempts to study the complexities and nuances of exclusion of Muslims in India and explore how exclusion of Muslims is associated with their stigmatised religious identity.
Key Words: religion, identity, exclusion, Muslims

INTRODUCTION

Muslims in India today form the largest religious minority (Kulkarni, 2010, p. 92). According to Census 2011, Muslims in India constitute 14.23 per cent of the total population and form the largest religious minority. They are considered a minority on two major grounds, one is the numerical weakness and other socio-economic weakness (Hasan, 2004, p. 242). Muslims in India are facing exclusion in different spheres viz. education, socio-economic, political and physical space. The aspect of exclusion assumes importance as a number of studies have already made it clear that the exclusion which Muslims face emanates from their religious identity (Bhargava, 2004; Gayer and Jaffrelot, 2012; Oommen, 2014; Robinson, 2008; Sachar Committee Report, 2006; Shaban, 2016; Thorat and Attewell, 2007). The significant aspect about their identity is the fact that it has been stigmatised (Jaffrelot, 1996; Shaban, 2016; Sirnate, 2007). Stigmatised Muslim identity is understood in terms of Muslims being seen as the 'other', cultural outsiders, invaders, fifth column, and as 'threatening others' in India. It can also be in relation to suspicion, over-breeding and Muslim men being considered as womanisers, that is, luring Hindu women through love *jihad* (Shaban, 2016). This has roots in the historical presence of Muslims in India and the propaganda of Hindutva. Indian Muslims have for decades been put under the lens of suspicion. They have been considered as an unreliable fifth column, who threatened the unity and strength of Hindu nation. They continue to bear the brunt of partition and face exclusion at social, political and economic levels. The denial of housing accommodation to Muslims, harassment, fake encounters, incarceration of Muslims, violence and programme of '*gharwapsi*' all point to the problems faced by people on the account of their religious identity.

There are two major viewpoints which come into play in any discussion of marginalised conditions of Muslim community in India. The first, states that this lack of inclusion or backwardness is the fault of Muslim community themselves which draws from their Islamic prescriptions and ideologies. Second line of thought comes from the Muslims themselves who believe that their disadvantaged position is mainly the lack of effort on the part of the state. There are often disagreements regarding the approach to be taken to address the Muslim question in India.

Ahmad (1989) acknowledged that certain segments amongst Indian Muslims are disadvantaged but was of the view that it was less due to their status as Muslims and more to

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do with migration pattern during partition, and their ability to respond to changes in the wider economic structure. Ahmad believed that the condition of Muslims was a result of their internal assets, their skills and their geographical expertise. He argues that problems lies in the fact that Indian society is a segmentary society where each group may be divided into further subgroups and these may combine against groups and discrimination operates at every level of social interaction. Hence the problem is not of Indian Muslims but of Indian society. Ahmad did not support arguments of "… negative psychological orientations against the community and the deterioration in the secular environment in the country" (Ahmad, 1989, p. 45) as explanation for the Muslim situation in India. He argues that the blame for Muslim situation should not always be put on outside external forces rather it is the Muslims themselves who are blocking the social advancement of other Muslims. Ahmad asserts that situation of Indian Muslims must be understood in terms of both intrinsic and external factors.

Imam (1975) laid emphasis on the fact that "Muslim problem be viewed not as generalized monolith one but in terms of classes among the Muslim community" (Imam, 1975, p. xiii). Similarly, Islam (2012) raised the question whether exclusion among Muslims should be seen as exclusion based on their religious identity or they should simply be considered as poor. He emphasized on the need for a class perspective.

If we consider the exclusion of Muslims from a class perspective, we can argue that it is the differential impact of class based policies which affect the Muslims. But it is also certain that there are communal issues pertaining to identity and security (Shaban, 2012).

OBJECTIVES

The first and main objective of this paper is to study the complexities and nuances of exclusion of Muslims, a dominant minority group in India. It would explore the different dimensions in which Muslims are excluded. Secondly, to explore how exclusion is directly associated with religion in face of a stigmatised religious identity. Thirdly, to study the nature and dynamics of the process of social exclusion and different indicators which manifest the process of exclusion. Lastly, to reflect on the role of the State in terms of intervention to address the issue of exclusion.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on secondary sources of information. It made use of a various sources ranging from books, to journals, working papers. It also makes use of Census data in India, various Commission and government reports like Sachar Committee Report, Post Sachar Evaluation Committee Report, etc.

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Exclusion became a topic of discussion in France during 1960s, when many politicians, academics started referring to the poor as '*les exclus*.' It became widespread during the economic crisis that occurred in France and the term was increasingly applied to different types of socially disadvantaged. The use of the term social exclusion can be traced back to Aristotle, however its recent use is attributed to Rene Lenoir in 1974, who was then Secretary of State for Social Action in Chirac Government. Exclusion referred to various categories of people who were identified as social problems - mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people and other misfits (Sliver, 2014[1994]). However, in the coming years, this narrow view was superseded as the term broadened. Exclusion which earlier meant an object condition soon came to be understood as exclusion from economic growth. Later, the term exclusion was not only confined to issues of unemployment but also the increasingly unstable social bonds. When we talk about the breakdown of bonds between individual and society, it can be understood

with reference to Durkheim's ideas of how "exclusion threatens society as a whole with the loss of collective values and the destruction of the social fabric" (Silver, 2014, p. 6). There was no one monolith definition of social exclusion, rather a range of national discourses (Levitas, 2005, p. x).

More often than not, terms like social exclusion, deprivation, poverty are used interchangeably. However, there are certain differences between them. Deprivation is usually treated as a static concept while social exclusion has important dynamic aspects. In other words, the time aspect plays an important role as when deprivation persists over time, people may be called as socially excluded. Similarly, although there is a close association between the poverty and social exclusion, it seems clear that in principle social exclusion can occur between groups that are not significantly distinguished from one another economically. For instance, exclusion may be experienced by non-poor or upwardly mobile people, in case of international immigrants or ethnic minorities who may have satisfactory levels of education and finance may face obstacles to integrate into society, labour market in the host country (Fischer, 2011).

There are certain features associated with social exclusion, namely – *relativity, multidimensional, dynamic, agency* (Atkinson and Hills, 1998). People are excluded from a particular society, place and time, in other words social exclusion cannot be understood in isolation, one must take account of activities of others. Exclusion is multidimensional, that is, people are excluded in more than one dimension and it cannot be measured by income alone. Third, exclusion is dynamic and not only points to the present situation but also to the little prospects for the future (Atkinson and Hills, 1998, p. 14). Fourth, exclusion is structural and maintained by an agency, which implies that exclusion is an act involving an agent or agents. In other words, people are excluded not because of their own actions but by actions of an external acting agency.

As already discussed that social exclusion is a multidimensional concept. Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997) analysed the multidimensional aspect of exclusion. The dimensions range from economic, social to political and spatial. The *economic dimension* is concerned with the "questions of income and production and access to goods and services (or commodity bundles) from which some people are excluded and others are not. They may be excluded from income and livelihood, from employment and the labour market and from the satisfaction of such basic needs as housing/shelter, health and education" (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997, p. 418). The *social dimension* can be understood in terms of entitlements, access to services, labour market and participation in decision making. The *political dimension* takes account of rights and citizenship, that is, "it concerns the denial of particular human and political rights to certain groups of the population" (ibid.: 420). According to Bhalla and Lapeyre (2004) "the different dimensions of exclusion can be grouped into two main categories of *i) distribution*, pertaining to economic exclusion, poverty and deprivation and *ii) relations*, pertaining to its social and political aspects" (cited in Bhalla and Luo, 2013, p. 21). The interaction between these two aspects creates a distinctive concept of exclusion going beyond that of poverty.

