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IN DIRE STRAITS: TEACHER POLICIES AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN PAKISTAN

TANYA KHAN MOHMAND[1]

ABSTRACT

The growing interest in the falling standards of public schools has stimulated research into analysing what goes into the educational cauldron of improving the quality of schools. This paper aims to comparatively analyse the two provinces of Pakistan by considering the poor quality of public education as evidenced by the shared outcome variable of low student achievement levels. The provinces of Punjab and Balochistan have been judiciously selected as case study examples by adopting Mill's (1843) Method of Agreement. Through the method of thematic analysis, recruitment and accountability are identified as two major factors of effective teacher policies, the poor design of which may be considered useful in understanding the poor student achievement levels of public schools found in the two provinces. By utilising Chubb and Moe's (1988) theory, I argue that these teacher policies of the public sector are ineffective when they are imposed on schools through democratic control.

Key Words: Public schools, recruitment, accountability, teacher policies.

INTRODUCTION

The plight of public schools is a debate not unknown to the many scholars and policymakers around the world. Pakistan is amongst those countries where one of the most urgent issues that require immediate attention is the poor condition of education provided by the state. Given the dire need for an intervention, this paper aims to take the case of Pakistan under consideration and analyses the poor quality of public education as evidenced by the low student achievement levels across the country.

To address this concern and due to the importance received in existing literature in regard to being one of the most important factors affecting student achievement levels, teacher policies of the public sector will be considered as the main explanatory variable in understanding why students who are enrolled in state schools perform poorly, with student achievement level being considered as the outcome variable. A focus on teacher policies will bring under the metaphoric microscope the inputs that are open to influence and allow governments and policymakers to intervene with reforms that may raise the standard of state funded schools.

In line with the research objective, this research paper will attempt to pin down the supply-side factors of effective teacher policies that may be useful in explaining the achievement level of public school students, with specific references to Punjab and Balochistan. This will be achieved through utilizing data that exists in the form of government teacher policy reports, national as well as international NGO reports, research conducted by the World Bank, and academic publications on teacher policies and student achievement levels.

In light of the analytical power derived when using a comparative lens, a juxtaposition of Punjab and Balochistan provides an interesting case for analysis[2] and the two have been judiciously selected by adopting Mill's (1843) Method of Agreement. The puzzle that lies at the heart of this paper is: two provinces that are different in several respects but demonstrate

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[2] My argument holds for all four provinces of Pakistan as democratic control exists across the education system but I have selected Punjab and Balochistan as they are a suitable representation of my hypothesis and satisfy Mill's Method of Agreement.

similarity in terms of poor student achievement levels in the public sector. For example, only 60% of students in Balochistan can identify letters in Class 1 in public schools. Similarly, in Punjab, approximately 65% can identify letters in Class 1 in public schools (ASER, 2015). This gap in learning is found throughout the learning outcomes of students across the education system of each respective province.

Given the research objective, my hypothesis is that the two major factors of effective teacher policies are recruitment and accountability and I will investigate this by utilising Chubb and Moe's (1988) study as the theoretical framework. These factors will then be used as a yardstick to analyse the teacher policies of Punjab and Balochistan to evaluate their effectiveness and usefulness in understanding the achievement levels of public school students.

With the country facing an education crisis, there is a dire need of addressing the plight of public schools. The debate about education in Pakistan revolves mostly around increasing enrolment rates and making access to education universal, without much heed to the quality of the service being provided. What gets overlooked in the current narrative of the government is finding a solution to ameliorate the deteriorating state of public education. This study therefore strives to be a humble contribution towards efforts to correct the inadequate amount of attention received by the two identified factors of effective teacher policies in Pakistan. Alif Ailaan (2014a) published a report referring to the 25 million out-of-school children as "25 million broken promises"; broken due to the government failing to provide the constitutional right of education to these out-of-school children. This paper focuses on the broken promises to those children who do go to school but are provided with below par education and herein lies the significance of this study.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to analyse the data, a thematic analysis has been performed that has enabled the extraction of themes from the considered documents and reports. The steps provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) have been used as a guiding framework in conducting the data analysis and are as follows:

Phase 1: Familiarising with the data

Before initialising Phase 1, the documents for analysis were collected based on their ability to provide:

i) Information about government teacher policies for public schools; ii) information about teacher policies in private schools; iii) research on factors influencing student achievement levels in Pakistan; and iv) post-devolution information.

Beginning with the adoption of a realist perspective, the collected documents were then read several times before the codification process began. With Chubb and Moe's (1988) theory in mind a theoretically-driven analysis was selected and I carefully went over the data focusing mostly on those aspects that addressed the organisation of public and private schools in the two provinces of Pakistan.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes:

Through a software programme called NVivo, this second phase involved generating a list of codes regarding the organisation of public schools that reflected the essence of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). By uploading documents in this software, I sorted relevant extracts into codes (referred to as nodes in the software) that eventually led to the identification of 15 codes. Certain documents had to be coded manually as they were scanned copies of policy documents.

Phase 3: Searching for themes:

The list of codes was then reviewed and certain codes like "Clientelism" were discarded at this point. A final list of 13 codes was selected, following which, the process of sorting these codes into potential themes began. Themes were identified at a semantic level as I wanted to provide a description of the data first and leave the interpretation of the found patterns for the discussion section.

Phase 4: Reviewing themes

In this phase, the themes of job security, qualification and salary began to emerge into one main theme while the role of head teachers became a separate theme. In order to ensure that these different aspects formed a "coherent pattern", as advised by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 21), the extracts based on the identified codes were re-read.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

What follows in Braun and Clarke's (2006) framework is to define the themes by "identifying the essence of what each theme is about" (p. 22). Consequently, the themes are defined as follows:
Recruitment: Refers to the terms concerning hiring and firing, job security, qualifications and salary of teachers.
Accountability: Refers to the role of head teachers in supervising the performance of teachers.
In order to address the research puzzle then, two important factors of effective teacher policies have been identified and the final phase of Braun and Clarke's (2006) framework involves an analysis of the identified themes in their usefulness towards understanding the outcome variable.

DISCUSSION

Theme: Recruitment of teachers in Punjab and Balochistan

In the analysis of the 2014 recruitment policy of the Government of Punjab, it was found that teachers (referred to as educators) for the post of secondary schools are recruited through the use of an entry test, following which they are called for an interview by the District Recruitment Committee (Punjab Education Department, 2014). This is similar to what was revealed in the analysis of the recruitment policy of the Government of Balochistan where teachers were also recruited through a test called the National Testing Service (NTS). In the policy documents of both the provinces, it was discovered that in order to qualify for interviews, a minimum test score of 45% is required following which the District Recruitment Committee provides a list of recommended candidates to the Appointing Committee.

In light of the work of Darling-Hammond (2000), where the author emphasised the subject matter knowledge of a teacher in having an influence on the learning of a student, it is interesting to note that in both provinces in order to qualify for an interview the required score on the entry test is 45%. This may be interpreted as setting the bar low at the very beginning of the recruitment process and allowing those teachers with less than half of the required knowledge to make it through the filtering process.

Furthermore, certain academic and professional qualifications are required to be recruited as a public school teacher in each province. Similar to both provinces, those who possess the academic qualifications but not professional qualification cannot be appointed till they acquire these professional qualifications. For example, to be an Urdu teacher, a Masters degree in Urdu is a prerequisite in addition to the professional qualification of an M.A in Education. Following their selection, these educators are recruited on the basis of permanent contracts and enjoy life tenure in both Punjab and Balochistan.

Job security

As discussed, public school teachers enjoy life tenure once they are employed by the provincial governments. Keeping this in perspective, throughout the dataset there was a nuanced suggestion of poor in-service performance of teachers partly because they had no fear of a threat to their job. This may be evidenced by the SAHE and Alif Ailaan (2014) report which found that unlike public schools, in the private schools of Punjab and Balochistan, "any violations of the terms of service (by teachers), including unauthorized leave, can be addressed by immediate dismissal" (p. 37).

This finding is in line with what has been advocated by Chubb and Moe (1988) who claim that teachers put in a greater effort in their work when they are supervised by a head teacher who possesses the power of hiring and firing the teachers. An implication of this for the public schools of the two provinces may be that as teachers do not face such a threat to their jobs, they are relatively not as concerned about their in-service performance as their private school counterparts. Teachers in the private sector have to "live up to the principal's criteria on a continuing basis" as has been discussed in Chubb and Moe’s (1988) theory (p. 1082).

Consequently, according to Khan (n.d), teacher absenteeism is a major problem in the provinces of Pakistan and has led to the emergence of ghost schools due to the absence of teachers. This is exceptionally detrimental to learning levels as those who are supposed to be beacons of knowledge for students are found missing from their posts. It may be argued that providing job security to teachers based on a permanent contract rather than on a performance-based criterion may have serious repercussions as evidenced by the two provinces of Pakistan. However, this implication is made with caution as change to such a policy may not be easy to implement as there may be substantial resistance from teacher unions.

Qualification and salary

The sub-theme of qualification and salary provided a rather interesting account of the recruitment policy of teachers in Punjab and Balochistan. Both provinces were found to be recruiting teachers with high academic and professional qualifications. This may be evidenced by the SAHE and Alif Ailaan (2014) report where it was found that 51% of teachers in government schools in Punjab have at least an MA compared to only 22% in the private sector. Similarly, these teachers received a higher salary than their private sector counterparts. In relation to the objective of this study then one may ask the following question: "why are such qualified and well-paid teachers not performing well in terms of raising student achievement levels?"

While private school teachers are being paid less, Chubb and Moe’s (1988) theory states that "private school teachers are trading economic compensation and formal job security for superior working conditions, professional autonomy and personal fulfilment" (p. 1083-1084). Thus, even though they are being paid more and have superior qualifications, public school teachers do not enjoy the superior conditions that are attached with a school that is free of democratic control.

Theme: Accountability of teachers in Punjab and Balochistan

The theme of Accountability in this study has been defined as the role played by head teachers in the supervision of teachers. Before discussing this, it is important to provide an analysis of the accountability mechanism found in the policy documents of Punjab and Balochistan that led to further similarity being discovered. In both provinces, an Annual Confidential Report (ACR) is submitted by head teachers to the Executive District Officer (EDO) of Education, entailing the performance of teachers according to an established set of criteria in both the provinces. This criterion, it should be noted, does not contain student learning levels produced in the classrooms of these teachers. Given that such criteria is missing from the accountability policies of both provinces, it may be difficult to assess the value added by effective teacher performance. In addition to the Annual Confidential Report (ACR), field officers act as monitors who report to district education officials, as stated in the SAHE and Alif Ailaan (2014) report. Together, these two elements make up the accountability mechanism of Punjab and Balochistan. I will now proceed to an analysis of the role played by head teachers of public schools in the following section.

Role of head teachers:

The review of documents that led to the emergence of this sub-theme revealed that schools and head teachers in both Punjab and Balochistan lack the level of authority possessed by schools and head teachers in countries like the United Kingdom. Where head teachers in the UK may be considered as leading figures in school management, head teachers in the public schools of the two provinces of Pakistan have little claim to such authority. To support this, the study of Simkins, Garrett, Memon and Ali (1998) offers valuable insight into how head teachers in public schools perceive themselves. In their work, the authors provide a statement from an interview with a head teacher who claimed to feel like a doorman of the school due to the lack of any substantial powers (Simkins et al. 1998). For a key figure of the school to be feeling like a doorman just goes to show how depriving schools of central powers lead to detrimental waves.

Similarly, Aslam and Kingdon (2011) argue that public schools are associated with weak accountability. As public teachers are held accountable only through the means of an annual report where their performance is not linked to student learning levels and they are only subject to being monitored by field officers who possess limited resources, the accountability mechanism of the two provinces is a festering ground for ineffectiveness. Those who are closer to the field, i.e. head teachers, are in a better position to hold these teachers to account as they are present on the premises of the school and are aware of the performance of teachers. However, due to the inadequate powers of these public school head teachers, their presence has little influence over holding ineffective teachers to account.

The theory provided by Chubb and Moe (1988) proves to have great explanatory power regarding this issue as it claims that when head teachers have certain authority over important matters, teachers strive to "live up to the principal's criteria on a continuing basis" (p. 1082). This can be linked back to the theme of recruitment where I highlighted the fact that teachers are hired based on a permanent contract and schools do not have the power of firing public teachers. If the head teachers of public schools have the capacity of hiring and firing teachers and keeping a close eye on their performance, the accountability mechanism of these schools may improve.

POLICY IMPLICATION

As the study has adopted a theory testing approach and has made use of Chubb and Moe's (1988) work to investigate the main factors of effective teacher policies, the policy implication of this study is as follows. Currently, the provincial government of Punjab and Balochistan are in possession of designing the two major factors of teacher policies, including recruitment and accountability[3]. In light of Chubb and Moe's (1988) theory as well as findings from the data analysis, a possible policy implication of this study is to devolve the aforementioned powers to the schools as this will allow the formulation of more effective policies. The reason for these policies being more effective is that schools are more aware of the environment and are in a better position to deal with day-to-day issues. With job security being based on performance and such performance closely monitored through a tighter accountability mechanism, all those

[3] This is the case for all the provinces of Pakistan.

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absent and underperforming teachers will no longer be able to benefit from the ineffective policies imposed by democratic control.

It must be kept in mind, however, that an implementation of such reforms may be no walk in the park nor will it be a panacea for all the ills of the education system. The government of each province may have to deal with a plethora of resistance in several forms, an example of which may be backlash from teachers. In fact, Punjab will not be a first to such resistance as the province experimented with shifting away from permanent contracts between 2002 and 2008 and the reform had to be revoked due to the massive uproar from the teacher union. Taking this under consideration, it is therefore important to note that although Chubb and Moe (1988) have provided important insight into how democratic control is inhibiting the major factors of effective teacher policies in public schools, one of the limitations of the theory is that the "institutional reform" called upon by the authors may simply not be that simple to implement (p. 1085).

Hence, the task ahead is not for the fainthearted and will require serious determination and political will on part of the government to amend the identified factors of effective teacher policies. Researchers may use this study to determine how reforms in the recruitment and accountability of teachers are to be implemented in order to effectively address the concerns regarding the state of public schools.

CONCLUSION

With the growing interest in understanding the reasons behind the falling standards of public schools as the backdrop, this study investigated the case of Pakistan and analysed the poor quality of public education as evidenced by the low student achievement level that has shown little improvement over the years. The provinces of Punjab and Balochistan were judiciously selected by adopting Mill's (1843) Method of Agreement as a representation of how two very different provinces face a similar problem of low student learning levels in public schools.

Although humble in its contribution, the objective of this study has been to bring under the limelight the major factors of effective teacher policies that are poorly designed in the public schools of Pakistan and thus contributing to the poor achievement level of students. This has been done with the hope of shifting the current debate in Pakistan from a hollow pursuit of increasing enrolment rates to improving policies in an effort to address the abysmal student achievement levels of the public sector. By identifying and analysing recruitment and accountability as two major factors of effective teacher policies, this study has intended to contribute to the limited research that exists on calling for ineffective teacher policies to be transformed into effective teacher policies in the public sector of Pakistan.

In line with the theoretical framework, the stamp of democratic control and its detrimental repercussions that Chubb and Moe (1988) proclaimed is found imprinted on the public schools of Pakistan. Thus, one policy implication that may be taken away from this study is to devolve powers to schools and allow them the freedom to design and implement teacher policies, especially those that concern recruitment and accountability. I state this with caution as the implementation of such reform may not be welcomed by several interest groups, especially the teacher community. What this study therefore provides for future research is to be a stepping stone for galvanizing further investigation into how the process of teacher policy reform may take place and formulate an action plan for implementing such reforms. In this way, the dire straits that public schools are in and the broken promises of such schools may successfully and finally be addressed.

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RELIGION AND POLITICS-ITS INTERFACE: A STUDY INTO T. S. ELIOT'S MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL AND GIRISH KARNADA'S TALEDANDA

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ABSTRACT

Religion and literature do not always go hand in hand, but sometimes they do. But this does not necessarily mean that they have nothing to do with each other or they mutually oppose or contradict with each other. But when the issues get mixed, the people representing religion and politics get into headlong with each other and begin to evolve strategies to eliminate each other to have an absolute power on men and material leading to genocide and self destruction. Religion and politics are the perennial source of literature and literary texts have always dealt with these themes. The interface between religion and politics happens to be the most significant aspect of literature. As these two human phenomena affect the lives of people directly and also control all the vital human activates of material and spiritual life, the interface between the two assumes a greater significance in literature. The works of literature try to look for the possibilities of an amalgamation of these two human pursuits to suggest the ways of working in hand and in hand for establishing an orderly world, a world where the last man lives in perfect harmony with the rest.

The paper examines Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* and Girish Karnad's *Taledanda* to find out how historical religious themes are treated in works of art, how religion and politics try to assert over each other, how the persons holding or exercising these powers begin to claim the supremacy over each other, in the process how the whole society becomes a battle ground and how the people who declare their royalty to religion and politics get polarized and how they begin to eliminate each other. The clash between the two is inevitable because both religion and politics are hegemonic in their nature and approach, both try to uphold hierarchy and try to crush the opposition coming from any corner of the society.

The paper also examines T.S. Eliot's play, *Murder in the Cathedral* and Girish Karnad's play, *Taledanda* to explain how a religious theme has been treated by a western playwright and by an Indian playwright in the context of western and Indian socio-political and cultural-ethical situations. Here an attempt has also been made to study how Eliot and Karnad deal with historical themes that bear a direct relationship with their respective religions—Christianity and Hinduism.

Key words: Religion, Politics, Genocide, Christianity, Hinduism

Gone are the days when individual works of literature were not related to anything beyond their own verbal matrix. Literary and cultural critics explore the relations that literature bears to "everything from sociology to music from myth and history to psychology and religions."[1]

Now, it has become a commonplace thing to relate a work of art to any other socio-cultural, political, economic, religious phenomenon, examine its relationship with others and draw some conclusions with regard to the value and the purpose of the work of art in relation to society at large which provides the basis for the work of art to take a shape and assume a form.

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It does not mean that literary texts of the ancient times do not reflect the realities of the times in which they were produced. They have always portrayed the societal behavior, norms, customs and traditions of their times. But the texts were not studied in relation to society, they were viewed as an end in themselves. Even up to the modern times a literary text used to be treated as an end in itself. But the perspectives with which literary texts are examined have undergone a sea change in the recent past. Any literary or cultural study that does not try to relate a text or an issue to the society in which it is produced is bound to fail. It is in this context that Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* and Karnad's *Taledanda* are read in this paper. These two plays are closely read in the context of the socio-political and religio-ethical contexts of the times in which they are produced.

Eliot's play foregrounds the theme of Christian martyrdom. Becket, the protagonist in the play attains martyrdom after getting killed within the premises of the Canterbury cathedral at the hands of the Knights of Henry II, the British king on the charges of betrayal to the king. Becket is sure to become a champion of God which is preordained. In this play one can find an element of ritual which combines both the Greek and the medieval Christian notion of sin. The sense of sin and fate modified by the Christian idea of sainthood and crucifixion can be seen in Becket's martyrdom. The play tries to interpret the significance of martyrdom on the one hand and discusses the different dimensions of the powers of religion and politics on the other.

Karnad's *Taledanda* is a re-reading of the history of 12th century Karnataka for the purpose of interpreting the present religious, political, economic and cultural situations prevailing in Karnataka in particular and in India in general. In this play religion and politics are interlinked and this kind of linkage is a characteristic of the Indian reality and a phenomenon of the world. The play captures the ethos of a significant moment in Indian history. The play also focuses on the idealistic-realistic divide in the resistance offered to the hegemonic power of tradition by Basavanna and his followers.

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The plays *Murder in the Cathedral* and *Taledanda* juxtapose religion and secularism. Owing to their own professional call Henry II and Bijjala and Becket and Basavanna choose to stand polarized trying to use the very thing they are associated with to take an edge over the other, to defeat and subdue each other resulting in murder or self murder. Henry and Bijjala want the temporal power to prevail upon the religious power and Becket and Basavanna want the religion to become supreme and it should prevail at the end. This conflict leads to bloodshed and Becket and Bijjala get killed and Basavanna resigns to his own fate.

Henry and Becket trusted each other in the beginning and Bijjala and Basavanna too had tremendous faith in each other. As they started performing their duties as per their professions—religion and politics—they began to realize that one was coming in the way of other and one was trying to curtail the powers of the other. The mistrust and disbelief in one another eventually led to a sharp division in their personal relationships and the gulp among them went on increasing and they realized that the ideological difference would never allow them to come to the table of negotiation and they believed that the survival of one depended upon the destruction of the other, hence elimination of each other seemed to be the only option. Henry and Becket were not in equal terms in terms of power, the palace has a greater power than the church and hence the clergymen were not in a position to oppose the Knights and this inequality in terms of resources and powers that resulted in the murder of Becket in *Murder in the Cathedra.* But in *Taledanda* Basavanna who is the head of *Anubhava Mantapa* as opposed to the royal *Sabha* is more powerful than Bijjala himself. He has both resources and manpower. Bijjala knows any attempt to harm Basavanna will be a very costly affair for which he may have to lose his life. So, he dares not to touch him. This is the reason why Bijala is killed in *Taledanda* whereas in *Murder in the Cathedral* it is the other way round, Becket who is weak in terms of resources and manpower gets killed by the King's knights. The Church in *Murder in the Cathedral Anubhava Mantapa* in *Taledanda* stand parallel to the kingship.

Becket has challenged the King and is convinced that the King will not spare him as he has provoked him. In other words, he is sure of his end. He had an option to save his life. But he did not listen to the Tempters. Becket undergoes various kinds of self ordeal and experiments with life before reaching a point where he thinks he can't be provoked anymore and nor can he be liquidated by anybody. He tells how he counters and how he overcomes temptations.

Now is my way clear, now is the meaning plain:
Temptation shall not come in this kind again.
The last temptation is the greatest treason:
To do the right deed for the wrong reason.
The natural vigour in the venial sin
Is the way in which our lives begin. [2]

Becket also tells that he was given to the pleasures of the world at one point of time in his life. He says he was able to overcome all sorts of temptations and he also remembers how he joined his hands with the king and became a part of the sin that the king committed. Having undergone ordeal of all types Becket realized the primary aim of his life and then began to serve the cause of god that led him to oppose the King's laws that opposed the laws of god. He says:

Thirty years ago, I searched all the ways
That lead to pleasure, advancement and praise.
Delight in sense, in learning and in thought,
Music and philosophy, curiosity,
The purple bullfinch in the lilac tree,
The tiltyard skill, the strategy of chess,
Love in the garden, singing to the instrument,
Were all things equally desirable
Ambition comes when early force is spent
And when we find no longer all things possible.
Ambition comes behind and unobservable,
Sin grows with doing good. When I imposed the King's law
In England, and waged war with him against Toulouse,
I beat the barons at their own game. I
Could then despise the men who thought me most contemptible. [3]

Becket decides to oppose the King to make the will of god prevail in the world. He talks of the difference between a servant of god and a servant of a King. The servant of a god should reject the temptations of a King. He thinks that serving a political man is a sin in itself and the very cause that he serves becomes political. The nature of politics, says Becket, is corrupt. He does not wish to serve the political men as he is committed to a greater cause. This is clearly seen in the following dialogue of Becket.

While I ate out of the King's dish
To become servant of God was never my wish.
Servant of God has chance of greater sin
And sorrow, than the man who serves a king.
For those who serve the grater cause may make
the cause serve them,
Still doing right: and striving with political men

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May make that cause political, not by what they do
But by what they are, I know
What yet remains to show you of my history
Will seem to most of you at best futility. [4]

Becket knows what price he is required to pay for opposing the King. He is prepared to lay down his life to serve the god, he is happy that by sacrificing his life he is going to attain martyrdom. He makes it clear to his devotees that martyrdom is not the aim of his life. He is prepared for the worst thing that is going to happen to him because he wants to give blood to the cause of god. In his last sermon Becket tells his devotees that they shall have another martyr soon. He says:

> Beloved, we do not think of a martyr simply as a good Christian who has been killed because he is a Christian: for that would be solely to mourn. We do not think of him simply as a good Christian who has been elevated to the company of the Saints: for that would be simply to rejoice: and neither our mourning nor our rejoicing is as the world's is. A Christian martyrdom is never an accident, for Saints are not made by accident Still less is a Christian martyrdom the effect of a man's will to become a Saint, as a man by willing and contriving may become a ruler of men. A martyrdom is always the design of God, for His love of men, the warn them and to lead them, to bring them back to His ways. It is never the design of man; for the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will of God, and who no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of martyrdom. [5]

Politics and power have mutual love and hate relationship in the sense that they depend upon each other for their sustenance and promotion and at the same time they try to subdue each other to establish their own supremacy over the other. Hence, they keep fluctuating, antagonizing and attacking each other. To consolidate political power the help of religion is of a dire necessity and to make religion prevail over the mind of the people the support of politics is required. But the worst part of the game is that when they come together they begin to hate each other.

Both politics and religion play with the sentiments of the people and both promise a utopian world and a future which are seldom born. The utopian world that politics promises is never translated into reality and the heaven that the religion promises to the people is never seen. Politics and religion are in perennial love and hate relationship.

Bijjal, a king of Kalachuris of Kalani seeks the help of Basavanna when he was ruling in Mangalavadhe in present Maharashtra. He was a feudatory of Kalyani Chalukyas. When he usurped the power of Chalukya king and declared himself as the king of Kalyana and made Basavanna his Prime Minister and Treasurer, they were in good terms with each other for some time. But when Basavanna expanded the scope of his activities, began to collect *Sivasaranas* from every nook and corner of the country, hold meetings, composed vacanas critiquing both dogmatic religion and undemocratic powers of the king and started claiming individual freedom, the interests of Basavanna and Bijjala started clashing with each other. The growing differences between Bijjala and Basavanna are quite evident in the following discussion between the two:

Bijjala: Four years have passed. You did not come to our palace except on some festive occasions. I did not ask you why. The whole Kingdom is whispering that the King and the Treasurer have broken with each other. But I did not ask you to return the treasury key to me, did I? You wrote vacanas condemning the Kingship, you sang them in your meetings. I know it.

Basavanna: My Lord, I already I told you that I don't work as a treasure to help the king. The wealth of a nation is not the property of the king, it is people's property. The king has a role in treasury only as a protector of people but there is no place for the members of the royal family in the treasury. [6]

Basavanna also opposes the King's son succeeding him. Basavanna says: "Kingship is a noble work. But this is not a birth right. Nor is it a property. One has to acquire the power to be a king and then he has to exercise the power with utmost devotion." [7] This is the reason why Basavanna feels terribly upset when Sovideva, Bijjala's son, inspects the Treasury of the state in his absence.

Bijjala like any other king of his times, believes in handing over the powers of the state to his son whether he has the capacity to handle the affairs of the state or not. Bijjala wants his son to succeed him and he tells Basavanna to treat his son with respect and honor. In other words, Bijjala expresses his displeasure to Basavanna for ignoring the powers of his son as an Yuvaraj (Prince) in public. Bijjala tells Basavanna.

