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Editor's Note

The ISSRA Papers (The Journal of Governance and Public Policy) 2nd Half 2014 is in your hands. The Journal has been able to attract seasoned writers, who have contributed policy relevant papers in this edition and they are likely to contribute in future as well. The publication of the Journal has been possible with encouraging support of the Departments of Govt of Public Policy and Leadership & Management Sciences (Faculty of Contemporary Studies, NDU). The Brief summary of papers and their contributors is given in the succeeding paragraphs.

The first paper 'Best Human Resource Management Practices: A Short-Sighted Managerial Approach towards Paradigm Shift', has been contributed by Mr. Kashif Zaheer and Dr Muhammad Bashir Khan. This paper aims at human resource capacity building & organization management. The writers present different paradigm of management by applying the human resource practices, to analyze organizational structures as well as performance at large.

The second paper 'The Brewing Conflict over Kabul River; Policy Options for Legal Framework' is contributed by Ms. Iffat Pervaz and Dr. M. Sheharyar Khan. The study aims at studying the conflict over Kabul River. Pakistan and Afghanistan both are neighbouring countries but there is no treaty between them about water sharing. Afghanistan wants to make reservoirs over Kabul River which would limit the supply of water towards Pakistan.

The third paper 'Institutionalization of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan', is written by Muhammad Yahhya Maqbool and Dr. Shahzad Hussain. This paper critically analyzes the

institutionalization process of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan, the vulnerability to natural disasters and policy implementation. The paper also examines the lack of sensitization in the implementation of productive DRM in its actual form.

The fourth paper 'Evolving 'Alienation' Concept – Implications for Pakistan University Youth' is written by Muhammad Ilyas. The article aims at different facets of alienation while highlighting the impacts on social and educational situations. The motive is to examine the alienation behaviour among university students, which concludes that social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness are core factors which contribute as the causes of alienation.

The fifth paper 'A Recourse to the Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan - Borrowing Sociological Narratives in Contemporary Era', written by Ms. Mahroona Syed discusses the civil military relations within the ambit of sociological approach. In the current era, the Pakistani nation needs unity more than the previous times, the author concludes.

The sixth paper 'Gwadar Port as Emerging Energy Corridor for China's Economic Development: Opportunities and Challenges', has been written by Syed Waqas Haider Bukhari and Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht. This paper critically examines the importance of Gwadar port as it is located on an important geo-strategic location and it has increased the interdependence between China and Pakistan. It was constructed with the help of China, and she wants to use a corridor which would support her economic development.

The seventh paper 'Evolutionary Transformation of Religious Extremism and Terrorism: An Analysis of Fata-Pakistan', is written by Muhammad Rafique. The paper examines the phenomenon of

terrorism and extremism as well as militancy in Federally-Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan. The writer also describes the role of US invasion in Afghanistan and gave recommendations to eliminate the menace of terrorism in Pakistan.

At the end, the Editor extends his profound gratitude to all the writers and readers for pre-posing their trust in ISSRA Papers. Wish you all the best of luck.

A Recourse to the Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan - Borrowing Sociological Narratives in Contemporary Era

(Ms. Mahroona Hussain Syed)*

Abstract

The Civil-Military relations debate is largely being discussed here with a political science approach to the issue which mostly presents a biased picture, since it only analyses the relations amongst the power elite. Such an approach unnecessarily necessitates the urge amongst stakeholders to indulge in an uncalled-for power struggle to assert their legitimacy or authority. This article argues that the indicators usually chosen to describe state of CMR in Pakistan, like regime type, presence of democracy, legitimacy granted by local or international community, control of one institution by another etc., may not be sufficiently valid. It is proposed that a more comprehensive sociological approach should instead be adopted for looking into the issue, especially when looking into the relations of the armed forces viz-a-viz civilian part. In this era when nation needs unity more than ever before as a matter of public policy, further studies need to be conducted to bring forth more accurate analysis of the reality on-ground.

Key Words: *political, necessitates, legitimacy, democracy, legitimacy, sociological approach, CMR*

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Prelude/Introduction

Even a cursory glance at the historical trajectory of political events in Pakistan would reveal a past akin more to a *catalogue* of misfortunes and blunders, achievements and shows of resilience by various segments of Pakistani society to any avid reader. When it comes to living, Pakistani nation has hardly ever come out of 'interesting times'- as ancient Chinese might have meant in their parlance. In its short history, Pakistan has seen all, literally, - from getting on the verge of financial bankruptcy to wars with neighbors and within its own boundaries; and last but not the least, tumultuous transitions of governments, no matter whether by elections or military takeovers. Prophets of doom have consequently never failed in predicting the future of the still young nation as a '*failed state*'. The situation turns far more critical when every single incident in the history of Pakistan is seen in the context of, and sometimes even as a result of, a perceived inter-institutional struggle aimed at tilting the balance of power favorably towards either of them. Hence, the perennial debate on Civil-Military Relations (CMR) in Pakistan always remains the *cause célèbre*, for a description of any scenario.

The approach, admittedly, is a very convenient one - to ascribe all ills to any observable entity or phenomenon that catches the media glare, especially when it involves the political and military top brass. More often than not, the military is chastised for 'taking over', by the political elite, sending negative vibes to the society in general that the CMR are deteriorating in this country. And then, as a result, it would seem as if the entire edifice of the state has fallen apart, like a house of cards, or so will be the impression given to the man on the street in Pakistan.

Thus, the most basic question still remains the most relevant: Have the Civil - Military Relations been sour in Pakistan over the years? The usual line of arguments begins from the presupposition that these are and have remained strained over the years¹ and there is a need to improve them. One couldn't agree more with the second assertion, since there is presumably always a room for improvement in the very nature of things. However, it is being argued here that such narratives are demoralizing and exclusionary in essence, for they ignore the societal input on the issue.

