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Editor's Note

The ISSRA Papers, (The Journal of Governance and Public Policy), 1st Half 2018, is in your hands. It is, indeed, a privilege to present a bouquet of well researched and informative papers, written by seasoned academics and research scholars. The papers cover a wide range of policy studies, which are likely to help readers gain meaningful insight about various issues, besides substantial recommendations to bring about improvement in those areas.

The first paper, 'Man's Well-being: A Need for Metaframework' has been authored by Mr Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi and Dr Sarfraz Hussain Ansari. The authors bring to fore the need for a wider framework of well-being, which should be universal in nature and encompass life of an individual as a whole.

'Impact of American War on Youth in FATA of Pakistan', is the second paper, written by Mr Sultan Maqsood & Mr Ahmed Saeed Minhas. The researchers have found that fearful feelings and hostile sentiments for the proprietors of War on Terror exist among the entire youth of South Waziristan Agency as a general phenomenon.

The third paper, 'The Accountability Conundrum of NGOs' has been authored by Dr Tahir-ul-Mulk Kahlon & Dr Rafaqat Islam. This paper attempts to explore the challenges of holding NGOs accountable in Pakistan and offers practical policy prescriptions to improve NGOs' governance and accountability.

'Countering Vacuum in Policy on Internal Displacement in Pakistan', is fourth paper by Dr Sohail Ahmad, Dr Saif ur Rehman Malik & Dr Inayat Kalim. The authors argue that Pakistan has not chalked out an overarching policy, catering for the needs of displaced persons. They attempt to highlight the vacuum in the existing policy on internal displacement and put forward viable recommendations.

The fifth paper is ‘The Power of Social Media: Negative and Positive Interpretations’, by Ms Khadija Younus. The author elucidates the vital role of social media in initiating social movements and mobilizing the collective endeavours and throws light on some of their frequent and common abuses.

‘Ethno-Regional Political Party Success in Pakistan (1970-2013): An Analysis’, is sixth paper, written by Mr Muhammad Mushtaq. This paper attempts to determine the role of ethno-regionalist parties in the politics of Pakistan, by examining their electoral performance in general elections. The research demonstrates that the influential role of ethno-regionalist parties in the politics of Pakistan will prevail until a significant shift in behavior of the national electorate occurs.

‘Controversy between Modernists and Traditionalists in Pakistan: The Case of Commission on Marriage and Family Laws, 1955’, is seventh paper, written by Dr Naila Maqsood and Dr Muhammad Jamil. In the authors’ view, the leaders steering Pakistan movement explicitly made use of Islamic symbols for mobilization of Muslim populace due to which the Muslim ulama also joined them in their struggle. However, after independence, divergence of views between the two emerged several times. One of these divergences was recorded in the case of report of the Commission on Marriage and family Laws, 1955.

The last paper is ‘Factors Influencing Counterproductive Work Behaviour in Pakistani Organisations’, by Ms Iram Tahir, Dr Akhtar Baloch and Dr Sobia Shujjat. This paper investigates the presence and frequency of interpersonal workplace aggression, organisational citizenship behaviours and counterproductive work behaviours among employees in Pakistani organisations.

At the end, the Editorial Board extends profound gratitude to all the writers, who trusted ISSRA Papers for their worthwhile contributions. We are equally indebted to experts and reviewers, who helped a great deal in the improvement of these papers.

MAN'S WELL-BEING: A NEED FOR METAFRAMEWORK

Manzoor Ahmed & Sarfraz Ansari*

Abstract

Man's well-being, with a wide array of concepts, has emerged as one of the most debated topics in the contemporary research, particularly in social sciences. In the post renaissance emphasis on humanism and reduction of ecclesiastical precepts to personal private affairs, the hedonistic concept of well-being, aimed at 'pleasure-seeking', became the prime objective of all human endeavours. However, neither utilitarian 'welfarism' nor United Nations' sponsored Human Development Index (HDI) could help ameliorate the well-being of humanity at large. Taking lead from Dr Mahbub ul Haq and Dr Amartya Sen's contribution towards enlarging the choices of people and bringing about more discernible equity in the world,² it is now being realized all around the globe that there is a need for a wider framework of well-being, which should be universal in nature, besides encompassing life of an individual as a whole. This paper argues that existing frameworks of happiness/well-being studies deal with the human life in piecemeal, whereas, man's life needs to be taken as a whole. The paper in hand attempts to present, in the light of Holy Quran, a 'Metaframework of Well-being', which is capable of transcending time and space.