> Because he is my son. Don't you understand? He is my son! My son! Do you know what a son means? I have learnt that over one lakh ninety thousand *Shivasharnas* live in the city of Kalyana by your mercy.
>
> But half of the people know that you have a son. But they don't know his name. What kind of a father you are! How orphaned your son is! Basavanna, you must know the way of the world. The kingdom, the empire, the mundane and spiritual achievements who do you think they are meant? if not for our son? What remains at the end? The progeny of son. Why does every man in this world struggle? Why does he accumulate wealth if not for his son? A son is a son even if he drinks our blood and eats our bones! If not a son, a son-in law, a father-in law, a nephew, a cousin, somebody who full fills the place of a son. [8]

Basavanna unlike the stereotyped Indian saints does not believe in miracles. But he believes in the tremendous human power. But his followers—*Sivasaranas* think that he has the power to perform miracles. When Bijjala's son Sovideva alleged that Basavanna misused public money to feed his followers, he kept Sovideva in the treasury and in his presence he got the coins counted and there was not a single penny missing. The *Sivasaranas* think that Basavanna worked out a miracle and the result was there was no wrong in the calculation which Basavanna out rightly rejected and said that no miracle had happened. Basavanna tells his followers: "I pray you not to follow me. Please listen to me. No miracle was performed in the treasury. Don't make me cut sorry figure." [9]

The Knights in Murder in the Cathedral kill Becket, the clergyman while the Sivasaranas murder Bijjala, the king of Kalachuris in Taledanda. Karnad's play is silent on the mysterious death of Basavanna. How did Basavanna die after the social reformist movement spearheaded by him failed abruptly is a million dollar question.

Becket knows that he can't escape from the imminent death. He has questioned and challenged the secular powers of the king who for his very survival would get the priest killed. When the knights come to the church to avenge for the wrong done by the priest to the king, the other priests who want to save their Chief, Becket bar the door. But Becket tells them to open the door as he is prepared to face the Knights who have come armed to kill him. He tells his followers that he does not wish to turn the church into a fortress. He says:

Unbar the doors! Throw open the doors!
I will not have the house of prayer, the church of Christ,
The sanctuary, turned into a fortress.
The church shall protect her own, in her own way,
not
As oak and stone; stone and oak decay,
Give no stay, but the Church shall endure.
The church shall be open, even to our enemies. Open
the door![10]

Beckett is not afraid of death. Death does induce fear in him. He knows the price that he is made to pay for opposing the king and for upholding the church. He says he is not worried about imminent death as death is certain to happen after having been born. When death is a surety, a phenomenon that is bound to happen today or tomorrow, why fear it? His determination to oppose the king and die on that account is clearly expressed in the following dialogue of his:

To which my whole being given entire consent.
I give my life
To the Law of God above the Law of Man.
Under the door! Under the door!
We are not here to triumph by fighting, by stratagem,
or by resistance,
Not to fight with beast as men. We have fought the beast
And have conquered. We have only to conquer
Now, by suffering. This is the easier victory
Now, is the triumph of the Cross, now
Open the door! I command it. OPEN THE DOOR! [11]

Popularity is also one of the issues that these two plays discuss. The enormous popularity that Becket enjoys with the people makes the king uneasy and forces him to eliminate his potential opponent in which he perceives a great threat to his kingship. Bijjala in *Taledanda* is also afraid of growing popularity of Basavanna. He often wonders who is the King of Kalyana. Is it Bijjala or Basavanna? Bijjala thinks that the number of soldiers in his kingdom are less than the number of devotees of Basavanna. Bijjala keeps quiet when Basavanna arranges an inter-caste marriage, when he diverts the state fund for the welfare of his devotees. It does not mean that Bijjala is sympathetic towards the social reformist movement of Basavanna. It only means that he is afraid of the strength of the *Sharanas*. He knows that if he opposes the reforms of Basavanna, his S*ivasaranas* may avenge it and if they rebel against his administration his army is not in a position to defend him as the *Sivasaranas* outnumber the soldiers.

As king Bijjala is in favor of Varnashrama dharma because he does not want to antagonize Hindus, Jains and Buddhists. As a social reformer Basavanna is in favour of a new religion based on equality and he is ready to welcome people irrespective of their religion. To him people who trust him are most welcome. The Hindus and Jains pressurize Bijjala to control Basavanna and stop him from corrupting the minds of people of their religions. But Bijjala maintains an absolute silence. He knows the power and strength of Basavanna. He allows an inter-caste marriage to take place and he also allows Basavanna to consolidate his religion. When Bijjala could not cope up with the mounting pressure he used the army to curb the movement which resulted in bloodshed and as a consequence Basavanna and Sivasaranas were chased out of Kalyana. Bijjala had to pay a big price for the action he initiated against Basavanna and his followers.

In Taledanda both Bijjala and Basavanna meet with tragic end. A few self styled followers of Basavanna think that king Bijjala is responsible for the tragic death of Madhuvarasa and Haralayya who consented for an inter-caste marriage between a Brahmin girl and an untouchable boy. Like Becket, Bijjala also hides in a temple of Shiva in the premise of his own palace when the Sivasaranas come to the palace to kill him. The knights tell Becket they have come from the King. Similarly, the Sivasaranas tell Bijjala that they have come from Kappadi Sangama, a place to which Basavanna fled after the Saranas were chased out of Kalyan. Bijjala thinks that Basavanna must have sent some information about his getting released as he was imprisoned in his palace by his son, Sovideva who had declared himself as the king of Kalachuris of Kalyan. He comes out of the sanctum sanctorum of the temple of Shiva and the Sivasaranas attack him and kill him. Unlike Becket Bijjala is not prepared to die. Becket offers himself to the assassins while Bijjala opposes them, fights back and surrenders only when he realizes that he is too old to fight with young Sivasaranas.

Basavanna who is in Kappadi Sangama comes to know that Jagadeva, a staunch *Shivasharana* with his few fellow *Saranas* has killed Bijjala. The last dialogue of Basavanna indicates that Basavanna becomes one with the Lord Kudala Sangama, his deity.

> Whose name? Whose form? Whose wound? Whose blood? This corpse is mine. I am the culprit of Bijjala’s murder. This is the last episode in the play performed by Allama Prabhu. The masks are over. The festivity has closed. The night has ended. The streets are empty. Words fell silent. Oh Lord Kudala Sangama let your light suck this body. The light. The light within, the great light. [12]

Becket in *Murder in the Cathedral* comes out and tells the Knights who have come to kill him that he is not afraid of death and that he is fully prepared to face the consequence of what he has said and done. He says:

It is just man who
Like a bold lion, should be without fear.
I am here.
No traitor to the King. I am a priest,
A Christian, saved by the blood of Christ,
Ready to suffer with my blood.
This is the sign of blood. Blood for blood.
His blood given to buy my life,
My blood given to pay for His death,
My death for His death. [13]

Becket always tells his followers that he is a very powerful man and he is not afraid of his enemies. He also tells them that he is like a bold lion and as the lion he should be fearless. He

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further tells that he is not a traitor, he is a priest. He holds priests in a high esteem. He says that he is ready to give his blood to Christ who gave his blood to save his devotees.

For my Lord I am now ready to die,
That his Church may have peace and liberty,
Do with me as you will, to your hurt and shame;
But none of my people, in God's name,
Whether layman or clerk. Shall you touch.
This I forbid. [14]

Becket tells his opponents to take his life and spare his fellow men. He says he is ready to suffer to save his people. He also tells them to treat with his body the way they like but warns them against touching his people whether they are laymen or clerks.

Karnad writes in his preface to *Taledanda*, "During the two decades ending in A.D.1168, in the city of Kalyan, a man called Basavanna assembled a congregation of poets, mystics, social revolutionaries and philosophers. Together they created an age unparalleled in the history of Karnataka for its creativity, courageous questioning and social commitment." [15] The *Sarana* movement spearheaded by Basavanna and hundreds of *Saranas* was essentially a social movement which was a strong protest against the rigidity and injustice of Vedic system. As against the exploitative and corrupt practices of the established religious system, Basavanna and his followers envisaged a new spiritual-social order based on equity and work-principle. Breaking the superiority/inferiority complex implicit in the *Varnashrama dharma* hierarchy, they introduced dignity of labour and equality of man. They refused to accept the *Varna* system as an inherited institution sanctified by religion and tradition. For them it was a source of asymmetrical access to authority and power. They condemned idolatry and rejected the 'static' principle implicit in temple worship in favour of the principle of the 'dynamic' and the 'moving' in life and human enterprise. They spurned Sanskrit which had been the language of Vedic religion and composed *vacanas* which are spiritual songs in Kannada to reach out to the common man. The *Sivasaranas* believed in the equality of the sexes. The inhuman system of cast hierarchy had guaranteed economic exploitation because of which some people lived in plenty while most lived in penury and misery. The *Sarana* movement with Basavanna as the guiding spirit launched a spiritual and social revolution and strove for a radical change in the social and religious life of man. The *Saranas* were aware that the spiritual liberation of man was possible only through total denial of caste.

Taledanda, thus, traces the three important phases of the revolution and meaningfully reflects the inherent ironies and paradoxes of the age it dramatises. Basavanna is very critical of the orthodoxy that fosters brahminical hegemony and caste inequalities. Interestingly, at time even Bijjala becomes critical of the hegemonic brahmanical orthodoxy that makes the life of the lower sections as well as women miserable. It can clearly see in the following dialogue of Bajjala.

> In all my sixty-two years, the only people who have looked me in the eye without a reference to my lowly birth lurking deep in their eyes are the *Saranas*: Basavanna and his men. They treat me as a...human being. Basavanna wants to eradicate the caste structure, wipe it off the face of the earth. Annihilate the Varna system. What a vision! And what prodigious courage! And he has the ability. Look at those he has gathered around him: poets, mystics, philosophers...All hard-working

> people from common stock. They sit together, eat together, argue about God together, indifferent to caste, birth or station. And all this is happening in the city of Kalyan-my Kalyan! [16]

The ideology of Basavanna has a comprehensiveness about it as it strives to achieve equality of caste, class and gender, service as the pathway to God, righteousness in word and deed, kindness towards all creatures and an abhorrence of violence, attracted some of the finest minds to Kalyan from all over the country. All learning until then was locked within the language of the establishment, i.e. Sanskrit, denying access to the lower classes. The coercive aspect of caste power is apparent in the denial of knowledge to those who do not belong to the upper castes. With its justification in Hindu religion-legal mandates, caste power successfully concealed the concentration of power in the possession of the elite and the perpetuation of that possession through compulsion and coercion. Basavanna's words in the play support this view,

> You know even philosophers like Shankaracharya who said "Worldly life is maya" or "Brahma is truth, the world an illusion", yet upheld the Manusrimiti in all worldly matters. They are not satisfied with saying 'dvija' is superior and 'Shudra' is inferior. It was said that if a Shudra tried to study the Vedas, molten lead should be poured into his ears: his tongue should be slit. It should be seen that he never sets foot on the path of knowledge, which means that he should ever remain a slave's slave. If the acharyas (teachers) of tradition speak such words, it only shows what violent feelings and cruelty they harboured. [17]

Basavanna had the fullest awareness of both the objectives and the possible consequences of the *Sarana* revolution. Hence, to strike at the roots of caste inequality, he advocated the philosophy of the work principle which served both the mundane and the spiritual ends. Work is seen as the equaliser of men and also as the pathway to God. Another great service the "Anubhava Mantapa", a unique spiritual institution of the *Saranas,* performed was to wrest knowledge from the clutches of the traditional Sanskrit texts. All *Saranas,* irrespective of their profession, were encouraged to participate in the philosophical and spiritual discussions that took place in the "Anubhava Mantapa" and compose 'Vacanas', short spiritual songs in Kannada. The 'Vacanas' are unique contributions of the *Sarana* movement of the 12th century to Kannada literature which broke the tradition of using Sanskrit and reached out to the common man. They breathed a new strength into the language itself and introduced a new poetic idiom. The Vacanas can not only be read as narratives of their empowerment which helped to rewrite the history of caste oppression. Because self-expression acted as a significant trope of self-respect, one may almost say that mass education was recognised as a panacea for oppression long before the modern dalit leaders.

The second phase of the dramatic action in *Taledanda* focuses on the marriage of Kalavati, the daughter of Madhuvarasa, a Brahmin, and Sheelavant, the son of Haralayya, a cobbler. The efforts of Basavanna and the *Saranas* to root out the discriminatory *Varnashrama* system and to instil a true sense of equality and a true awareness of the divine had borne fruit in the marriage of Sheelavant and Kalavati. Basavanna is confident that one day the caste system that has created a big gulp between people will collapse.

> Some day this entire edifice of caste and creed, this prison-house of Varnashrama will come tumbling down. Every person will see himself only as a human being. As a *bhakta.* As a *Sarana.* That is inevitable. But we have a long way to go. You know the most terrible crimes have been justified in the name of *sanatana* religion. [18]

The play foregrounds the marriage of Sheelavant and Kalavati as the most decisive moment in the history of the *Sarana* revolution as it signifies the turning of the idea into reality.

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The third phase of the play traces the trajectory of the tragic end in which the revolution culminates. Damodara Bhatta, the Queen's priest and Manchana Kramita, the Brahmin adviser to the king, who represent the orthodoxy in the play take the reins in their hands and embolden Sovideva, Bijjala's foolish son, to imprison the king when they saw that he supported an extra endogamous marriage. They foresee in it a potential threat to the upper caste domination. Although Basavanna spearheads the revolution, he is a democratic leader who intends fostering independent thinking in his followers. Paradoxically, the revolution reaches a point where his disciples cease to listen to his suggestion that in return for the support Bijjala lent the *Saranas,* they should stand by him in his hour of need. Slowly the orthodoxy gains an upper hand and the Saranas' unity weakens.

The action of the play all along traces a parallel between the careers of Basavanna and Bijjala whose achievement at the end seem to coincide in time. Together they had created a great moment in history. Apart from Bijjala the third strand of the play concerns Jagadeva, the young and eager disciple of Basavanna. He is an immature idealist who turns into an extremist and kills Bijjala in the end knowing that it serves no purpose. Jagadeva's character has many correspondences with modern Indian reality. The play ends with the crowing of Sovideva signalling the return of the orthodoxy to power and it unleashes a reign of terror. Sovideva orders the slaughter of the *Saranas,* women and children all, the burning of their houses and also their writings. Haralayya and Madhuvarasa are blinded and tied to the feet of an elephant and dragged till death. Sovideva's exultation, his violence and the Vedic chants at the end of the play ring with a note of irony underlining the hypocrisy and deception the upper castes practice to protect their hegemony and prerogatives of power. Manchan Kramita justifies the slaughter with instances from history which helps to construct the history of the politics of caste hegemony, "King Mihirakula of Kashmir took care of the Buddhist menace by decimating sixteen hundred viharas. Our Pandya neighbour impaled eight thousand Jain scoundrels along the highway. So why are we being so circumspect?" [19]

The significant point to note here is that although the revolution of the *Saranas* met with opposition and ended in a failure apparently, in reality, its repercussions have been far-reaching, raising doubts about the very meaning of the terms like 'success' and 'failure'. The voice of protest the revolution symbolises has been irrepressible and history is a witness. The real theme of *Taledanda* is the social and political revolution and the failure of that revolution. A true revolution is an endless process and its repercussions far-reaching; its failure indicates only one phase. This applies even to the revolution of the *Saranas*. As the play is an exploration of the social and political forces responsible for the revolution and its success/failure, it gains universal relevance. In this sense Karnad's *Taledanda* successfully reconstructs an image of the complex network of issues responsible for the revolution and also its impact. But it is also true that while *Sankranti* and *Mahachaitra* provide positive suggestions *Taledanda* not only denies any positive suggestion but a strong mood of gloom predominates, the play underscoring the tragic end.

* * *

The play *Murder in the Cathedral* tells the story of Archbishop Thomas Becket who lived approximately between 1120 and 1170. He fought with King Henry II who attempted to take away the powers of the Catholic Church. Becket unlike his fellow priests resisted against the King's decision which led to a rift between the two. When the King realized that he would not win the priest, he explored the ways of bringing Backett under his control. As a first step the King convicted him of contempt of royal authority which resulted in his fleeing from the place. Becket also used his power as a priest and excommunicated members of the English Court from the church which eventually took away his own life. After the murder Becket was canonized and considered a martyr by the Catholic Church. It is difficult to find out the role of the king in the murder of Becket and some critics maintain that the knights misunderstood the King and wrongly murdered Becket.

What makes Eliot's play so timely is that the four allurements offered to Becket by the tempters are precisely those faced, whether consciously or unconsciously, by the twentieth century audience at large: those of worldly pleasure, temporal power, spiritual power, and eternal glory. Becket refutes all of them, quite directly, but is entranced for a time by the fourth tempter, who indicates that if Becket were to proceed on his course, he would be deliberately courting martyrdom to achieve eternal happiness with God. Becket counters the argument. The last temptation and the greatest treason/ Is to do the right deed for the wrong reason. Eliot also works on the level of the conflict of powers. Each power may perhaps be justified in its own way, and Beckett recognizes that the king and the temporal power he represents have some justification. The king, moreover, had once been Becket's closest friend and had, in fact, made him archbishop. Becket ponders on the debts to the temporal realm, to friendship, and to gratitude, but he continues to maintain the primacy of the spiritual order over the temporal.

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THE COLONY RE-VISIONED – AMITAV GHOSH'S IBIS TRILOGY

SINDHU SEKAR[1]

ABSTRACT

Amitav Ghosh's Ibis Trilogy (Sea of Poppies, River of Smoke and Flood of Fire) is set in the context of the First Opium War (1838-42). Through the landscapes of India and China, how does he employ textual strategies to re-present, subvert and re-appropriate the colonial past to give a more holistic perspective? How do the social class, caste divisions and distinct national identities converge together to aid and abet the crime of immoral drug trafficking? What impact did the opium trade have on the Chinese society and on Hindustan, serving as the site of production of opium? How does Ghosh act as a mimic-man? How does his syncretic perspective empower him? Is this Naipaul's powerless mimic-man? Or does Ghosh become the mimic-man as Homi K Bhabha understands mimicry; revealing the slippages of colonial stereotyping? From the Third Space, does he articulate a reality not recorded in history books?

Key words: Ibis Trilogy, Mimicry, Mimic-man, Third Space, Double-vision

Re-vision – the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction – is for us more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival. Until we understand the assumptions in which we are drenched we cannot know ourselves. (Rich, 1972, p.18)

INTRODUCTION

Something is rotten in the state of Denmark. And this rot has set in not because of one person, nation, culture or ideology, but because of a collusion of many people, nations, cultures and ideologies. It is the confluence of factors within one's control and without, which has led to a world of disorder, disarray and delirium. Amitav Ghosh's Ibis Trilogy (Sea of Poppies, River of Smoke and Flood of Fire) traces the years between 1838-42. The context is the First Opium War. Through the landscapes of India and China, we take a look at the changing fortunes of two peoples whose fates are interlinked and equally thrown asunder as a result of opportunistic elements. Thrown in the mix are the Americans, the Egyptians and the British, whose trade with the Eastern countries has irrevocably altered the lives of everyone involved. While there are heroes and villains, there is no archetype of villainy or heroism that Ghosh falls back on.

He portrays a world infinitely complex, with no easy answers and takes a hard look at the reasons for mass upheaval of lives as a result of the opium trade that flourished in China in the first half of the 19th century. The vast fields of opium have clearly had an adverse effect on India as well. Its people find opium playing an increasingly important part in their lives in terms of addiction and poverty among the agricultural families (poppy fields have replaced other essential crops in the gangetic fields). This era also witnessed the emergence of migrant populations from India, overseas to new lands, in search of livelihood opportunities. Against this backdrop, we also take a sneak-peek at the lives of white Sahibs and Memsahibs, their own hierarchies and complications.

This paper seeks to demonstrate how Ghosh employs textual strategies in his novels to re-present, subvert and re-appropriate the colonial past to give us a more holistic perspective. Capitalistic ambitions of both foreign and local elements converged together to aid and abet the crime of immoral drug trafficking. Ghosh's syncretic perspective allows him to stand in the midst of two parallel tracks, serve as the linking force and shed new light on the understanding

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of our history. This mimic-man is not Naipaul's powerless individual, confused and sapped of energy. He is the mimic-man as Homi K Bhabha understands mimicry; revealing the slippages of colonial stereotyping. From the Third Space he articulates a reality not recorded in our history books. It is neither a jingoistic 'national' view of the incorruptible, simple and rural Indians being colonized by the British Empire nor is it the Western view of colonization as the mere spread of Free Trade. To this end, Ghosh uses textual strategies such as characterization, body of the actor, costume and setting, language, idea of nationality and fictional history as sites of resistance to control the gaze of the audience, highlighting the 'double-vision' that he possesses. Ghosh dismantles the assumptions constructed and propagated through colonialist literature, reclaiming the right to represent a self thus far considered the other.

DISCUSSION

The Sites of Resistance

Characterization

Some of the characters in *Sea of Poppies* (Ghosh, 2008) are from the Indo-Gangetic Belt (Deeti, Kalua, Kesri etc). They speak Bhojpuri. Through Deeti's experiences, we see at close quarters the impact that Opium addiction had on the lives of individuals through death of Hukam Singh and eventual harassment and attempted Sati of Deeti.

Kesri (Deeti's brother) joins the East India Company's army. As a part of the expeditionary force to China, involved in the opium war, he grows disillusioned with the army. He finds upper-caste nepotism among the Sepoys difficult to deal with. This is not just acknowledged but even favourably allowed by the British Sahibs. In *Flood of Fire* (Ghosh, 2015), as the British forces win the opium war, Kesri finds himself reflecting thus:

> Averting his eyes, Kesri looked ahead, at the fort of Humen which lay directly across the water. British flags were flying on it now, wreathed in plumes of black smoke. Suddenly there was a flash and an ear-splitting noise; as the sound faded an enormous chunk of the fort's battlements slid slowly into the channel. Kesri realized that British sappers were now systematically demolishing the fort and its walls.
>
> So much death; so much destruction – and that too visited upon a people who had neither attacked nor harmed the men who were so intent on engulfing them in this flood of fire. What was the meaning of it? What was it for? (p. 505)

Others like Paulette and Jodu are from Calcutta. Through these two characters we see the difference in the lives of the Europeans and natives in India. We also notice that the children of the Europeans who grow up in India are very different from those who have never visited the east, in both manners as well as tastes. For example, Mrs. Burnham, daughter of a Brigadier General, often unwittingly reveals her Hindustani upbringing in her speech. In *Flood of Fire* (Ghosh, 2015), she tells Zachary Reid, 'Oh look at you, my dear, dripping pawnee everywhere. Stand still while I take off your jammas and jungiah' (p. 207).

Zachary Reid, son of a slave woman and an American, looks deceptively white. This enables his steady growth from an ordinary lascar in *Sea of Poppies* (Ghosh, 2008) to a greatly successful opium trader in *Flood of Fire* (Ghosh, 2015). His love for Paulette comes to naught as circumstances keep them away from each other. While Paulette finds herself turning into a horticulturist, he ends up embroiled in the case of the escaped convicts in Calcutta. His eventual affair with Mrs. Burnham, ignites in him an ambition to become a powerful gentleman like Mr. Burnham. Just as opium corrupts Ah Fatt's physical well-being, opium corrupts Zachary's soul. From the innocent and lovable Malum Zikri, he turns into a ruthless and callous man responsible for the deaths of Ah Fatt, Mrs. Burnham as well as Captain Mee (Neville).

Through Raja Neel Rattan's tale, we are familiarized with the lives of the fading nobility of India in the face of the ascent of the mightier British power. Neel, once the heir of the

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Zemindary of Raskhali, is jailed for forgery by trickery. Under the yoke of British Judiciary that is biased toward him from the start, Neel becomes a victim to Burnham's personal greed. Having been raised with great love and care, the dignified Raja has to endure insults at the hands of the Europeans and natives alike. The son of tradition and honour, Raja Neel Rattan ends up as a convict aboard Ibis. Escaping from the Ibis he finds himself in China. Traversing from Canton to Hong Kong, his journey transforms him from Seth Bahram Modi's Munshi in *River of Smoke* (Ghosh, 2011) to working for the Chinese in *The Flood Fire* (Ghosh, 2015).

Bahram Modi, a Parsi from Bombay, son-in-law of shipbuilder Rustamjee Mistrie, is on a mission to become as successful as the men in his wife's family. In Canton, he has a second family. His second wife Chi-Mei is a Chinese boatwoman. Their son Ah Fatt (Freddie), ironically becomes a hardcore addict of opium, the very substance that enriched his father. The rising and falling fortunes of Bahram Modi are central to the Ibis Trilogy.

His first wife, Shireen Modi comes into her own in *Flood of Fire* (Ghosh, 2015). *River of Smoke* (Ghosh, 2011) focuses largely on Bahram and we get a very partial view of this veiled woman. With Bahram's death, the spotlight turns on her. She takes upon herself the responsibility of collecting Bahram's due for the financial ruin brought upon him by actions of Commissioner Lin. She travels to China, overcoming the opposition of her brothers and her own inhibitions. She falls in love with and marries Bahram's best friend Armenian Zadig Bey.

James Doughty, Benjamin Brightwell Burnham, Captain Chillingworth, Judge Kendalbushe and other white traders of the Thirteen Factories are representatives of the empire. They serve the purpose of giving us an insight into the philosophical justification given for the political ambitions and economic greed of the traders-turned-masters. For example, Scotsman Phillip Fraser, owner of an opium-carrying vessel reasoned so, in *Flood of Fire*:

> To blame the British for the opium trade was completely misguided, said Mr. Fraser. The demand came from Chinese buyers and if the British did not meet it then others would. It was futile to try to hinder the flow of a substance for which there was so great a hunger. Individuals and nations could no more control this commodity than they could hold back the ocean's tides: it was like a natural phenomenon – a flood. Its flow was governed by abstract laws like those that Mr. Newton had applied to the movements of the planets. These laws ensured that supply would match demand as surely as water always seeks its own level. (Ghosh, 2015, p. 375)

An exception to this is Mr. Charles King. He is the only one to clearly recognize and acknowledge the destructive impact of the opium trade on the Chinese society. But for this he is ostracized by fellow traders. In River of Smoke (Ghosh, 2011) Commissioner Lin Zexu's crackdown on the opium trader's results in the following discussion among the British traders.

> Mr. Burnham sank back into his chair and stroked his silky beard. 'Let us be clear about what we have just heard,' he said calmly. 'An open threat has been issued against us: our lives, our property, our liberty are in jeopardy. Yet the only offence cited against us is that we have obeyed the laws of Free Trade – and it is no more possible for us to be heedless of these laws than to disregard the forces of nature, or disobey God's commandments.'
>
> 'Oh come now, Mr. Burnham,' said Charles King. 'God has scarcely asked you to send vast shipments of opium into this country, against the declared wishes of its government and in contravention of its law?'
>
> 'Oh please, Mr. King,' snapped Mr. Slade, 'need I remind you that the force of law obtains only between civilized nations? And the commissioner's actions of today prove, if proof were needed, that this country cannot be included in that number?'

> 'Are you of the opinion then,' said King, 'that no civilized nation would seek to ban opium? That is contrary to fact, sir, as we know from the practices of our own governments.' (p. 435-6)

Plot and Setting

The story shifts location depending on the character in focus in the particular novel. In *Sea of Poppies* (Ghosh, 2008), Deeti, is from a village on the outskirts of Ghazipur, 50 miles east of Benares. Here, we find ourselves on the ghats of the Ganges and the vast fields of Poppy. These poppy seeds harvested in India are shown to directly have a negative impact not only on India but also on China, as the manufactured drug is then marketed to China, leading to mass addiction to *afeem* among the Chinese population.

It is also set in Calcutta, where we meet Paulette and Jodu. All the characters eventually find themselves aboard the schooner Ibis, on a journey towards Mauritius. The novel ends with Bhyro Singh's death at the hands of Kalua and the escape of Kalua, Neel, Ah Fatt, Jodu and Serang Ali.