Therefore, this article attempts to question the first notion posed above through the eyes of a sociologist, thereby giving the central assertion that, barring a very few number of occasions, the Civil-Military relations have mostly remained very strong in Pakistan. This assertion comes on the premise that most studies focus on a partial approach of political science for looking at CMR in Pakistan, at the cost of ignoring other more encompassing and comprehensive sociological alternatives on the issue. With a little change in lens, one can find an altogether new perspective of defining and describing the problem at hand, which in the current case is the civil – military relation in Pakistan. This article questions as to why CMR are always taken to be a problem of political science discourse and not the sociological discourse? The inherent predicament with framing of arguments in such a way is that it gives a very biased view of the situation on the ground.

Repeated instances of media furor over incidents like, to quote just a few, Memo - gate scandal, exchange of strongly - worded

¹See "Civil-Military Relations in Contemporary Pakistan," *Survival*,40, no.2 (Summer 1998): 96-113,accessed December 13, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.1998.10107840>.

statements amongst two important Cabinet members of ruling PML (N)² and an ISPR press release regarding the COAS visit to SSG Headquarters at Tarbela on 7th April, 2014³; and conspiracy theories regarding Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf dharnas (sit-ins) etc provided fresh impetus for writing this article. Certainly, over the years, Pakistan has become accustomed to such political situations at home. With the dawn of a new era of strengthening democratic norms in the society, the civil - military relations are being tested once again, as the institutions try to define their domain. The situation becomes more acute when the war of words involves dignity of institutions like military and judiciary, thereby negatively influencing the process of democratization.

Understanding the Enigma of ‘Civil-Military Relations (CMR)’

One must begin by understanding the concept of CMR. There is hardly any consensus amongst academia over how CMR can be defined. It is still a relative and yet to be refined concept, reason being that, as written by Jon Rahbek - Clemmensen, this field of study does not have a ‘coherent system of definitions and causal relations’ which is necessary for developing any concrete analysis⁴.

²Kamran Yousaf, “Controversial remarks: Khawaja Asif may lose defence portfolio,” *The Express Tribune*, April 14, 2014.

³Press Release by Inter Services Public Relations no. PR75/2014-ISPR., April 7, 2014, accessed December 17, 2014, https://www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp?o=t-press_release&date=2014/4/7/.

⁴Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen, “Beyond ‘The Soldier and the State - *the Theoretical Framework of Elite Civil-Military Relations*,” (PhD thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), 2013), accessed December 25, 2014, <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/782/>.

Divergence between Political Science and Sociological perspectives

Amongst several definitions of the concept of CMR, many somehow come singularly from political science discourse. However, the one which appears more comprehensive is, in the words of Vladimir Rukavishnikov and Michael Pugh, “the relationship between civilians (people without arms), the society at large, and the military (the people with arms).⁵ This very definition of CMR needs to be understood before contemplating on any argument on civil-military relations especially regarding Pakistan.

First and foremost, this definition represents CMR as a function of the whole society and not particularly one or two segments of it, stating CMR as not merely an interaction between military and political elite, as is the case with the political science approach to the issue. Civil-Military relations from the sociological perspective do not mean *only* the relations between the Government-of-the-day and the top military hierarchy. Since, the state itself is a creation of a society; all systems of society are a creation of the society too. Therefore, the Government, the parliament, the judiciary, the bureaucracy are all what members of a society desire for themselves in order to manage their day-to-day affairs. Similarly, the Armed Forces of Pakistan are an institution which is the creation of the society itself, just like the general political system of a state. Their role and functions, organization and structure, all must be seen as a creation and product of the society, just like other institutions; and not in isolation as some independent and self-growing, autonomous

⁵Vladimir O. Rukavishnikov and Michael Pugh, “Civil-Military Relations,” in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, ed. Guiseppe Caforio (New York: Kluwer Academic, 2003), 131-149.

entity. It means that in case either situation exists, the inter-institution harmony - or friction for that matter - this does not per se symbolize, or is representative of, the state of affairs for the whole of the society.

Secondly, it is equally fallacious to be selective in choice of indicators while representing the state of CMR in a country. For example, one must ask whether presence of democracy, or military takeovers, civilian control of military etc completely depict and express the nature of civil-military relations in a country. At the same time, one must distinguish if civilian control of military is an indicator of good civil-military relations in a state or it is actually a desired end state transcending the ambit of the civil-military relations debate? A rational academic discussion would have difficulty in borrowing such an assumption. Needless to point out that many a writer do actually take civilian control of military to be the sole indicator for good CMR in a country like Pakistan. Therefore, the usual string of arguments goes like - military forces should be under civilian control, and civilian control can only come through democracy. Therefore, since there are repeated military takeovers, there can be no democracy and no civilian control on the military which only means that state of CMR is bad in Pakistan. Only if democracy is allowed to function smoothly, it will mean that CMR are strong in Pakistan and conversely, rule by military dictatorship means the CMR are weak in Pakistan. This line of reasoning must be questioned here. Is the style of government, in other words regime type, or absence of military coup, indicator of good CMR? In other words, how does civilian rule, especially democracy, come to be the only indicator of positive relations

between civilians and the military? It is indeed unfair to portray so, specifically in the case of Pakistan.

Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: Playing Another Zero-Sum Game

Regardless of what version or interpretation of history one subscribes to, the history of Pakistan's turbulent political past shows that Pakistan remained unsettled on any particular form of government and kept shifting between democracy and repeated military takeovers. This, according to the perception of many in the civil society, marks the genesis of the problem of tumultuous political history of Pakistan. According to popular perception, a legacy of soured relations thus, still persists, creating a void between the civil and military cadres of the country. However, one may point out that the problem at hand should be understood keeping in view all the complexities and intricacies of the power relations within the Pakistani societal setup.