Exclusion can be understood at the level of individual, community and society. Individual citizens are entitled to certain rights and protections and social exclusion occurs when individuals suffer from disadvantage and are unable to secure these social rights" (Bhalla and Lapyre, 1997 cited in Taket et al. 2009, p. 14). Exclusion can also be seen in interaction with community. This can be seen at two levels: exclusion that individuals or groups may face within a community and second, exclusion that a group or community face at the hands of wider society. Within a community, individuals may feel excluded when they are outside societal norms in terms of sexual orientation, gender, race, disability, etc. While if we look at excluded communities, this may result from stigmatisation which initially may be about some members of the group but broadens to include all members of a community. Exclusion of

groups or community can be understood in terms of stigmatisation of identity which leads to disadvantage. This stigmatisation and exclusion pertains to the people's identity, that is, who they are and what they are perceived to be. The group identities may be based on caste, ethnicity or religion. Kabeer (2006) argues that the social exclusion perspective, in addition to poverty takes account of the fact how certain groups in society are 'locked out' or left behind in several dimensions on the account of their identity. She pointed to the fact that social identity can act as a central axis of exclusion and the concept of social exclusion captures the overlapping nature of disadvantages experienced by groups.

In the western context it is usually race, class and gender which are seen as important structural elements in which exclusion is embedded but in India, it is caste which replaces race as a structural feature (Judge, 2014). The concept of social exclusion arrived in India with reference to inter-caste dynamics. It is not only exclusion manifested in terms of caste which is prevalent in India. Exclusion can also be mapped with reference to language, religion, region, physical space, etc.

Bhargava (2004) deals with the aspect of religion-related exclusion which broadly covers two forms of exclusions. First, the exclusion of people from the domain of religious liberty and equality. Second, the exclusion of people from the wider, non-religious domains. This can be referred to as religion-based exclusion and it lays emphasis on one's religious identity as a basis of excluding from the legal, economic and political rights (Bhargava, 2004, p. 3). Oommen (2014) takes account of three sources of social exclusion in India: cultural heterogeneity, spatial externality and social hierarchy. He claims that there is a process of externalisation in India to create a nation-state which leads to exclusion of people who profess different faiths for instance and are considered cultural outsiders. Further, the "Indian Muslims are thus a suspect minority and the cultural externalisation of Muslims is the prime source of their exclusion" (Oommen, 2014, p. 121).

In this paper we look into the exclusion of Muslims based on their religious identity. There is a need to discuss the historical presence of Islam and Muslims in order to comprehend their present situation.

ISLAM AND MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Advent of Islam in India was not through one single route, there is a regional variation from north to south. While the spread of Islam in the north can be traced to Arab conquest of Sind, in the southern region it is traced back to Arab traders who first settled on the Malabar Coast. The role of *Sufis* in propagation of Islam cannot be ignored. *Sufi* orders set in large scale missionary activities (Annermarie, 1980, p. 23). There were a number of *Sufi* saints who settled in various parts of the country, learnt the local language to communicate with the people and spread the word of Allah.

Contextualizing Marginalisation of Muslims in India

The marginalisation of Muslims today can be understood with reference to events in their history.

First, the British imperial rule marked a turning point in the life of the Muslims of India (Ashraf, 2008, p. 233). Muslims turned from rulers to subjects and never recovered from the loss of power to the British. The British government in India regarded Muslims as a potential threat to their political power and adopted a policy of persecution and alienation of Indian Muslims. Muslims lacked modern education, government jobs were not open to them and they were dismissed from responsible positions in the army and administration. The period of British rule in India shaped Muslim identities to the extent of sharpening distinctions between

Hindus and Muslims. The legacy of Muslim rule, competition for resources and separate electorates were important factors in widening the gap between two communities.

Second, Partition worsened the situation as it led to the movement of a large section of Muslims to Pakistan who primarily hailed from elite section including landlords, bureaucrats and businessmen. While those who remained in India belonged to the poorer section, those working as artisans and landless labour (Puniyani, 2012). Further, Muslims were blamed for the Partition. Their loyalties are questioned and their identities stigmatized.

Third, the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya in 1992 by Hindu extremists who claimed that is was the birthplace of Rama. India's partition and demolition of the Babri masjid, both "left deep scars on the country's fragile polity and society" (Hasan, 2007, p. 298).

Lastly, communal riots also embittered Hindu-Muslim relations. Major communal riots were witnessed in Ayodhya and other parts of the country after the destruction of Babri Masjid in 1992-1993 (Engineer, 2004). Communalism is not only to be noted between these two religious communities of Hindus and Muslims but also the important aspect of communalisation of law and order machinery, which meant inadequate protection to the victims or Muslims per se. Such communal acts of violence widened the Hindu-Muslim divide in India and further disadvantaged the Muslims in India.

THE PROCESS OF 'OTHERING'

The process of *othering* can be traced back to earlier nationalist writings which points to its long and deep roots. Hindu nationalist *identity formation* can be seen through a strategy of stigmatisation and emulation that capitalised on feelings of vulnerability (Jaffrelot, 1996). This stigmatisation is primarily of Muslims who are projected as the 'threatening others'. It has its roots in early writings of M.S. Golwalkar, V.D. Savarkar, etc. Golwalkar's work '*Bunch of Thoughts*' can be used here as an example to show this process of *othering*. He wrote that only Hindus are the natural nationals of this country but also considered the Muslims as an unreliable fifth column. He did not acknowledge the spread of Islam in India as a gradual process which happened via *Sufis*, traders, etc. rather took account of Muslims as invaders and wrote "they were conceiving themselves as conquerors and rulers here for the last twelve hundred years" (Golwalkar, 1966, p. 122). Similarly, Savarkar's idea of Hindutva is premised on "three pillars of geographical unity, racial features and a common culture" (Jaffrelot, 1996, p. 26). For him the territory of India cannot be dissociated from Hindu culture and the Hindu people. The Hindu Self is often portrayed as the Indian Self which in turn renders non-Hindu Indians as Others and anti-Indian.

This idea of Muslim as the 'Other' emanates from one's conception of nation. Oommen (2000) writes that there are those who invoke Hinduism as the basis of Indian nation. For them it is a distinction between religions of Indian origin and those outside India. In other words, "those professing religions of Indian origin were insiders and nationals while all others were outsiders and aliens, expected to reconcile themselves to a subordinate position or agree to be assimilated" (Oommen, 2000, p. 6).

Hindutva and Muslims

When we talk about *othering* of Muslims in India it is important to consider the role played by Hindu right wing and its Hindutva agenda. Since the rise of Hindutva in the 1980s, the question of future of Muslims in India has acquired a new urgency. This firstly leads one to question what is *Hindutva*? Hindutva refers to the "the historical process of construction of majoritarian (Hindu) communalism and its gradual transformation into a specific political-ideological creed of nation state in a given political, social and economic context" (Alam, 2007, p. 137). It is represented by RSS and BJP and Shiv Sena. In the 1990s there was rise of a new armed wing of Hindu nationalism – the Bajrang Dal. This militia was trained in systematic violence.

Bajrang Dal emerged as Hindutva's cultural police which aimed at promoting Hindu orthodoxy.

Apart from formation of an ideological identity, the Hindu nationalists also adopted the policy of *ethno-religious mobilisation*. This becomes evident in the manipulation of Hindu symbols like *Ram Janbhoomi* issue, followed by demolition of Babri Masjid. The demolition of Babri Masjid was followed by large scale communal violence. In fact, "the 2002 communal violence was not a riot, but a pogrom, which did not remain confined to a city, but spread to many others and even to the countryside. Everything went according to a military like plan, they had lists indicating Muslim homes and shops" (Gayer and Jaffrelot, 2012, p. 57-58). It would not be wrong to call it a state sponsored pogrom to 'clean' the Hindu Rastra.

Fake Encounters, Incarceration of Muslims

In the present era, the rise in religious fanaticism has had serious implications for Muslims whereby a common perception has gained ground that terrorism is a monopoly of Muslims. Of the several bomb blasts that have taken place in India, in most cases, "… the police falsely fabricated cases against the Muslim youth though the real culprits were associated with the right wing Hindu organisations" (Shaban, 2016, p. 20). Statistics reveal that out of a total of 1,220 fake encounters in India during October 1993 to October 2009, the share of Muslims was 17.4 per cent as against their share of 13.4 per cent of the national population (Shaban, 2016, p. 22).