In *River of Smoke* (Ghosh, 2011), the story moves from Mauritius to Southern China, more specifically Canton. Here, the weight of the plot lies on Emperor of China banning opium trade as it was destroying the social fabric of China. The traders of Thirteen Factories in Fanqui town, Canton are perplexed as a total ban on the trade would mean being deprived of a lucrative livelihood. One among them is Bahram Modi. He lays his faith on one huge shipment of opium aboard Anahita. Offloading these shipments is imperative to these traders. In Canton, the very effective administrator, Commissioner Lin Zexu imprisons the traders in the Thirteen Factories (residential quarters), until they give up all their cargo of opium for destruction. Captain Elliot, the British Representative of the Crown in China, proves unable to help as an armed offensive becomes impractical owing to the time that will be taken for reinforcements to arrive. The traders end up losing all their cargo, keeping the faith alive that China will be forced to reimburse the loss, when they are sufficiently prepared for a war with China. The novel ends with Bahram Modi's suicide.

In *Flood of Fire* (Ghosh, 2015), the tale moves from Calcutta and Bombay to Canton, Macau and Hong Kong. We are introduced to Kesri Singh and Shireen Modi. There is a change of tide in China as the British prepare for a war with China for impeding 'Free trade'. Commissioner Lin falls from the graces of the Chinese emperor as China battles the British, only to suffer a massive defeat. Despite this, Lin retains popular support among the locals, for they have directly felt the benefits of the ban on opium trade. Through Kesri Singh and Neel's son Raju we get to see life in the barracks. Shireen Modi is transformed as she takes up with gusto the newfound freedom and even takes to wearing dresses. Captain Mee and Mrs. Burnham's true love is not meant to be. Just as the fates conspired to keep them separated the first time around, so do they now. With the victory of the British in the first Anglo-Chinese opium war, all is well again for the opium traders. In fact, they are in far better standing now than ever before. The novel ends on a grim note with the murder of Ah Fatt and the suicides of Mrs. Burnham and Captain Mee (Neville).

Body of the actor and costume

Almost all the characters have a double-life in the trilogy. Quite blatantly, Zachary, Paulette and Mrs. Burnham look white but are not completely so. Zachary's reinvention by Serang Ali, who dresses him up so he looks like an official, pushes him up the social ladder. Here, Ghosh reveals how appearances are crucial for social approval. This also reveals that it is not difficult to reinvent oneself by simply dressing differently. This is significant to our understanding of hybridity and mimicry. The interchangeability of roles – be it by Zachary; Paulette who dresses up like a man as a horticulturist and as a Bengali woman aboard the Ibis; Baboo Nob Kissin

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whose increasingly feminine attire also reflects the role he plays in the lives of Neel and Zachary; Shireen's dresses; interest of Robin Chinnery in bangles and anklets – confound colonialist assumptions. None of these characters would be recognizable in colonial literature of yore.

This is not without purpose. Gilbert and Tompkins (1996) point out that, '… imperial discourse often uses costume as a marker of difference to designate levels of "humanity" whereby the "civilized" can be distinguished by the "savage" by the clothes they wear' (p. 244). It follows, then, that depending on the wearer, the connotations carried by certain items of clothing can be changed or inverted. Ghosh subverts normative assumptions of colonialist writing by destabilizing the otherness of the 'native' body.

Language

Ghosh also de-centers the hegemonic power of western literature by the language he uses. The Ibis trilogy uses English, Hindi, Bhojpuri, Gujarati, Bengali, Lascar-pidgin, Chinese words. There are the Bhojpuri songs sung at Deeti's wedding, dialogues in Bhojpuri in *Sea of Poppies* (Ghosh, 2008) like '*Dekhehebaka hoi*? You want to see? (p. 33)', corruption of English like calling Elokeshi 'Raja-sahib's "Keep-lady" (p. 216)' or Hindi words like sharaab, tamasha, ekdumtheek, khabardaari, etc. There is Gujarati in *River of Smoke* (Ghosh, 2011), Bahram asks Dinyar, '*Atlu sojhu English bolwanu kahen thi seikhiyu deekra* – where did you learn to speak English so well, son? (p. 392)'. He uses Chinese in *Flood of Fire* (Ghosh, 2015); like '*Haih me?* Really?', '*Yat-dihng', 'Yindu'* (p. 45) etc.

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2002) propose that, '(l)anguage becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of "truth", "order" and "reality" become established' (7). By language one means use of new words coined and that of indigenous words of Indian and Chinese origin. They point out that 'the careful redeployment of linguistic signifiers – such as tone, rhythm, register, and lexicon – can generate as much political resistance as the re-writing of history or the introduction of politically embedded properties to a stage' (p. 168).

Idea of the nation

Rakhee Moral (2003) says that the concept of nation is a western construct that is disputed on the grounds that this demarcation of a group of people while sometimes social, is more often political. Benedict Anderson defines a nation as an imagined community. He says that when we rigidly fix a historical space and character to nationhood, we paradoxically end up emphasizing the artificiality of national identity (p. 139). This can be seen reflected in *Sea of Poppies* (Ghosh, 2008).

Paulette (Pugly/ Putli) though of French origin, born and raised in India, finds herself most comfortable in a Sari and not in Western evening dresses. She converses "like a native" in Bhojpuri and Bengali. She is conversant in Latin because her father Pierre Lambert, Assistant Curator of Calcutta's Botanical Gardens, restricted her education to botanical names as per Linnaeus system, instead of teaching her the scriptures. He himself having been a bit of a rebel, was a misfit in French society because of his scientific thinking and open-mindedness. He finds happiness in India with his 'assembled' family comprising his daughter Paulette, Jodu and his mother with whom he is in a secret relationship after the death of his wife. Here, questions of nationality and patriotism are thrown out of the window. When the individual comes into conflict with society, Ghosh gives preeminence to the individual. This pattern in seen repeated in the lives of almost all his central characters.

Deeti, a Rajput by caste, chooses to lead her life with her lover Kalua, a low caste man. They boldly follow their dream of living a life of dignity and freedom by escaping to Mareech (the Island of Mauritius).

Similarly, we have Zachary Reid son of Maryland Freedwoman and a White man, who sees his rise in position aboard the Ibis, due to unexpected circumstances and because of his deceptive white looks. He plays the role of an official with the secret knowledge that were the truth of his origin to be found out, he would no longer be considered worthy of this position.

Raja Neel Rattan Halder, witnesses a complete and utter reversal of his fortunes due to the machinations of Benjamin Burnham and his trusted gomusta Baboo Nob Kissin and by false witness of his own mistress Elokeshi. Jailed unfairly for forgery, he has to submit to trying circumstances and abject humiliation not just by the White Lords but also by natives in employ of the British Raj.

The Ibis's story is tied to different lives, motives and aspirations of the passengers aboard. By uttering the stories of these characters, Ghosh demonstrates how national history as a singular utterance is always only a partial sense of the events that unfold. For all these characters, nationality and identity are disputable. They wish to land in Mareech with a clean slate. This is them, taking control of their destiny. This runs in contradiction to any account of official history of a country where nationality and patriotism take on highly rigid and emotional overtones.

Sumeet Verghese (2000) says, '. . . nationalism can be, in its broadest sense, thought of as a sentiment or a strong feeling for one's own country or sometimes, even the world. In narrower sense, nationalism could mean just "patriotism", a state of mind, in which it is felt that, the nation has the sole rights over an individual's loyalties. . . . in Ghosh's novel there is a clear-sighted debunking of territorial and patriotic nationalism . . . ' (p. 94-5).

Fictionalized history

First two novels are set before the outbreak of the First Opium War. Third novel deals with the war itself and the consequent events. All the central characters have fractured identities. Brinda Bose (2003) says, 'Diasporic identity in its inherent fracturedness clearly intrigues him; he analyses this "space" with reference to its histories' (p. 17). She further adds:

> Ghosh's aesthetics is a fictional embracing of historical/ political subtexts, and an intellectual exploration of both the major, as well as the marginalized, contexts of modern history: nationalism/ internationalism, migrancy, memory/nostalgia, violence, communalism. He is constantly looking for ways in which he can render history into fiction; in a certain sense he is also seeking to pit fiction against history, to challenge the latter's implacability with the former's potentially more humane qualities. (p. 18)

Ghosh intersperses fact with fiction. He mentions real historical characters like Fredrick Douglass, Napoleon, George Chinnery, Commissioner Lin, etc. He gives them fictional accounts as part of his narrative. He also intersperses scientific developments like discovery of 'the eye of the storm' and the invention of 'Wardian cases' with the central narrative to recreate the unenunciated stories of those who do not fit into sanitized versions of history handed down the generations as the official history. Bose (2003) adds that his intention is to 'subvert mainstream history, and make the subaltern "speak" (p. 21).

The English Text – Constructor and Container of Meaning

Bhabha (2007) defines the English book as 'an insignia of colonial authority and a signifier of colonial desire and discipline' (p. 146). He says that the English word, be it the Bible or any other piece of literature, is seen as beholding the ultimate Truth. Even though the colonized and his perspective is visible as part of the background, it is disavowed and one returns to the primacy of the English written word and its attendant colonial discourse. But when the colonized subject uses the English word, what is disavowed and repressed, no longer remains so. This use of the English word by the colonized subject is not seen as an 'originary' experience but as one of a mutation or hybrid (Bhabha, 2007, p. 159).

Hybridity

Hybridity, with its divided loyalty, allows the shifting of the fixity associated with the representation of the colonized subject. The hybrid colonized subject is endowed with the power to strategically reverse the process of domination by repeating the disavowal once exclusively practiced by the hegemonic power centres. In Bhabha's (2007) words:

> Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. (p. 159-60)

Ghosh creates characters who are all hybrid in either their origins; lifestyle or location; or mental/ physical state. By creating such characters, all with divided loyalties, by refusing to paint a black and white picture, Ghosh forces us to re-evaluate our limited understanding of the past. This allows him to put forth views that a colonialist text has no space for. For example, in *Flood of Fire*, Ghosh (2015) reflects upon the status of the Sepoy in the British ranks. 'There was only one sepoy in the paltan whom Kesri held in high regard and he was Subedar Nirbhay Singh, the highest ranking Indian in the battalion. No matter that a subedar was outranked, on paper, by even the juniormost English subaltern' (p. 3). In another instance, he wonders how one could define the sepoys in the British army? 'Slaves' possibly.

> Then Zhong Lou-si said something that startled me: he said that at the time Chinese officials had concluded that the sepoys were slaves and the British did not trust them to fight; that was why they had left Macau without putting up much resistance.
>
> But sepoys are not slaves! I protested. Like British soldiers, they are paid.
>
> Are they paid the same wage as red-haired English troops?
>
> No, I had to acknowledge. They are paid much less. About half.
>
> Are they treated the same way? Do the Indian and British troops eat together and live together?
>
> No, I said. They live apart and are treated differently.
>
> And do the Indians rise to positions of command? Are there Indian officers?
>
> No, I said. Positions of command are held only by the British.
>
> A silence fell while Zhong Lou-si meditatively sipped his tea. Then he looked up at me and said: So, the Indians fight for less pay, knowing that they will never advance to positions of command? Is this right?
>
> None of this could be denied. Jauhhaih lo, I said: what you are saying is right.
>
> But why do they fight then?
>
> I did not know how to answer: how does one explain something that one doesn't understand oneself? (p. 46-7)

Such insights become possible in an English novel only because of the syncretic perspective of the writer that enables him to learn the language of the colonizer and talk back to him in his own language. His hybridity allows him to gain a fresh perspective on the aspects of the British Army in colonial India which would not be touched upon in British colonial discourse. He mimics the colonial novel, to write something spectacularly different.

Mimicry

Mimicry, here, is not mere imitation. It is not Aristotle's mimesis (a realistic portrayal of life in art). It is mimicry that is meant to shatter the exclusivity of the original. This is the 'menace of mimicry'. The fact that something can be learnt or copied, and reproduced with elements the original lacked, even while being reminiscent of the original is the 'menace of mimicry'. This 'disrupts the authority' of colonial discourse (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 100-1). Bhabha's (2007) notion of mimicry pertains to instances of colonial imitation that fall between mimicry and mockery, where the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double. The ambivalence of mimicry (almost the same, but not quite) produces excess or slippage which even while rupturing the discourse, becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a 'partial' presence (p. 122-23). The mimic-man then becomes a contradictory figure who reinforces colonial authority even while disturbing it.

CONCLUSION

Amitav Ghosh, through the Ibis Trilogy, successfully subverts the assumptions of the colonial self as opposed to the colonised other. Through hybrid characters, a narrative set in India and China, with at least seven languages in the text, he recreates and re-visions for us a history going back two centuries. He makes us question our misconceptions and sheds light on aspects overlooked by official history. It is thus that the mimic-man Amitav Ghosh paints a portrait of the other who refuses to be trapped in the stereotypes that enabled the European self in colonialist literature.

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STRATEGIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC SECTOR HOSPITALS IN MEGACITY, KARACHI: A CASE ON PEOPLE'S HEALTHCARE FACILITY SELECTION CRITERIA AND CONCERNS'

SHAMAILA BURNEY[1]

ABSTRACT

The mega city Karachi is one of the largest and only mega city of Pakistan, with the highest rate of urbanization (Khan, 2014). Moreover, Karachi is the third most densely populated megacity that alone plays an important role in urban demography of Pakistan (Haq.M, 2014) . Like any mega city this problem of rapid urbanization and high growth rate of increase in population puts constraints on existing resources and poses serious challenges for different sectors of Karachi. Likewise, the health sector of Karachi is also facing serious challenges in terms, non-availability of qualified doctors in public hospitals, non-availability of medicines & latest equipment, poor infrastructure, overburden hospitals with patients belonging to rural areas and lack of quality healthcare facilities. Healthcare services, particularly in the public sector are very much neglected fields in Karachi and all over Pakistan and thus needs special consideration. This paper aims to present a synoptic view of the concerns of people while selecting health care facility in Karachi with the identification of criteria that the residents of Karachi uses to select Healthcare facility in order to provide solutions and recommendations for the improvement of Health care facilities in Karachi. Well-structured crosssectional questionnaire was used through random sampling technique and two stage clusters sampling to record the responses of total of 1991 households. Out of the total no 11127 no. of respondents, only 580, and (5.2 %) sought treatment in public health care facilities and, 2440 (21.9 %) respondents visited private healthcare facilities. Research results show that Cost is the only significant factor because of which people opt for treatment at public health care facility.

Keywords: Megacities, Karachi, Pakistan's Health sector, Health care facility selection criteria, Concerns of people.

INTRODUCTION / BACKGROUND

The world's urban population is growing at an ever faster rate, giving rise to the growth of mega cities on the globe. A megacity, by definition, is an urbanized area with a population of at least 10 million (UNCHS, 1996). According to UN Habitat, two-third of the world's population is likely to live in cities until 2030. As estimated by World Urbanization Prospect 2014, there will be an increase in number of megacity by 2030, (Fig 1), the megacities listed by the UN already have reached a total population of 280 million and are considered the growth engines of their relevant national economies. But with this rapid growth there is also a rapid growth in the challenges megacities are facing. The major key issue of this exceptional growth of population in megacities is on the city's infrastructure. Urban residents need and deserve essential and basic necessities of quality living such as clean drinking water, stable electricity, transportation system and most importantly a better health care system with cost-effective quality care and easy access to healthcare facilities.

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Megacities are a new spatial urban form with important implications for public health (Pappas, 2011). Healthcare structures in megacities are at crucial point due to significant demographic and epidemiological changes (New Cities Foundation, 2013). The major reason behind this is the phenomenon of rapid urbanization i.e., the rapid rise in population mainly in the form of internal migration from rural to urban areas of the country. This new reality poses serious concerns and unprecedented pressure on health support systems in developing countries, especially in megacities like Karachi which are already overburdened and constrained by limited resources. Particularly health care services in the public sector are an ignored and mistreated area and hence needs to be taken under special consideration. The major reasons for this are financial limitations and restrictions, and the socio-cultural feature of high, low income demand for public sector hospital services (Chisolm et al., 2010).

Pakistan's public health care sector is riddled with numerous problems, constraints, challenges and contradictions that obstruct the smooth functioning of the health care system & service delivery, especially, in Karachi (Zaidi). Megacity Karachi- the capital city of the province of Sindh and the only mega city of Pakistan with an estimated population of over 22 million, ranked as 7th largest mega city in the world as compared to other mega urban cities is greatly neglected in Health sector. Healthcare in Karachi is deeply entrenched in corruption, shortage of qualified doctors and paramedics in public hospitals, unavailability of medicines and poor quality of infrastructure and health facilities accessibility. As our research show, the people of Karachi have, in general, little or no access to healthcare facilities in public hospitals.

Comparison of Public (Pubh) and Private (Pvth) on accessibility of healthcare facility (N- 11127)

Variable	**Score**	**Df**	**Sig.**
Easy Access **(Pub)h**	4.507	1	.034
Easy access **(Pvt)h**	12.36	1	.000

Consequently, the burden of health facilities has shifted to the private sector, thus adding financial stresses to people across the city. This paper examines the concerns of the people related to health and how these concerns are influencing the behaviour of people with the help of Quality Index development using the data of Karachi megacity survey conducted in 2015 and it also examines people criteria of selection of healthcare facilities. The results reported inform policy recommendations and strategies for managing the problems of health sector in Karachi.

Following this introduction to the research theme, Section 2 puts forward a discussion on the health care structure of Pakistan and health issues with special reference to megacity Karachi and identifying areas that need special considerations of healthcare facility administrators Section 3 discusses in particular a case of Karachi 's healthcare facilities Section 4 describes the research design in detail comprising of four different sections related to research instrument designing and methodology ,Section 5 presents the results of the survey research analysis and reports responses of the sample residents of Karachi along with interpretive analysis section 6 concludes the study and Section 7 proposes policy recommendations for bringing improvements in Healthcare infrastructure of Karachi with emphasis on improvement in healthcare service efficiency , as grounded through the expectations of the patients.

DISCUSSION

Pakistan's health care system consists of a three–tiered health delivery system, including primary, secondary and tertiary care. This healthcare facilities structure consists of Basic

Health Units (BHU), Community Health Care Services through Lady Health Workers, Rural Health Centres, Tehsil hospitals, Dispensaries, District hospitals and well equipped Tertiary level teaching hospitals. Despite Karachi's extensive health care infrastructure, it is un able to deliver optimal health services and care as a consequence a number of issues and challenges that the health sector of Pakistan specifically Karachi is facing, including lack of motivation among members of the healthcare workforce due to lack of career prospects, deep-rooted corruption, uneven distribution of resources, lack of medicines and the latest diagnostic and treatment equipment, and overall unsatisfactory health infrastructure. (World health organization, 2004) Moreover, Pakistan spends an exceptionally low percentage of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on health, only 0.5%. This is leading to further inefficiency with the government's ability to cope up with the growing needs for required medicine and laboratory support resulting in an out-of-pocket expenditure on health of around 80%. According to World Bank (2010) Pakistan is still striving to achieve most health-related Millennium Development Goals MDGs. (Islam,2000). Though there has been an improvement in the MDGs of education sector, the Health sector still remains on the margins of the development landscape (World Bank, 2010)[9]. Thus, Pakistan is facing a number of major challenges in improving health outcomes. Keeping in view the current level of government expenditure on health, achieving an improvement in this sector seems doubtful.

The quality of healthcare services in public hospitals is showing a downward trend and the rapid growth in population due to immigration and births is imposing increasing pressure on public hospitals. This is shifting the burden onto the private sector to meet the needs and to bridge the gap between increasing demands and public provision of health. The role of the private sector in providing up to standard facilities is increasing and because of poor public sector performance, public sector health facilities role is diminishing as people prefer private sector health facilities over public hospitals.

Pakistan and particularly Karachi are facing serious health issues while going through epidemiological transition and demographic changes. In this context the public health service delivery presents an uneven distribution of resources with unsatisfactory performance. After the 18th amendment to the constitution responsibility for the health sector has been devolved to the provinces yet responsibility for distribution and revenue generation sources still remain unclear between the different tiers. For achieving significant improvements in the health sector, it is important to frame the development and maintenance of health structure in a way that keeps consideration focused not only on short term health outcomes but is also able to address and improve the long-term health status of the population

A CASE OF KARACHI

Karachi, a megacity with an estimated population of more than 22 million has three established and running tertiary-care public hospitals, i.e., Jinnah Postgraduate Medical Centre (JPMC), Civil Hospital Karachi (CHK) and Abbasi Shaheed Hospital (ASH) [13]. Nearly 75 percent of households in Karachi fall in the lower-middle and low income brackets with an average monthly income PKR 15,000 (Pakistani Rupee) (Khan, 2014), varying significantly across the upper and lower income categories. Keeping in view the large income gap of the city's population, access to a private healthcare facility puts considerable financial strain. Still, the private sector dominates the health sector of Karachi despite their high cost of treatment and facilities as the state run healthcare facilities have failed. There is a dire need to work on the improvement of Public healthcare facilities in Karachi to make it efficient enough to address the needs of lower income patient' needs & health care. The basic objective of this research study is to identify the factors that people in Karachi consider while selecting a healthcare facility and to examine the concerns of people, while selecting healthcare facility in Karachi.

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

This study is based on a cross-sectional survey that was carried out from December 2015 till January 2016 from a total sample of 13,233 households of Karachi by categorizing the megacity Karachi into 18 administrative towns and 6 cantonment areas**.** The survey was carried out by Karachi office of the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics under the project of 'Managing Mega-Cities A case study of -Karachi' in George Mason University –University of Karachi Partnership program. A two stage stratified sampling technique was employed to draw sample.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

The major data is derived from a cross-sectional household survey's section on the utilization of healthcare facilities A questionnaire is used to obtain information on household members in the following areas(i) Socio demographic characteristics ; (ii) Health problems in the year prior to the interview; (iii) Type of healthcare facility chosen in the first instance; and (iv) Reasons for the choice of a healthcare facility (v) Factors giving rise to health issues in Karachi (vi) Administrative issues that are weakening the public health infrastructure of Karachi.

The questionnaire was translated into Urdu and was pretested on 25 households. The results of this pilot questionnaire were used to make the questionnaire more locally contextualized. This research focuses on the studying the healthcare facility selection criteria using following hypothesis:

H1: Availability of specialized doctors impacts the selection of a healthcare facility.

H2: Cost of care impacts the selection of healthcare facility.

H3: Cleanliness and hygiene are significant factors on the selection of a healthcare facility.

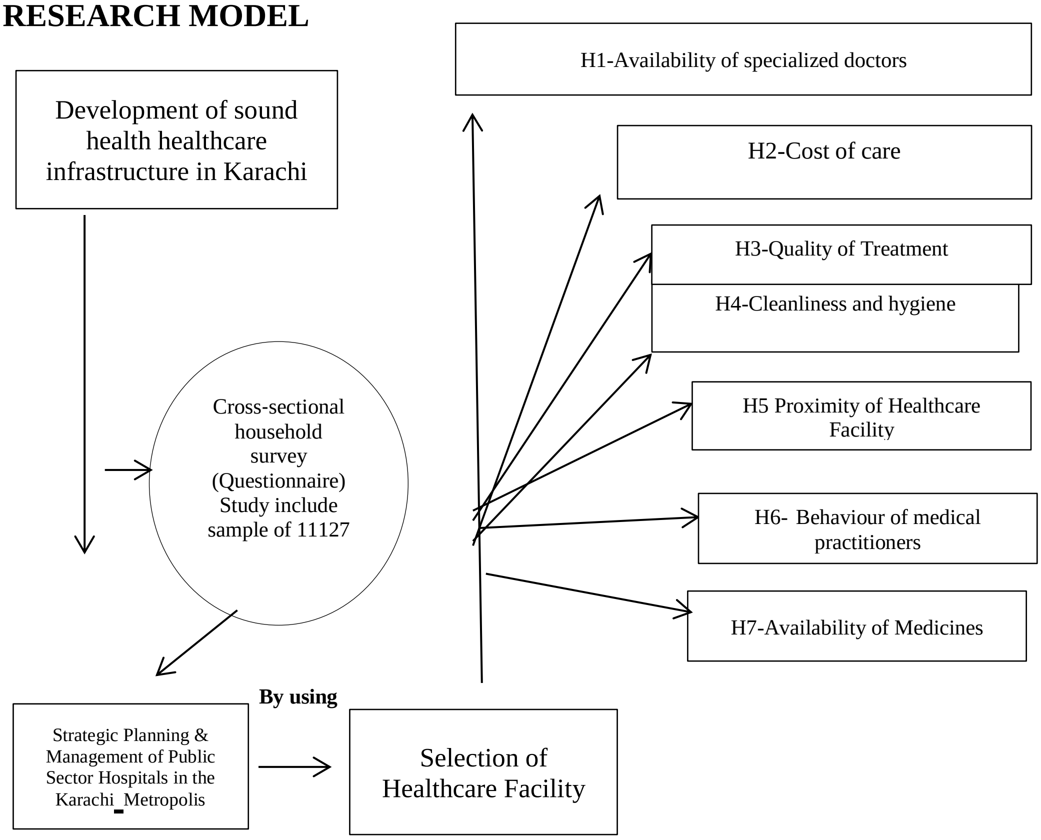
H4: Quality of treatment a patient receives at a hospital has an impact on the selection of a healthcare facility.

H5: Proximity has an impact on selection of healthcare a facility.

H6: Behaviour of medical practitioners has an impact on the selection of a healthcare facility.

H7: There is an impact of availability of medicines on the selection of a healthcare facility

RESEARCH MODEL



DEFINITIONS & CLASSIFICATION OF VARIABLES

Public Health care facilities are those state owned facilities that are run and financed by government. Whereas other non- state healthcare facilities are categorized as Private healthcare facilities.

The concerns of people while choosing healthcare facilities were assessed with the help of Index development, in which five variables were used i.e. Age, Level of Education, district of residence, Income and Language (Urdu). The result of concern shows that the more educated a person is the more concerned he/she is about quality of a healthcare facility.

The reason for choosing healthcare facilities both for public and private health care facilities is assessed by use of seven different variables that residents of Karachi keeps in mind while selecting healthcare facilities, these variables are (1) Cost of care (2) Quality of treatment (3) specialised doctors (4) cleanliness/hygiene (5) Availability of medicine (6) Quality of health personnel behaviour and (7) Easy access.

The education status was classified into three different categories (1) Middle (up to 5 years of education in school) (2) Secondary & High (from 6 years to 12 years of education (3) B.A. & Above (14 years and above).Variable Urdu is classified as Urdu and No Urdu speaker.

STUDTY AREA AND SOCIO- DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

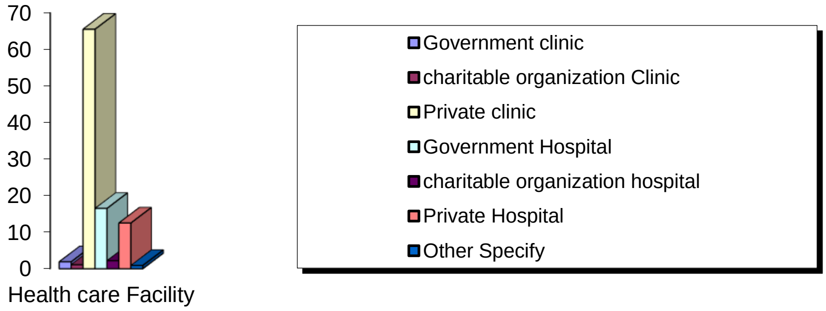
Megacity Karachi, known as" city of lights" is the capital of the Sindh province and is the main seaport, financial and economical centre of Pakistan. Karachi covers 50% of Sindh's total population and 63% of its urban population (www.wikipedia). According to Demographia World Urban Areas report [14], Karachi's population has shown an estimate of 80.5% increase in the last decade and is ranked as the 7th largest mega city of the world. Karachi has total population of 22 million (estimated). For this study we categorized Karachi into its 18 administrative towns and 06 cantonments. Data analysis is done using SPPS version 24.