Unfortunately, as hinted above, the increasing predisposition among many from the intelligentsia and political leadership is to see the *problématique* in terms of, what political scientists would call, *elite civil-military relations*, and not in terms of *societal civil-military relations*. Such a Huntingtonian approach⁶ to perceive reality is, at best, myopic, since it ignores the importance of dynamics of power relations that shape societies; and which, in their essence, emanate from the very fabric of the society. For example, what grants power to the military forces of Pakistan, is not merely the barrel of the gun. It is most definitely the society itself

⁶Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 3.

which grants it the social legitimacy to make it as effective and pervasive as the sole guarantor of security of the state as per the Constitution of 1973⁷. A Janowitzian approach for explaining the nature of CMR in Pakistan⁸ therefore would have been equally valid for all practical purposes.

From that angle, if the will of the people of a country is the real gauge of civil-military relations, it could be measured for example, through people's participation in the elections. If so, then, the less-than 50 % total voters' turnout in 6 out of 10 general elections held in Pakistan since 1970, should actually tell us of people's loss of faith in their electoral system.⁹Such a fact, in fact, should put doubts on the argument of masses in Pakistan being in favor of democracy. The demand for Nizam-i-Adal in Swat, as later signed by former President Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, the calls from different hapless segments of society to armed forces to come to the rescue of common man once political leadership fails to deliver; endless surveys taken by international agencies proving the popularity and people's unflinching faith in them,¹⁰ along with long queues on

⁷See Article 245 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973.

⁸See Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960).

⁹The total voters' turn-out in general elections held from 1977 -1985 was: 55.02% (1977), 52.93%(1985), *PILDAT*, "Proposal on Election Reforms," accessed December 27, 2014,http://www.pildat.org/cgep/Research_Publications.asp/ and 42%(1988), 46%(1990), 39%(1993), 35% (1997), 40%(2002), 44%(2008), 53%(2013), *Gallup Pakistan*, "Report#1, The New Tide of Voter Turn-Out in Pakistan's National Election: 2013," accessed December 27, 2014, info@gallup.com.pk/.

¹⁰Just for example, Pew Global Survey (2013) shows nearly 79% of the total 82% population covered in their survey considers Pakistan armed forces' role in the country to be positive. This is also an indicator that armed forces enjoy widespread support and social legitimacy given by the masses. The survey report titled, "On Eve of Elections, a Dismal Public Mood in Pakistan," accessed December 24, 2014,

recruitment centers of armed forces do not bear testimony to the view that people of Pakistan see their armed forces as usurpers of their political rights as propounded by many, instead of deliverers.

The purpose of putting forth such arguments is not to propose that people of Pakistan want military dictatorship per se, but merely to highlight that the indicators depicting societal undercurrents should not be segregated and isolated from the central debate on the nature of civil-military relations in Pakistan.

Does ‘Civilian’ mean Political leadership only?

Also, one would question as to why in any discussion on specifically *elite* Civil - military relations, the term ‘civilians’ is employed to mean the politicians of a country only while judiciary, bureaucracy, media, intelligentsia and academia are ignored as well as people on the street who all make up the civilian population.

In any assessment of CMR in Pakistan, role of all segments must be seen on equal footing along with the role of politicians. For example, it must not be forgotten that in the early days of Independence, it was the bureaucratic rule which held the reins of power and resulted in similar political chaos as has been characteristic of the political situation in Pakistan since ages. Tahir Karman, for example calls the early years of Pakistan as the ‘decade of the *bureaucratic*’ instead of the ‘democratic/civilian rule’¹¹. Another argument would take into account the Doctrine of Necessity, quite regularly invoked by the Judiciary¹² to uphold the legitimacy of army actions - a practice that made its way right from

<http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2013/05/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Pakistan-Report-FINAL-May-7-20131.pdf>

¹¹See Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, 2008), 11.

¹²Ibid.,11.

Justice Munir to Justice Irshad Ali Khan and even Justice Iftikhar M Chaudhry, with very few exceptions otherwise. Also, in case of military takeovers, there would always be some mainstream politicians who would hail the armed forces for their actions. In fact, some would readily join the military-led governments once proffered an opportunity. Such a situation, contrary to commonly portrayed perception, shows very strong CMR in Pakistan.

On Elite CMR and Civilian Control over Military

It is pertinent to note that the trend among many writers in Pakistan is to pre-suppose that civil - military relations almost synonymously mean civilian control of the military which is based on a flawed logic. There is no denying the fact that the elite CMR are of indisputable importance but to extend these an importance beyond the will and reach of the people of a society and confining these to only 'civilian control over military' is rather unfair, especially in this society which is experiencing an increasing disconnect between haves and have-nots.¹³

Also, in order to understand the context of the problem at hand, the power relations, whether existing or emerging, in the world outside the state of Pakistan must be taken due cognizance of. The regional compulsions, geo - strategic scenarios, role of non-state actors, strategic position in the international arena, all take away

¹³See Mahroona Hussain Syed, *The Nature of Dependency in the Socio-Economic Development of Pakistan: An Exploratory Study Into The Compulsive And Voluntary Dependency Affecting Pakistan's Socio-Economic Development*, (LAP. Lambert Acad, 2010), https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=MI2yuAAACAAJ&dq=the+nature+of+dependency+in+the+socio-economic+development+of+pakistan:+an+exploratory+study+into+the+compulsive...&hl=en&sa=X&ei=_eCsVKyUJpCXuATBk4HIDQ&ved=OCBoQ6AEwAA.

much of the independence of action from actors within the state and have a stark influence on elite and societal CMR in the country.