Key Words: Well-being, Hedonistic, Eudaemonist, Welfare, Humanism, Metaframework

Prolegomena

The concept of man's well-being, albeit with different connotations, has always been prevalent throughout the pages of history, wherever human beings lived. Man's well-being is not merely an economic or psychological construct; it is primarily a social and moral construct, a theme which will be the main focus of this study. It is customary in contemporary research to attribute the origin of any concept in any field of knowledge to Greek philosophy, though there are numerous branches of knowledge which could find their origin in different civilizations. It is particularly so in the case of ethical and moral principles, prevalent in the world, which discernibly seem

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to emanate from religious scriptures, particularly the ones that pertain to Abrahamic faiths viz: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. However, conforming to the modern research traditions, the paper in hand is an attempt to present the Western concepts of well-being and their evolution, followed by the Quranic concept of well-being, which encompasses the essentials of teachings of all the Prophets and in the light thereof a 'Metaframework of Well-being'. The underlying assumption of the study is that prevalent models / frameworks of well-being are fragmentary in nature, which result in compartmentalization of human life and, thereby, selectivity in distributional justice as well as in the norms of equity, negatively impacting the humanity at large.

Greek Concepts of Well-being

The Greeks introduced the concept of 'Eudemonism'³, a moral philosophy; defining 'right action', which leads to well-being, carrying an essential value in one's life. It embeds within its ambit a system of 'virtue ethics', propounded by Greek philosophers, albeit carrying different connotations. A lifetime practicing of these virtues (arête) in everyday activities, subject to application of wisdom (phronesis) for resolving conflicts and dilemmas, which may arise from time to time and place to place, will entitle a person to flourish and live a good life 'eudaimonia', which is referred to in modern terminology as 'well-being'. Eudaimonia to Socrates, as described by Plato, would mean a state of happiness achieved by individual while practicing 'virtue' (the knowledge of good and evil), which ultimately results into well-being.⁴ It seems that he considered virtue as an intrinsic and necessary condition to achieve the state of eudaimonia. Socrates had a deep-seated conviction that if a person wanted to lead a good and happy (eudaimon) life, virtues such as self-control, courage, justice, piety, wisdom and related qualities of mind and soul were absolutely essential. To Socrates, a noble and virtuous life is, in fact, a happy life 'eudaimonia'. In the Meno, an ethical dialogue, in respect of wisdom and sagacity, he says, "everything that soul endeavours or endures under the

guidance of wisdom ends in happiness."⁵ In 'Apology', he chastises the Athenians for being pleasure-seeking.⁶ Plato extended the ethical standpoint of Socrates and propounded that even an evil person feels guilt while doing a wrong and ultimate happiness comes through a virtuous living. He further postulated that the rational part of soul or mind should govern the spirited, emotional and appetitive parts, in order to lead to eudaimonia.⁷ The concept came to fruition in the articulation of Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, where Aristotle argues that eudaimonia is not constituted by honour, wealth or power, but it consists of rational activity, guided by virtue over a complete life, which in Maslow's Needs Hierarchy may be taken as 'self-actualization'. This rational activity, according to Aristotle, should manifest as honesty, friendliness, rationality in judgment, pride and scientific knowledge.⁸ Epicurus, in principle, agreed with the concept of Aristotle that happiness is the highest good that should be sought after, however, he identified happiness with pleasure on the plea that pleasure is the only thing that people attach value to. This was the concept which was taken up by Hedonists in the West and which dominated the debate on well-being for centuries. However, Greek concepts of well-being were strongly influenced by Greek metaphysics, as reflected in the following assertions of Greek scholars:

"...that man is happy (eudaimon) and blessed (olbios) who, knowing all these rules, goes on with his work guiltless before the gods.....and avoids transgression".⁹

"Good sense is by far the chief part of happiness, and we must not be impious towards the gods".¹⁰

The Western Paradigms of Well-being

The concept of well-being is still evolving in the West. It began with a simplistic hedonistic concept of pleasure-seeking, in the wake of post renaissance emphasis on individual liberty, humanism and reduction of influence of Church on Western social fabric. However, passing through

growth model of development/well-being,¹¹ utilitarian welfarism,¹² UN sponsored HDI initiatives, capability approach advocated by Sen and Nussbaum, now the focus seems to be shifting towards enlarging the scope of well-being in the light of universal principles of morality viz: justice, equity, compassion and altruism. The subject of well-being has received increased attention of philosophers, psychologists and economists in last thirty years; lately it has also become a theme in policy studies, mainly due to contributions of Dr Mahbub ul Haq, Dr Sen and Nussbaum. Theories and counter-theories have emerged in philosophy, psychology and economics; covering most of the aspects of eudaimonism, hedonism and welfare economics. The major trends in conceptualization of well-being in the West are elucidated in the succeeding paragraphs.