Table 1 Socio Demographic Characteristics Of The Respondents (N= 11127)

Variables	N (%)
Gender	
Male	54%
Female	46%
Education	
No School	17.4%
Middle	37%
Secondary & High	30.4
B.A. & Above	15.2
Age Group	
Below 40	75.1%
40-59	19.3%
60 –above	5.6%
Ethnicity	
Urdu	67.4
No Urdu	32.6

Table 1 presents the Socio- demographic characteristics of the respondents. Among the total of 11127 respondents, 54% of respondents were male and 46% of respondents were Female. Most of the respondent were aged below 40 (75%) only 30% of the respondents were literate and 37% of the respondents were only Middle pass. This data include all respondents who had visited Public or Private Healthcare Facility, in last 12 months prior to the survey was conducted to seek medical treatment either for themselves or for the family members. Choice of healthcare facility was recoded in analysis as 1 Public healthcare facility

and 0 for private healthcare facility as 0 in order to identify the number of people



Following graph shows the percentages of visits people did to different type of health care facility during the past 12 months, Out of the sample of 11127, only 3150 responded and 7977 were missing. Only 1.9% visited government clinics and 1.1% visited clinics operated by charitable organizations. Most of the respondent i.e. 65% visited private clinics and only 16.5 % visited Government hospitals while 2.2% visited hospitals operated by charitable organizations. While 12.2 % respondent visited private hospitals.

SURVEY RESULTS

The paper presents following important findings and data from this study. Table 2 presents the results of logistic regression model A, for reasons of selection of Public Healthcare facility (Pubh), Variables used to measure choice of public healthcare facilities were Cost, quality, hygiene, availability of medicines & access criteria.

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Among the total number of respondent 580, (5.2 %) of total 11127 respondents) who used public healthcare facilities said that the only significant factors/reasons of choosing public Health is Cost of care (.000) and cleanliness/hygiene (.034).

TABLE 2			
Variables	**Model A** **Public health care Facility (Pubh)**		
	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Cost of care	1	.000	1.954
Quality of treatment	1	.820	1.093
Specialized doctor	1	.266	.834
Cleanliness / hygiene	1	.034	8.489
Availability of medicine	1	.078	1.922
Quality of health personnel behaviour	1	.469	.872
Easy access	1	.111	2.556
Constant	1	.000	.001
. a. variable(s) entered on step 1: cost, quality, hygenie, meds, paramed, haccess			

Whereas Quality is the least preferable factor (.820) for those who visited public healthcare facility. Our research results show that it is highly predictable that respondents do not prefer public healthcare facility at first instance.

Model Summary –Pubh			
Step	**-2 log likelihood**	**Cox & Snell R Square**	**Negelkerke R Square**
1	4418.542	.006	.017
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 8 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001			

Logistic regression model summary of Pubh model shows that there is a 6% (.006) to 17% (.017) variation is observed, hence the week results shows that very few people support the idea of visiting public healthcare facilities at first instance

TABLE 3			
Variables	**Model B** **Private health care Facility (Pvth)**		
	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Cost of care	1	.000	.130
Quality of treatment	1	.011	1.612
Specialized doctor	1	.000	1.972
Cleanliness / hygiene	1	.007	2.550
Availability of medicine	1	.054	1.500
Quality of health personnel behaviour	1	.003	.673
Easy access	1	.044	1.722
Constant	1	.000	.072
a. variable(s) entered on step 1: cost,quality,hygenie,meds,paramed,haccess			

Table 3 infers the results of logistic regression of Model B- Pvth, for those who visited Private Health care Facilities, Same variables were used as in Model A –Pubh for private health care facilities responses also. From the total of 11127 respondents, 2440 (21.9 %) Respondents visited private healthcare facilities. The results shows Cost of care (.000) , quality of treatment

(.011) specialized doctors (.000) ,cleanliness/hygiene (.007) , Quality of Health Personnel (.003) and easy access(1) (.044) as significant factors/reasons for choosing private healthcare facility. Only Availability of Medicines i.e. availability of medicines (.054) doesn't have much impact on selection criteria.

Model Summary –Pvth			
Step	**-2 log likelihood**	**Cox & Snell R Square**	**Negelkerke R Square**
1	9617.223	.153	.234
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001			

The following model summary of Pvth explained range of variation in the dependent variable from 15.3 % (.153) to 23.4 % (.234) .From model summary it is concluded that all the variables under study are having a positive impact on the selection of the private health care facility.

CONCLUSION

This research paper is an attempt to present the research finding of a cross sectional survey capturing the perceptions & opinions of the citizens of Karachi regarding public and private healthcare facilities. A total of N=11127 representative sample was taken to gauge perceptions of residents of Karachi about healthcare facilities, their health care facility selection criteria & concerns of respondents while selecting healthcare facility. The results of a survey provide a precise replication of citizen's opinion about both public & private healthcare facilities. From our survey results and discussion, the empirical findings and survey results: it is evident that private healthcare facilities are providing better healthcare services and contributing a major role in lowering the burden of public sector healthcare facilities. This further endorses our research rationale that in Karachi, more and more people are visiting private healthcare facilities and that the public sector healthcare facilities are inefficient in performing their due role in providing better and efficient services to people. Moreover, patient's realization & concerns for quality further drives a greater portion of residents towards getting treatment in private healthcare facilities. Hence it can said that private sector healthcare facilities are making far more better efforts as compare to private sector healthcare facilities. Thus, in the light of above analysis following recommendations can be given for.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY MAKERS

From our analysis discussed above we concluded that People are visiting private healthcare facilities because they are receiving good cost of care, Specialised doctors and paramedics/ Health Personnel are aimed to provide good & quality treatment to patients, there is an availability of medicines & pharmacy facility within health care facility and above all private healthcare facilities have easy accessibility. All these efforts of private healthcare facilities led the private healthcare facilities to continuously strive for and enabling them to bring process, system & quality improvements in their healthcare facilities.

While the results for Public healthcare facilities shows poor quality of public healthcare services to patient in terms of cleanliness & hygiene, non- availability of medicines, absence of specialized doctors and other paramedical staff and the inequitable distribution of public healthcare facilities in the city, which in return is making public healthcare services inefficient and unable to provide quality services to people. Karachi's healthcare crises persist despite a lot of genuine efforts by private healthcare facilities to provide good quality healthcare services. In the light of above analysis following recommendations to policy makers can be proposed.

1. Government & Health Ministry should immediately plan well equipped and state of the art public healthcare facilities (hospitals) in Karachi as the three major tertiary

care hospitals Jinnah Postgraduate Medical Centre (JPMC), Civil Hospital Karachi (CHK) and Abbasi Shaheed Hospital (ASH) were established years ago and at that time population was not that much high as it is now.

2. Furthermore, Karachi having six districts and 18 towns, have the right to claim the demand of establishing one general tertiary care hospitals in each of its town so that people can have an easy access to the hospitals in case of emergency or for low price treatment. If the funding is not sufficient to meet the expenses of one hospital in each town, government should work on establishing at least one hospital for two towns.
3. Health department must revisit, review and reprioritize the allocation of existing resources in order to make public healthcare facilities more responsive and efficient towards patient's needs. It is important while reprioritization of resources focus should be on both achieving short term & long term health outcomes and at the same time is able to achieve the long term outcome of population's health status.
4. Innovation in Healthcare is the need of an hour, The areas like Orangi, New Karachi, Gadap and Bin Qasim ,lyari where doctors are not available or are reluctant to go because of accessibility concerns ,Government should work to setup E-Health clinics so that their residents can easily connect with doctors for general routine check-ups.
5. As our results shows that cost is the only significant factor that is making people visit public healthcare facilities, other than costly treatment at private healthcare facilities, there is an immediate need to address and work on making public healthcare facilities more cost effective for low income patient's needs & healthcare by providing them free of cost treatment like other megacities of the world (UK, US etc.)
6. Training programs should be launched by the government for the trainings of para medical staff, nurses, doctors etc. So that they will be able to deal with patients in a more efficient manner

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

This study is partially supported by quantitative analysis. As such it provides insight into the views of representative patients who avail healthcare facilities, basic health issues of Karachi but lacks information from policy makers' points of view.

The sample covers only one city; hence there is a limitation of generalizability to the entire health management plan of the country and to healthcare issues faced by megacities in general. Also, since it is one-time survey, it will not be able to predict the trends of the health sector. However, it will definitely provide a basic framework or model that can be further implemented in other cities. For example, working hypotheses can be developed based on the Karachi research which can be the focus of future research that can be conducted with a methodology that enables generalizations to other megacities in developing countries.

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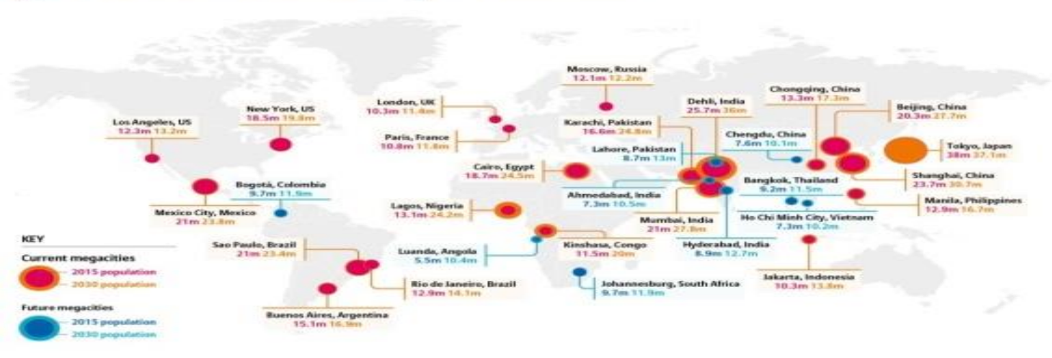
FIGURE

World Urbanization prospects 2014 (revision of 2013)

Figure 1 Selected current and future megacities 2015 to 2030



Source: World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision

ANNEXURE

Model Summary				
Model	**R**	**R Square**	**Adjusted R square**	**Std Error of the estimates**
1	.143[a]	.020	.017	.50113
a. Predictors: (Constant), Urdu, HH3-Age of the Household member,income3 ,District of Residence, Level of Education recorded				

Coefficients[a]		
Model		Sig.
1	Constant	.000
	HH3-Age of the household member	.274
	Level of education Recoded	.000
	District of Residence	.023
	income3	.351
	Urdu	.100
a. Dependent Variable : QC_concern2		

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FACTORS INFLUENCING PARENTS' CHOICE OF RELIGIOUS PRIVATE PRESCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

Religious private preschools are flourishing in Malaysia as a result of high demand from parents. In finding the best place for their children's early education, some parents prefer the 'branded preschools' despite the exorbitant fees charged. This study examines the factors that influence parents' preferences when choosing branded religious preschools for their children. Six parents from three religious private preschools were interviewed using in-depth semi-structured interviews for this purpose. The results showed that the factors that influence parents' choices the most are the religious syllabus, teachers' traits, medium of instruction, children's safety, school facilities, number of students in the classroom, location and the tuition fees of the preschools.

Keywords: religious, private preschool, early education, parents' choice

INTRODUCTION

Parents have to take many issues into consideration when choosing a preschool for their children. For them, it is highly crucial because it is their responsibility as the managers of the family to ensure that their children are given the best available education to be successful individuals in the future (Robbins and Coulter, 2005). With the many types of preschools available to them, many parents face difficulty in choosing the best preschool for their children. Parents have to take many factors and determine their priorities into consideration when choosing a preschool (Robbins and Coulter, 2005). Furthermore, parents have different perceptions and educational beliefs which will influence the choice of preschool for their children. Apart from that, economic factors may also force them to choose a less preferred school due to affordability.

Many prior researches focus on the institutional and performance aspects of preschools such as teaching strategies, nutrition and child psychology in preschools in general but few studies have been made to study a particular type of preschool which is religious private preschools. In the Malaysian context, in recent years there has been an increase in the number of religious, mainly Islamic private preschools. This indicates that the demand for religious private preschool education is high. Thus, the researchers would like to find out what are the factors for this high demand. What do parents expect from their children by sending them to these religious preschools when there are government-funded preschools which offer preschool education at much lower fees?

This study is carried out to study the current trend which is happening in Malaysia. The main objective of this study is to examine the factors which influence parents' decision in

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choosing private religious preschools for their children. The monthly fees for private religious preschool ranges between 400 to 760 Malaysian Ringgit (93 to 177 US dollars) which is very high for Malaysian parents whereby the mean monthly household income was 6,141 Malaysian Ringgit (1430 US dollars) in 2014 (Department of Statistics Malaysia Official Portal). Despite so, many Malaysian parents prefer to send their children to these preschools.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The preschools in Malaysia could be categorized into a number of types. They are:

i. government-run preschools
ii. private (non-religious) preschools
iii. private religious-based preschools
iv. Language-based preschools, e.g. Chinese medium or English medium preschools
v. Politically-affiliated preschools, e.g. PASTI run by the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS), and Chinese preschools run by the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA).

Based on statistics, Malaysian parents prefer private preschools rather than government-run ones. In a study made by Dahari and Ya (2011), 52.2% of the participating parents preferred to send their children to private preschools as compared to government-run (44.4%) preschools. This trend of sending children to private preschools is considered due to the parents' perception that the private preschool may fulfil their expectation with regards to their children's performance (Mustafa and Azman, 2013).

According to Dahari and Ya (2011), the choice of preschool most preferred by parents is the preschool that emphasizes safety and security, which gives good quality of teaching and emphasizes the importance of hygiene and cleanliness to their children's environment. However, for this study, we will focus solely on private religious (Islamic) preschools. This is because Muslims are the majority in Malaysia and many of them preferred the religious based preschools for their children.

Generally, most religious private preschools in Malaysia are "Islamic" preschools since Islam is the dominant religion here. Among the characteristics of these private Islamic preschools are:

- it offers subjects that are Islamic in nature such as learning to recite the Quran in addition to the national curriculum
- it usually adds the term "Islam" as a modifier or uses an Arabic term in its name such as Children *Islamic* Centre, Little *Caliph*, Genius *Aulad* etc.

METHOD

This study is qualitative in nature. Merriam (2009) states that basic qualitative research is used to understand the meaning of a phenomenon for participants through interviews, observations and document reviews. The participants of this study consisted of six parents from three selected Islamic private preschools. Since the majority of Malaysians are Muslims, the number of Islamic preschools is in the majority when we speak of religious preschools. Creswell (2013) asserted that it is typical in qualitative research to study a few individuals or a few cases. Because of the need to report details about each individual or site, the larger number of cases can become unwieldy and result in superficial perspectives. The researchers had identified three selected preschools based on their popularity in Malaysia and the fees charged. The researchers had employed in-depth semi-structured interviews to collect the data. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed before they were analyzed.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This study reveals that there are certain factors influencing parents' choice of religious private preschools. Below are the influential factors that had been identified:

Religious Syllabus

All of the parents show their concern with the syllabus used in the preschools. For them, the syllabus is very important to cater the needs for the development of a good Muslim. They expect the syllabus to inculcate Islamic teachings and encourage the children to practice it. Since preschool is regarded as the 'second home' for the children while their parents at work, it is therefore very important to choose the preschool with the syllabus that suit the parents' need and expectation. The following are some excerpts of what the parents said:

> "…since both of us are working, we sometimes do not have the time to teach about Islam to our children. We can teach some of the basics but there are other things that we aren't able to. So, when, we send our kids to the Islamic kindergarten, they are able to learn the Islamic teachings that we want."
>
> "This Islamic kindergarten exposes the children about the tenets of religion which should be inculcated from early childhood."
>
> "They are also taught the recitations in prayers…prayers are taught too, in congregation. The children are taught how to be the *imam* (leader) in prayers… and he is able to."
>
> "I send my eldest very early in the morning and I fetch her at 5.30 or 6.00 in the afternoon… so I really expect that the teachers would inculcate the Islamic *manhaj* (way). We hope that whetever Islamic teachings that we apply at home will be also applied at school."
>
> "I'm raising my eldest daughter which is now in an Islamic kindergarten to be a qudwah (role model) for her younger brothers and sisters, so (the education given) has to be holistic. Holistic but in stages… I don't expect too from her, in terms of academic achievement but in terms of attitude and *akhlaq* (character/morality)."

Some of the parents asserted that they do not only emphasize on the religious syllabus of the kindergarten but also the religious or Islamic environment that is present at the kindergarten, One of them used the word "*ruh*" or spirit found in the preschool to describe the environment such as the following:

> "I don't want him to only learn *fardhu 'ain* (basic teachings of Islam), or learning to read, but also I want him (to experience) the *ruh* (spirit)… God-willing the Islamic preschools have the "ruh" (spirit) or *salehah* (good or saintly) environment.. We want that too."

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Teacher's Traits

It was noticed that most parents were concerned about the characteristics of the teachers who taught their children at the preschool. This is natural since normally children will look upon their teachers, apart from their parents, as role models as can be seen from the following statements:

> "In terms of the teachers, if we look at their outer appearance, we find that they appearance is very good. They cover their *'aurah* (dress according to Islamic teachings). This is totally different with other kindergartens which do not emphasize these Islamic qualities. We can also find a stark difference in terms of personality and also the method in which they teach the children. For each of the lessons taught they would relate it with the Quran and the *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) so that the children would not forget those important elements (Quran and *hadith*)."

> "..at schools (preschools) it is the teachers who are the ones who shapes their character, aren't they?"

Medium of Instruction

All of the parents agree that English as the medium of instruction as one of the main factors in choosing a preschool. Some of them also preferred that their children be taught more than one language as shown in the excerpts below:

> "They use three different languages, but previously they had four. They taught four languages. Arabic, Malay, English and Mandarin. Now they don't teach Mandarin anymore."

> "Yes, for me English is very important."

> "I would like my child to be able to grasp the English language."

> "The most important is language, fees and location."

Children's Safety

All parents want their children to learn in a safe environment. They are of the opinion that private preschools could give a secure and safe surrounding to their children. Some of them had sent their children to other preschools previously but were not satisfied with the security and safety aspects. The following are excerpts of what the parents had to comment on this issue.

> "I choose this kindergarten because it is located at a neighbourhood where it's (the traffic) not that busy. I'm concerned of my daughter's safety."

> "Praise to God it's (safety) OK. This is because the teachers will monitor the children's safety. They don't allow people to enter the vicinity easily."

> "Whenever I send off my son, the teacher will come and greet him at the car…and when I come to fetch him, the teacher would bring him to the car."

Facilities

One of the factors that have been considered by parents in finding the best place for their children is the facilities provided by the preschool. Based on the interviews, the parents insisted that they want their children to feel comfortable and enjoy their time at the preschool. One of them said:

> *"I find that there is a playground for the kids… there's a television. The kids can take a break by watching tv after class. There's also facilities for performing prayers and there are bathrooms. They have everything… this because I send my son not only for kindergarten but for daycare too.*

Number of Students

Small classes are easier to manage. Teachers could also give more attention to their students. This is one of the factors that influence parents in making their decision to send their children to the private preschool. Below are some excerpts from the interviews:

> "…at this kindergarten, the children are put into different classes based on their age… and they are divided into small groups. So, it is easier for the teachers to focus on our children."

> "The number of students in a class is below ten… about seven to nine (children). So, the attention given by the teacher is more… which is good."

> "I've sent my son to another kindergarten previously, but the number of students were too many there... So, the teachers attention was less."

Location

Based on the interviews, most of the parents preferred the nearest location to their workplace. They mention:

> "Since my workplace is nearby, it's easy for me to pick him up."

> "It's close to my office. Both my wife and I work at the same place. So, either of us can go there easily."

Fees

Most of the parents realize that the fee of the private preschools is more expensive than the public preschools. However, they tried to find and select the preschool with an affordable fee. Some parents also mentioned that they expect to receive more quality in service and education from the preschools because they pay more for the fees. Below are some excerpts from the interviews:

> "The fees are OK. Because I think that this kindergarten is affordable, very affordable, not like kindergarten X which for me is very expensive."

> "When we, parents pay more, of course we expect more…"

Cleanliness

Parents also pay attention to the cleanliness of the preschool because they want their children to play and learn in a healthy environment. Below are some excerpts from the interviews:

> "So far I am satisfied with the cleanliness of my daughter's kindergarten. The previous kindergarten which I sent her to was not satisfactory."

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> "I have seen err been inside. So far, I am satisfied with the level of cleanliness at the kindergarten... that's why before we send our children to a kindergarten we have to look at its environment because if it's not clean, then how can we learn, right?"

CONCLUSION

The results from this study showed that the factors which influence the decision making of the parents are the religious syllabus, teachers' traits, medium of instruction, children's safety, facilities, number of students in the classroom, location and the tuition fees of the preschools. It can be concluded from this study that most of the factors in choosing a preschool is mainly similar to those parents which send their children to ordinary private preschools which are also expensive. However, the major factor of Malaysian (Muslim) parents when sending their children to religious private preschools is to provide them with an Islamic environment. They believe that an Islamic environment will enhance the character building of the children and support their development holistically.

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FACTORS RELATING TO BODY IMAGE IN KOREAN PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to find out the factors relating to body image in Korean preschool children. The participants of this study were from the 1st year of the short-term longitudinal study conducted in the year of 2016, comprising of 97 preschoolers (*M*=61.8 months) and their mothers. To investigate the factors relating to body image, we analysed children's individual characteristics, maternal factors, and media experience. Children with higher media experience showed lower body satisfaction. Mothers of children with higher BMI perceived their children to be healthier, but gave more verbal messages on weight reduction. BMI and SES were positively associated with body satisfaction, but mother's level of education and verbal messages on weight reduction were negatively associated. The findings suggest that a mother's verbal messages regarding a children's body, a mother's education level, and a family's SES are influential factors in forming preschooler's body image.

Key Words: Korean preschool children, body image, body satisfaction, individual factors, sociocultural factors

INTRODUCTION

The term 'lookism' does not merely define adults in Korean society. From childhood to adulthood, excessive emphasis is placed on physical appearance. According to the research on 4,600 students in the district of Incheon in Korea conducted by the Incheon Development Institute, 59.7% of male students and 78.2% of female students experience a stress overload from "appearance stress such as heights and body shape" after excluding "school grades and career stress" (Incheonilbo, 21 March 2016). In modern society, various media exhibit unrealistic beauty standards and ideals. Children and adolescents exposed to these standards are likely to be unhappy with their body and form a negative body image from early childhood.

The term "body image" refers to one's subjective attitude towards own physical appearance. This, in other words, means a psychological image, perception and feeling towards one's own body (Slade, 1988). Body image also implies satisfaction with the body. This also includes expectations of how one wants to be seen by other people, which can be defined as physical identity and is influenced by culture (Lee, 2005).

Most research on body image in children comes from western countries. This indicates that not only individual factors such as gender, age, and weight but also ethnicity and culture could play an important role in body image. For example, a study on 3rd graders in America showed that African American children preferred a larger physical size than their own perceived body size, whereas Caucasian children preferred a thinner body (Robinson et al., 2001). Regarding previous findings, research on body image in non-western cultures is needed.

Body image in preschool children

Studies of body image in preschool children reported that a subjective evaluation on one's own body begins at 4–5 years of age by developing and using an adequate pictorial measurement. Previous studies on body stereotypes and body satisfaction in children aged 3–5 clarified that body stigmatisation started at the age of 4 (Cramer and Steiwert 1998; Musher-Eizenman et

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al., 2003). Findings on the attitudes of 5-year-old children towards appearance (Kim, Kim and Kim, 2012) and body stigmatisation in preschool children (Kirkpatrick and Sanders, 1978; Stager and Burke, 1982) also noted that body size stigmatisation appears at 5 years of age. Tremblay and Limbos (2009) found that negative body image is present in the pre-adolescent period and can be seen in children as young as 5–7.

Korean studies on body image of preschool children are still insufficient. In the last decade, a qualitative study on the body image of 5 years old children (Park and Lee, 2010) and a study on sociocultural attitudes toward body image in 5-year-old children (Kim et al., 2012) were the only studies found. The scarcity of studies on the body image of preschool children can be explained by the low reliability of the cognitive appraisal of a preschool child (Tremblay and Limbos, 2009). The current study thus focuses on using adequate measurements to assess the body satisfaction of preschool children by identifying perceptions and expectations of their body.

Factors influencing body image in Korean preschool children

Individual factors associated with body image in preschool children are the Body Mass Index (BMI) and gender. BMI and objective body size will be closely linked to how children perceive their own body. Although other factors such as family and media may affect children's perception and stereotype of the body, actual body size should also be taken into consideration in the formation of body image in children.

Studies on gender differences in body image gave inconsistent results according to the age of participants. Some researchers showed that women were more dissatisfied than men with their body as adolescents and adults (Jang and Kim, 2006; Engeln-Maddox, 2006). Gender differences were found in several studies on attitudes toward physical appearance or body satisfaction in children aged 6–8, which reported that girls were more interested in physical appearance and dissatisfied with their body than boys (Collins, 1991; Oliver and Thelen, 1996; Thelen et al., 1992). In contrast, other researchers reported no gender differences in the physical self-esteem of 5-year-old children (Kim et al., 2012) or in the body image of 3–6-year-old children (Hendy, Gustitus and Leitzel-Schwalm, 2001). Nevertheless, according to a 2015 OECD Health report, 14.1% of Korean female children and adolescents aged 5–17 are overweight, which was half of male's percentage of 26.4%, displaying the highest level of gender differences among OECD countries in 2013 (Chosunilbo, 9 November 2015). This implies that females in Korea may feel more social pressure and stress on the issue of appearance than males. An examination of young children is thus fundamental.

According to social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1997), parents can affect a children's body image by providing a modelling effect. During childhood, the intimate relationship with the mother is more influential than any other environment surrounding the child. The maternal role in forming the body image of children has been emphasised in many ways. Verbal messages on the body from the mother could affect a child's body image. A significant amount of research on body image of children and adolescents has continuously demonstrated that one of the influential factors on a child's body image is the parent-child relationship (Hendy et al., 2001; Oliver and Thelen, 1996; Sands and Wardle, 2003; VanderWal and Thelen, 2000). In one study (Hendy et al., 2001), it was found that a mother's evaluation of physical appearance influenced body image in preschool children regardless of age. This implies that ideal standards of body set by society can be passed on to the children by their mothers.

Additionally, the sociocultural model (Dohnt and Tiggemann, 2006; Thompson et al., 1999) proposes sociocultural influences on body image. These include social demands on physical appearance by gender and beauty standards set by the media. These standards then become ideal standards for children. The increasing cultural industry has made it easier for children to experience mass culture through various media (Lee, 2011). Numerous celebrities, models, and sport stars appear on TV, in commercials, and in magazines to give messages of being beautiful and powerful. Children and adolescents pick up on these messages and set them as their role model for the future. Considering the media environment surrounding children, body image in children is also expected to be influenced by the media. However, research on media influence on body image is limited to elementary students and adolescents. It is thus essential to investigate the effect of media and of the maternal role on the body image of preschool children in a sociocultural context.

The aims of this study are (1) to assess the body satisfaction of 4–5-year-old Korean children and (2) to examine the factors relating to their body satisfaction, such as individual characteristics and sociocultural factors (the mother's body-related verbal messages and the children's media experience).

METHODS

Participants

97 preschool children (47 boys and 50 girls) and 97 mothers from 5 preschools located in two of the main cities in Korea were recruited to participate in this study. From 100 mother-child dyads who agreed to participate in this study, 3 dyads were excluded being the wrong age. The average age for the children was 61.8 months; that for the mothers was 36.58 years.