Intertwinement of Concepts of Elite and Societal CMR

As the elite CMR and societal CMR are inherently intertwined concepts, none of these can be understood in isolation without looking into the other aspect. As Jon Rahbek - Clemmensen opined, the society's power relations must be understood in order to grasp the elite power relations¹⁴. The source of power for the armed forces, through which they draw their legitimacy, comes from their popularity and acceptance amongst the polity. What constitutes as 'legitimacy' is by definition, simply a 'recognition of the right to govern'¹⁵. Thereby, one may argue that the social legitimacy which an army requires in particular circumstances is, therefore, never required in Pakistan Army's case, for it has always been there. The geo-strategic compulsions, as alluded to above, along with the internal political mayhem caused by political leadership's failures, corruption and self - serving ruling elite, comprising mainly the landed aristocracy, coupled with ever-present hostile neighbours, Pakistan's overwhelming pre-occupation with fighting one war or another, actually made the armed forces more acceptable in the eyes of public. Therefore, the problem may not be studied in terms of legitimacy at all. On top, preceding such a mix of circumstances in Pakistan is the colonial past along with being home to diversified ethnicities. The callous disregard for socio-cultural realities, ethnic distribution and more humanitarian concerns at the time of

¹⁴See Clemmensen, "Beyond 'The Soldier and the State.'"

¹⁵Jean-Marc Coicaud, *Legitimacy and Politics: A Contribution to the Study of Political Right and Political Responsibility*, trans. David Ames Curtis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10.

demarcation of boundaries by the British Raj set the stage for a complex and largely defensive posture in the strategic thinking of the powers at play in Pakistan. From Independence to becoming a key ally in the War on Terror, and later itself becoming a victim of global power politics, Pakistan remained grappling with existential threats to its security and sovereignty. In fact, partial justification behind having so-called *heavy* defence burden in Pakistan comes from these factors. It initiated a perennial debate among Pakistan's intelligentsia who consider it another opportunity to castigate the armed forces and see it in the light of CMR debate. Pakistan's forces are fighting on multiple fronts and one must not forget that the quantum of effort, force and equipment required is absurdly huge. However, the money available does not commensurate with the sum that is needed for achieving the Herculean task it has been assigned¹⁶. Even if one were to compare the defence burden with other countries of the world, four-fifths of the military expenditures of the whole world, according to SIPRI estimates of 2013,¹⁷ are undertaken by only 15 states of the world, including India, our next-door neighbor, while Pakistan stands nowhere, even though it is facing far graver challenges to its security, at home and outside its borders, than most of the above since the day it joined the West's War on Terror.

¹⁶Mahroona Hussain Syed, "Economic Growth and Military Effectiveness: An Empirical Study of Pakistan's Military from 1991-2010," (MPhil thesis, National Defence University (NDU), 2013).

¹⁷"The share of world military expenditures of the 15 states with highest expenditure in 2013," *SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)*, accessed December 14, 2014, <http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex-graphs-for-data-launch-2014/The-share-of-world-military-expenditure-of-the-15-states-with-the-highest-expenditure-in-2013.png>.

Problems with using the Elite CMR Lens

Since many people see these issues through the lens of CMR, they are prone to criticizing the size, the budget, the income-generating activities of the armed forces as an effort by them to build themselves up as corporate entities, so as to maintain control over the Government. On a similar note, since democracy is the perceived ideal of the citizenry, it is argued that military takeovers could be averted, had the army been cut down in terms of size and budget, and itself had concentrated more on professionalism. However, the critics are careful enough not to mention the amount of taxes submitted to the national exchequer by these so-called corporate entities in a culture where tax evasion is the rule of the day. The subsidies otherwise given by the Government to its failing public enterprises in every budget, arising out of maladministration and corruption, also find no mention in such debates. Given the limited budget, how does the intelligentsia propose that armed forces of Pakistan should take care of their officers who retire at young ages into a world of increasing unemployment? How come the numerous housing societies of many Government ministries, for example, the Railways Housing Society is shown to be more legitimate than DHA (Defence Housing Authority)?

Besides, it must be pointed out that the armed forces do not decide the volume / strength of their forces. It is for the society in general and the Government in specific to decide on it. Same is the case with the size of the budget. It is indeed the Government and the parliament that finally allocate defence budget to the armed forces. The Public Accounts Committee is another forum which can keep an eye on money going to defence forces. The failure of successive parliaments in Pakistan to enact laws and develop

mechanisms and capacities to maintain oversight on defence budgets should not be blamed upon the armed forces.

However, if such an argument is to be seen in the context of CMR, that the successive Parliaments agreed to the demands of the armed forces and did not care to venture into this domain, then in that case, doesn't it only indicate presence of even stronger *elite* CMR in Pakistan?

On Authoritarianism and Power Struggle

Another counter argument usually raised against above opinion is that the military rule in Pakistan is too authoritarian which grants less say to the common man, as against during civilian rule. Without justifying authoritarianism, it must still be pointed out that authoritarian rule was always a legacy in the territories included in Pakistan today, whether by the British, the feudal landlords-turned politicians or the military leadership. The British were more interested in controlling and maintaining law and order in the area than providing socio-economic progress to the people. The colonialists took pride in introducing the notion of democracy to the third world including the Subcontinent but their overarching fixation with maintaining strict control over subjects is evident from the fact that they introduced 'restricted adult franchise'¹⁸ for holding elections and not the universal adult franchise which India and Pakistan later adopted. Once Pakistan came into being, it merely borrowed ideas (including the Government for India Act, 1935) from the British and the system of governance that emerged

¹⁸Hassan Askari Rizvi, "A Narrative of Pakistan's Nine Elections (1970-2008)," in *PILDAT (Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, Report on 'The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan,' (May 2013): 11.*

consequently fostered more authoritarianism than genuine democracy. Then why to blame any one particular segment of the society? If at all, Pakistan failed in some way, it was a collective failure where no one can claim not being guilty. And if it is a success story, again it is a collective feat, to be rejoiced and built upon.