Table 1: Fake encounter cases registered at the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) New Delhi, between October 1993 and October 2009

State/Union Territory	No. of fake encounters	No. of Muslim victims of the encounter	Percentage of Muslims as victims	Share of Muslim population (%) to the total population of the respective state, 2001
Gujarat	20	12	60.0	9.1
Jammu & Kashmir	18	9	50.0	66.8
Delhi	22	8	36.4	11.7
Uttarakhand	29	9	31.0	11.9
Karnataka	29	3	30.0	12.2
Maharashtra	10	16	26.2	10.6
Jharkhand	61	5	23.8	13.9
Uttar Pradesh	21	131	18.3	18.5
Haryana	716	3	16.7	5.8
Manipur	18	3	16.7	8.8
Chhattisgarh	6	1	16.7	2.0
Madhya Pradesh	36	5	13.9	6.4
Rajasthan	11	1	9.1	8.5
Bihar	79	4	5.1	16.5

Andhra Pradesh	73	2	2.7	9.2
Others	82	0	0	-
Total (of the above)	1,220	212	17.4	13.4

Source: Shaban, 2016: 23.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL AND SPATIAL EXCLUSION OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Muslims in India experience discrimination and disadvantage in various spheres of life and this fact has been established repeatedly by various reports and surveys.

Education

In the sphere of education, Muslims suffer from a double disadvantage. Muslims have low levels of education at the same time the quality of education they receive is disturbingly low. This becomes apparent from the statistics of literacy among Muslims in India. As pointed out in the Sachar Committee Report (2006, p. 52) "the literacy rate among Muslims in 2001 was 59.1%. This is far below the national average (65.1%)." Most Muslims live in urban areas, yet there is a greater gap in urban areas and for women. This lower proportion of Muslims in education can be understood in term of poverty, lack of access to schools in the vicinity, primarily girl's schools, lack of recognition of madrasa certificate in mainstream educational institutions. Moreover, Article 30 (1) provides for the rights of the minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.[2] However, institutions set up by minorities also face difficulties in claiming the status as a minority institution so as to reserve seats for admission of children of minority community.

Economy and Employment

In the economic sphere, the workforce participation of Muslims is lower compared to other socio-religious communities. According to Census 2001, only 31.3 per cent of Muslims were actively participating in economic activity. The condition of Muslims in economic sphere needs to be understood from an intersectional perspective. There are inter-group, regional and gender differentials noticed in participation of Muslims in employment. The participation rate is lower for Muslims in rural areas compared to those in urban areas. Gender dimension is vital as the lower rate of economic activity of Muslim women affects the overall economic condition of the community. Only 14 per cent of Muslim women form part of workforce compared to 47.5 per cent males.

Table 2: Work participation

Name of Religion	Total	Male	Female
Hindus	40.4	52.4	27.5
Muslims	31.3	47.5	14.1
Christians	39.7	50.7	28.7
Sikhs	37.7	53.3	20.2
Buddhists	40.6	49.2	31.7
Jains	32.9	55.2	9.2

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2 See http://mhrd.gov.in/fundamental_rights_article-30 Accessed on 23rd June 2016

Other religions	48.4	52.5	44.2

Source: Census 2001.[3]

One of the most striking features of employment among Muslims is that a large section of Muslim population is engaged in self-employment. There is an interaction between education and employment. Muslim men with lower levels of education tend to take up low-paying self-employed occupations and as a result a large section of Muslim men are found to be involved in "petty occupations like tailoring, weaving, transport, and in building activity as carpenters and masons" (Das, 2008, p. 16).

The Sachar Committee Report (2006, p. 91) revealed that there are about 61 per cent of Muslims who come under the category of self-employed compared to 55 per cent of the Hindu workers. Muslim workers are mostly casual workers and their share in regular jobs is as low as 27 per cent in urban areas (ibid.). In 2014, Post Sachar Evaluation Committee published its report and its findings revealed that there was not much difference as during 2011-2012, "in urban areas 50% of the Muslim households were self-employed against 33% among Hindus" (Post Sachar Evaluation Report, 2014, p. 14). National level data on employment of Muslims in civil services reveal that Muslims constituted on 3 per cent in the IAS and 1.8% in IFS (Sachar Committee Report, 2006, p. 165). It points to the fact that the proportion of Muslims in government jobs is also miniscule. This is elaborated in **Appendixes** Table 3 and 4.

Spatial Exclusion

Muslims in India are found to be unevenly distributed in residential spaces which often emerge as ghettos and ethnic enclaves (Gayer and Jaffrelot, 2012; Kirmani, 2008; Shaban, 2012). To cite a few examples, one can look at localities of Zakir Nagar, Abul Fazal enclave in Delhi; ghettos like Shivaji Nagar, Nagpada, Byculla in Mumbai, etc. An important factor which acts as a catalyst in spatial segregation of Muslims is communal riots which have developed a sense of fear amongst the Muslims. The acts of violence have led to believe amongst Muslims, that residing in segregated ethnic enclaves would offer them more security.

The ghettos in which Muslims reside often lack a proper physical and social infrastructure. If one looks at the case of medical facilities, areas with high proportions of Muslim population tends to lack in proper medical facilities and this happens especially in larger villages. The 55th and 61st NSSO data provided the status of electrification at the household level and drawing from this it was evident that in areas where a large number of Muslims and SCs/STs resided, those were categorised as the least electrified areas (Sachar Committee Report, 2006).

It is not merely the residential spaces of Muslims which are contested sites but also their places of worship which have often been the centre of controversy. There are cases where there is a dispute over a mosque in the area. Williams (2012) presented the case of Madanpura, a traditional weaving neighbourhood in the centre of Varanasi which inhabits a vast majority of Muslims. This work brought to light the question of Muslim rights to the city by pointing to the shutting down of a mosque in Madanpura. Such an act on part of the majority community to refuse to recognize the legitimacy of a mosque points to a larger debate of citizenship of Muslims and their rights to representation in the urban landscape (Williams, 2012).

Muslims may not be evenly marginalized, and exclusion may be more pronounced in some areas compared to others but that does not deny exclusion of Muslims in different spheres

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[3] censusindia.gov.in/Ad_Campaign/drop_in.../04-Distribution_by_Religion.pdf Accessed 27th July 2016.

in complex ways. The question then is with regard to measures to counter such tendencies. There have been policies and measures that aim to address issues of Muslim minority but how far they have succeeded remains to be answered.

MUSLIMS AND STATE INITIATIVES

Article 15 and 16 of the Indian Constitution prohibits the State from making any discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent place of birth, residence (Ranganath Mishra Commission Report, 2007, p. 4). In addition to this, Articles 29 and 30 guarantee the rights of the religious and linguistic minorities. These guarantee "the rights of the minorities to conserve the language, script and culture and to establish and administer education institutions of their choice whether based on religion or language" (Ranganath Mishra Commission Report, 2007, p. 7).

The State had made various efforts to protect the minorities and in relation to education, health services, poverty alleviation, employment, etc. There are several policies, programs and statutory mechanisms in place for the development of minorities. There are Five-year plans in which the Tenth plan "explicitly formulated programmes for social and economic empowerment of SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities in the framework of growth and social justice" (Ranganath Mishra Commission Report, 2007, p. 75).

In 1978 the National Commission for Minorities (NCM) was established "to perform a number of functions for the effective implementation of safeguards provided under the Constitution for protection of the interests of minorities and to make recommendations in this regard to the Central Government or State Government, as the case may be" (cited in Khalidi, 2006, p. 253). However, the Commission's effectivity is limited as it lacks authority. It merely acts as an advisory body and its recommendations are not binding on the governments. The 15-Point Program for Welfare of Minorities was launched in 1983. It aimed to ensure socio-economic development of minority communities and provide them with a sense of security. The implementation of this programme has not been satisfactory and it lacks proper implementation on part of many State governments.