Well-being in philosophy has been studied since the time of ancient Greeks, as it was an important theme in the philosophy of Aristotle, who described 'eudaimonia' as a 'happy and flourishing life'. Similarly, hedonistic thoughts find their origin in the writings of Epicurus. The concepts of well-being and happiness took the centre stage in the writings of 18th and 19th century philosophers, particularly Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, who presented a modern view of hedonism, as a part of their conception of theory of utilitarianism.¹³ In the contemporary world, the concept of well-being has received increased attention. Three main philosophical theories have been recognized: Hedonistic, Desire-fulfillment and Objective theories.

Hedonist Theories of Well-being

Hedonist theories propound that only 'pleasure' is intrinsically good and worth seeking and only pain is intrinsically bad and, therefore, worth avoiding.¹⁴ Well-being of an individual can be gauged from the extent that he is able to accumulate pleasure and avoid pain. Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill enshrined Hedonism in utilitarianism, wherein, the utility maximization is the ultimate objective of all human struggle. Origin of Hedonism dates back to Epicurus in 3rd and 4th century B.C., who thought,

that good life would be achieved by increasing pleasure and avoiding a state of protracted fear and suffering.¹⁵ Hedonism is further categorized in terms of 'Quantitative' and 'Qualitative Hedonism'. Quantitative Hedonism, generally referred to Bentham in modern times, postulates that the value of pleasure is gauged only by its quantity; involving indicators like duration and intensity, not by its quality.¹⁶ Qualitative Hedonism, theorized by Mill, postulates that certain pleasures are more valuable than others. A good life is, therefore, measured not in terms of intensity or duration of pleasure but the one in which the highest pleasure is more represented than the other pleasures in the list of priorities. His famous saying "*Liberty consists in doing what one desires*", alludes to these notions.¹⁷ In past thirty years, the scope of Hedonism has been expanded to a large extent; encompassing mental state theories, happiness theories of well-being, cognitive views of happiness and hybrid theories of happiness.

Desire-Fulfillment Theories

Desire-fulfillment theories, also known as preference-satisfaction theories, postulate that the quality of man's life depends on the fulfillment of desires. These theories emerged, in result of welfare economics, in 19th century. Welfare economics required to have objective criteria for evaluating well-being i.e. utility in economic subjects. Since pleasure and pain are intangible mental states of individuals, these cannot be measured and unless we have the instruments to gauge well-being in tangible form, it cannot be incorporated in welfare aspects. So, the economists came up with the concept of well-being as desire-satisfaction or satisfaction of preferences in pleasure-seeking. People can be asked to describe and rank their preferences in relation to each other, whereby, economists may measure their preferences with matching 'utility functions'. Preference-satisfaction becomes an instrument to gauge the well-being of an individual. Three types of theories of desire-fulfillment have so far been proposed: Simple Desire Fulfillment Theory, also known as Present Desire Theory, Reflective

or Comprehensive Desire-Fulfillment Theory and Informed Desire-Fulfillment Theory.¹⁸

- **Simple Desire-Fulfillment Theory (Present Desire Fulfillment Theory)**

It holds that one's well being can be measured from the extent that one is better off at present, implying that satisfaction of current desires to the fullest indicates an individual's real well-being.

- **Reflective or Comprehensive Desire Fulfillment Theories**

These theories give value to an individual's preferences, spanning life-time, which would indicate his or her well-being. These theories postulate that an individual may choose to sacrifice present short term pleasures for long term life's satisfaction as a whole. Man, a rational being, is concerned with his tomorrow as much as his today.

- **Informed Desire-Fulfillment Theories**

Informed Desire-Fulfillment Theories propound that the life would be considered better off, if all desires are fulfilled that one would have, if one were fully informed of one's situation. This theory stresses on availability of information, so that an individual can make a better choice. Information could be about alternative courses of action, intended objectives of desires, possible consequences of actions, an individual's own psychological make-up and tendencies of his behavior.¹⁹ It is assumed in Informed Desire-Fulfillment Theories that if an individual is fully informed, he would be smart enough to prioritize his desires and strive to satisfy them in a manner that fits his desires and character.