Measures

Figure rating scale. Body image in Korean preschoolers was measured by a figure rating scale. This scale consists of 7 gender-specific line drawings of increasing size, labelled from 1 (thinnest) to 7 (thickest/heaviest; Collins, 1991). Separate sets of figures corresponding to participant gender were used for boys and girls. Participants selected figures that represented current body size. Scores calculated the difference between current and ideal body types interpreted as measures of body dissatisfaction (Fallon and Rozin, 1985).

Contour drawing rating scale (CDFRS). The mother's body satisfaction was assessed using a modified version of a contour drawing rating scale (CDFRS) comprising 9 line drawings of women's bodies, arranged from 1 (thinnest) to 9 (thickest/heaviest; Thompson & Gray, 1995). Based on the drawings, participants were asked to choose the figures that represented their current and ideal body size. A body dissatisfaction score was created by the difference between ideal body image and current body image.

Mother's verbal message. To measure the frequency of verbal messages the child received from the mother to "be thinner" or to "be bigger," two 3-item scales were used. The mother was asked to use a 3-point scale (1: never, 2: once or twice, 3: many times) to rate how frequently she suggested her child "eat less to lose weight," "exercise to lose weight," or "is a little too heavy." The score for "be thinner" messages was the mean score of the three items, which could range from 1 to 3. Similarly, the mother was asked to use the same 3-point scale to rate how frequently she suggested her child to "eat more to get big and strong," "exercise to get big and strong," or "is a little too thin." The score for "be bigger" messages was the mean score of the three items, which could range from 1 to 3. Cronbach's alpha in the current study was from .57 to .85.

Media experience. Mother participants were provided with a list of five specific television shows selected by five professionals in the field of child development. The mother was asked whether her child watched these shows a lot (2), sometimes (1), or never (0). The list was compiled from popular children's television shows according to a Korean television ratings website (e.g., Little Princess Sophia, I am Star, and Korean music programs; Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006). Cronbach's alpha was .72 in this study.

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FINDINGS

Descriptive characteristics of the participants

Table 1: Sociodemographic characteristics

Classification	Operationalisation	Frequency (%)
Children's gender	Dummy variable	
Male (boy)	(0=girl; 1=boy)	47(48.5)
Female (girl)		50(51.5)
Mother's education	(0=all other level;	
High school graduate	1=high school graduate)	27(27.8)
College graduate	(0=all other level; 1=	59(60.8)
Graduate school	graduate school)	11(11.3)
Father's education		
High school graduate		24(24.7)
College graduate		55(56.7)
Graduate school		17(17.5)
Household's socioeconomic status		
Low	(0=all other class; 1=low)	15(15.5)
Medium	(0=all other class; 1=high)	50(51.5)
High		30(30.9)

Note: a household's socio-economic status was divided by household income per month (Low=less than 3million won; Medium=3~6 million won; High=more than 6 million won)

The characteristics of the subjects are shown in Table 1. The boy: girl ratio was 48.5% to 51.5%; 75% of fathers graduated with more than a college degree; 72.1% of mothers graduated with more than a college degree. The percentage of working mothers was 54.6%, while all fathers worked. 50% of the households answered that their economic status was the average.

Descriptive results

Table 2: Descriptive statistics and sex differences in individual factors, mother factors, media experience, and body satisfaction

Variables	Total (*N*=97) *M*(*SD*)	Boy(*N*=47) *M*(*SD*)	Girl(*N*=50) *M*(*SD*)	*t*
Children's body satisfaction	5.32(1.22)	5.68(1.04)	4.98(1.29)	2.94**
Individual factors	109.06(6.95)19.42(3.73)	109.59(7.85)	108.57(6.03)	.72
Heights(CM)	0.38(1.19)	19.60(4.25)	19.25(3.21)	.45
Weights(kg)		0.29(1.32)	0.46(1.05)	-.71
BMI	7.22(1.20)			
Mother's factors	2.09(0.56)	7.28(1.05)	7.16(1.33)	.50
body satisfaction	1.27(0.54)	2.07(0.53)	2.11(0.58)	-.31
verbal message to "be	1.40(0.34)	1.16(0.42)	1.37(0.62)	-1.97^{+}
bigger"		1.20(0.23)	1.59(0.32)	-
verbal message to "be thinner"				6.83***
Media experience				

$^{+}$ *p*<.06, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001

The BMI score of the participants was converted to a standardised z-score and classified into underweight (z-score of -2 to -3), normal weight (z-score of -1 to 1), or overweight (z-score of 2 to 3), using the gender- and age-specific growth chart for Korean children (The Korean Pediatric Society, 2007). The result of the BMI score is as shown in Table 2. Of the preschool participants, 60.8% were of normal weight, 16.5% were overweight and 22.7% were underweight. Body satisfaction in preschool children was 5.32 (*SD* = 1.22), indicating that Korean preschool children had a high level of body satisfaction; their mother's body satisfaction was also higher than average. The frequency of maternal verbal messages about the body was low, while the frequency of verbal messages to "be bigger" was relatively higher than to "be thinner". Boys had higher body satisfaction than girls ($p<.01$), and mothers were more likely to give the verbal message to "be thinner" to girls when compared to boys ($p<.06$). Additionally, girls tended to experience media concerning physical appearance more often ($p<.001$).

Correlation analysis between BMI, mother's factors, media experience and children's body satisfaction

Table 3: Correlations between BMI, mother factors, media experience, and children's body satisfaction

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1					
2	.14	1				
3	.04	-.10	1			
4	-.06	.08	-.08	1		
5	-.15	.50**	.00	.16	1	
6	-.23*	.05	-.09	.11	.20	1

1=children's body satisfaction 2=BMI 3=mother's body satisfaction 4=mother's verbal message to "be bigger" 5=mother's verbal message to "be thinner" 6=media experience
*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$

The result of the correlation analysis is as shown in table 3. There was a significant correlation between media experience and children's body satisfaction. Children who watch TV programmes more often had lower body satisfaction, but the absolute value of the correlation coefficient (r=.23) was not considerably large. Moreover, BMI had a significant relationship with the mother's verbal message to "be thinner". Mothers with children with a higher BMI score were more likely to give verbal messages to "be thinner" to their children.

Regression of children's body satisfaction

Table 4: Effect of Individual factors, mother's factors, and media experience on children's body satisfaction

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	*β*	*t*	*B*	*β*	*t*
Gender (boy)	-.73	-.30	-3.11**	-.39	-.16	-1.34
SES						
Low	.22	.07	.62	.48	.14	1.34
High	.71	.27	2.48*	.66	.25	2.30*
Mother's education						
High school graduate	.18	.06	.59	.19	.07	.63
Graduate school	-.79	-.21	-2.12*	-1.01	-.27	-2.71**
Mothers with jobs	.26	.10	.97	.26	.10	.98
BMI				.29	.28	2.56*
Mother's body satisfaction				.04	.04	.38

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Mother's verbal message to "be bigger"				-.03	-.01	-.14
Mother's verbal message to "be thinner"				-.61	-.27	-2.44*
Media experience				-.66	-.19	-1.50
Constant		6.08			6.95	
F		3.78**			3.25**	
R^2		.21			.15	
Adjusted R^2		.15			.21	

*p<.05, **p<.01

The results of the regression analysis are as reported in Table 4. To control for sociodemographic variables, the hierarchical regression analysis was conducted with children's gender, SES, the mother's education, and the mother's job on Step 1; BMI, the mother's body satisfaction, the mother's verbal message ("be bigger" and "be thinner"), and media experience were entered on Step 2. Sociodemographic variables accounted for 15.1% of the variance in children body satisfaction, F (6, 88) = 3.78 (p<.01). In particular, gender, SES, and the mother's education were significantly related to children's body satisfaction. Boys had higher body satisfaction than girls, children of a higher SES class had higher body satisfaction, and children had a higher body satisfaction when their mother's level of education was higher than graduate school.

The predictor variables entered at Step 2 collectively accounted for an additional 5.7% of the variance in children's body satisfaction, F_{change}(6,83) = 3.25 (p<.01). In particular, children with a higher BMI and who experienced higher frequencies of the mother's verbal message to "be thinner" had higher levels of body satisfaction.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The Korean preschool children who participated in this study showed a higher level of body satisfaction than average, indicating that most of them were satisfied with their body. Considering that there was no correlation between children's BMI and body satisfaction, children may still have inaccurate perceptive abilities of their own physical body. Girls showed a lower level of body satisfaction than boys, which accords with studies that have shown that girls are likely to have a higher level of body dissatisfaction (Collins, 1991; Oliver and Thelen, 1996; Thelen et al., 1992). In the present sample, Korean preschool children with more media experience were less satisfied with their body. This is consistent with previous studies on media experience and body image in children and adolescents (Cho and Kim, 2006; Dohnt and Tiggemann, 2006). Mothers also tended to give more verbal message to "be thinner" to children with a higher BMI. This implies that a mother's perception of body size can influence how children perceive their own body through the mother-child interaction, although the mother's body satisfaction was not associated with the children's body satisfaction.

To examine the factors relating to preschool body satisfaction, hierarchical regression was conducted. Gender was one of the most crucial factors related to body satisfaction. Girls were more likely to show lower level of body satisfaction than boys. Mothers with a postgraduate education were likely to have children who were less satisfied with their body. Children who had a higher SES were more satisfied with their body. These results suggest future research on other family factors that may influence a child's body satisfaction is required. After controlling for sociodemographic variables, the children's BMI and the mother's verbal message to "be thinner" were significant factors affecting a preschooler's body satisfaction. Children's BMI was positively associated with body satisfaction. This is not in line with previous studies reporting no relationship between children's actual body size and body rating (Musher-Eizenman et al., 2003). Children with a bigger body were more satisfied with their size, which is interpreted that the children couldn't yet form an ideal body image of thinner body. Considering the fact that 83.5% of the preschoolers who participated in this study were of normal weight or were underweight, and that mothers gave more "be bigger" than "be thinner" messages to their children, the children in this study would probably be more satisfied with their body when their BMI increased.

The frequency of the mother's verbal message to "be thinner" was negatively associated with the children's body satisfaction. This can be seen in that the more often mothers gave their children negative verbal messages about the body, the less the children were satisfied with their bodies. Consistent with the previous research (Hendy et al., 2001), this result highlights the importance of the mother's role in forming body image in children.

The media factor in this study was not associated with children's body satisfaction. One possible explanation for this is the young age of the children in this study, who had a low media experience in general. As this is the first part of a short-term longitudinal study, changes in the effect of children's individual factors and sociocultural factors, including the media factor on body image, will be examined in the second year.

Despite the contributions of this study, there are some limitations. This study used a small sample of Korean preschool children. Nonetheless, the results of this study could provide evidence that family and preschool should provide a healthy environment for fostering a positive body image from early childhood. The present findings could also be used to encourage additional research on body image in Korean children. Future research should consider the effects of fathers and siblings and other family environments on children's body image satisfaction.

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CURRENCY CARRY TRADE PROFITABILITY: EVIDENCE FROM EMERGING AND FRONTIER MARKETS IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

We studied the profitability of currency carry trade from 1998 to 2015 amongst forty currency pairs, targeting currencies of Africa's emerging and frontier markets funded by four major currencies in the world with low interest rate. We document that the uncovered interest parity hypothesis is rejected in a considerable number of currency pairs. We show that the Huber weighting robust regression performs better than the ordinary least squares in the fitting the African data which is plagued with a lot of influential data points. We show that Africa's currency carry trade is more profitable during periods of financial crisis when all other investments globally are on their knees. Thus, our African currency carry trade portfolio shows strong performance against the Morgan Stanley Capital International (MSCI) index and the realised returns of the Deutsche Bank G10 FX Carry Trade index during the global financial crisis of 2007 to 2009.

JEL Classification: C32 F31 G11 G15

Keywords: Huber weightings, currency market, uncovered interest parity, carry trade.

INTRODUCTION

The currency carry trade has in recent times received increasing coverage in the financial media. The currency carry trade is a strategy where an investor borrows at a low interest rate and invests in an asset that yields a higher interest rate, making money on the spread (Burnside et al., 2010). In financial economics, the difference between the interest rate on an asset denominated in any one country's currency unit and the interest rate on a similar asset denominated in another country's currency is assumed to be compensated for by the expected rate of change in the spot exchange rate between the two currencies (Ames, Bagnarosa and Peters, 2013). This is referred to as uncovered interest rate parity (UIP) and it is the very reason why currency carry trades should not work in theory. Thus, if the UIP holds, the expected excess return on the currency carry trade will be zero (Papadopoulos and Koutsougeras, 2011). Although UIP seems to draw on sound theoretical foundations, empirical work has produced substantial evidence for its systematic failure (Fama, 1984; Razzak et al., 2002; Burnside, Eichenbaum and Rebelo, 2007; Brunnermeier et al., 2008; Olmo and Pilbeam, 2009; Burnside et al., 2010; Fong, 2010; Ames, Bagnarosa and Peters, 2013; Barroso and Santa-Clara, 2015). Fama (1984) regression notes that interest rate differential has nearly zero predictive power regarding changes in the exchange rates, something which is confirmed by Hassan and Mano (2015). Moreover, some papers argue that UIP failure is more of a problem for the developed countries than emerging markets (Bansal and Dahlquist, 2000). Current papers suggest that UIP holds much better for long-term interest rates than for short-term interest rates(Chinn and Meredith, 2005; Chinn and Quayyum, 2012). The profitability of currency carry trade has been the subject of enormous research work the world over. In the extant literature, studies on this subject are focused on the developed countries, specifically the G10 currency countries and

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emerging Asian, European and Latin American economies, with very little being known about Africa, although the South African Rand is noted to be profitable against the Japanese Yen (Brunnermeier, Nagel and Pedersen, 2008; Fong, 2010; Hassan and Smith, 2011; Das, Kadapakkam and Tse, 2013; Fung, Tse and Zhao, 2013). Studies suggest that incorporating a currency carry trade component in a conventional portfolio improves portfolio performance[3](Das, Kadapakkam and Tse, 2013). Studying the profitability of carry trade of the emerging and frontier markets of Africa is therefore justified. Our paper brings a number of innovations and contributions to the academic literature on this subject. Firstly, we use Huber's weighting robust regression to estimate Fama's regression equation. This becomes necessary because of the significant amount of influential data points in the financial data of Africa. Ordinary least squares (OLS) would fit the data well only after successive rounds of winsorisation and trimming. To the best of our knowledge this is new in the study of currency carry trade. Secondly, we show that carry trade returns in emerging and frontier Africa intensifies during periods of financial crisis. Thus, there seems to be some negative correlation between the international financial markets and carry trade returns in Africa. Thirdly, we compare the performance of currency carry trade in Africa with realised carry trade and stock market indexes and show that our African FX carry trade portfolio generates more attractive returns than the two indices. Finally, our paper covers almost all the emerging and frontier markets in Africa as per the S&P Dow Jones Indices country classification in 2014, which to the best of the researchers' knowledge is the first study to have considered this. We explore empirically the profitability of currency carry trade strategy in African currencies funded by the four major currencies in the world with very low interest rate namely, the United States Dollars (USD), the Euro (EUR), the Japanese Yen (JPY) and the British Pound Sterling (GBP). The paper examines the stability and behaviour of the β parameter of the UIP hypothesis through time, in particular *before*, *during* and *after* the global financial crisis of 2007. Policy makers and the managers of the monetary economies of the target countries may find our results useful and the paper may also stimulate the interest of international investors on the African financial market.

METHODOLOGY

Hypothesis Test

Let $\boldsymbol{i_a}$ be the interest rate of African currencies (high interest rate) and $\boldsymbol{i_b}$ be the interest rates of the developed countries currencies (low interest rates), thus $i_a > i_b$. Also, let $\mathbf{S_t}$ be the spot exchange rate between 'a' and 'b', measured as 'a' price per unit of 'b'. Thus, African currencies are priced per unit of foreign currencies, namely USD, EUR, JPY and GBP. Our test for carry trade profits employs the classical Fama's (1984) regression which postulates that the currency carry trade would not be profitable if $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ is equal to zero and $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ is equal to one, as specified in equation one.

$$S_{t+1}^{b/a} - S_t^{b/a} = \alpha + \beta \times \left(r_{t,t+1}^{a} - r_{t,t+1}^{b}\right) + \varepsilon_{t+1} \qquad (1)$$

The null hypothesis that the parameters α and β are zero and one respectively (i.e. H_0: $\alpha = 0$, $\beta = 1$). $S_t^{b/a}$ is the natural log spot exchange rate between the currency 'a' and 'b' at time t; $S_{t+1}^{b/a}$ is the log spot exchange rate between the same currencies at time t+1; $r_{t,t+1}^{a}$ is the high interest rate of currency 'a' for investment at time t and at the maturity of asset at t+1; $r_{t,t+1}^{b}$ is the low interest rate of the developed countries' currency 'b' at the time of investment t and at

[3]Measured in terms of its Sharpe ratio, Sortino ratio, value at risk, and adjusted Sharpe ratio.

maturity of investment at t+1; and, finally, ε_{t+1} is the error term of the regression model, whilst the $\alpha\ and\ \beta$ are the parameters to be estimated.

We estimate equation one with ordinary least squares (results available on request) after checking and ensuring stationarity of our data (unit root test results available on request). We test for the OLS assumptions and the model violates a number of them. These violations could partly be attributed to the large number of outliers in our data. We winsorise our data to minimise the effect of influential data points on our model and repeated OLS regression, but violation of assumptions still persists. To effectively deal with these outliers and to reasonably reduce the standard errors we employ Huber's robust regression to fit the regression line by assigning different weights to our data points and show that the use of robust regression fits the data better than OLS.

Robust Regression with Huber Weighting

Ordinary least squares assign equal weights to all observations in calculating the regression equation. This means that outliers or influential data points can substantially influence the regression equation and, for that matter, the regression coefficients. With Huber weighting robust regression, data points with high residuals are not treated equally when calculating the regression equation. Different weights are assigned to these influential data points to neutralise their effect on the regression equation. Thus, robust regression is insensitive to small deviations from the assumptions the model imposes on the data, particularly the distributional assumptions. Since our data is plagued with many influential data points the natural thing to do is employ this method to estimate our regression model.

A tuning constant (denoted as *k*) is generally chosen, in order to give reasonably high efficiency in the normal case, in particular, *k* =1.345σ (where σ is the standard deviation of the errors) produces 95 percent efficiency when the errors are normal, and still offers protection against outliers. We specify the Huber weighting (which is used to estimate our regression equation) in equation two as follows:

$$W(i) = \begin{cases} 1 & for\ |e\ | \le k \\ \frac{k}{|e|} & for|e\ | > k \end{cases}$$

(2)

where ***k*** is a *tuning constant* for the Huber estimator, ***e*** is the residual of the regression model

and ***W(i)*** is the Huber's weight for the $\boldsymbol{i^{th}}$ observation. It follows that if the absolute value of the residual is less than or equal to the tuning constant *k* then the weight will take the value of 1, but if the absolute value of the residual is greater than the tuning constant *k* then the weight will take the value of the tuning constant *k* divided by the absolute value of the residual.

2.3 Carry Trade Returns

We estimate the currency carry trade (Z_t) as follows:

$$Z_t = \left(r^a_{t,t+1} - r^b_{t,t+1}\right) - \left(S^{b/a}_{t+1} - S^{b/a}_t\right)$$

(3)

Here, Z_t , which measures currency carry trade will be zero if the UIP holds, and failure may lead to $Z_t > 0$, thus making profit. This is used to estimate the profitability or otherwise of currrency carry trade. We compute Sharpe ratios for the carry trade returns to adjust for risk to compare with other asset classes. Calculation of our Sharpe ratios follows the formula used by Burnside et al. (2006), Gyntelberg and Remolona (2007), and Moosa (2008) where returns are divided by their respective standard deviations ignoring the risk-free rate. We ignore risk free rate because there are two currencies involved in the trade and the problem would be which of the two rates should be used for the calculation.

Data

We collected one month interbank interest rates[4] and one month exchange rates data on ten African countries and used them as target currencies, and collected the same for four first world countries as funding currencies. The beginning sample date for our data varied across the various countries (between 1998 and 2006). This was dictated purely by the availability of data on the countries selected for the paper. Interest and exchange rate samples on South Africa, Egypt and Zambia are taken from 1998 to 2015; Ghana, Morocco and Tunisia are from 1999 to 2015; Botswana and Nigerian are from 2001 and 2002 to 2015 respectively; and, finally, Kenya and Mauritius are taken from 2006 to 2015. Funding currencies for this study comprise the United States Dollars (USD), Japanese Yen (JPY), British Pound (GBP) and Euro (EUR) for the Euro Area. We also collected monthly prices of Morgan Stanley Capital International (MSCI) World stock index, and the Deutsche Bank G10 FX Carry Trade Index (1998-2015 for MSCI Index and 2000-2015 for G10 FX Carry Trade Index) as our benchmark indexes. These data were downloaded from Bloomberg terminal, INET BFA, Datastream and Quantec EasyData.

Results

Uncovered Interest Rate Parity

We begin the UIP test by estimating the Fama (1984) regression with ordinary least squares for all the forty currency pairs used for the paper spanning the period 1998 to 2015. This period includes the global financial crisis in 2007 which destabilised financial markets across the globe. Thus, after estimating our regressions with the full sample, we proceed to check the stability and behaviour of the β parameter *before*, *during* and *after* the financial crisis and their consequent carry trade returns. After the OLS we impose our data on the Huber's weighting robust regression to estimate Fama's regression with the null hypothesis that $\boldsymbol{\beta=1}$ and the one-sided alternative hypothesis that $\boldsymbol{\beta < 1}$. The parameter estimates with their respective p-values for the full sample and other three subsamples test are shown in **table 1** for all the currency pairs used for the study. All the forty currency pairs show β coefficients which are lower than one, with the majority of them being negative, even though not all of them are statistically significant. The negative sign of the statistically significant coefficients is an indication that currency carry trade may be profitable in those currency pairs. It is instructive to note that, out of the forty currency pairs, none of them shows a β coefficient of unity as postulated by the uncovered interest rate parity hypothesis, although a sizeable number of the currency pairs have positive coefficients. In the majority of the currency pairs for this paper we fail to reject the UIP hypothesis, which reinforces the position in the literature that UIP failure is a problem for the developed economies (Bansal and Dahlquist, 2000).

The UIP test for the full sample generally shows that the UIP hypothesis cannot be rejected for most of the currency pairs. Only six out of the forty currency pairs could be rejected and, for that matter, may even generate positive excess carry trade returns. The pre-crisis period appears to be the period where we to fail to reject the UIP hypothesis for almost all the forty currency pairs. The UIP hypothesis is however rejected for three of the currency pairs namely, ZAREUR, ZARJPY and TNDUSD, with two of the parameter estimates showing negative and the TNDUSD parameter being positive, though far less than unity as predicted by the UIP. For as many as eleven currency pairs, the UIP hypothesis is rejected during the crisis period between 2007 and 2009. This represents the largest number of cases of UIP deviation in our data set and is an indication that currency trade thrives in Africa during periods of financial

[4] Treasury bill rates were used as a proxy for interbank interest rates for Zambia, Ghana, Kenya and Morocco where data on the interbank interest rate were not available.

crisis in the international financial markets. The eleven currency pairs with β coefficients significantly lower than unity are ZARGBP, EGPUSD, EGPGBP, EGPEUR, KESJPY, KESGBP, TNDEUR, BWPGBP, MURUSD, MUREUR and GHSUSD.

Table 1

β Parameter Estimates of Fama's Regression from the Test of Uncovered Interest Parity

	Full Sample [1998-2015]				Pre-Crisis [1998-2006]				Crisis Period [2007-2009]				Post-Crisis [2010-2015]			
Country	**USD**	**EUR**	**JPY**	**GBP**	**USD**	**EUR**	**JPY**	**GBP**	**USD**	**EUR**	**JPY**	**GBP**	**USD**	**EUR**	**JPY**	**GBP**
ZAR	-0.04	**-0.12**	**-0.15**	-0.02	-0.04	**-0.16**	**-0.21**	-0.02	-0.04	-0.08	0.04	**0.23**	**-0.06**	**-0.05**	**-0.05**	**-0.05**
	(0.23)	**(0.03)**	**(0.06)**	(0.49)	(0.31)	**(0.01)**	**(0.02)**	(0.39)	(0.74)	(0.63)	(0.88)	**(0.04)**	**(0.00)**	**(0.00)**	**(0.02)**	**(0.00)**
MAD	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.02	0.09	0.01	0.08	-0.08
	(0.44)	(0.99)	(0.25)	(0.69)	(0.44)	(0.89)	(0.19)	(0.64)	(0.80)	(0.41)	(0.91)	(0.41)	(0.25)	(0.50)	(0.57)	(0.29)
EGP	0.01	-0.05	-0.04	0.01	-0.01	-0.06	-0.03	-0.03	**0.05**	**-0.15**	-0.02	**0.13**	-0.03	0.10	**-0.09**	0.04
	(0.45)	(0.42)	(0.65)	(0.78)	(0.53)	(0.57)	(0.86)	(0.23)	**(0.00)**	**(0.05)**	(0.90)	**(0.00)**	(0.22)	(0.29)	**(0.01)**	(0.27)
KES	0.00	0.00	-0.03	**-0.02**	-	-	-	-	0.01	0.03	**-0.46**	**-0.06**	**-4.10**	-3.68	**-6.60**	0.18
	(0.46)	(0.82)	(0.26)	**(0.08)**	-	-	-	-	(0.59)	(0.71)	**(0.04)**	**(0.05)**	**(0.04)**	(0.14)	**(0.01)**	(0.93)
NGN	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.10	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.03	-0.02	-0.03	0.00	-0.05
	(0.35)	(0.64)	(0.92)	(0.13)	(0.62)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.29)	(0.42)	(0.96)	(0.91)	(0.31)	(0.55)	(0.62)	(0.97)	(0.54)
TND	0.00	**0.02**	-0.04	0.00	**0.02**	-0.01	-0.04	0.00	0.00	**0.04**	0.08	0.00	0.06	0.02	-0.05	0.07
	(0.34)	**(0.03)**	(0.53)	(0.57)	**(0.08)**	(0.65)	(0.63)	(0.82)	(0.95)	**(0.00)**	(0.60)	(0.61)	(0.25)	(0.54)	(0.56)	(0.19)
BWP	-0.11	-0.01	-0.22	-0.06	-0.11	0.57	-0.07	-0.03	-0.08	-0.08	-0.29	**-0.22**	-0.17	-0.10	-0.29	0.00
	(0.24)	(0.91)	(0.17)	(0.36)	(0.60)	(0.12)	(0.88)	(0.82)	(0.63)	(0.57)	(0.45)	**(0.04)**	(0.20)	(0.35)	(0.11)	(0.99)
MUR	0.00	0.00	**0.03**	**0.01**	-	-	-	-	**0.11**	**0.08**	0.00	-0.04	0.00	**-0.01**	**0.03**	0.01
	(0.13)	(0.87)	**(0.05)**	**(0.08)**	-	-	-	-	**(0.07)**	**(0.04)**	(0.99)	(0.31)	(0.28)	**(0.07)**	**(0.02)**	(0.53)
GHS	0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.05	0.00	**0.04**	-0.09	0.16	-0.05	-0.01	0.04	-0.06	-0.02
	(0.61)	(0.82)	(0.58)	(0.73)	(0.72)	(0.96)	(0.36)	(0.91)	**(0.07)**	(0.24)	(0.13)	(0.37)	(0.70)	(0.52)	(0.37)	(0.67)
ZMW	-1.56	-0.55	-1.28	-1.52	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.09	0.00	-0.02	-0.05	-0.02	0.00	0.01	-0.01
	(0.32)	(0.77)	(0.56)	(0.40)	(0.51)	(0.73)	(0.71)	(0.43)	(0.16)	(0.96)	(0.89)	(0.41)	(0.37)	(0.99)	(0.88)	(0.80)

Note: Results of Fama's (1984) regression which tests the uncovered interest rate parity. Values in bold are the β coefficients significantly smaller than 1 with their p-values in parenthesis, estimated with the null hypothesis that **β=1** against one sided alternative hypothesis that **β < 1** with using the Huber's weighting robust regression.