There are few other statutes and programmes on the part of the State to improve the conditions of Muslims in India which have been implemented on paper but not in practice, or have inherent loopholes and there are cases where they do not target Muslim dominated areas.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we discussed how Muslims are excluded in three major dimensions of education, economy and spatial. Moreover, apart from the secular domains, we also discussed the socio-psychological process of *othering* which acts as a catalyst in the exclusion of Muslims in India. It is apparent that Muslims in India have been fighting a battle for inclusion since pre-partition, first it was in terms of equal opportunities in jobs during the British, followed by proving their patriotism in the aftermath of partition and even today they stand on the periphery of society lacking basic amenities, residential segregation, facing violence, etc.

When we talk about Muslims in India they are not one homogenous whole, rather what fits the discussion is the category of Muslim communities. They may be internally divided but share the experience of exclusion though in different degrees. This is apparent from the fact that even an upper class Muslim feels the need to stay in a Muslim dominated locality to feel safe. There is not only exclusion of Muslims by the majority community but also exclusion amongst the Muslims. There is exclusion of women whether it is in terms of education, employment or space. There is also class based exclusion where elite Muslims living in urban areas fare better than lower class Muslims living in a rural area. Hence exclusion is defined in different ways by different Muslims, for some it entails not being able to assert their identity

in public or lack of participation the public sphere while for another it could mean simple access to water and other such amenities.

The point of contention is that whether it is discriminatory practices in the job sector, spatial exclusion, exclusion from other services and infrastructure or even violence, it is structured. Even when the state tries to address these issues there are loopholes at the level of implementation. The anti-Muslim sentiments much prevalent in our society manifests itself in exclusion of Muslims in India being maintained by institutionalised agency of different institutions, government departments, implementing staff, etc. Hence this exclusion can be categorised as structural and therefore needs to be tackled accordingly.

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APPENDIXES

Table 3: Indian Administrative Service (Percentage to the total in brackets)

Year	Total Intake	Muslims	Sikhs	Christians
1971	87	1 (1.14)	4 (4.59)	5 (5.74)
1972	142	1 (0.70)	6 (4.85)	4 (2.81)
1973	124	3 (2.41)	5 (4.03)	7 (5.64)
1974	141	1 (0.70)	9 (6.38)	4 (2.83)
1975	129	2 (1.55)	5 (3.87)	7 (5.42)
1976	138	5 (3.62)	9 (6.52)	10(7.24)
1977	158	10(6.32)	4 (2.53)	13(8.22)
1978	134	10(7.46)	6 (4.47)	13(9.70)
1979	117	3 (2.56)	8 (6.83)	7 (5.98)
1980	124	1 (0.80)	5 (4.03)	3 (2.41)
Total	1294	37(2.86)	61(4.71)	73(5.64)

Source: Gopal Singh Committee Report on Minorities, 1983 (cited in Najiullah 2006: 688).

Table 4: Share of Muslim Employees in Selected Central Government Department and Institutions

Category/ Level of Employment	Total number of Employees #	Civil services	Railways telegraph	Post and Services	Security	Banks	University	PSU***
Group A		4.8 (35.8)	2.5 (18.7)	3.8 (28.4)	3.1 (23.1)	1.7 (27.6)*	3.7 (12.7)	2.3 (17.2)
Group B	122551	-	3.4 (25.4)	4.4 (32.8)	3.9 (29.1)			2.8 (20.9)
Group C	1486637	-	4.9 (36.6)	4.8 (35.8)	4.6 (34.3)	2.5 (18.7)	5.4 (40.3)**	3.9 (29.1)
Group D	659113	-	5.0 (37.3)	5.3 (39.6)	4.3 (32.1)			

Source: Sachar Committee Report 2006: 168

Note: Figures in parenthesis are ratios (in percentage terms) of Muslims' share in employment of a specific department to their share in total population which is 13.4. * Teaching Faculty, ** Non teaching Faculty *** For PSUs Group A is Higher Managerial, Group B is Managerial and Group C & D Workers # For employment number under Group APSUs, Railways, Security Agencies, Postal, Civil Services are shown for Group BPSUs,

Railways, Security Agencies, Postal; for Group C Railways, Security Agencies, Postal; and for Group D Railways, Security Agencies, Postal department are indicated

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MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT FACTORS AFFECT THEIR ROLE IN PROMOTING PUPILS' MENTAL HEALTH

DR. DALAL ALRADAAN[1]

ABSTRACT

This study explores the complexity of teachers' perceptions regarding factors that could potentially affect their understanding of the mental health concept, and their overall role in promoting their pupils' mental health in the context of Kuwaiti middle schools. The study sheds light on teachers' perceptions of the contextual factors shaping their perceptions and the barriers they identify could hinder the implementation of the promotion process, and the changes required to put such a promotion process into practice in the Kuwaiti educational context. A mixed-methodological research approach has been adopted and comprises two stages. A total of 497 Kuwaiti middle-school teachers completed a systematic survey, whilst another twelve teachers were chosen purposely to take part in semi-structured interviews. Findings from the study showed that teachers' perceptions were markedly embedded within the socio-cultural and religious context of the study. A variety of personal, interpersonal, socio-cultural and structural-organisational barriers were perceived by teachers, which could undermine and impact in terms of moving towards the implementation of promoting pupils' mental health.

Keywords: Mental health, Perceptions, Factors, Barriers, Socio-cultural context

INTRODUCTION

There is a growing view that teachers in schools are expected to be more keenly involved in the promotion of mental health amongst pupils, doing more than simply educating and adhering to the national curriculum (World Federation for Mental Health, 2003; Lines, 2002). This means that additional responsibility for the early recognition of mental health issues must be shouldered by teaching staff, as well as referring affected pupils to the most suitable help and services. The current study has been completed as a reflection of the global interest in promoting young people's mental health, as well as in consideration to the high frequency of mental health problems amongst pupils, alongside ever-growing waiting lists for professionals in this area, namely counsellors (Capey, 1997; Baxter, 2002; Neil & Christensen, 2007). Additionally, the study could be considered a reaction to the available evidence emphasising the positive impact of promoting pupils' mental health on pupils' academic achievement and personal, social and mental well-being. It may help to develop better understanding of teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards promoting the mental health of pupils within a specific socio-cultural context. It also could direct policymakers' attention to the value of hearing and considering the neglected views of teachers concerning change in the education system.

THE TERM 'MENTAL HEALTH'

There is growing global awareness of the shift from defining mental health in narrow quasi-medical terms as the absence of a diagnosable problem and widely associated with mental illnesses, to a positive concept emphasising the prevention of mental disorders and the promotion of social and emotional development (Tudor, 1996; Wilson, 2003). Such positive aspects of mental health have been reflected in the field of psychology, particularly within the perspective of 'positive psychology', which holds that mental health comprises more than

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simply not being diagnosed with mental disorders (Kitchener & Jorn, 2002). Such a view considers mental health as a positive quality, and further echoes the early efforts of the World Health Organisation (1964) in redefining the concept of mental health into more positive terms. The WHO has provided a positive definition for the term of 'mental health', positioning the term as an integral component of the individual's whole health, as health is defined as 'a complete state of physical, mental and social well-being and not only the absence of infirmity or disease', and mental health as an 'integral component of health, through which each person realises his or her own cognitive, effective and rational capacities to cope with the stresses of normal life and work to participate effectively and productively in his or her community' (WHO, 2001, p. 1).

The positive conceptualisation of the concept of mental health has been reflected in a number of other definitions of mental health that have been posited, centred on the ability of a person to adapt to change as a response to their environment's demands and stresses, and corresponding psychological and social considerations, equipping them with cognitive, personal and social skills in maintaining a good relationship and achieving goals (Anderson and Anderson, 1995; Health Education Authority, 1998; Surgeon General's Report, 2000; Department of Health and Aged Care, 2000). Within the Arab context, the mental health concept conforms to social and cultural values alongside religious considerations. In the Islamic and Arabic culture, good mental health is concerned with 'conformity', which includes feelings of being satisfied and secure, achieved through creating a balance between one's psychological capability and environmental demands within the socio-cultural context, 'including religious principles and cultural values (El-Islam, 2006).