In fact, if style of Government and the performance on economic front entailed by it, could be taken as one gauge for good governance in case of Pakistan, to quote Dr Ishrat Hussain, ex-Governor of State Bank of Pakistan, there is hardly any difference amongst civil or military rule in Pakistan in terms of style of governance or in terms of performance on socio-economic front.¹⁹ The type of democracy that Pakistan has is a typically elitist democracy where the electorate has no choice but to choose from a group of 3000 elite families, most of which are feudal lords and/or their kith and kin. It turns out that the political leadership one way or the other comes from the same group all the time, hence the authoritarian style of governance. In case of military forces, the style is again authoritarian because of the strict command & control structures that they have. They have made mistakes but not any more than their civilian counterparts. Was Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto not a dictator in his own right as General Zia-Ul-Haq was? Both of them introduced their own paradigms (Islamic socialism and Islamic conservatism respectively) to ensure legitimacy for their rule on the basis of centralization of power and personal control of affairs of the state of Pakistan? The issue of

¹⁹Dr. Ishrat Hussain, "The Role of Politics in Pakistan Economy," *Journal of International Affairs*, 63, no.1, (March 2010): 1-8, <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/role-politics-pakistans-economy/>.

authoritarianism in Pakistan influences in any case since the democracy Pakistan has, is an elitist democracy, comprised mainly of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. On the other hand, the military derives its knack for authoritarianism through the Command and Control Structure which is a part of its very organization. Does every ruler not try to consolidate his power? Then why accuse only one particular for the alleged Bonapartism? It must be pointed out here that ever since the 1973 constitution was passed, there have been around 35 amendments in it till 2011 and not surprisingly, majority of them deal with power relations. Admittedly, the famed article 58/2-B was added into the Constitution during a military regime, but do we ever reflect that the military ruler used it only once while it was used four times by civilian Presidents, all dismissing their Governments on charges of corruption? If the military takeover is to be lamented, then the transfer of power from one civilian rule to another was not smooth either in Pakistan.

At this point, one might as well question the logic of considering the establishment of Democracy in Pakistan as the panacea for all troubles and to hail it as a sacrosanct ideal. Democracy may be a genuine ideal or end goal for a polity but only if it is seen as the harbinger of human welfare in a country. Unfortunately, the historical evidence may not support such an assertion, on the grounds that many of the democratic welfare states in the developed world originated in authoritarian rule.

Not-so-surprisingly, if grant of political legitimacy to a regime by the international community is to be taken as an indicator, not democracy but political expediency of the great powers determines if a regime is to be dealt with as true representative of a polity or not. Away from rhetoric, in case of Pakistan, one would really

question if the international community ever really favored any particular style of Government, i.e. either democracy or dictatorship in Pakistan. Whosoever could be arm-twisted by them was useful for them and given legitimacy there and then. Was President Musharraf any less legitimate a ruler in the eyes of the international community once he decided to take part in WoT than the elected political leaders are?

In all honesty, as far as Pakistan is concerned, any particular style of government would be desirable only if it delivers and performs its prime duty which is to give its people their rightful, i.e. socio-economic uplift and 'security' in every sense of the word. After all, what should be the end-goal of a government? Either to be democratic or to deliver and ensure human security comprehensively? Shouldn't provision of welfare to the masses be the only defining criteria to judge any government's performance? If a civil Government is able to deliver the goods, it is most definitely a more desirable state, if not equally so. The armed forces have, in any way, enough already on their platter to worry for and would like to see a prosperous and well-governed Pakistan as much as any other citizen would desire. Therefore, any debate on civil-military relations in the context of regime type in a society must be seen in that context too.

The problem, in all probability lies somewhere else. Not having been able to serve our people is actually a collective failure and not a fault of merely one Government/ institution or the other. Not to justify the military takeovers but merely to bring to light the inadequacies emanating from existing electoral process and constitutional mechanisms citing the above examples; had the

politicians put their house in order²⁰, there would be no chasm created and no calls for the armed forces to take over the reins and deliver the people from the tyranny of the political leadership. Tocqueville's remarks in *Democracy in America*, very much represent the thinking of the military mind when they watch the country falling into an abyss of bad governance and listen to the people of their country calling them to takeover:

'When I refuse to obey an unjust Law, I do not contest the right of the majority to command, but I simply appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of mankind.'²¹

From a different perspective, for all those who are bent upon portraying a negative view of history of CMR in Pakistan, it is often argued that political instability has affected Pakistan's economic progress. Interestingly, Pakistan has on the whole managed to achieve an average of about 5% annual growth rate throughout its history which should actually reflect positively on the state of CMR in Pakistan. Had there been chaos and belligerence between the civil and military top brass, this feat would have certainly been impossible.

The Role of CMR in Decision Making Regarding Nuclear Technology:-

Similarly, if state of CMR could be seen in terms of the decisions taken in Pakistan over the decades regarding its strategic assets, the greatest success of strong CMR in Pakistan comes in the form of the decisions taken by its civil and military leadership on the issue of

²⁰"Speedy justice need of the hour," *The Dawn*, December 29, 2014, accessed December 16, 2014, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1153781/speedy-justice-need-of-the-hour>.

²¹Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (London: Everyman's Library, 1945), 264-286.

nuclear technology, which can singularly serve as the best example and a beacon of hope for the citizens in this connection. There is a plenty of evidence to show that there has been no difference of opinion on matters pertaining to nuclear program and related matters in Pakistan. It was a program started by a civilian Prime Minister, run by eminent civilian scientists, strictly protected by the armed forces of Pakistan and guarded as an article of faith by each and every successive government, whether military or civilian. It would have been better if instead of painting doomsday scenarios of perceived deteriorated CMR in Pakistan, citing Memo-gate and Mehran-gate scandals, similar other incidents of bickering and mistrust amongst individuals; and creating unnecessary media hype on mere differences in opinions etc., such an extraordinary show of unity, faith and discipline had been celebrated by all and sundry.