Interestingly, the majority of these currency pairs are showing positive signs but are however far lower than unity, which is not enough to offset the interest differential as predicted by the UIP hypothesis, thus generating excess positive carry trade return.

Moreover, four out of the eleven currency pairs have negative estimated β coefficients which further widen the excess returns on carry trade. Finally, we reject the null hypothesis of the UIP for nine currency pairs in the sample for the post-crisis period. These currency pairs include ZARUSD, ZAREUR, ZARJPY, ZARGBP, EGPJPY, KESUSD, KESJPY, MUREUR and MURJPY. All these currency pairs except MURJPY exhibit negative β coefficients.

Currency Carry Trade Portfolio

Table 2 presents summary statistics of our carry trade portfolios using African currencies as target currencies against USD, GBP, EUR and JPY as funding currencies. We construct four different and independent portfolios of African currency carry trade for the full sample data (1998 to 2015), pre-crisis period (1998-2006), the financial crisis period (2007-2009) and finally the post-crisis period (2009-2015). The criterion for the selection of individual currency pairs in our portfolios is the simple deviation in the UIP. Thus, we select all the currency pairs whose β parameter estimates are significantly less than unity and the UIP hypothesis rejected, regardless of whether or not the naïve strategy generates losses or profits. We include all significant negative returns in our portfolio to avoid bias or overestimation of portfolio returns. The full sample currency pairs are ZAREUR, ZARJPY, KESGBP, TNDEUR, MURJPY and MURGBP. Pre-crisis contained only 3 currency pairs (ZAREUR, ZARJPY and TNDUSD) out of the forty pairs, while 11 currency pairs (ZARGBP, EGPUSD, EGPEUR, EGPGBP, KESJPY, KESGBP, TNDEUR, BWPGBP, MURUSD, MUREUR and GHSUSD) were included in the crisis period and finally the post-crisis included 9 currency pairs (ZARUSD, ZAREUR, ZARGBP, ZARJPY, EGPJPY, KESUSD, KESJPY, MUREUR and MURJPY). For the purposes of this paper we call our portfolio 'African FX Carry Trade Portfolio'. Note that this portfolio assumes different and independent sets of currency pairs for the four different regimes being studied in this paper and so should not be misconstrued to mean the performance of the same basket of currencies over time. We construct equally weighted portfolios for the regimes we are studying in this paper, which is known to give better results in optimal portfolio selection (DeMiguel, Garlappi and Uppal, 2009). Our portfolio is then compared to returns of the Morgan Stanley Capital International Index and the Deutsche Bank G10 FX Carry Trade Index as our benchmark investment for the various regimes.

Panel A shows full sample summary statistics of the African FX Carry Trade Portfolio, the MSCI World Index and the Deutsche Bank G10 FX Carry Trade Index. Our carry trade portfolio performed poorly against the stock market index, even though it generated positive excess return over the period. Our portfolio nevertheless outperformed the G10 FX Carry Trade Index, generating a return of 1.22% with a Sharpe ratio of 0.11 as against the -0.12% and Sharpe ratio of -0.01 of the G10 FX Carry Trade Index. It is important to note that our African FX Carry Trade portfolio has a more negatively skewed and larger excess kurtosis distribution, as confirmed by the Jarque-Bera statistic, than the stock market index and carry trade index. The heavier tailed distribution (excess kurtosis) and the negative skewness is an indication that our African FX portfolio is associated with sudden downside or crash risk.

Table 2
Currency Carry Trade Portfolio Returns and Benchmark Investment

Portfolio and Benchmark	Returns	Std Deviation	Sharpe Ratio	Skewness	Kurtosis	Jarque-Bera
Panel A: Full Sample [1998-2015]						
African FX Carry Portfolio	1.22	11.59	0.11	-1.02	9.34	1827.83***
MSCI World Index	3.02	16.49	0.18	-0.93	5.25	76.46***
G10 FX Index	-0.12	8.86	-0.01	-1.01	6.19	114.15***
Panel B: Pre-Crisis Period [1998-2006]						
African FX Carry Portfolio	2.00	11.79	0.17	-1.06	6.59	226.28***
MSCI World Index	5.19	14.93	0.35	-0.81	4.09	17.04***
G10 FX Index*	4.06	5.98	0.68	-0.61	3.02	5.23*
Panel C: Crisis Period [2007-2009]						
African FX Carry Portfolio	6.46	11.17	0.58	-0.76	7.16	323.50***
MSCI World Index	-8.65	23.43	-0.37	-0.94	4.33	8.00**
G10 FX Index	-6.79	12.67	-0.54	-1.16	5.14	14.90***
Panel D: Post- Crisis Period [2009-2015]						
African FX Carry Portfolio	3.06	10.54	0.29	0.12	4.17	44.61***
MSCI World Index	9.43	15.75	0.60	-0.27	3.31	1.35
G10 FX Index	1.11	9.34	0.12	-0.20	3.25	0.77

Note:*The G10 FX Index sample starts from 2000 and therefore does not include the years 1998 and 1999. The table reports the summary statistics of the returns of African currency carry trade portfolio***significance at 1%, ** as significance at 5% and * as 10% significance level.

Panel B presents the returns of the portfolios for the period prior to the global financial crisis. Our African FX Carry Trade performed poorly relative to the two benchmark indexes. Though our portfolio generated excess positive return of 2% with a Sharpe ratio of 0.17, the MSCI Index generated a return of 5.19% with a Sharpe ratio of 0.35 and the G10 FX Index generated 4.06% with an impressive Sharpe ratio of 0.68. In spite of the fact that our African FX Carry Trade performed poorly it has a more negatively skewed and larger excess kurtosis than the two benchmark indices, which implies that our African FX carry portfolio is much more risky (downside risk). This is consistent with the view in the literature that the currency carry trade is not a compensation for taking risk by the market participants since it is uncorrelated with traditional risk factors (Burnside, Eichenbaum and Rebelo, 2007).

Panel C presents the summary statistics of our African FX Carry Trade during the period of the global financial crisis. We show here that currency carry trade in Africa's emerging and frontier markets booms during periods of global economic downturn. Whereas our two benchmark indexes were simply on their knees during the period of financial crisis, our portfolio generated a very impressive 6.46% with a Sharpe ratio of 0.58, which is far higher than that of the two benchmark indexes (generating negative returns each) and the historical S&P average Sharpe ratio of 0.45 in the literature (Moosa, 2008). The returns for all three asset classes exhibit negative skewness and excess kurtosis. Interestingly, our carry trade portfolio, which is the highest performing asset within the period, has a lower standard deviation and lower negative skewness but slightly larger excess kurtosis. This means that although our carry trade portfolio exhibits crash risk (negative skewness), it might not be as intense as the stock market index and G10 FX Carry Trade Index, but the fatter tails (kurtosis) are an indication that there could be a sharp or abrupt crash of the returns. These characteristics, according to the extant literature, are usually associated with carry trade.

Finally, panel D considers the returns for the various portfolios for the period just after the global financial crisis. We report that the African FX Carry Trade Portfolio again generated excess positive returns of 3.06% with a Sharpe ratio of 0.29, which was a better performance than the G10 FX Carry Trade Index. The stock market index however generated 9.43% (highest over the period) with a Sharpe ratio of 0.60, which is higher than our African FX Carry Trade Portfolio. This is also consistent with the view in literature that carry trade cannot outperform the stock market all the time (Moosa, 2008). Interestingly, our African portfolio exhibits positive skewness and moderately excess kurtosis, whereas the benchmark indices show negative skewness though near zero and normally distributed, as explained by the Jarque-Bera statistics.

CONCLUSION

Studying forty currency combinations of Africa's emerging and frontier markets from 1998 to 2015, we document that holding carry trade investment in Africa over this period would have generated excess positive returns for many currency pairs. These returns are generally susceptible to downside or crash risk. We, however, did not find evidence of profitability for the majority of our currency combinations. We show that carry trade returns of Africa are by-products of global financial crisis and market inefficiencies. We note that many of Africa's currencies are not as liquid as the currencies of the developed countries and currency transactions in Africa are usually over the counter (OTC), with the banks and other financial institutions trading in foreign exchange. In the extant literature a large number of papers focus on the derivative markets trading in highly liquid currencies other than most of the African currencies in this paper. The low liquidity of the African currencies will make the implementation of carry trade strategy more expensive than the highly liquid currencies. The positive returns recorded herein may be eroded by the high transaction cost that may come with trading in African currencies. Also, returns of Africa's carry trade may be overestimated

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because this paper uses a mid-rates spot exchange rate which means that if the bid and offer rates were actually used to implement the trade the returns may have been less than reported. Furthermore, results for our benchmark investment only show capital gains of stock market investment and disregard the receipt of dividends by investors. In the real world the dividends will shore up the actual returns on the stock investment and may outperform the currency carry trade returns. These are consistent with points raised by Burnside et al. (2006) and (Moosa, 2008).

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THREE LEAPS IN HUMAN EVOLUTION

OKTAY KAYNAK[1]

ABSTRACT

Bipedalism:

As a result of the rift and plateau formation in East Africa 6-7 mya, a primate made an adaptive response to this development. And this primate hunted and gathered food in shallow waters on two legs. This shallow water made a selective pressure on that primate to walk bipedally.

Mental Overturning:

When about 2 mya the body erection reached a certain angle, the embryo made an adaptive response to this vertical body. The embryo turned upside down. This is the mental overturning that started the growth of the cranium as well as the brain.

Mental Threshold:

After chasing its enemy, the chimp throws a stick and stones. It does not say to itself: "This stick and stones have served me effectively; I'd better keep them for another occasion". However, there will be a time when such a thought will occur with the development of the brain capacity (500-550 cc).

Key Words: human evolution, mental overturning, mental threshold, anthropology

INTRODUCTION

Initially, the science of anthropology intuitively linked the bipedalism of the human species to its intellectual capacity. As the fossils and bones of the australopithecine started to be discovered, subsequent work and research continued to support the initial intuitive assumption. The mechanism of evolution for all species can be explained as small changes in the environment and habitat creating selective pressures on the organism and the organism giving an adaptive response to these events. As these changes accumulate over a long period of time, speciation occurs. This is how science explains the process of evolution; however, such an explanation regarding the evolution of human beings has not, until now, been satisfactory.

This is because of the following reasons: Human beings are different when compared to other species on earth but the same process of evolution has been assumed to apply to both human and all the other species. Human lineage separated from a common ancestor about 6 mya, and the mechanisms of natural selection resulted in forming the modern human.

Human beings are very special and very different. These are the only living being on earth that engages in self-investigation. Then, one can ask whether the evolution processes regarding human beings is only specific to this species; my answer to this question is “yes”. This human species had to experience three consecutive and important leaps before becoming the modern human.

1- The Leap of Bipedalism

Being bipedal and growth of brain are two fundamental facts in human evolution. For many years, researchers have put forward various theses on how these two changes in human evolution have taken place. Theoretical discussions aimed to find answers to the basic questions that have a highly significant influence in the development of a science. The subject

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of this article is to explain the reasons for becoming bipedal and the growth of the brain in human evolution. I will comment, from an ecological viewpoint, bipedal development of human beings, and I will explain the growth of the human brain from a completely new perspective and through a hypothesis based on embryonic development. My aim is to clear the way to apply this new perspective to the discussions in the world of palaeoanthropology on these subjects.

Water has existed in the Rift Valley since the rift was formed in Africa 8-10 mya, and this has been proved by the existence of dried lake bottom sediments and the abundance of fresh water lakes in the region. Huge carbonated lakes, such as the Lakes Victoria and Lake Turcana called "Green Sea" by the local population, are found throughout the Rift Valley. The main reason of this formation is the tectonic separation zones that resulted in the rift depression. These tectonic separation zones caused the formation of many volcanoes, underground water came up to the earth's surface, and lava and volcanic ash fell on the existing equatorial forests. These changes resulted in forest fires. These forest fires have to be associated with the non-existence of equatorial forests to the east of the Rift Wall. Volcanic movements of important dimensions, flood of hot and cold underground waters, great earthquakes and forest fires changed the environment ecologically and food availability. In these circumstances, it is interesting that our predecessor, the arboreal primate, survived perhaps in a very specific and small area. To survive, food, shelter, defence against predators, and reproduction is necessary; otherwise, life cannot be maintained and the species will disappear. Our predecessor primate continued an arboreal life for a time in a small area that was not affected by fire and tried to solve the problem of food by eating fruit, leaves, branches, and the bark of trees. Although there had been fires in the forest and volcanic ash had rained down on the soil, there was water in the rift that had been created in the tectonic activity. These primates fed on aquatic plant products and by walking in the water in upright position, they were able to breathe by keeping their heads above the surface of water. Most probably, the primates at that time met with various aquatic plants, crustaceans, and fish. Long-tailed macaques living today along the Ketanbe River to the north of Sumatra Province of Borneo Island of Indonesia take fish from the river with their hands and this is evidence of primates solving their feeding problem by fishing. This has been observed and documented by The Nature Conservancy and The Great Ape Trust (Stewart et al. 2008).

For 4-5 my, primates lived in a semiarboreal–semiaquatic way but that does not mean that they were amphibious. These primates would have spent the nights on semi-blasted tree trunks, a small piece of raised land or in trees, and in the daytime, they would have walked erect on two legs in shallow waters foraging or hunting for aquatic sources of food. This aquatic period in the evolution process of human beings is advocated particularly by Sir Alister Hardy (Hardy, 1960). Marine zoologist Hardy finds similarities between human, whales and dolphins in nakedness and existence of subcutaneous fat tissues. Aquatic mammals such as sea cow (Sirenia) and eared seal (Otariidae) resembles human beings due to various characteristics; for example, these mammals are hairless and their subcutaneous fat tissues are attached to their dermis. This is the same for human beings but for land animals, the subcutaneous fat tissues are attached to the muscular tissue. Nevertheless, Hardy's comparison is not accepted because there is no clear knowledge about primate aquatic life. Furthermore, descriptions of the aquatic life of primates are incorrect because they are likened to the life forms of penguins and dolphins. If primates had solved the feeding problem through swimming or diving as dolphins or penguins, they would have had a web formation between their foot fingers. Hardy alleges that the head of a primate is hairy and body is naked because their head is kept above the surface of the water when swimming. However, I suggest that our predecessor primate solved feeding problem by walking in the shallow water, rather than swimming and diving. In my opinion, the

head of a primate is hairy because the head is held above the surface of water, and the body is hairless due to the body being in the water when hunting or foraging.
The evidence supporting my suggestion is:

1. The Rift Valley is full of both lake sediment and lake-bottom sediment.
2. *Australopithecus afarensis* suffered from rheumatoid arthritis.
3. The argument that the *Australopithecus afarensis* family of 13 members suffocated in water.
4. The human body is hairless and head is hairy due to keeping it above the surface. Darwin stresses in his *The Origin of Species* that the thesis put forward by a researcher named Mr. Belt that human lost their hair in order to remove parasites is wrong because, Darwin continues, many four-footed living beings in tropical countries did not react to the same factor as others did. On the other hand, says Darwin, if we suppose that we lost our hair in order to adjust our body temperature to the conditions of a tropical region, we cannot explain our hairy head in spite of its permanent openness to the sun, and this a paradox (Darwin, 1996). Keeping body in water and head above the surface of the water due to the necessity of breathing can explain the hairless body and hairy head.
5. Most of the Australopithecine fossils have been found at the site of an old dried lake or on riversides together with fossils of shallow and deep-water beings such as hippopotamus and diatoms. Additionally, the presence of fossils of remnants of equatorial forests in the sediment of the same age shows that our predecessor primate lived in equatorial forests. All living beings have ways of keeping their body temperature between certain levels generally through hair and subcutaneous fat tissues. It is widely known that when certain animals such as dolphins and whales moved from the land to the sea, they replaced the hair they had lost with subcutaneous fat tissues in order to balance their body temperature (Mayr, 1998). The subcutaneous fat tissue of human beings are the consequence of life spent in water for 4-5 my.
6. Laetoli footprints found in Tanzania are the footprints of two Australopithecus walking erect side by side on the ash layer spewed out by a volcano which had cooled and been softened by rain water (Johanson and Edey, 1990). In my opinion, the lava had to be fresh and cool for the formation of these footprints, and this can be happen when there is water. My argument that these footprints are on a volcanic material that had fallen on the lake recently has to be taken into account.

The hypothesis of erecting in water mentioned above can be tested as follows: Let us assume a lake with sufficient dimensions for a chimp colony to easily live in and a sufficient depth to force the chimp family to adopt an erect position, namely 70-120 cm. The lake has to be in a tropical area like the Rift Valley; thus, chimps can easily live there in the winter. Floating trays on the surface of the lake carry fruits, such as bananas, which are chimps' favourites. The fruits are placed at appropriate points that can be easily seen by the chimps. This design will force the chimps to stand erect on their hind feet and walk towards their favourite fruit. Later, frogs, crabs and fish are put in the lake and after determining their favourite fish, a meeting between chimps and fish will be organised. If this experiment continues for four or five generations, we will observe that the chimps will become erect in order to feed on aquatic products; thus, they will survive and reproduce. Additionally, we will observe that the chimps solve their feeding problem by keeping their body in the water and their heads above the surface of the water and the beginning of hairlessness on their bodies (Kaynak, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2013a, 2015, 2017). Today, a discussion continues on whether the origin of a new species is mutational or due to recombinational changes in the genetic inheritance or environmental changes. The mechanism of natural selection is explained below. When the conditions change in the living space of a species that prevent it from surviving, the variations in the genetic inheritance of the same species that provide adaptation to the new conditions are selected. In other words, newborn individuals which carry the positive mutational or recombinational genetic changes that make the adaptation of the species possible to the new conditions are selected. If a newborn child (variety) of the species in question carrying these inheritable genetic changes do not exist, the population cannot adapt itself to new conditions and consequently disappear. The adaptation of a certain species to the new conditions needs two factors. First, the existence of mutational or recombinational inheritable genetic changes according to the new conditions is necessary for the survival of the species. Second, the natural selection mechanism must operate in way that it selects the appropriate individuals. A species suited to the new conditions appears in such a mechanism. The differentiation and separation of human genetic arrays date back 6-6.5 my. It is not easy to calculate how many million years for the human bones to change in order to permanently adopt an upright position. The upper body was forced to become hominid after the lower body became hominid in 4-5 my. This occurred because only a double carrier skeleton system as in modern humans can allow the living being to survive. For the axis of gravity of the carrier skeleton to be in the soles of the feet, the body has to take an upright posture, the rib has to become cylindrical, and the head must be placed over the body like human beings of today.

2- The Leap of Mental Overturning

Unfortunately, the upright position and the angle of vertebra femur cannot be discerned in Australopithecus fossils because this angle is destroyed during the fossilization process; however, we have been erect on two feet for 4-5 my. At this point, the question arise; although the primate are walking on two feet for 4-5 my, why the brain of the primate did not grow? This question is asked because the pelvis structure on Australopithecus fossils has been ignored and yet, the pelvis of Australopithecus is somewhere within in the range of evolution between the pelvis of a primate and a contemporary human being. All the Australopithecus's bones, from the toe to the ilium bone of the pelvis, resemble the contemporary human being except for the angle of the vertebra pressing on the pelvis and ilium bone of pelvis. The Australopithecus's upper body, vertebra structure, skull and the shape of jaw are like a primate. In other words, the process of resemblance started with the toe and ended with the jaw and skull. Scientists have taken this resemblance into consideration and intuitively found a relation between upright position and an intelligent living being. Everything started with adapting to an erect position and this started with the toe.

The position of the embryo in the uterus changed at a certain phase of the gradual process of the body becoming erect. The Australopithecus embryo turned its head towards the mother's diaphragm and its body came close to the birth canal after turning a 180° somersault in the uterus. Without this somersault, which I call mental overturning, Australopithecus would have kept its head turned towards the birth canal. After this mental overturning, each prospective mother Australopithecus started to give birth to offspring which had a skull that was larger than mother's. This increasing size of the Australopithecus's skull has also been seen in the fossils while other changes cannot be observed. Due to the gradual process of the erection of the body, the rib narrowing and becoming cylindrical cannot be discerned (Kaynak, 2007, 2012b, 2013c, 2015 2017). Different skulls of Australopithecus led some to conclude that there are different species of the Australopithecus. However, these are not different species; rather, they are Australopithecus generated through body erection and rib narrowing. The most important result of mental overturning is that offspring started to be born with their face towards one of the legs of the mother (Trevathan, 2011). Yet, after the completion of the body erection, offspring started to be born with the face towards the back of the mother which is a characteristic of contemporary human beings (Rosenberg and Trevathan, 2001). This is peculiar to human beings since all the other mammals are born facing the abdomen of the mother. The reason for this important difference is mental overturning. This weakness that starts with birth forces the offspring to adopt a semi-terrestrial life. The offspring primates cling to the hair of their mothers just after birth. The origin of the human babies grasping whatever is held out to them is a reflex that has to be connected with the infant of the primate that clings to the hair of mother. The offspring of a primate clings to the mother for survival because it is born in a nest in a tree. In anthropoid fossils, skull volumes of 400 to 800 cc have been found. The increase in the skull volume starts to correspond to the body erection angle. After the body erection process begins, the skull volume continues to change till the angle of vertebra femur reaches 180°. One has to pay attention to the fact that the skull volume determines the quantity of brain tissue (Kaynak, 2014).

The development of the erect position freed the hands of primates to produce tools and consequently, primates were regarded as intelligent beings. A coordination exists between the front and rear extremities of contemporary chimps. Their hands are free and they can use their hands; however, they are not intelligent living beings. According to another thesis, chimps are intelligent living beings because they became social after being erect on two feet. They can face each other and have developed speech (Mayr, 1998). Yet, Darwin stressed that some other living beings can be face to face and had various organs which allow them to produce speech but they cannot speak. For Darwin, the skill has to be developed in order to produce speech (Darwin, 1996, 2002).

The human embryonic skull develops and takes its shape and form in conformity with internal and external vectoral forces that affect the skull. These forces can be explained as:

1- External forces: gravity, pressure of the uterus and amniotic sac, pressure of abdomen muscles of the mother, pressure of diaphragm and other internal organs of the mother.

2- Internal forces: gravity, resistance of the intra cranial fluids, and brain tissues coming into existence.

Today, science suggests that the human embryo skull develops, takes its shape and form in conformity with these vectoral, internal and external forces. The existence and development process of a human embryo skull is not similar to the release of a coil spring (Blechschmidt, 2003, 2004). My opinion is that the impetus and direction of these vectoral forces changed as the body gradually became erect. Consequently, the volume of the Australopithecus’s skull corresponds to different phases of body assuming the perpendicular angle during the process of becoming erect (Kaynak 1983, 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2013b, 2017). The increase of the skull volume continued until the body took the fully-upright position. Some changes occur on the shape of the skull of the child taken out during birth by forceps or by vacuum technique. In an experiment, one side of the cervical muscles and / or chewing muscles or both cervical muscles and chewing muscles of newborn rats and rabbits were removed. It was observed that while the non-operated half of the skull of these animals developed normally and specific to the species, in the part of the next skull from which the cervical and chewing muscles were cut out, the metacarpus did not develop; in other words, this part of the skull developed in a different form.

The adult human body is 70% water, and more than 90% of the embryo in the uterus is water. The bones can be warped, and they stretch but they do not break. When a pressure exerted in one direction from any angle on the skull of an embryo of four or five months, it is expected that the skull would be deformed in conformity with the direction of the pressure. Since deformations are not observed on the skull in the uterus, it is understood that the embryo is packaged and bundled by the uterus. A very young human baby cannot keep hold her head; however, due to the design of the uterus, the embryo can keep its head exactly over the body. At seven months, the foetus turns upside down in preparation for birth, and in this position, the body is kept over the head. It is this mechanism that causes the human skull to become round, the jaw to become small, the arch of the eyebrows to straighten, and the skull volume to increase. Unlike other animals, the human baby is born without synostosis having soft spots called fonticulus between the skull bones. This that means human bone and tissue development cannot respond to the human embryo skull development, and the growth of the skull process is faster than tissue formation. Since the rib cage has been transformed from a conical to a cylindrical shape, the abdominal region has narrowed and the human uterus cannot enlarge; consequently, the process of birth begins with uterine contractions. In other words, the foetus is born without completing its development. This is only observed in the human uterus and human embryo.

We can conclude, as a result all of these, that the human uterus is unique among mammals and produces a distinct living being because of its own uniqueness. The Australopithecus has a great jaw, protuberant eyebrow arch together with a small skull. It is not possible for both a large skull and a great jaw with a protuberant eyebrow arch to exist in the Australopithecus. I, at this point, come to the conclusion that the gradually diminishing jaw and straightening eyebrow arch were replaced with great skull. This development was created by the uterus in the female human, which gradually adapt herself to being erect. Here there are questions to be raised: Does the jaw diminish and does the skull grow simultaneously or in parallel with each other? Could the skull grow and could the jaw keep its size? No, the skull would have not be able to grow when the jaw continues to be of a large size because this change is generated by the uterus, and the human uterus should not be overstretched but should allow the embryo to assume its natural shape. The human uterus pushes the embryo backward by pushing the incisors seen at the extreme point of the primate skull. The nose and chin area come into existence as a result of this pushing backward. This front mandibular projection makes no vital contribution to the human species. These are the results of the design of the uterus. The process of evolution process does not develop body organs which it does not use in natural circumstances. Evolution, at the most, keeps caducous organs that are left by the predecessor of a certain species. This front mandibular projection does not exist in any primate. It comes into being through uterus's push on the incisors so that the embryo moves backwards.

All the ideas I have put forward here can be tested by the following experiment: We can implant a chimp embryo into a human uterus. We can support the development of this embryo in the human uterus through medicines and medical techniques. One of these techniques is to take the cells which specialized for forming the placenta that are lined up in single file on the human zygote of 4-5 days and to remove the cells producing the placenta out of the chimp zygote. The cells that will generate the chimp are taken and put into the cells that will produce the placenta taken from the human. When this mixed zygote is implanted into human uterus, the transplant rejection is prevented for this placenta will be a human placenta. When the birth is realized in these conditions, the newborn's body will be hairy, and the hands and feet will be like those of a chimp but the head will be rounded and the volume of the head will be greater. Among other things, the nose and front mandibular projection will be extended and the jaw will become smaller. The pressure made by human uterus from the front will transform the jaw from a U to V shape. The result is that the living species we have acquired is Australopithecus. Both the uterus and the embryo within it have evolved over 4-5 my. More and more growth of the skull's volume has to be expected. For the available uterus has taken its final shape. We will not acquire a skull in an amazing greatness but it will be bigger than chimp's skull (350 cc) in all conditions (Kaynak, 1983, 2007, 2015, 2017).

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Additionally, the chimp's embryo will complete its development in the human uterus with the head above the body for seven months and turning upside down, the body above the head in the last two months, as it is the case with a human baby. The chimp will be born with its face not turned to the mother's abdomen but similar to a human newborn, with its face towards mother's back. Most probably, it will be born without synostosis, but with fonticulus as in a human new-born baby (Kaynak, 2015, 2017).