The positive concept also could be understood further through the continuum concept, where the degree of a person's mental health quality is situated on a scale. Keyes (2002) suggests a model that illustrates such a continuum, with the scholar presenting the term 'flourishing', which describes mentally healthy individuals possessing a notable degree of satisfaction, happiness, personal growth and emotional well-being, and the ability to oppose stressful life events. He also adopts 'languishing' as a term to describe a person who does not enjoy complete mental health, but is not experiencing serious mental health disorders; despite being diagnosed by mental illnesses, Keyes holds that an individual's mental health can be enhanced.

PROMOTING PUPILS' MENTAL HEALTH

Promoting mental health focuses on improving individuals' knowledge and attitudes towards mental health issues and seeking the coping skills required to facilitate social, personal and mental-wellbeing (Hodgson, Abbasi and Clarkson, 1996; Adelman and Taylor, 2006). The current study supports promoting young people's mental health based on the 'asset' model of promoting mental health, which adopts the 'salutogenic' perspective. The former aims at investigating and assessing the origins of disease, rather than curing the disease, and considers the promotion of all individuals' mental well-being—not only that of those who have been diagnosed with mental illnesses—and emphasises less dependence on professional services (Rappaport, 1977; Tew, 2005; Morgan and Ziglio, 2006). The model is founded on a conception of young people's resiliency, where they have the ability to succeed in learning, playing and developing physically, socially and psychologically, regardless of the risk factors that can pull young people back from successful life through delivering supportive environments wherein academic, personal and social skills can be enhanced (Davidson, 2008).

The continuum model seems to fit here, as the key issues revolve around what happens should a young person become stuck or overwhelmed by their feelings, and unable to function well in their life (YoungMinds, 1996). These young people are not 'mentally ill' but do demonstrate significant 'mental health problems', though these problems may not match the

criteria of mental disorders or mental illnesses, and are manageable with help and support (Paternite *et al.*, 2008). Within the school context, this study focuses on the potential support available from teachers, who have direct contact with those young people.

Young people have the right to live in a mentally healthy way, and to have their mental health supported and promoted by individuals surrounding them, as has been recognised across multiple dimensions, including ethics, legislation, psychology and education (Department of Health, 2004; The Convention on the Rights of the Child, published by the United Nations, 1998). Schools are in a unique position to integrate the essential protective factors shown to contribute to mental health development, by reorienting their systems, including ethos, culture, policy, curriculum and school environment (Rothì, Leavey and Best, 2008; Wells, Barlow and Stewart-Brown, 2003; Weare, 2000). Undoubtedly, teachers hold a unique position in promoting pupils' mental health due to their daily and direct contact with those young individuals; however, previous studies have shown the paucity of research carried out in the area of investigating teachers' attitudes towards their role as promotors of their pupils' mental health.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study in its two phases has attempted to answer the fowling questions:
1. What are Kuwaiti middle school teachers' perceptions concerning the barriers undermining their role in terms of promoting pupils' mental health?
2. What factors do Kuwaiti middle school teachers perceive as affecting their perceptions in promoting mental health?
3. What are Kuwaiti middle school teachers' perceptions concerning the changes necessary to put promoting pupils' mental health into practice?

RESEARCH APPROACH

A mixed-methodological approach related to the pragmatic framework, consisting of two complementary research design stages, is implemented in this study. The adoption of this approach is based on the belief that a mixed-methodological approach can profitably amalgamate study approaches, depending on their overall significance in terms of answering specific study questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). It also may be referred to as multi-purpose, or a 'what works' approach, thereby enabling the researcher to deal with questions that may not be efficiently answered if aligned with a narrower research methodology (Creswell, 2003).

Additionally, the literature suggests that perceptions cannot be measured through direct observation; rather, they must be inferred; however, they can be deduced by considering the way in which individuals behave, the beliefs they hold, as well as what they feel (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Silverman, 2006). Moreover, a review of the literature in the field of Mental Health Education indicates that research related to perceptions has been mostly carried out within the field of epidemiology or psychology, encompassing only positivist approaches, using surveys (Norwich, 1998; Brockington, Hall, Levings and Murphy, 1993). Surveys can help researchers to shed light on perceptions; however, they cannot explain how these perceptions are shaped and might influence behaviour (Secker and Platt, 1996).

RESEARCH DESIGN, SAMPLE, AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS

A systematic survey was carried out, utilising a large sample of Kuwaiti teachers, totalling 479, with all individuals chosen randomly from four Kuwaiti educational administration authorities. Perceptions scale was conducted on teachers concerning their perceptions and perceived

barriers in promoting pupils' mental health. In the second stage, semi-structured interviews were utilised with a purposive sample of 12 teachers.

The quantitative data from the survey were fed into SPSS software (Statistical Package for Social Science; version 16.0 for Windows XP). Two types of statistical analysis were performed: descriptive and inferential. A factor analysis statistical method (principal component using Varimax rotation) was employed in the pilot study so as to determine whether groups of barriers scale items tend to bunch together to form distinct clusters, referred to as factors (dimensions) (Bryman and Cramer, 2001). Transcripts, post-interview analysis notes, and writing memos, data management, data reduction and data display, and coding were used (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007; Delamont, 1992; Maxwell, 1996).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Generally, the survey analysis showed that barriers hindering the promotion of pupils' mental health can be categorised into four types—personal, interpersonal, structural-organisational and socio-cultural—as they perceived them mildly positively (M=3.93, SD=.73). The results indicated that teachers agree strongly with the existence of interpersonal and personal barriers (M=4.06, SD=.76; M=4.12, SD=.56); however, the overall mean score of their beliefs concerning the existence of structural-organisational and socio-cultural barriers were more neutral (M=3.78, SD=.80; M=3.79; SD=.80) (see Figure 1).

The results from the survey showed that 81.8% of the teachers perceived a lack of partnership between themselves and parents, school administration and inspectors' resistance to change, and a lack of partnership between themselves and specialists, such as counsellors and educational psychologists, as being the most significant of interpersonal barriers. A total of 81.6% of the teachers considered a lack of their awareness regarding their role and responsibility surrounding pupils' mental health, their negative attitudes to mental issues, and their inadequate training to recognise the early signs of their pupils' mental health problems as the most significant personal barriers.