Conclusion

Given the range of existential threats to its security, Pakistan could not have sailed smoothly through the turmoil. But defying all conventional wisdom, it however, resiliently survived - and survived well. However, the constant propping up of the narrative of weak civil-military relations is burdensome for the nation since it merely depicts the nature of elite power relations and not those of the common man. Also, it portrays a negative image to other communities in the world about a weak failing state where inter-institutional warfare is a constant reality. Such a narrative needs to be replaced by a narrative of strong societal civil-military relations. While any argument given here is not meant to give *carte blanche* to any stakeholder for transgressing the constitutionally-given mandate of its respective institution, still, the need of the hour is to bury the past and look ahead. An institutionalization of decision-

making powers through further reforms and dissemination of strong supporting narratives is the need of the hour. The window of opportunity opened by quickly evolving national consensus on National Action Plan must be cashed in time to harness the potential benefits of strong civil-military relations also.

Best Human Resource Management Practices: A Short-Sighted Managerial Approach towards Paradigm Shift

(Mr. Kashif Zaheer & Dr Muhammad Bashir Khan)*

Abstract

Human Resource Management (HRM) practices hold a vital role in enhancing and sustaining performance of any organization. Institutional capacity building is highly dependent on these HRM practices and their proper implementation. An organization can achieve its objectives and goals through these. Mostly these practices include HR Planning, Job Analysis, Job Design, Salaries, Performance Management, Trainings, Recruitment and Retention strategies, Job Security, etc

On the basis of my observation, personal experience as HR manager and extract of literature from various studies, a set of five best practices is being taken for this study. These include Job analysis and design, Recruiting and Selection, Training and Development, Performance management as well as Employee relations. Any Organization working in whatever sector - public or private can shift its paradigm from stagnant to active organization by effectively applying best HR practices.

Key Words: *Human Resource Management, Job Analysis, Recruitment, Performance Management, Employee Relation, Recruitment and Retention strategies*

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Introduction

Human resource (HR) is the most significant asset of an organization. All the other resources are used via HR. Although it's not very easy task to hire people and engage them in flow of resources. Human resources are not used instead they are managed. People working in an institution are unique resources. Haslinda A. (2009) terms it a process in which an organization manages its human talent to achieve their objectives. By process she means all the HRM practices, i.e. staffing, training, employee relations and job analysis. An organization needs to manage its resource to stand at competitive position. Kemal (2003) viewed that now it is well recognized that institutions matter in the growth process both directly and indirectly. As we earlier discussed, institutions are dependent on effective HRM system for better services. Successful recruiting and hiring efforts result in the development of a work force that not only benefits employees, supervisors, and departments but also contributes to the lasting greatness of any exceptional institution.

In Pakistan HRM sector is not new but unfortunately it has been highly ignored. As a result of which our institutions are unable to deliver services up to requirement of consumers. Similarly private sector is also not very advanced in utilizing HRM techniques. There is a dire need to make an analytical review of HRM practices currently existing in Pakistan both in public and private sector.

HRM in Pakistan carried out by public and private sectors is inadequate and responsively unable to provide required public service delivery. The right match of HRM practices adopted by public and private organizations can enhance the institutional

capabilities. An urgent need arises to make an exploratory study in perspective of best HR practices.

Main objectives of this study are to explore and understand the role of HRM practices in relation to public and private organizations. Analysis of this study will identify the following selected HRM practices and their implications. Analyze and evaluate best HR practices as well as to make recommendations is also one of the main objectives of this research.

Bridging the persistent gap in HRM practices

Organizational performance is highly dependent on these practices. Mark and Susan (1995) claimed that, if HR practices are properly organized and well functioned in an organization then one can build a perception that these are the HR practices which are contributing towards direct and economic progress of said organization. HRM practices influence the skills of employees, recruiting process helps in creating pools of deserving applicants and later on training helps in employees' development. Kathryn (2002) concluded his study in words that, these are the HR practices which contribute in maximizing the gains of organizations when one such firm adopts contemporary HR practices prevailing in the competitive sectors. According to Garry (2008) all the policies & practices which are intervening in carrying out the "people" or HR aspect of a managerial position along with recruiting, filtrating, training, compensating, and appraising is known as Human resource management.

Jeffrey (1995) coined seen HRM practices:-

- Employment or job security
- Selectivity during recruitment
- Employee participation

- Comparatively high wages
- Extensive training
- Reduced status distinctions

Raghubar (2009) proposed 14 important HRM practices as mentioned below:-

- HR Planning
- Job Analysis
- Job Design
- Salaries
- Motivation
- Welfare
- Industrial relations
- Communication
- Evaluation of job
- Performance & promotion
- Safety and Health of staff
- Orientation and placement mechanism
- Training & Development of recruited staff
- Recruitment and Selection process

Raghubar's deduced fourteen practices were apparently double to Jeffrey but after an in - depth and comparative analysis of work done by both researchers one can easily conclude the repetition of thoughts.

According to a survey conducted by SHRM-BNA on HRM staff, budget and activities (2004) nine working areas of HRM were defined as follows:-

- Analysis and design of work
- Recruitment and selection

- Training and development
- Performance management
- Compensation and benefits
- Employee relation
- Personnel policies
- Compliance with laws
- Support for strategy

Redman and Matthews (1998) identified six HR practices similar to Jeffery in the sense of recruitment system, training and performance appraisal. But when they talked about job description they went long way by adding the word flexible and empowered job designing and maximum employee's involvement while making any change in organization working patterns. Practices proposed by Raghubar are double in number but some of them appear to be extension of practices coined by Jeffrey. SHRM-BNA (2000-01) worked on nine HR practices in which they included two new heads, for compliance with law and support for strategy. One can note here that above mentioned practices can be put under five traditional HRM practices.