Desire-fulfillment theories are criticized for: (1) they present a very abstract, formal theory of well-being that does not tell us anything about the sources of well-being (2) they provide us with the conditions of well-being, wherein, our desires are satisfied, but do not tell us anything about the source of these desires (3) they have a difficult time accounting for so-

called defective desires, the desires that seem to be bad for one, such as base, poorly cultivated and pointless desires (4) it is thought that sometimes people get pleasure in satisfying the desires which may not be morally correct.²⁰

Objective List Theories

Objective List Theories argue that well-being is an intricate and complex concept, which may require a number of objective conditions of individuals rather than simple pleasure-seeking or desire-fulfillment. They assert that there are certain goods which contribute to man's well-being, whether we desire them or not, whether we feel pleasure out of them or not. Therefore, well-being is attained by an individual, while living a life in which the individual is in possession of all or most of the goods on the list. The list is 'objective' in the sense that the items mentioned on the list add to the value of one's life, being independent of one's tastes, attitudes, interests or characteristics. There are different lists, proposed by different theorists. A few lists are elaborated in the following paragraphs.

a. Derek Parfit's List of Objective Well-being

Parfit's list includes moral goodness, rational activity, the development of one's abilities, having children and being a good parent, knowledge, and the awareness of true beauty.²¹ Parfit's objective list seems to be influenced by renewed emphasis on well-being in 1970s under the influence of economists such as Sen and Nussbaum. However, Parfit has emphatically added moral and aesthetic dimensions in the concept of well-being, besides extending its scope to family that an individual forms part of. It is an important aspect which has not directly been included in a number of theories.

b. James Griffin's List of Objective Well-being

James Griffin's list includes accomplishment, autonomy, capability, liberty, understanding and deep personal relations.²² This theory is again heavily influenced by capability theory of Sen and Nussbaum,

however, Griffin has substantially increased its scope, by including concepts such as life-time accomplishment, understanding and deep personal relations.

c. **John Finnis' List of Objective Well-being**

John Finnis has finally come up with a list that includes life, knowledge, play, aesthetic experience, friendship, practical reasonableness and religion. Finnis' list distinguishes itself by inclusion of play, aesthetics as well as religion.²³

d. **Philip Kitcher's Bare Objective versus Explanatory Objective Theories**

Philip Kitcher has drawn a distinction between bare objective theories and explanatory objective theories.²⁴ Bare objective theories simply present a list of items, which ought to be on the list for gauging the well-being of an individual. Every item on the list independently contributes towards well-being, whereas, explanatory objective theories identify a significant or fundamental item that unifies all elements on the list to create a state whereby an individual signifies to be better off. Most of the contemporary objective theories are explanatory objective theories.

e. **Perfectionist Theories of Well-being**

Perfectionists believe that the items that are on the list would determine the well-being of an individual. The best and meaningful life is the one in which a person's full nature is realized. Therefore, these theories argue that people should strive to develop their faculties, so that they should excel in science, sports, culture and art. The most famous perfectionist theory and the earliest one was given by Aristotle, titled as 'Eudaimonia'. Aristotle believed that good for human beings is found in cultivating virtues. Thomas Hurka presented the famous '*Neo-Aristotlian Theory*' wherein, he pleads that true nature is propelled towards three types of perfections: Physical, Theoretical and Practical.²⁵ Physical perfection is the functioning of an individual's biological systems to

the optimal level, which can be best seen in athleticism. Theoretical and practical perfections are the best formation of intentions and beliefs and optimal practice on them. Therefore, well-being would be realized through perfection of our physical, theoretical and practical faculties.²⁶

f. **Martha Nussbaum's Capability Theory**

Martha Nussbaum (2000) developed a 'Capabilities Theory' of well-being, another Neo-Aristotelian Theory, which assumes that well-being is dependent on capabilities, which are real possibilities or opportunities that a person has to be or do something. Capabilities include the ability to read, be healthy, or taking care of others.²⁷ She says that she used plural 'capabilities approach' in order to stress that most important elements of people's quality of life are plural and qualitatively distinct such as health, education, bodily integrity and other aspects of human lives, and these cannot be reduced to single metric.²⁸ She enlists ten 'capabilities', which are crucial for an individual's well being: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses-imagination-thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation with other species, play and control over one's environment.²⁹ A frequent criticism to these capabilities list is that they are paternalistic in nature, which prescribe what to do and, thereby, restraining the liberty of the people, but Nussbaum says that it is her concern for liberalism that she has adopted capabilities or opportunities approach, as against the precepts of welfare economics, which are prescriptive in nature.