Additionally, teachers tend to show a moderate level of agreement concerning the existence of the structural-organisational barriers, perceiving workload and limited time, and the lack of information resources related to mental health in school, as critical structural-organisational barriers. The results showed that curriculum, pedagogy and the examination system received the lowest rating of the structural-organisational barriers. Moreover, the data derived from the survey indicates that teachers agreed moderately with the existence of the social-cultural barriers. School culture and ethos, social stigma towards talking about mental health problems and labelling, and inappropriate media representations, and cultural and religious beliefs centred on mental health problems, were perceived by 82.4% of teachers as significant social–cultural barriers. Furthermore, 83.1% of the teachers believed that cultural and religious beliefs about dealing with mental health problems are important barriers.
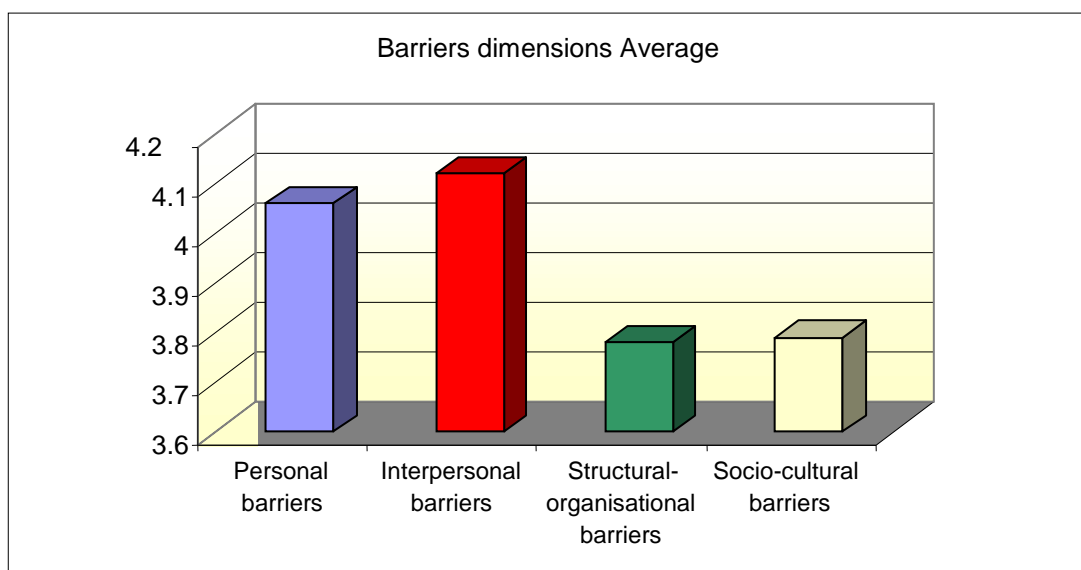
Figure 1: Descriptive statistics for the four dimensions of barriers scale

Data from the interviews indicated that teachers hold fears of being ill-equipped to recognise mental health problems amongst their pupils, and recognise their lack of familiarity and understanding of the positive terminology of mental health concept, consequently viewing the term as belonging to a medical and professional context, in a way that leads teachers to avoid using mental health language for fear of causing harm or stigmatising pupils (Rogers and Pilgrim, 2005). The teachers interviewed reported that their views in this area are mainly based on explicit signs of pupils' externalised problems, considering such pupils as troublemakers or as having special education needs. These results are in line with the findings of Bowers (1996), Meltzer *et al.* (2000), Farmer *et al.* (2003) and Poulou and Norwich (2000), all of whom reported that teachers appear to be more comfortable using language that is grounded in education, using terms such as 'emotional and behavioural difficulties' (EBD) or special educational needs. As is known, EBD is a term widely accepted by the educational community as covering a wide range of inappropriate behaviours, including mental health problems (Fox and Avramidis, 2003; Clare and Maitland, 2004).

The findings have shown that interviewed teachers' beliefs are oriented morally towards what we refer to as a 'value discourse', founded on their religious beliefs, relating to the equality of rights amongst human beings, and the necessity to provide sympathy and support to those experiencing difficulties, which are key and valued aspects of Islam, where values and morals are significant components of people's ethical heritage (Long, 2000). It was recognised amongst some of the interviewed teachers that paying more attention to mental health issues (or pupils facing such issues) is a 'wrong use of time' in class, as there is an underlying assumption that time should be used appropriately and only in mind of fulfilling educational demands, so as to meet academic standards. The contradiction in teachers' responses regarding their responsibility towards promoting pupils' mental health represents and rationalises a numbers of factors that are interrelated and rooted in the socio-cultural and educational contexts. Firstly, they viewed that the promotion of pupils' mental health is not their job, that professionals, such as school counsellors and social workers, should take the primary responsibility for this task. Additionally, the teachers reported fears about dealing with their pupils' mental health, and how doing so may be, in large part, explained by their lack of knowledge and training skills, which is a view in line with findings derived by Walter, Gouze and Lim (2006), Rothì, Leavey and Best, (2008) and Repie (2006). A resolution to this would

be reflected in appropriately dealing with pupils' mental health, and further results in more confident and skilled staff with the ability to recognise issues and who are capable of making appropriate referrals to psychiatric and mental health professional services; teachers require a sense of confidence in their own ability to act. The analysis of the interviews identified young person-related variables, such as severity and type of mental health problem, as a significant factor that could influence teachers' perceptions in this area. These findings also are in line with the works of Loades and Mastroyannopoulou (2010) and Rothì and Leavey (2006).

The interviews addressed more detailed views of teachers' suggestions of training and mental education courses requirements in terms of the 'quality' and 'nature' of the training and educational courses that should be provided for them. The interviewed teachers also propose that administrators and inspectors need to be involved in mental health education and training, which would result in a greater degree of flexibility in promotion strategies. This means that knowledge relating to mental health might be important in relation to promoting pupils' mental health, but is not, in itself, sufficient to induce positive mental health promotion. The interviewed teachers perceive a lack of partnership between themselves and parents, who are affected by religious and cultural beliefs considering mental health problems, as God punishes people for neglecting their religious duties and God tests a person's piety and patience (Rones and Hoagwood, 2000; Keyes, 2002). Teachers reported that such religious and traditional beliefs lead parents to ignore the possibility of counselling for their children, and instead seek help from traditional and religious healing (Mukalel and Jacobs, 2005; Funk, 2005; El-Islam, 2006; Al-Ansari *et al*., 1989). The results garnered from the interviews reported that social stigma and media inappropriately representing mental health issues and showcasing negative attitudes towards mentally ill people have a significant impact on the degree of co-operation between teachers, parents and counsellors, with such media showing a 'lack of confidence and trust in teachers' skills'. These results are in line with various works (Corrigan and Kleinlein, 2005; Edney, 2004; Al-Maleh, (2009). Additionally, some interviewed teachers highlighted the need for support with delivering practical help and in being provided with mental health education courses, as well as reconsideration to rewards and salaries, and ensuring their mental health could overcome the stress and pressure associated with such a role.

The qualitative data derived from the interviews showed that those teachers who show lower behavioural intention towards promoting pupils' mental health identify more barriers to the promotional process in two ways. One is that the barriers they perceive are real for them, and so they are discouraged from promoting pupils' mental health, whilst those teachers who have higher behavioural intentions regarding the perceived barriers as not affecting them might feel this way because of their commitment to mental health promotion. Alternatively, teachers with low behavioural intention may be justifying their low behaviour intentions by using external barriers as 'reasons' for not promoting mental health—a kind of rationalisation.

Regarding the interconnections between perceptions of behavioural intentions and the educational context, which were seen clearly through the current study, these could be a good example of the correlation between structural-organisational barriers and teachers' perceptions of behavioural intentions towards the implementations of the promotional processes. It is unsurprising that school teachers may feel stressed, over-worked and disempowered, and that there is no room for them to recognise pupils' mental health within the education system, which adopts an extensive and demanding academic curriculum to be covered in a limited time, with large class sizes and traditional teaching style to consider, which places power in the hands of administrators and inspectors in terms of controlling the educational process, with such individuals then able to resist change in this domain (Hargreaves *et al*., 1998). This number of features could hinder teachers in having positive attitudes towards promoting pupils' mental health. Thus, the application of pupils' mental health promotion in Kuwaiti education seems to be a significant challenge, with the process associated with designing and adopting such a

framework necessitating a great deal of reform of the education policy and system in Kuwait. Throughout the interviews, four key suggestions of change within the educational context were highlighted related to developing educational policies, organisational and structural changes within schools, societal awareness, and teachers' commitment, which ultimately would help in the promotion of mental health. Accordingly, change flourishes in a cooperative and co-ordinated environment, with good levels of prepared and trained staff, all of whom should hold positive attitudes and perspectives concerning the promotion of mental health, with such professionals also afforded the right resources—administrative, educational, financial and political.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The results showed that teachers' perceptions of promoting pupils' mental health are complicated and context-dependent, according to a more social constructivist view; perceptions cannot be easily understood in isolation from wider circumstances (Eiser, 1994; Brockington *et al*., 1993). Barriers and factors need to be taken into account in order to ensure that teachers' perceptions are understood, rather than engaging in simplistic 'victim-blaming' (Ingstad and Whyte, 1995).