Major HRM Practices

Paul (1984) indicated that the quality of new recruits depends upon an organization's recruitment practices, and that the relative effectiveness of the selection phase is inherently dependent upon the caliber of candidates attracted. Once a job analysis has been conducted, the organization has a clear indication of the particular requirements of the job, where that job fits into the overall organization structure, and can then begin the process of recruitment to attract suitable candidates for the particular vacancy.

Recruitment is not uniform across public sector professions and ranks.

Training and development is another fundamental necessity to compete in contemporary institutions and for best updated delivery of services. If HRM is unable to enhance the performance of its employees then it directly affects the organizational performance. Organization's performance is directly dependent upon the efficient working of the staff. Employees are hired, trained, placed, developed, promoted, and discharged according to organization's needs. Human resource management can also be described as achieving the organizational goals more effectively by managing the human resources of the organization. An organization can work more effectively when its fairly selected competent staff is trained, motivated and well empowered with knowledge of modern techniques. HRM works by integrating HR policies, strategies, and procedures. So one can directly link the performance or outcome of an organization with effective utilization of HRM practices.

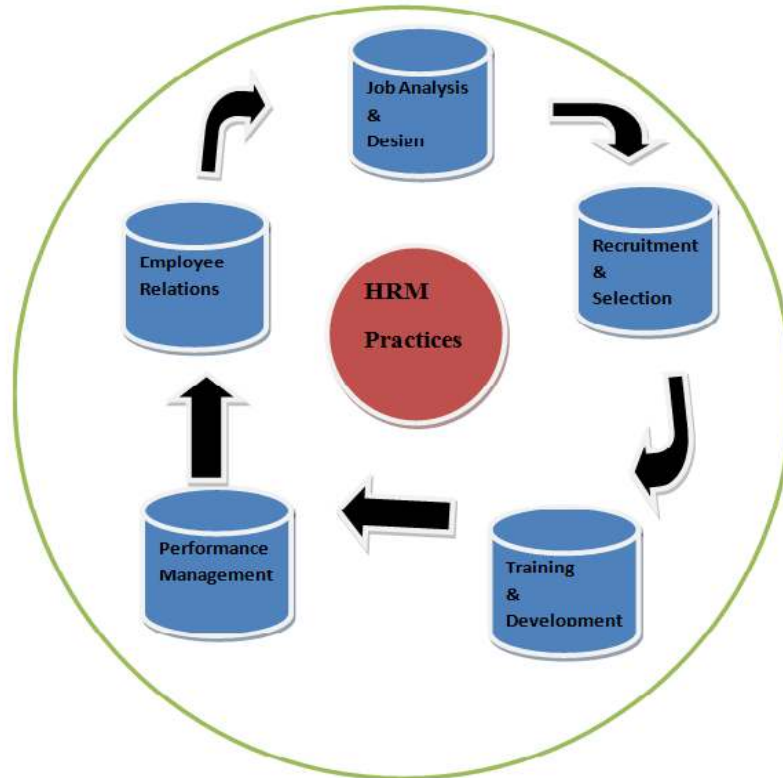
Sustained Economic as well as financial performance of any institutions is heavily dependent on effective management of working masses. As discussed earlier, different scholars defined and elaborated these management practices according to their own approach. For this study, the researchers have extracted five best practices on the basis of which it is devised that actually Human Resource management practices are overlapping and highly integrated.

These below mentioned five practices will provide an overview of all the other extensions:-

- ❖ Job analysis and design
- ❖ Recruiting and Selection

- ❖ Training and Development
- ❖ Performance management
- ❖ Employee relation

Diagrammatic view of the major Human Resource Management practices



Job Analysis and Design

Process through which all the information regarding contents, techniques, social and personal needs of job holder along with organizational requirement is gathered is known as job analysis. Procedure for job analysis is very simple and understandable.

- Observation and diary method
- Individual and group based interview method
- Questionnaire and conference based method

In observation methods, an analyst watches individual directly. In this method staff is required to write down diaries on daily basis. Individual and group based methods are most reliable methods due to direct interaction with employees. Group methods are best in getting simultaneous information regarding specific jobs. Sometimes questionnaires are developed to get some specific insights regarding some jobs. To gain expert insights it is also affective to hold issue based conference within organization or outside organization. Some experts from other organizations can also be called to get advanced methods and procedures to carry out some jobs in the contemporary world.

With reference to ESTACODE job description, job analysis and required qualification for any post should be laid down by the establishment division and concerned ministry in mutual consultation.

Secondly, the Job design can be defined as identification of contents, techniques and inter-relationship to carry out the job as per organizational requirement. While designing, personal and social needs of job holder are always kept in focus. Robert & Smith (1985) pointed out following essential influencing principles in job design. Influence in skills, task identity & significance, influence in autonomy and feedback are major contributors in job design. Influence in skills and identity relates to providing opportunities to workforce in doing diversified as well as combined work tasks. Whereas task significance means informing masses about importance of work they are carrying on in a responsible way. Autonomy figures out the working style, and feedback influence creates feedback channel.

Michael Armstrong, (2006) does have a very similar approach to Robert & Smith (1985). Michael says, autonomy, feedback, belief on significance of task, and variety in handling job tasks are of utmost value.

Training and Development

When a new employee is hired in an organization he is mostly not familiar with the process and practices of that organization. It takes time to get familiarity and in getting awareness. These are the senior employees or special trainers who train them on specific skills and essential or desirable knowledge mandatory for distinguishing performance. So it is all about training of the employee, new and existing, which makes them efficient in working style. Main purpose of training is skill empowerment, knowledge enhancement and improving individual behavior. Training is a continuous process but development is not synonymous to training. It is something different.