3- The Leap of Mental Threshold

The present day chimp, with its 350 cc brain, can tear down a tree branch and attack its enemies with it. It can also pick up a stone and throw it at its enemy. When the predator cheetah approaches the capuchin monkeys of the Brazilian forests, they climb the cliffs and roll down an avalanche of rocks and stones, forcing the cheetah to retreat. These monkeys can also make use of stones in a sophisticated manner in order to break coconuts. Chimps can also make use of a stone for cracking fruit seeds. In a way, both primates use the stone as a tool as well as a weapon. Chimps make use of thin twigs for hunting termites and collecting honey from beehives. If a chimp with its 350 cc brain can do such things, one should wonder what its capabilities would be if it had a 500 cc brain.

After chasing its enemy, the chimp throws a stick at it but does not say to itself: "This stick has served me effectively; I'd better keep it for another occasion". If the chimp had a brain of 500 cc, would it say, "I'd better keep this stick and even improve it"? The chimp may not think so with a brain of 500 cc, not even with a 550 cc or 600 cc brain but there will be a time and a brain capacity that such a thought will occur.

This is the critical point, which I have labelled as the mental threshold. Once this mental threshold was crossed, the hominid that held a stone in one hand and a stick in the other had the courage to intrude into the hunting zone of any animal including the worst predator.

When it reached the capacity to influence his prey as well as his predator from a distance with the help of sticks and stones, the hominid departed from the rift in order to colonize the world. After crossing this mental threshold, the hominid became cognizant of his nakedness, became self-aware, and came to understand that sticks and stones could be used as weapons. The human mind is the result of the incredible adaptive response given by the embryo to the vertical body posture (Kaynak, 2015, 2017).

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THE PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELING IN UNIVERSITY TO VIETNAMESE STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

This is a qualitative study which examined on the perception of the importance of psychological counseling in University to Vietnamese students. Data was collected by semi structured interviews on ten participants (n=10) from two cities of Vietnam: Ho Chi Minh and Hanoi. Results were interpreted by grounded theory method for common themes. Three themes found from the study were: "Vietnamese students confided in friends whenever they have mental concerns", "Most of the Vietnamese students' mental concerns were about career" and "Psychological counseling in University is perceived as not important but it is better to have it". Those findings extrapolated a network of cultural values held high by the Vietnamese, namely Confucian values, which perpetuated to the avoidance of psychological counseling to Vietnamese students. These findings correlated with findings from previous research on Vietnamese and other Asian communities' perception on seeking help from psychological counseling.

Keywords: Psychology, Counseling, University, Vietnamese, Students, Vietnam

INTRODUCTION

According to the Society of Counseling Psychology (2017), the practice of Psychological Counseling involves take into account the cultural and social factors specific to the clients in order to alleviate him of distress, improve his mental well being and his functions in life. Psychological Counselors received training in facilitating mental well being of a normal person across his lifespan (Society of Counseling Psychology, 2007). According to a study of Kraft (2011), the first student health service in the United States is credited to Amherst College in 1861. In 1910, Princeton University was the first university to establish its first mental health service (Kraft, 2011).

In Asia as a whole, there was little development of University Psychological Counseling. The closest thing related to University Psychological Counseling in the United States is the development of School Counseling to high school students. In Hong Kong, school counselors were ordinary full time teachers with additional "guidance duties" (Yuen, 2008, p. 104). In China, school counseling is included as a subject called Mental Health Education by the Chinese Government (Ministry of Education of the Republic of China, 2002). The same situations applies for Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Japan, wherein the school counseling is not considered a specific department but acted as a part of school curriculum (Abrajano, 1968). The situation is the same in Vietnam, the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) issued an official document to all secondary schools that they should have psychological counseling service to all students in May 28, 2005 (Harris, 2014, p. 11). However, this lacks severe fund from government and no requirements were specified for this kind of service. As a result, schools either employed no counselors or ones with limited qualification (Le et al., 2007). The lack of psychological counseling in Vietnamese Universities asks for an investigation into the issue. It is because Vietnamese students face similar psychological challenges which could prevent them to fulfill their study successfully like their

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American counterparts. It is because mental hygiene is important for students to reach their highest potential (Kraft, 2011).

LITERATURE REVIEW

There were only a few researches done on mental health of Vietnamese university students, most of which was conducted from 2006 to 2011 (Tran, 2015, p. 30). Tran discovered that the percentage of Vietnamese medical students having depressive symptoms was higher than US medical students and the Vietnamese general population (Tran, 2015, p.129). Tran made a recommendation in her conclusion that Vietnamese universities should establish student counseling service (Tran, 2015, p. 148-149). This remark was due to her finding that depressive symptoms and suicidal thinking was high for medical students in Vietnam, while there was no professional counseling support except basic medical services (Tran, 2015, p. 148).

Tran showed that "students who were not satisfied with their academic achievement were more likely to report a depressed mood" (Tran, 2015, p. 113). Considering that fact that Vietnam is a culture is strongly influenced by Confucian values, which lay strong emphasis in a person's education and "*some parents view their children as extensions of themselves and children's academic achievement is a high expectation of the family"* (Tran, 2015, p. 56), this result can indicate a similar correlation to general population of Vietnamese students because of the pressure Vietnamese students tend to have in academic achievement. Similarly, a study by Wike and Horowitz in 2006, conducted to three Asian countries of China, India and Japan showed that children of these countries were under too much pressure from their parents. The results were 63%, 61% and 59% respectively (Wike and Horowitz, 2006, p. 56). Thus, Academic Pressure could be another relevant factor to scrutinize in our qualitative study of perceived importance of Psychological Counseling in University to Vietnamese students.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Qualitative interviews were conducted to both professionals and students. The participants were recruited from the internet. In addition to direct recruitment from the Internet, some of the participants were recruited by Snowball Sampling, which increased the chance of recruiting relevant participants.

Data Collection

Two semi-structured questionnaires were used to interview the professionals and the students. One example was Phoenix Ho's questionnaire (Appendix 2), while with the students, questions orient on their student experiences (Appendix 1). The professional questionnaire consisted of 10 open-ended questions. The student questionnaire consisted of 5 open-ended questions.

Data Analysis

The data acquired from the interviews would be analysed by grounded theory method. This is a method of identifying a pattern from data and translating them in specific themes.

Results

Most of the analysis would be on the student participants, while the professional participants would act as supporting information to the analysis.

	No of participants (n)

Location	
Ho Chi Minh	5
Ha Noi	5
Gender	
Male	4
Female	6
University	
International	3
Vietnamese	7
Major of Study	
Business, Accounting & Finance	6
Technology	2
Social Sciences	2

Table 1, demographics of students.

After transcribing interview data, there emerged 3 themes. The 3 themes were: **Talking to friends when there is problems, biggest psychological concern is career, psychological counseling should be had but it is not important.**

Theme	Responses
1. Talking to friends whenever there is problems	• I talked to my best friends when there were problems. • Talking to friends helped relieving the stress. • I think the problem was not serious enough that I needed to go to Psychological Counseling. • It is more comfortable to talk to people you are close with than a stranger. • I don't want to talk about personal problems to a stranger. • Parents said not to talk to a stranger about these things.
2. Biggest psychological concern is career	• My biggest psychological concern was career orientation.

	• For students the biggest concern is still career, other psychological concerns are still trivial. • I wanted to study something different from what I am doing. • My study made me stressed. • I am worried if I can get a job after graduation.
3. Psychological Counseling should be had but it is not important.	• It is better if Universities have it but if not, it does not matter much. • It is kind of important but not necessary. • Psychological counseling in Vietnam is still not popular. • Vietnamese students still prefer talking with friends or family or study from internet about their problems. • In Vietnam, going to Psychological Counseling is considered serious and only when you are "crazy". • There is demands but students do not admit of it yet.

Table 2, Themes and themed responses of participants.

1. ***Talking to friends whenever there is problems***

Question	**People counseled from**	**No of participants (n)**
Who did you counsel to?	Friends	7
	Psychological Counselor	1
	Career Counselor	1
	No one	1

2. ***Biggest Psychological Concern is Career.***

Question	**Psychological concern**	**No of participants (n)**
1. During your study, have you had any psychological	Career	3
	Study Stress	1

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concern that you wanted to counsel? If yes, what was it?	Relationship	4
	Adaptation to Uni life	1
	Confidence	1
2. What do you think is the biggest psychological concern for Vietnamese students?	Career	5
	Study Stress	1
	Relationship	3
	Confidence	1

Table 3, biggest psychological concern to Vietnamese students.

3. Psychological Counseling should be had but it is not important.

Do you think your university should have Psychological Counseling for students?	**No of participants (n)**
Yes	9
No	1

Table 4, How participants think if their University should have Psychological Counseling.

How do you think other Vietnamese students perceive this importance of Psychological Counseling?	**No of participants (n)**
Not Important	7
Important	1
Important but afraid to admit	1
Cannot be generalized	1

Table 5, How participants think other students perceive the importance.

Discussion

The three themes shown above would be discussed in this section. The themes will be analysed in conjunction with supporting information from interviews of the professionals.

Talking to friends whenever there is problems

Seven out of ten participants reported that their psychological problem was resolved by talking and engaging with their friends. All of the seven participants' Universities do not have Psychological Counseling office. I think this explains why they relied on talking to their friends. However, if there had been a Psychological Counseling service, would have have used it? According to a study by Christensen and colleagues (1976), people tended to think of Psychological Counseling office as a rather appropriate place to talk about vocational concern, whereas family and friends is an appropriate place to talk about personal psychological concerns. The study suggested that people nevertheless tended to go to Psychological Counseling for vocational concerns, which is not practically appropriate (Christensen et al, 1976).

Vogel and colleagues (2007), conducted a study of Avoidance of Counseling, which elicited avoidance factors to explain why people did not go to Counseling, according to Vogel, there were five main avoidance factors: Social Stigma, Treatment Fears, Fear of Emotions, Anticipated Utility and Risk and Self-Disclosure (Vogel et al, 2007). Social Stigma is the factor expressed a lot by the participants in the current study. One Hanoi, International University, participant stressed about the concept of "losing face" in Vietnam, in which the Vietnamese stereotype of Psychological Counseling or Psychologist is that you only go there if you are "crazy" or have mental illness. One Ho Chi Minh, International University, participant reported that she had never seen any students admitting they had gone to Psychological Counseling, and she showed a strong belief that not many students in her University had gone to the service and the idea sounded funny to her. Thus, the interpretation is that the Vietnamese students avoid going to to Psychological Counseling because they are afraid of losing their face to other people, who have to social stigma of going to Counseling as being crazy or pathological. According to Sibicky & Dovidio (1986), the stigmatized characters associated to people going to Counseling would be: Awkward, Cold, Unsociable, Sad, Insecure, or Dependent. King, Newton, Osterlund and Baber (1973) reported the characters Weak and Disturbed when it comes to perception of people who go to Counseling. According to Sibickly & Dovidio (1986), this social stigma associated with going to Counseling was one of the strongest barriers which prevented people to seek professional help. This social stigma, seems to be expressed clearly in the Vietnamese culture and thus in the Vietnamese students' mind, nowithstanding them studying in an international environment or not.

In conclusion, the Social Stigma of Psychological Counseling in Vietnam consisted of one aspect: You only go to Psychological Counseling when you are crazy or weird. Thus, even if their University has Psychological Counseling service, Vietnamese students would be reluctant to go because there exists a strong Social Stigma. In the end, with this stigma, in conjunction with limited information on Psychological Counseling service, Vietnamese students chose the easier option which is to confide in their friends.

Biggest Psychological Concern is Career

According to Trans' study (2015), one biggest concern of Vietnamese medical students was Academic Pressure. In the current study, three participants reported that their biggest concern, which affected their psychological well ness was whether they had chosen a right Major, namely, Career. Only one student reported her biggest concern was Academic Pressure. On the other hand, four participants reported that their biggest psychological concern was Relationships. However, when it comes to the question "What do you think is the biggest psychological concern to Vietnamese students?", five out of ten reported it was Career, one reported it was Academic Pressure and only three reported it was Relationships. This discrepancy needs to be closely investigated because it implies a multifaceted meaning. One

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participant reported Relationship as the biggest concern she had, she nevertheless said the Vietnamese students would think Career as their biggest psychological concern.

Career was mentioned in a great deal during the interviews. Four out of ten participants reported their friends being confused if their Major was what they really liked to do, or worried whether they could get a job after graduation. Thus, there are two points to discuss here, Vietnamese students major was decided by their parents and they are in constant worry whether they can get a job after graduation (be it they studied what they liked or not).

First, why do the Vietnamese let their Major be decided by their parents? This point is illustrated clearly in Le's study titled Respect Teachers, Respect Elders Tradition (2009). In this study, Le point out that the cultural tradition of Vietnam is to respect the elders, thus, when it comes to career of a child, the parents have all the decision (Le, 2009). Why do the parents concern too much about their child's career? This concern of Vietnamese parents seems to be a greater deal compared to the Western counterparts. One explanation lies in the Confucian ideology commonly shared by east Asian countries. Tran (2015) had said that the Confucian values make Vietnamese parents saw the children as extensions of themselves. As a result, the child's career development is also a pride of the parents. This extreme concern of parents to their child's career choice, coupled with the notion of respect to the elders, created the result that Vietnamese children study a Major chosen by their parents.

Secondly, Why do Vietnamese student constantly worry of unemployment after graduation? This information is related to the first point which is students studying a major they did not really like. It is because Vietnamese students was studying a major they did not like, they had no information on that labour market, which in turn created a worry of unemployment. This level of worry is exhibited differently to different students. Some students show anxiety, some show confusion and some show a clear intention of going on different path after graduation. Tran (2013, p. 75) expressed that Vietnamese students were "weak in planning their future", which was because of the strong reliance on parents on their life based on the Confucian values. According to an article by VietNamNet and VNMedia, also titled Vietnamese Students Weak in Planning Their Future (2009), Vietnamese students, even in higher education, are traditionally too dependent on their parents.

The fact that Vietnamese students were not introduced to proper career orientation in early school period was a significant reason. A very relevant study conducted by Nguyen Thao (2014) showed there was an absence of clear and detailed career counseling in high schools, which made students unable to choose the right career for themselves and the future job market demands. While there was official requirement for career counseling in high schools by the Government (Resolution 29-NQ of Vietnamese Government, 2013); the implementation was poor due to a lack of proper training and supervision (Do and Nguyen, 2015, p. 140). Because of this lack of career counseling, students did not have enough information on the labour market and thus lost the opportunity to orient a career decision for themselves.

Ms Phoenix Ho, the Career Counselor in RMIT Ho Chi Minh whom had been interviewed (and whom resolved the problem for the participants from RMIT HCM), said "Career concerns and mental health are strongly correlated, because you cannot separate a person's well being from the understanding of who they are, what they are good at and what they want to do with their life". This is an interesting piece of information from the professional who worked closely with the Vietnamese students. It supports the finding from this current study which showed Vietnamese students lay strong emphasis on their Career and how much it affected their psychological well being. The history of Psychological Counseling in America included an evolution from Vocational Guidance movement (Society of Counseling Psychology, 2017). As vocational guides relied more on scientific psychology theories, in 1945, the American Psychological Association established a Division of Personnel and

Guidance Psychologists (Society of Counseling Psychology, 2017). According the the Society of Counseling Psychology (2017), after WW2 the Vocational Psychologists realized that work is an integral part of a person's life and that it is quite difficult to target one without properly addressing the other. Thus, in 1951, the Division of Personnel and Guidance Psychologists changed its name to the Division of Counseling Psychology (Society of Counseling Psychology, 2017). This change indicated an evolution from career orientation to a person's mental well being. Therefore, this piece of history correlates with the finding found by the participants and both the professional, which is that Career is a significant reason which affects psychological well being.

In conclusion, considering the fact of Confucian values and the lack of early career orientation, it is clear how the Vietnamese students experiences a high level of confusion or anxiety about career when they reach University. In addition, the nature of Career Counseling and Psychological Counseling had always been interrelated, thus it is easy to see why the Vietnamese students would realize their Career concern as priority when they think about Psychological Counseling.

Psychological Counseling in University should be had but it is not important

This theme reflects the multifacetedness in perception of Vietnamese students regarding the issue and should be discussed carefully in order to not misinterpret the data.

When asked "Do you think your University should have Psychological Counseling?", nine out of ten participants replied Yes. However, when asked "What do you think other students perceive the importance of Psychological Counseling in University?", seven out of ten replied the perception of Not Important.

All of the participants, expressed clear awareness and understanding of function of Psychological Counseling. They showed themselves to be educated people with updated knowledge on the importance of mental health. These finding correlates with finding of a study by Vessey & Howard (1993), which says that individuals in their 20s and have college education have more positive attitudes about Psychological Counseling than older or people without college education. In addition, Vogel et al (2007) also said that college appeared to be an environment in which seeking help is perceived more favourably than other environments.

This discrepancy in perception reflects the Social Stigmas and the Confucian Values the participants were aware of regarding the issue. As mentioned above, going to Psychological Counseling can give the person negative character labels such as: weird, awkward, unsociable or dependant (Sibicky & Dovidio, 1986). In addition, with the Confucian values which see the children as an extension of the family (Tran, 2015), the shame of the children is also the shame of the family.

As having said before, there was the cultural stigma that it is embarrassing to confide your problems to people outside your family (Cheong and Snowden, 1990). This point will be analysed in depth. One important Confucian value is Filial Piety, which affects both ways, and was reflected prominently in a paper about treatment of mental illness in Vietnam by Nguyen (2003). In this study, Nguyen said that this Confucian value in Vietnam prevented the parents to discard their children of their mental illness even though they were shunned by society (Nguyen, 2003). This Confucian notion of filial piety "*considers it better to bear the stigma of mental illness while nobly attending to one's responsibilities, than to be shunned for the careless refusal of familial obligation*" (Nguyen, 2003). Thus, the responsibility of the parents to their child is extremely strong in Confucianism. It is because of this that the parents think they should take their responsibility to take care of their child's mental health, not the outsiders. It also means that if the child relies on outsiders for their mental health, the perception is that the parents have disregarded their filial piety and therefore are shameful.

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In conclusion, there are two Confucian consequences when a child goes to a Counselor for their mental health. Firstly, the child is considered shameful himself by being: "*as less in control of her or his emotions*" (Oppenheimer and Miller, 1988) or " *as weak or disturbed"* (King et al., 1973); and that puts shame on top of the family, according to the family extension value of Confucianism. Secondly, the child is directly putting shame on his own family because he refuses the right of his parents' obligations to take care of his mental problems (Nguyen, 2003).

It is because the concern that seeking help can negatively affect their family can inhibit a person's decision to seek help from a professional (Root, 1985). A professional whom had been interviewed was a Psychological Counselor in Hanoi, Mr Janak Vagdama. He is a Counselor with specialty in cultural differences. Janak stressed a point during the interview that he witnessed the Vietnamese youngs expressed conflict in their mind in which they would not want their parents to lose face. According to Janak, Vietnamese parents tended to create a psychological pressure to their children, which was expressed in Career choice, as an instance. The ultimate reason was to not lose their face. This point fits with what discussed above, according to the Confucian values, in which Vietnamese parents see their children as their extensions and thus intervene to all aspects of their life; and as shown in this study, even their mental health.

Thus, the social stigmas of Psychological Counseling, created and attenuated by the Confucian values in Vietnam society, belong to a strong and powerful network of cultural values. These social stigmas and Confucian values appears to be well recognized by the current Vietnamese students. It is because of this understanding of stigmas that the Vietnamese students expressed a discrepancy between their perception and other student's perception. They, equipped with knowledge, asserted that they understood the importance of Psychological Counseling; however, they thought the majority would still be influenced by the social stigmas and not recognizing its importance. It is because of a lack of understanding shared by the majority, it is not a necessity yet.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this qualitative study has shown three results. First, Vietnamese students tend to confide in their friends to their mental problems. Second, the most mental concern to Vietnamese students is their career. Finally, to their perception, Psychological Counseling in University, at the moment, is considered not important. As discussions have shown, these findings reflect a strong system of cultural values, which have been shown to be Confucian values. These Confucian values create and attenuate the social stigmas associated with Psychological Counseling, which are still perceived collectively by the majority of Vietnamese students. According to Confucian values, looking for help for mental problems from people outside family is embarrassing to their family because it robs their parents of their familial responsibilities. Secondly, according to Confucian values, children is seen as an extension of their parents so their career development is seen as an integral part to their parent's concern, which is why existed the conflict between what the students wanted to do versus what their parents wanted them to do. Finally, all these Confucian points added up together to create the perception that Psychological Counseling was not necessary, not important, or even perceived as redundant, because the official need to Psychological Counseling has not been shown yet. With increasing globalization and knowledge, these University students showed an appropriate understanding of Psychological Counseling and its important functions. However, the perception created by the stigmas still exists and it is so strong that they cannot overcome it by their sole knowledge and their personal demands. As a result, Vietnamese students keep resorting to old school methods such as confiding in friends or family, or some modern methods which can protect themselves from the stigmas such as the Internet or anonymous forums. In conclusion, Psychological Counseling in University is perceived as not important to Vietnamese students.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1, students' interview questionnaires

1. How old are you? Where do you come from? What university are you studying? What major are you studying? What year are you in?
2. During your study, have you had any psychological issue that you wanted to counsel? If yes, what was it?
3. Who did you counsel to?
4. Did it help?
5. Do you think your university should have Psychological Counseling for students? Why?
6. What do you think is the most psychological concern for Vietnamese students?
7. How do you think other Vietnamese students perceive this importance of Psychological Counseling?
8. Can you recommend anyone for my interview?

Appendix 2, professional's interview questionnaire

1. Could you tell me about yourself and your education background?
2. Could you describe overally your job?
3. Could you tell me what the most concern in career counseling to Vietnamese students is?
4. How did you counsel them about that problem?
5. What demographic group of students have this kind of concern?
6. Do you think career concerns can negatively affect psychological health of the students?
7. if yes, how do you think the two issues, career concern and psychological health are related?
8. What do you think about the importance of Psychological Counseling in Vietnamese universities to Vietnamese students?
9. What do you think about the Vietnamese students' perception about having Psychological Counseling in their university?
10. Can you recommend anyone relevant for my interview?

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1-AS09-5171

DNA TECHNOLOGY – INNOVATIVE THINKING IN ARTS EDUCATION, COMMUNITY–BASED ARTS AND PERFORMANCE ARTS.

DR. S.CHANDRA SEKARAN[1]

This paper aims to explore how DNA technology can contribute to arts education and community-based arts through three different facets.

The first aspect of the paper will examine the research principles which has contributed to the creation of DNA Saree and DNA Carnatic* ,and how these research principles are applicable in art education. The second aspect of paper presents three research-based workshops; Bio-Arts Workshop, Dance Workshop and Music Workshop, and how the working process contributed to community-based learning. With regards to the final aspect of the paper, it will examine the system of thinking that lies in translating scientific knowledge into artistic language through a series of performance art works.

The paper concludes by providing several contexts such as understanding DNA technology in the area of teaching art education and community based arts, and the research methodologies that can be applied in translating scientific thinking into visual language. Also, these sorts of explorations provide new ways of introducing trans-disciplinary study through Life Science.

6-AW31-5059

MALE PROSTITUTES IN CONTEMPORARY THAI ONLINE LITERATURE

DR. ORATHAI PIAYURA[2]

Male prostitution was widely presented in Thai contemporary gay literature. This study examined Online literature in one decade from 2005-2015. Data were collected from 9 short stories selected from gay websites. The selected texts were analyzed by gender and sexuality approach.

The results of the study revealed that male prostitutes being presented in gay literature were mainly students with poor background. There were only small numbers of professional prostitutes. The reasons for entering the career of prostitution were financial problem and being rape by other men.

Keywords: Male Prostitute, Sexuality, Homosexual, Thai Online Literature

8-AW03-4974

ME THAT IS NOT ME: BRAM STOKER'S DRACULA AS A FIGURE OF THE ABJECT

MS. BORA SHIN[3] AND PROF. IL-YEONG KIM[4]

Dracula by Bram Stoker is, as Anne Mcwhir indicates, remarkable for its blurring and confusion of categories. Modern and primitive, civilized and savage, science and myth are confused. So too is Dracula its main character: Dracula is an undead who is neither alive nor dead, and he is a human with animal-like sharp teeth, sometimes transforming himself into a

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[4] Prof. Il-Yeong Kim, Professor, Sungkyunkwan University.

wolf or a bat. In short Dracula is a being of mixture, a monster who seems to transgress the natural law.

The vampiric nature represented by Dracula, however, is inherent in every human being as suggested by the resemblances between Van Helsing, one of vampire hunters, and Dracula in their appearances and speech habits as well as by vampirized Lucy and Mina who come to have a strong sense of bond with Dracula through so-called "blood-baptism". That is, Dracula is a part of our very selves which we abhor and reject as if he were a monster fundamentally different from us. Dracula is, in this sense, a figure of the abject, which Julia Kristeva defines as "me that is not me."

The abject, according to Kristeva, is a part of oneself which exists independently of oneself. It is what was once considered as a part of oneself or one's identity, but has since been rejected because it is believed to confuse the distinction between what is self and what is other, thus disturbing one's identity. The abject is also threatening to the society, since the abject blurs the clear boundary or distinction on which the society depend for its survival.

The characteristics of the abject correspond to that of Dracula in several aspects. First of all, Dracula's residence is located in the center of London, which implies that Dracula is the part of our selves, like the abject. Furthermore, Dracula is, like the abject, an object of rejection, since he brings out the vampirism in ideal female characters, which leads us to doubt a female identity. In short, Dracula is a figure of the abject: though he is, like the abject, a part of ourselves, he should be rejected because he challenges the idea of "an angel in the house", that is, ideal female identity, while putting in danger Victorian patriarchal society whose survival depends on clear distinction between men and beasts as well as the "angel in the house" and a whore. Vampire hunters' effort to eliminate Dracula, therefore, should be understood as an attempt to reinstate definite categories and distinctions with the expulsion of the monstrous, that is, the abject, because reestablishment of clear boundaries, as they believe as the upholders of the Victorian society, is essential to the survival of their society.

11-AW18-5227

BEHIND THE SCENES OF THE HOSTILE-WORLD SCENARIO RESEARCH: REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCHERS' RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY

DR. IRIT BLUVSTEIN[5] AND DR. KFIR IFRAH AND PROF. DOV SHMOTKIN

Several methodological and human themes were prompted by a quantitative study conducted in the framework of the conceptual model the pursuit of happiness in a hostile world (Shmotkin, 2005, 2011; Shmotkin and Shrira, 2012, 2013), investigating physical and mental health of older adults with physical disability and bereaved parents. These themes were discussed in 66 weekly research meetings held between October 2015 and April 2017. Based on a detailed documentation of these meetings, this presentation will focus on the experience of quantitative researches and the possible emotional effects of their involvement in trauma-related study.

It is widely recognised in research literature and theory that health professionals exposed to traumatic life stories may suffer from secondary traumatization, vicarious traumatization, or compassion fatigue (Cohen and Collens, 2013; Figley and Ludick, 2017; McCann and Pearlman, 1990). Yet, there is almost no awareness of the possibility that even a relatively structured and short-term exposure to traumatic materials in a quantitative study setting may elicit distress and traumatization. A prominent theme that emerged in reflective dialogues in the current study team during collecting data on the participants' mental status was the vulnerability and resilience of the researchers themselves. The researchers realized that hostile-world scenarios are tangible not only in the participants' lives but also in their own lives.