Practically, the study calls for policy reform and the development of practice in the field of promoting pupils' mental health in schools in Kuwait, which could be achieved through implementing a shift away from the more conventional pathological 'deficit' model, as currently practised, towards a wide-ranging ecological and interactive position, supporting the 'asset model' of promoting mental health, focusing on protective factors, empowerment and encouraging individuals' levels of self-esteem, resulting in lesser dependence on professional services (Masten and Reed, 2005).

Methodologically, the utilisation of a mixed-methodology strategy in the present research has proven to be extremely valuable, in contrast to dependence on a positivistic-scientific framework—the most prevalent strategy in Kuwait. The study provides evidence that utilising a single quantifiable instrument may suppress participants' subjectivities and deprive them of the chance to have their voices heard. It has further provided the foundations and opened opportunities for the implementation of a mixed-methodology approach within the context of the education environment in Kuwait. This may assist other researchers in this same context; helping to provide answers to questions that could not be answered through the use of one individual strategy by providing a clear and in-depth image concerning social phenomena (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Punch, 2005).

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THE DIFFERENCE EFFECT OF DECISION-MAKING STYLE TOWARD THE QUALITY OF DECISIONS BETWEEN EARLY ADOLESCENT AND YOUNG ADULTS IN INDONESIA WHEN FACED WITH HOAX

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Internet and social media has facilitated to spread the information quickly, but at the same time providing to disseminate the hoax (Tambuscio et al, 2015). Hoax seemed to find a medium to spread more widely with this condition. Media literacy is helpful to avoid hoax, but the lack of media literacy in Indonesia makes people easily trust with all kinds of news even it is hoax. This study has two main variables, Decision-Making Style and the Quality of Decisions. Scott & Bruce (1995), developed decision-making styles into 5 (five) types, which are Dependent, Rational, Intuitive, Avoidant and Spontaneous that will be measure using the General Decision Making Style (GDMS) with 25 items. In developing the quality of decision theory, Parker and Fischhoff (2005) identifies 3 (three) parts of a good decision, which are identify of relevant information, benefits to one's values and the combinations between the input parts.In this study, the quality of decision will be decided by expert judgment regarding to the 3 (three) parts of a good decision. We are interested to know whether there are differences in the style of Decision-Making toward the Quality of Decision between early adolescent and young adults after facing hoax. This research stepped from a fact that the increasing of human age related with cognitive maturity. we were interested to see if indeed the person who is in the young adult age better able to take the right decisions related hoaxes than individuals in the early stages of their teens or early adolescents are more capable of doing so. Conducting this study in Indonesia is interesting since Indonesia consists of many ethnic groups which will get the difference in decision among the ethnic groups. This study is using experimental methodology that will use the hoax as a medium to see the Decision-Making Style and the Quality of the Decisions. Keywords: Hoax, Decision Making, Decision Quality.

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STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS AMONG FEMALE POPULATION IN HARYANA (INDIA)

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Social indicators like religion, caste and creed become stronger indices when these are coupled with literacy and education to distinguish between inter and intra social groups. A social group with higher level of educational attainment is considered more active, productive and dynamic than those having low level of education. Higher education is regarded as an important factor to bring about socio-economic changes. Studies show that there exists a significant gap between male and female with regard to the level of education in the developing countries in which female literacy is found very low. The present case study of Haryana, a State adjacent to Delhi confirms the above statement.

As per the census of India 1981, female literacy was 22% against 48% for male population. The share of female literacy increased to 33% in 1991, 55% in 2001 and 67% in

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2011; still lagging behind by 20% against the male population. It is also to be noted that Mewat District of Haryana registered only 38% female literacy against 73% among males. A general view about low literacy among female population in Haryana is due to cultural taboos. The society is divided into many KHAPS – small cultural groups, which control social and cultural activities of the society. The KHAPS do not allow much freedom to women acquire modern education and participate in development programmes.

The paper highlights the status of educational attainment among women population in Haryana. In spite of the economically progressive State, the level of higher education among the female population is far behind the expectations or national average. Thus the objective of the paper is to investigate the reasons behind such a low level of educational attainments among female population in Haryana.

The study is based on secondary data derived from the census of India ranging from 1971 to 2011. Education index has been found out for each district separately to understand the district wise differences in educational level among the female population and to highlight the main reasons behind low level of education among them. The study may go a long way to the upliftment of higher education among Haryanavi women and help planners to achieve their goal in educational planning in the state.

5-AC5-2997

ROLE OF EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING IN WRITING APPROPRIATE AND EFFECTIVE PROFESSIONAL EMAIL MESSAGES

DR. THARWAT EL-SAKRAN[3]

This study presents a pragmatic approach for teaching the how of writing appropriate and effective professional email messages. Comparisons between pre-and post-teaching written email messages point to significant improvements in length, accuracy, appropriateness and communicative function of post teaching written email messages. The NAPKIN methodology has helped the students internalize the moves/steps involved in writing efficient and professional email messages.

8-AC20-4227

THE IMPACT OF EMPLOYMENT ON DEPRESSION MEDIATED BY SELF-ESTEEM AMONG KOREAN OLDER ADULTS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POOR AND NON-POOR ELDERLY

MS. SOOKYUNG YOON[4]

Using the data from a 2015 Korean welfare panel study(KWPS), this study first examined the effect of employment on depression among Koran older adults, aged 65 and above. Secondly, the mediating effect of self-esteem on the relationship between employment and depression was investigated. Lastly, this study investigated how these effects were influenced by the differences in the structural relationships between poor and non-poor elderly.

Research questions were answered utilizing the SEM(structural equation mode) and multiple-group path analysis. Employment was measured by paid employment status and depression was assessed using CES-D-11 scale. The Rosenberg self-esteem scale was used to measure self-esteem. 'Poor elderly' meant old adults falling below 60% of median income

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equalized by number of family member. The main socioeconomic status variables were controlled(e.g., gender, education).

The results showed that among the poor elderly group, employment was negatively associated with depression, with self-esteem perfectly mediating the relationship between employment and depression. This means that employment has an indirect effect on depression of poor elderly through self-esteem. In the non-poor elderly group, however, an association between employment and depression was not found. The finding suggests that in Korea, a poverty level of the old adults is a significant factor in the relationship employment and depression through self-esteem.

Such findings underscore that specific policy support is required for poor elderly to extend chance of employment which enhancing self-esteem, thus to lower the level of depression. At the same time, different intervention approaches will be needed to reduce the level of depression for the non-poor elderly population in Korea.

10-AC2-2922

BOLLYWOOD: A UNIFIER OF DIVERSE VISUAL CULTURES AND LANGUAGES OF INDIA

DR. MAHUYA BHAUMIK[5]

Indian visual culture is a harmonious blending of multiplicity, plurality and diversity. Invasions by different races and the colonial regime have left considerable impact upon the cultures of the country and got mingled with the Dravidian, Aryan and folk cultures. The architectural splendours of the religious monuments and buildings, the 'pat' paintings, puppetry are a few examples which bear testimony to the visual culture of India. The same diversity is true about the various languages spoken by the people of the country.

Bollywood, the biggest cinema industry of India, can be studied as a curious and interesting platform to provide an integrative quality to hold these multiplicities and diversities of both Indian visual culture and languages together. Both the promotional advertisements of movies and the movies themselves are brilliant portrayals of the cultural differences based on diverse economic strata, acculturation of Western culture by today's Indian youth, different regional cultural specificities, cultural differences between the sophisticated and uncouth classes of the Indian society, faith in humanity despite religious differences and many more.

Again, there are palpable influences of different regional languages (based on location, character portrayals, story line and various cultural components) on the chosen language of Bollywood movies, that is, Hindi. This Bollywood Hindi has a flexibility of its own and incorporates different influences from diverse socio-cultural milieus.