According to Parag Dawan (1997), human resource development refers to all those organized learned experiences which are helpful in bringing the possible designed behavioral change during a specific time. Training leads to a competitive advantage over other organizations working in same strata (Michael Armstrong, 2003). Tajammal & Rehman (2013) have identified that to survive in digital economy technologically sophisticated individuals in any organization are mandatory and these individuals can be retained and pooled by providing them essential skills and carrier related training.

Performance Management

Michael Armstrong (2006) defined Performance management (PM) as an integrated and strategic approach to organizations in

supporting persistent success by a process of improving the performance of the employees as well as enhancing capabilities of teams. Performance management is all about the organizational effectiveness. In performance management of human resources organizational effectiveness is raised by focusing on individual performance. Performance of employees means performance of organization. If somebody wants to know about employee's actions then only performance measurement can answer this very question. David et al (2013) believed that performance management being an integral and most important task of Human Resource Management is all about feedback, documentation and development. They did a great job by identifying three performance management systems (PMS):-

- Absolute PMS (APMS)
- Relative PMS (RPMS)
- Management by Objective (MBO)

Firstly, absolute performance management system (APMS) is the one in which employees' performance is measured against company's already prevailing standards. Secondly, relative performance means measures (RPMS) which judges employees with respect to other employees working in same streams. MBO, as name depicts is management by objective, and is concerned about how well allotted objectives or tasks were achieved.

Employee Relations

Labor relations, compliance with labor laws, dealing with labor unions, identifying labor needs, motivating them for efficient and loyal relations with organization, setting wages are the core concepts in employee relations. Arun & Mirza (1996, 2010) interpreted employee relation as union recognition, grievances

procedure, workers participation in management and communication with subjects. But according to Charless E. Greer (2004) negligent hiring, immigration, employment at will, drug testing and safety are the core functions in perspective of employee relation. Dessler and Verkkey (2010) identified that there are ethics, fair treatment, and just treatment which matter in employee relations. Praising for good work, suggestions and mentoring for career development, training, and fairness in all matters like appointment and dismissals lead to good relations among company, Boss, and employees. David and Stephen (2010) highlighted ethical as well as communication upward and downward as core areas of employee relation in human resource management. Ordinance for Industrial Relation 1969 was passed to resolve industrial disputes and improve labor relations. ILO Convention 87 and 98 were ratified by Government of Pakistan so this document brought a new icon for quick implementation of concerned ILO recommendations. This ordinance brought concept of minimum wage, employee access to utility services and in the other case a legal right to strike in consideration with labor union.

Amjad (1982) highlighted that Ordinance for Workers welfare 1971, Labor Laws Ordinance 1972, gave a better protection to employee's right and employer's duties and vice-versa. Again it is the duty of Human Resource Management to administer a quick consideration of legal and fundamental protection by building a reliable relation with concerned employees.

Recruiting and Selection

Recruitment and selection is most important function and practice of human resource management department. It is a process through which concerned applicants are pooled and picked as per

requirements of the organization. Laxmikanth (2001 ed 2006) defined recruitment as filling up the vacant posts. He further connoted recruitment as positive and negative. Negatively means elimination of political influence, prevention of influence, and keeping the negative elements out. Thus, positive recruitment includes aggressive search for qualified, most talented and highly competent individuals. Recruitment can also be defined as all the measures taking place in a setup in putting the right people in the right place. Recruitment can usefully be defined as “those practices and activities carried out by the organization with the primary purpose of identifying and attracting potential employees (Barber 1998).

Rehman (2012) studied recruitment as most critical segment of human resource management. Well organized and developed HR and recruitment system is helpful in effective hiring. Barber (2006) pointed out that, if an organization is investing in developing HR and recruitment systems then they are preparing their setup for acquisition of talent management. This was debated in depth for organizational productivity and adaptability in HRM activates in general and recruitment in actual

Niazi (2003) after years of experience in corporate sector, debated about the strategic importance of Human Resource Management and recruitment practices. He mentions value addition in productivity, guaranteed success in competitive business, and skill management can only be achieved by designing deliberated industry centered recruitment practices.

Suggestions and Policy Recommendations

Study highlighted imperatively best HR practices that can be helpful in shifting paradigm from a stagnant organization to active

and vibrant organization. By keeping in focus challenges faced by organization in implementing these practices, following suggestions to overcome said issues are offered.

- In Pakistan HR system is at initial stages in most of the organizations. HR operations are restricted from payroll to holidays. In order to put HR system in formal operation HRM department, both in public and private organizations ought to be mandatory, explicit, autonomous, self-regulatory with clear objectives.
- As organizations are dependent on their employees for effective operations so recruitment system must be transparent and autonomous.
- Most of the administrative and managerial operations are outdated and less relevant to contemporary world. Up to date training of HR staff is highly important for improved operations.
- Recruitment system in Pakistan is very time consuming especially in public sector organizations. HR departments can enhance their efficiency by using modern technology and recruitment tools like Skype Interview, LinkedIn profile, Face book advertisement, social media, and organizations website etc.
- Private organizations are conducting walk in interviews, Job expos, and campus hiring to pick competent and up-to-date people. Same strategy can be opted by public sector for the very reason of hiring competent staff.
- Methods of recruitment must be aligned with international standards. Most of the respondents revealed that they were

hired via advertisement in newspapers. Social media is the new and emerging source of recruitment.

- Most of the public and private sector officials are unaware regarding employment laws and legislative complications. Government should intervene with solid measures to ensure regulation of employment laws. On the other hand private organization's recruitment material should include national labor policies for their proper implementation.
- Most of the organizations are dependent on employee referrals which is ultimately affecting the talent accusation. Public sector does have the potential in hiring professional staff by adequate equal opportunity to all competent staff available in job market.
- Favoritism and nepotism are main hurdles in effective recruitment practices in both sectors. This can only be tackled with professionally developed HR department empowered enough to work under its legislative and policy jurisdiction without any enforced intervention.

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