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Researchers who interviewed the participants showed signs of traumatization such as ruminating on the traumatic experiences they heard and seeing the world as unsafe for themselves and their loved ones. Vulnerability was also manifested in moral stress (Fried and Fisher, 2016), e.g., caring for the participants' well-being during the interview while adhering to the research protocol. Researchers' resilience was advanced by actively creating new sources of collegial support, such as special team meetings and a virtual group. Also, the researchers gained strength and validation through the exposure to the interviewees' resilience and coping resources as well as to the meaning they found in participating in the study. Sharing these experiences in the research meetings also contributed to a broader sense of staff resilience (Itzhaki et al., 2015).

This presentation aims to advance the awareness of possible personal consequences among researchers involved in trauma research, and to elucidate the understanding of parallel processes of vulnerability and resilience among participants and researchers in trauma studies.

12-AW14-5018

HEALTH STATUS OF ELDERLY POPULATION : AN EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM INDIA

DR. SONALI CHAKRABORTY[6]

According to UN (2010), India is the second largest country after china to bear elderly population(60+). The growth rate of this population is also in an alarming state, three per cent per annum, far higher than the growth rate of the children and younger age cohort. So population ageing become a serious problem in India as other countries like Asia, Caribbean, Latin America etc. The needs and problems of the elderly vary significantly according to their age, socioeconomic status, health, living status and other such background characteristics (Siva Raju, 2002).There has been a great change in the family structure that reduces informal family support towards the elderly care now a day in India. The emergence of nuclear family, weakening of kinship and community relations, migration of youth for better livelihood, increasing participation of female workforce all are the direct and indirect causes that forced the elderly to be marginalized. Moreover Indian society has faced discrimination against gender line, caste system, religion difference, income profile, educational attainment, rural urban residence, getting provision of minimum sanitation level etc. All these factors also are great threat towards elderly population for leading a decent life.

As poor health is generally thought to be the outcome of poor economic and social status ,mostly seen in the developing countries an empirical attempt has been made here , aims to capture the socioeconomic and demographic predictors that can explain the self-rated health status or well being categorized as ‘poor’ and ‘good/excellent’. The relation of health status with socioeconomic inequality, and gender differential has been done with statistical methodologies like regression analysis, Lorenze curve among the elderly Indian in most recent past(year 2014) The unit level data of survey on ‘Health in India’ conducted by National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO, 2014) has been used to assess this situation. The available database however partly subjective in nature as data relies mainly on self reporting system. Thus the process may get affected by subjectivity and also the consciousness and perception of an individual about health. Despite all these well-recognized problems and difficulties of measurement, the reported information of health status obtained in nationally representative large scale surveys would be extremely useful, especially in the absence of clinically validated surveys.

[6] Dr. Sonali Chakraborty, Associate scientist 'B', Indian Statistical Institute.

14-AS04-4997

GLOBALIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

DR. RFAH ALYAMI[7]

The paper discusses recent educational innovation and development in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia within the broader context of educational reform globally. The aim of the paper is to provide essential background to the research context by describing the impact of globalization on the educational system in Saudi Arabia. The argument is that there are two opposing views about globalisation. The first perceives globalization linked with neoliberal economic theory as a positive development. Neoliberal economic theory places emphasis on the primacy of the market as the key regulatory mechanism. As such, free- market ideology has also been applied to the social arena including healthcare and education. "Advocates of global neo-liberalism argue that the prevailing system of development will result in economic growth, employment, affordable quality goods and service, and a reduction in world poverty" (Dyer, Humphries, Fitzgibbons, & Hurd, 2014, p. 82). The second argument is more critical about globalization and argues from a cultural and social perspective that:

15-AS14-4949

GLOCAL COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT: THE IMPACT OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES ON COLLEGE STUDENTS' SELF-AUTHORSHIP

MS. NOHA ABDELMOATY[8]

College students face a multitude of challenges that incorporate the need to think critically, explore potentials and interests, detect which path to follow, and develop intercultural maturity. Consequently, aiming at navigating life complexity, universities' learning outcomes are required to correspond to epistemological, intrapersonal, and interpersonal dimensions of development, whose integration constitute what developmental theorists term self-authorship. The purpose of this research study was to examine the impact of college students' engagement in community based extra-curricular activities on the development of their self-authorship. To achieve this, participants were recruited from three categories of extra-curricular activities practiced at a transnational university in Egypt. Purposive sampling technique was employed for choosing students who are active in a local community service or an on-campus cultural club/organization or who have travelled to volunteer in a community service project abroad. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty students from various majors and academic years. Findings showed that the impact of students' involvement in these activities encompassed five main themes: embracing difference, self -awareness, local/ glocal altruistic responsibility, inner epistemological validation, and pillaring one's self and the other. Additionally, results revealed the emergence of an inner voice guiding the construction of knowledge, identity, and social relations. These findings emphasize required endeavors by higher education stakeholders to consider practices that have the potential of promoting university students' self-authorship.

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16-AS13-4950

RELIGION EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS: AN ATTEMPT TOWARDS MOBILIZING THE REFORM OF RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE AND PRACTICES IN EGYPT.

MS. DAREEN ABUELYOSR[9]

Reforming religious discourse, as urged by the current Egyptian president “Abdel Fattah Al Sisi”, calls for reforming the Egyptian education, precisely the religious education taught in Egyptian primary and secondary schooling. This paper sheds the light on the importance of Religious education and how it manipulates the sociocultural status of nations and in turn defines such nation’s mindsets and ideologies. It reveals the strong relationship between sociocultural status, religion and education in the Egyptian society, with a conclusion that religion is a life norm that cannot be separated from the fundamentals of building the Egyptian nation, such as education. Thus when thinking about reform, especially the reform of the religious discourse, religious education is an important area to be focused on, modified and reformed, if needed, in a way that serves the desired general reform based on advancing civics and citizenship values, generating citizens capable of benefiting themselves and their society.
The research paper is divided into six sections. The first section aims at providing an adequate body of literature review and references that support the crucial role of education in general in shaping lives and building nations. The second section of this paper gives a brief background on the sociocultural and political status of the Egyptian society before and after the 25th of January revolution. This section also sheds the light on the general education status in Egyptian secondary schools including the style of religious education followed.

The third section provides a discussion about what religious education is, highlighting the meanings behind several terms used to describe that type of education. It also argues variety of goals adopted by different contexts in implementing religious education in schools as well as referring to opinions with or against the idea of teaching religion in schools. Section four of this paper proposes supporting evidence to the validity and essentiality of adopting religious education, through presenting some successful stories of different countries with different contexts around the world, regarding the implementation of such type of education as a successful attempt in reforming their education system in particular and enhancing their country status in general. Some of the addressed countries in this section share similar context to that of Egypt.

Section five of this paper, discusses how the successful attempts mentioned earlier in section four that were taken by various countries in reforming their religious education, could be adopted and tailored to create some sort of reform to the Egyptian religious education currently implemented, as well as to shed the light on some challenges that could occur in response to such reform.

The final section of this paper is a sum up to the ideas discussed, proposing a supported conclusion in reference to the argument that was presented, raising Some implications and future recommendations that might be useful for future attempts to reforming Religion Education in Egypt .

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17-AW17-5257

GENDER EQUALITY FROM A PERSPECTIVE OF RETURN OF SCHOOLING OF RURAL-TO-URBAN WORKERS IN CHINA- EMPIRICAL STUDY BASED ON CHIP

MS. XINYI ZHANG[10]

In 2015, Chinese government emphasizes the significance of gender equality and women's development in its official documents. Gender equality is a critical task of sustainable development goals and in China's blueprint of "building a harmonious society". This research focuses on the gender gap among rural-to-urban workers, which has become China's main labor force in the secondary and tertiary industry, from the perspective of return of schooling. The research firstly gives a brief review of the situation concerning gender problems among rural-to-urban workers. Then an empirical analysis is conducted. Based on the traditional and developed form of Mincer equation, the research discusses the gender gap of migrant worker group from a perspective of return of schooling. Comparison is made between the rural sample and urban sample. The conclusion sheds light on the empowerment of women in rural areas in China.

18-AS24-5250

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL POLARIZATION ON SOCIAL NETWORKS

DR. WHASUN JHO[11]

After the paradigm shift brought about by the development of information technology, we have seen the development of a variety of communication mechanisms and networks, and this has given rise to great expectations regarding new communities and democratic life. Nonetheless, the development of communication media does not automatically lead to high social quality. New political communication mechanisms bring about different social consequences depending on the structure and social capital of societies in which they are used, the attitude and awareness of citizens who are the principle users of such mechanisms, and changes to state-civil society relations (Putnam, 1993). This study investigates the structure and dynamics of social networks in order to examine how polarization is portrayed in cyberspace, as well as the causes of this phenomenon, and attempts to find the means to resolve polarization and achieve political development. The acquisition of biased information and self-reinforcing characteristic of persons using media prevents the active exchange of opinions between participants and can serve to maximize polarization. Focusing on Twitter, this paper analyzes the ideological structure of polarization on online social networks, compared to the offline ideological propensity in countries. We also see if any forms of ideological or political asymmetries are observed among the SNS users in terms of their levels of activity or engagement according to individuals' ideological or partisan positions. And the paper also examines how ideologically different users are distinguished from each other in terms of their online political behavior.

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19-AS21-5291

THE EFFECT OF PALERMO CONVENTION TO COMBAT THE CRIME OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN UNITED KINGDOM & KINGDOM OF JORDAN

MR. AHMAD AL-AWAMLEH[12]

For a long time, the issue of human trafficking has raised much concern in the global economy. A significant number of countries like America and the United Kingdom have made efforts to formulate unique ad appropriate strategies geared toward curbing this global problem. Key among the approach adopted by these countries is through provisions contained in international treaties as well as domestic legislation's that ban any form of human trafficking in the global economy.

In the year 2000, the United Nations formulated the Palermo Protocol that focuses on eliminating the vice of human trafficking. This research explains the incidences of human trafficking in the global arena as well as unravel the role played by international bodies to curb this tragic event.

The research also will scrutinise the provisions of the Protocol as well as discussing the international Conventions and instruments that the UK Government has ratified to combat crimes of human trafficking in the UK, namely England, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

This study, will focus on the issues of human trafficking in Jordan. To get an understanding of the whole issue of human trafficking, the study will analyse the legislative process in Jordan and determine if the vice falls under organised crime under Jordanian law. The focus will be on the Jordan legal system and the relationship of the country with its neighbours and the international organisations like Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and European Union (EU) to get insight into the effectiveness of the Protocol in reducing human trafficking.

The study will conclude with an analysis of the experience from victims of human trafficking and will suggest a potential ways for their protection in Jordan and UK. Having identified the reasons for the ineffectiveness of the rules against human trafficking in Jordan, this study will suggest potential measures that could be adopted.

22-AW29-5136

THE ART OF LIVING IN LIMBO : A CINEMATOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE HOURS

MS. GAMZE YALCIN[13]

Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
And by opposing end them. (Hamlet, Act III, Scene I)

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the themes of testimony, vulnerability and trauma in the movie The Hours (2002) from the perspective of trauma theory. "Dying/ Is an art, like everything else./ I do it exceptionally well." says Sylvia Plath ironically in her poem Lady Lazarus. (Plath,2004:59) In the same period Samuel Beckett in his play Waiting for Godot (1953) reflects two depressed men who have great wish to die but no capability of taking action. Plath and Beckett in their works give a glimpse about the psychological condition of the modern man who on the one hand attempts to escape the anguish of existence, but on the

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other hand fails to finalize his/her existence. This ambivalent psychological condition, delineated by Plath and Beckett, is best described by the notion of Limbo. Limbo which defines both literally and metaphorically stucking between hell and heaven is generally used in modern literary works to emphasize characters and of course modern man's ebb and flow between life and death. The Hours (2002), main focus of this paper, inspired by Virginia Woolf's novel Mrs Dalloway (1925) and Michael Cunningham's novel The Hours(1998) through its innovative and extraordinary style indicates the timeless impact of trauma on traumatized psyches. Stephen Daldry adapting neurotic anxieties of characters between suicide and life into the screen tried to trace and collect the pieces of traumatized minds in different layers of time and space. In the movie Daldry resorting to the techniques of trauma fiction successfully mirrors how the characters become the actresses/actors of the art of living instead the art of dying.

Key Words: The Hours, Stephen Daldry, Film Studies, Trauma Theory, Trauma Fiction, Limbo

23-AW08-5168

THE IMAGE OF "LABYRINTH" IN BORGES'S "THE ALEPH" AND "THE HOUSE OF THE ASTERION"

MS. MING-JU HSIEH[14]

This paper aims to discuss the images of "labyrinth" in two short stories of Jorge Luis Borges, "The Aleph"(1949) and "The House of the Asterion" (1947). In "The Aleph"(1949) and "The House of Asterion"(1947) the image of "labyrinth" is presented to discuss the ontological and metaphysical questions of the universe. Borges brings spiritual crisis of the twentieth century in enigmatic ways. In addition, he presents the contemporary crisis of the modern society in the adaption of Greek mythology, addressing spiritual crisis in the course of the human history. Written in the first person narrative, Borges creates a character for himself and talks directly to his reader through the narrator as a writer. Nevertheless, even though the writer, Borges, disguises as a character, the narrator is neither omnipotent nor omniscient. While introducing the "Aleph" to the reader, he plays the role as a writer and a friend of Carlos Argentino that he is totally unknown about the "Aleph." The vivid depiction of the "Aleph" is presented while he comments on the mysterious experience and doubts the authenticity of the one in the cellar of Carlos's house. On the other hand, as the recurrent symbol of "house" appears in "The House of Asterion," the narrator shifts to "Asterion," the Minotaur, a monstrous animal in Greek mythology. Asterion is restricted in a labyrinth on the island of Crete. Borges represents the image of "labyrinth" in the short story, as the "Aleph." Borges reverses the convention of "Asterion" in Greek mythology. The image of "labyrinth," as the structure and skeleton of Borges's short stories, is the creation and art of human intelligence. Borges breaks the boundaries of grand narratives through the symbolical ruin of ingenious creation of human civilization in "The House of Asterion" and elaborates the limitation of eternity.

24-AW28-5127

TWO CONRTOVERSIAL FACES OF MAD PEOPLE AS VICTIMS OR ESCAPIST

MS. KADRIYE BOZKURT[15]

Madness with its vague, unexplainable, flexible, subjective nature has always been discussed throughout the ages and as Eckhart Tolle says "the history of humanity can be called even the history of madness" (9). Madness with its unrealistic or imaginary world, and its nature hard

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or impossible to understand has became focus of attention in different fields of science like anthropology, sociology, philosophy, psychiatry or psychoanalysis. The unstable nature of madness that changes regarding the person, society, time and geography makes it difficult to draw precise boundaries. Madness consists of controversial features in itself as it appears in conflicting ways in mad people. Mostly attributed with the negative implications, mad people indeed are parts and also the outcomes of the human history; during centuries madness has been associated with negative connotations.

The vague nature of madness, its subjectivity and ignorance of society prevent full scale progresses on madness. So in this paper, four selected films about madness are chosen because manifestation of the effect of some social facts on madness and the response of the mad to these existing conditions is aim of this study. These films that deal with mental illnesses, Shock Corridor (1963), Don't Say a Word (2001), Stonehearst Asylum (2014) and One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest (1975) are crucial as they give the detailed description of normalization process that Michel Foucault proposes about mental institutions and they reveal some of possible social reasons drive mad people to madness justifying R.D Laing's theory of anti-psychiatry with their characters behaviors. These films carry many sub-narratives in themselves that can be analyzed in different dimensions; these dimensions and the conscious madness are the focus of the study.

Key words: Madness, Negative Implications, Michel Foucault, R.D Laing.

25-AW10-4948

EFFECTS OF GAME PLAYERS' SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE ON AGGRESSION

DR. HYE RIM LEE[16]; MR. KONG JEON YOUNG[17]; PROF. JEONG EUI JUN; AND MR. LEE SUNG JE

With the increasing spread of the online games in the past decade, numerous research regarding aspect of players' aggression transition through playing games mainly focused on external factors, often neglecting internal aspects of game players. Besides, although social intelligence was negatively related to aggression, no one attempt to find out the casual relationship in the game research area. Social intelligence not only regulates cognitive processes but also can refer to persons' ability to cope with life's circumstances. Recent study implied that cognitive regulation might be critical for hostile thoughts and feelings. Therefore, we considered alleviated aggressive tendency which related to cognitive control, indicating the possibility for stopping the activated angry and hostile emotions. In that Intelligence is highly correlated with cognitive control, we assumed that players with high levels of social intelligence would decrease aggression tendencies. We conducted a two-wave panel study 2000 Korea adolescents. The results indicated that social intelligence significant predictors of alleviated aggressive tendencies. Not only that, it also reduced stress, depression and loneliness. Thus, higher social intelligence can be considered an antecedent of alleviated negative feelings among adolescent game player.

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28-AS25-5148

ON THE THRESHOLD OF CHANGE: ANALYSING THE CLASH BETWEEN IDEAL WOMAN CONCEPT AND NEW WOMAN CONCEPT IN DRACULA

MS. GAMZE YALCIN[18]

From the beginning of life gender issue preserves its place as being one of the most discussed problems in society. Women, as one of the focuses of gender issue, frequently find themselves stucked between two choices uttered by Hamlet:

> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
> And by opposing end them. (Hamlet, Act III, Scene I)

In other words, women always endeavoured to decide whether to fight against social and patriarchal prejudices or to accept them. Women's anguish of existence in the androcentric world has echoed in the works of many literary figures. Bram Stoker's novel Dracula is among these literary pieces which reflects women's dilemma between acting the role of an "Ideal Woman" or a "New Woman". In the novel Stoker focusing on Mina Harker as the ideal woman, and Lucy Westenra as the new woman corrupted by a vampire, tries to shed light on the altering role of women in the 19th century. Newly appeared manifestos about the rights of women, dogmatic oppression of the patriarchal perspective and women's fresh attempts to establish an independent identity, appear in the novel between the lines of gothic and mysterious story of Dracula. Thus the aim of this paper is to elucidate the clash between "Ideal Woman Concept" and "New Woman Concept" in Stoker's Dracula in the aspect of Psychoanalytical Feminist literary theory by referring to concepts of vampire as well as mythic and religious beliefs.

Key Words: Gender, Feminism, Psychoanalysis, Vampires, Bram Stoker, Dracula

29-AS22-5129

REVEALING BRUTAL FACTS THROUGH ABSURD THEATRE: ABSURDITY IN RED EYE OF LOVE BY ARNOLD WEINSTEIN

MS. KADRIYE BOZKURT[19]

Described by some critics as anti-realistic or anti-theatre, absurd theatre with nonlinear plot, cyclical narration and lack of cause and effect relationship neglects the notions of conventional theatre. Focusing on the issue of human existence on the world and the desperate condition of man struggling against his fate, absurd theatre presents chaotic, uncertain, hopeless, illogical and meaningless atmosphere. As critic and modern dramatist Martin Esslin (1918-2002) asserts absurd theatre shocks the audience bringing them face to face the harsh facts of life.

The play The Red Eye of Love written by Arnold Weinstein in 1961 unfolds the same blur atmosphere of vital events that extend over a long time of wars, capitalism and depression as well as unfolding an eccentric love triangle. The flow of the play's action, the use of language and creation of the characters reflect the mystery and absurdity challenging the despair of the human situation. So, the aim of this paper is to analyze this play in terms of its adherence to absurd theatre.

Key Words: Absurd Theatre, Human Existence, The Red Eye of Love.

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THE REPRESENTATION OF MISANTHROPY IN "A ROSE FOR EMILY" AND "TIMON OF ATHENS"

MS. GAMZE SENTURK[20]

As it is described in Oxford Dictionary, the concept of "misanthropist" refers to "a person who dislikes humankind and avoids human society". It came from Greek work "misanthropos". Misein means "hate" and anthropos means "man". In literature, misanthropist characters were mostly used by many writers such as William S. Gilbert, Jonathan Swift in their literary works. The most famous misanthropist character is Moliere's Alceste in his 1666 work Le Misantrope. This study which focuses on William Faulkner's "A Rose for Emily" (1930) and William Shakespeare's "Timon of Athens" (1623) aims at analysing misanthropist characters, Emily and Timon in the mentioned works.

Keywords: Misanthrophy, Misanthropist characters, "A Rose for Emily", "Timon of Athens".

32-AS11-5219

ON THE COMMODIFICATION OF PASSIONS IN THE NETWORK SOCIETY

MR. ASHER JOSPE[21]

Capitalism in an evolving mode of production which continues to evolve in a dialectic scheme, as the philosopher Hegel depicted . It is an ever-changing entity which reflects technological advancement and changes in production relationships resulting from such advancements. The most recent version of Capitalism as manifested in the current epoch represents a shift from Capitalism of ownership to Capitalism of access to experience and enjoyment. One of the most important new assets in current capitalism is access to the global network and to experiences and enjoyments which come with it.

The paradigm shift in capitalism comes as a result of massive changes in technology and innovation with fast changes which it creates in products and services. New products lose their exciting fetish very fast and become obsolete. The ownership of "things" in this environment has proven an antithesis to enjoyment. What is to enjoy in a product which is obsolete after a few months of acquisition?? On the other hand, the realm of experience and enjoyment is endless. The number and variety of experiences only increases with time and the access to it via global networks makes it easy and convenient to acquire.

Mankind is manifesting a passion for ever changing experiences each of which brings with it ever increasing enjoyment. However, satisfaction of the passion is not part of the capitalistic world. The more people experience enjoyment the more they want to experience. From the Capitalism point of view this an ideal position as people consume enjoyment with no satisfaction as this , namely satisfaction, is never supplied. The ongoing and ever-increasing demand for enjoyment thru network experience has become one of the most powerful markets for capitalism. Industrial culture products present a huge growing market. Capitalism identified this opportunity and is using all versions of technology to manipulate the demand for culture products, experience based products which bring ever increasing enjoyment, the consumption of which has become a very powerful trend and a very large market for Capitalism.

The Network Society has changed radically the way individuals experience things and the way they derive enjoyment. Life has been Mathematicised. If a person experiences a joyful event (such as a sunset in the Caribbean's) , and puts it up on Facebook , the individual is then

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expecting that friends will approve of the images/ videos by sending many LIKE confirmations. The individual is asking for confirmation of the choices made and the recognition of friends (society in general) of his experiences. The quest for recognition is more powerful than the original joyful experience in the sense that if the expected LIKES are not forthcoming in any substantial numbers, the individual feels rejected and the original joy of the event is diminished. The original experience as gratifying and pleasurable as it may have been, is not almost completely overtaken by the society rejection of it, thru not sending LIKES. The quantity of LIKES is now the new most modern index for happiness and joy as opposed to the "thing in itself".

The relentless quest to be recognized, now thru Facebook, is more powerful than ever. It is the direct result of the individuation process which Capitalism demands and which leads to loneliness and aloneness. The individual is willing to forgo the original joy in the face of Facebook feedback. He needs the recognition of society more than the experience itself. This is a new phenomenon which appeared on the Network Society and the advent of social networks such as face book. The driving force if fear of loss of love and fear of being different. The individual strives to be part of the main stream and to adapt conformism as the best strategy to achieve society acceptance. The lack of LIKES in response to the individual image on FB is perceived as rejection and this the individual fears most.

The individual passions and sense of joy and beauty have been mathematicised and quantified. These are all subject to the quantity of LIKES and other on-line schemes of acceptance or rejection. The pain associated with the perceived rejection is so powerful as to wipe out the original sense of joy and happiness.

33-AW22-5327

REBUILDING WOMEN SAFETY POLICY BY THE LIFE-COURSE APPROACH: GENDER DIFFERENCES IN RISK MANAGEMENT CAPACITY OF THE HOUSEHOLD AND LIVING SPACES

DR. MI-HYE CHANG[22]

The issue of growing risk factors against women is now moving to discourse on the private and living spaces, while the responses of safety policies is still retarded in terms of gender-sensitiveness in South Korea. Two criticisms arose from the field: first, women usually have few institutionalized means to access to public information or educational contents than men for managing their own safety. Second, these safety policies did not consider empirical differences based on gender in transitions of the life-course that produces and reshapes gendered conditions of risks or safety.

The purpose of this study is to examine gender differences of risk management capacity in South Korea. This paper developed the Women Safety Competence Index (WSCI) to compare how women and men show different levels in safety awareness, risk experiences, safety-related educations, and policy demands by employing the life-course approach. Then the study suggested policy implications for a safety education based on gender-sensitiveness to reduce safety blind spots by women's life-course.

The study conducted the survey that included total 2,000 adult male and female via off- and on-line interview. The investigation measures five categories of safety indices – livelihood safety, traffic safety, safety from natural disasters, safety from criminal, and health safety. The questionnaires are also included to examine the respondents' background on educational experiences related to safety-related institutions.

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The research employs t-test and multiple regression analysis to compare gender disparity in the five categories of WSCI by stage of the life-course. Life-course of the respondents is divided into early adulthood (aged 20-29), mid adulthood (aged 30-44), late adulthood (45-64), and old age (aged over 65).

As results, the study found gender differences in factors that affect safety awareness and risk-coping capacity in the five areas of WSCI levels by life-course. In particular, women in old age (over 65) showed lower competence levels than their male counterparts. Moreover, women show a positive effect on their safety competence when they increase experiences on safety-related educations or information, while men do not show significant relationship between two of that variables. This result implies that the effect of safety education is stronger to women, which finding buttresses the importance of education for developing gender-sensitive safety policy. Since education level has significant impact on safety competence and since there is a significantly large correlation between education level and age, there is need to administer safety education for females in old age.

The study provides following suggestions to improve the current safety policy system in South Korea. First, the current safety programs need to be customized to sub-groups including gender and life-course with more detailed provisions that detect potential possibility of risky environments. Second, it is effective to install a central agency for safety education that trains and manages the professional educators. Third, building official guideline is needed for diversification of safety educational contents that is appreciate for different roles and situations

35-AW33-5244

DEVELOPMENT OF GIS BASED COMMUNITY HEALTH INFORMATION SYSTEM

PROF. SAJID AHMAD[23]

Better health condition is primary component to human happiness and well-being which plays a pivotal role in socio-economic progress as well as in prosperity of any society as healthy population lives longer, more productive and prosperous life. Promoting and protecting health is essential to human welfare.

As far as the global health conditions are concerned, every region of the world is facing a number of problems of poor health conditions. The recent surveys and empirical evidences reveal some astonishing facts. According to authentic reports, 1 billion people in the world deprived of any access to proper heath care systems. Approximately 36 million people lose their lives every year due to non-communicable diseases, such as cardiovascular disease, cancer, diabetes and chronic lung diseases. World’s total population is 7,273,891,815. Around 44% of under-five deaths occurred.45 % of deaths among under-five children is the result of under nutrition.

Pakistan as third world country is facing more problematic conditions of health and hygiene and it becoming serious day by day from last many decades. Poor health conditions in Pakistan might be assessed by observing various factors including, inadequate chunk of annual budget for health facilitation, lack of awareness, poverty and illiteracy, availability of medicines on expensive rates, poor precautionary measurements of hygiene, lack of modern technology and apparatus for serious surgeries and operations, high inflation, inefficient and unaffordable private sector hospitals.

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Health information System is an effort to collect, process and reports information spatially related to health which will help in decision making for public health safety. Health information system includes information about diseases, patience and healthcare centers. GIS with Health Information provide tools to analysis community health keenly. Location based information can be collected on individual basis. Spatial Analysis on this information opens many doors for decision makers and stake holders to increase public health.

GIS has great potential for complex issues solving and provide communication among public health staff, managers, and policy or decision makers by summarizing large amount of tabular data into understandable maps according to the requirement of the program and policies. During public health related emergencies it can be prove a powerful tool. Impact of place on some health issues is critically important and GIS is very reliable in this situation. GIS can pinpoint those areas where health demands more concentration. From a public health dataset we can analyze the patterns of a disease.

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