Quite interestingly enough, a linguistic and cultural continuum can be traced in the study of Bollywood cinema. This paper would be an attempt to locate this continuum through an analysis of certain new Bollywood releases as Bajrangi Bhaijaan (2015), Highway(2014), Yeh Jawani Hai Deewani (2013), Chennai Express (2013) to name a few and try to perceive Bollywood as a unifying link connecting the multifarious visual cultures and languages of India thus realizing Swami Vivekananda's dream of India being a country of 'Unity in Diversity' ("Life and Teachings of Swami Vivekananda: Part 7 The Soul Wanted to Soar High". International Forum for NeoVedantins <http://www.oocities.org/neovedanta/sv8.html>).

13-AC19-4207

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EXPLORING CONSTRUCTED RELATIONSHIPS INSIDE ORGANIZATION. A PERSPECTIVE OF ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

MS. ALEXANDRA GALBIN[6]

The aim of this paper is to explore the relationships constructed inside organization and how they contribute to the organizational identity. The perspectives related are part from the interviews collected in May – June 2016, with four social workers, members of different private organizations from Iasi County - Romania who provide social services. The strategy of the research is based on grounded theory and the data collected empathizes that relationships created contribute to the identity of organization, the behavior of individuals being influenced through various interactions. The participants identify themselves with the organization through their beliefs and values that represent the primordial motivation to get involved and to act. In this process the leader of organization plays a defining role, the members becoming or not followers of organization. Finally the paper concludes with some remarks regarding the significance of exploring the perspectives of leaders, the paper being emphasized only by the members 'narratives.

23-AC21-4145

GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL NETWORK SYSTEMS (FACEBOOK) IMPACT ON LANGUAGE OUTCOMES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF PAKISTAN

DR. SABIHA MANSOOR[7] AND SHANZAY KAMRAN

This article relates to the impact of globalization and social networking sites on language outcomes of university students and its implications for language policy and practice in Pakistan in general; and their language use on Facebook on the official websites of HEC approved universities in particular. The study is mainly focused upon the impact of the internet, and social media on language(s) use and identity of university students in the light of language ideology, politics, and linguistic capital. The study used a combined quantitative and qualitative approach. A two stage cluster sampling was used to get a reliable representation of Pakistan university students. A corpus of comments was collected and analyzed for the purpose of study. The findings of the study displayed the differences of Facebook users of university students from public and private sector; regional variations; and gender. The place of English in international education needs to be examined in the light of its dominant role in education. Moreover, the positive attitudes of the students towards learning English and their high motivation, regardless of their socioeconomic backgrounds, have resulted in the spread of English. Thus, with technology and new social media, the impact of English on local languages has increased more than ever. Results show that negligible Facebook users of regional languages; Pushto was used by some students from Baluchistan. The use of Urdu what is the national language was used by students but encrypted in Roman English. The findings displayed gender disparity on university Facebook sites in all of the provinces in Pakistan. Males are dominating women as active Facebook users especially in Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunwah, due to conservative societal attitudes. Prior research indicates that 'education and language play a vital role in the construction and perpetuation of certain stereotypes against women and girls in public platforms.' These differences raise the issue of access and equity in the current language policy in education. Keeping in view the impact of globalization, and the

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large population of youth in Pakistan who are active users of Facebook; the results of the study hold significance for language planners, educationists, and teaching faculty. (350 words)

Keywords: Pakistan, Facebook, English, language use, language change, identity, gender, language policy, language ideology, linguistic capital, universities.

24-AC14-4178

THE ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF SMES SECTOR: A POST REVOLUTION ASSESSMENT

MRS. NOHEIR SEDDIK[8]

The recent Arab spring has created a situation in which the political and economic situation in Egypt and the Middle East became extremely volatile. Traditionally in economies, SMEs have the ability to drive and create significant economic growth. The literature showed that for this to occur it is necessary for the political support to be in place in terms of providing access to finance and development schemes. It was also shown that there is a necessity for a number of different institutions to be in place to allow SMEs to develop, for example it is important that financial institutions are able to provide access to both private investors, foreign investors and SMEs.

A number of experts and scholars have written about the current situation in Egypt, where some believed that the current government after the revolution would be making every effort to support SMEs, while others noted that the situation has actually been made worse.

This paper is seeking to discover the extent to which SMEs will be capable of driving growth in Egypt under the current conditions. In order to answer this important question a number of SME owners and financial professionals located in Egypt were interviewed for the data collection and get better insight about the situation of SMEs in the genesis of the uprisings. Ultimately it is difficult to conclude that SMEs are likely to drive growth in Egypt. The current situation with regards to political, economic and financial circumstances shows that none of the necessary conditions to drive economic growth, based on the consulted literature and interviews, are present. Furthermore, this research anticipates that the situation is likely to worsen in the near future as the political challenges and economic volatility are deterring both consumption and investments.

25-AC1-2935

THE INFLUENCES OF ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE AND TRUST MANAGEMENT IN BUILDING HEALTHY RELATIONSHIPS

DR. ISMAIL SUALMAN[9]

This qualitative research focuses on the internal communication processes within an organization and the effects of organisational culture in building relationships within the particular organisation. This research will be guided by the assumption that the organizational culture plays a large role in building internal communication strategies in order to build stable and trustworthy relationships throughout the organisation. This research is addressed through three main objectives which are - 1) to understand importance of understanding organisational culture and its influences within an organisation, 2) To understand the components that are

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8 Mrs. Noheir Seddik, Graduate Student, Regents University London.
9 Dr. Ismail Sualman, Associate Professor, Universiti Teknologi MARA.

important in building relationships and 3) To understand the internal communication practices within the organisation and understanding the effects of the culture in building the communication strategies at all levels of the organisation. The data collection method for this study would be in-depth interviews with AmBank Group's Corporate Communication and Marketing department officers as well as members of the Group's Sports Club, Kelab AmBank Group Malaysia. There are nine participants in general and the questions were answered based on their experience and opinions and guided by three main themes which reflect the objectives of the whole research. The results show that organisational culture is important in building relationships. As an internal communication practitioner, it is wise to understand and analyse the culture of the employees. This would also contribute to further understanding of the behavioural patterns of members of an organisation. Culture could be the personal values and goals as well as the organisational values and goals. Therefore, the Public Relations Officer in charge of developing the internal communication strategies needs to understand that culture has a profound effect on the type of relationships that are built.

30-AC22-4188

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT BODY WEIGHT AND WEIGHT MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES AMONG MALAYSIAN CHINESE WOMEN OF CHILD BEARING AGE

MRS. SOOK CHOO[10] DR. CLARE BLACKBURN (PRINCIPLE TEACHING FELLOW) AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR DR. WOLFGANG MARKHAM

This paper reports on a qualitative study of Malaysian Chinese women's weight perceptions and weight management strategies. Overweight and underweight commonly co-exist in economically developing countries such as Malaysia. Secondary analyses of the Malaysia National Health and Morbidity Surveys (1996, 2006) identified significant ethnic differences in body weight among women of child-bearing age. Malaysian Chinese had a lower mean body weight than women from the three other main ethnic groups and were more likely to have a healthy weight. Information on women's perceptions about their weight, factors that influence their weight, and strategies they use to maintain, lose or gain weight offers valuable insights that are key to the development of programmes that aim to promote healthy weight. Currently, there is no research to guide the development of such programmes.

Methods: 8 non-obese Malaysian Chinese women (18-49 years old), participated in face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Key topics were weight perceptions, views about their own bodies and weight, factors influencing their weight and strategies they used to lose, gain or maintain their body weight. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Thematic analysis was adopted to identify main themes.

Results: Although most participants had a healthy weight they perceived themselves as big, heavy or fat. Few were happy with their current weight. For many participants, thinness was a positive attribute associated with physical attractiveness, happy marriages and choice in clothes. Views about body weight were constructed by comparing their own bodies to those of other women. Participants described how they felt their body weight had changed as they became wives and how juggling with motherhood, family commitments and employment shaped their weight management strategies.

Conclusions: Understanding women's perceptions about weight and weight management strategies can help health professionals design weight management information and programmes that fit with women's daily lives.

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