Happiness Theories of Well-being

Psychological happiness theories of well-being received extensive focus of research in 1950s, with emphasis on human feelings and emotions. Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers had earlier developed humanistic approach, which emphasized on human uniqueness, human potential and psychological growth. The concept of 'psychological happiness' received

impetus due to seminal work of Ed Diener, who coined the term ‘Subjective Well-Being (SWB),³⁰ and described how to measure and study it. Another development in happiness psychology in the 20th Century was the appearance of research by Csikszentmihaly,³¹ who worked on study of temperamental and personality psychology, followed by publication of *Journal of Happiness Studies* in 1999 and the book ‘*Foundations of Hedonistic Psychology*’, by Kahneman, Diener and Schwarz in 1999.³² Yet another milestone in this regard was the Martin Sligman’s Presidential Address of 1998 to American Psychological Association, which paved the way for introduction of ‘Positive Psychology’. In this address Sligman asserted that instead of focusing on mental ills of individuals, the psychology should focus on nurturing the positive talents of individual. An interesting study by Philip Brey reveals how Western intellectuals such as Rene Descartes and other post-Enlightenment writers had assumed that man with modern technology would be capable to have control on his environment and advancement in technology would by itself bring about enormous happiness for human beings. Technology did serve to bring comfort in our lives but it could not help solve the problems of humanity.³³

The scope of well-being studies extends to a number of theories propounded by economists, including welfare economists’ recent trends in developmental studies, which go beyond the traditional confines of happiness studies, including utilitarianism, UN sponsored Human Development Indices (HDIs). However, the scope of this paper does not allow further inclusion of related literature.

A Need for a Wider Framework of Well-being

The concept of man’s well-being has passed through numerous evolutionary stages in the West and it is still evolving. Starting with simplistic concepts of hedonistic pleasure-seeking to be the end state of all human activity, the scope of well-being seems to be enlarged to a great extent. The research of the last sixty-seventy years in all major academic disciplines, particularly philosophy, economics and psychology, indicates

that not only intellectuals have made discernible contribution to theory and philosophy of well-being, but governments all over the world are more conscious about the state of well-being of their citizens. Taking lead from pioneer effort of Bhutan, a number of states, including France, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and Thailand, have started to use happiness indices, instead of GDP oriented measures, to guide their national policies.³⁴ However, it is still realized that most of the studies on well-being deal with human life in piecemeal. Fragmentation and compartmentalization of life seems to be the dilemma of modern man. Modern man is a Western man, influenced by industrial materialism, seeking self-interest and pleasure, attributing it to well-being.³⁵ Whereas, man's potential and mandate, as a species, is much larger and grand than what modern man has reduced himself to. Given the bitter experience of the West with ecclesiastical vagaries in the Middle Ages, one can understand the disillusionment of the West with religion as a source of guidance, but this reality is fast revealing itself that mere material prosperity has not been able and would not be able to promote human well-being on earth. Man cannot shelter behind scientific developments, using the inference of Iqbal, to find answer to the questions where moral and ethical values have to do. This is what Iqbal alludes to in one of his essays in 'Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam', "*That is how the modern man's secret despair hides behind the screen of scientific terminology.*"³⁶ An interesting study has been undertaken by Philip Brey about the role of technology in promoting happiness. He argues that intellectuals, such as Rene Descartes and Enlightenment writers, in 17th and 18th centuries have promoted this notion that modern technology through scientific inventions, is capable of solving human problems. They thought as the technology would advance, so would the well-being of people around the globe. Modern tools of production would result into such a massive production that hunger would disappear from the world.³⁷ What is the situation in the world, Amartya Sen describes in these words, "we live in a world with persistent hunger, widespread undernourishment and frequent famines."³⁸ He further argues that it is generally assumed that

nothing can be done to remedy these desperate situations and there is all likelihood that problems would further aggravate with exponential growth of population in the world.³⁹ It seems that well-being of man has to be placed on a larger canvass, so that more universal, equitable and pluralistic frameworks can be worked out.

Man is not merely a physical or rational being; he is primarily a 'spiritual being', realizing himself in space and time.⁴⁰ He can properly be understood as living force, possessing rights and duties only in the social organism to which he belongs. Individuals constitute a society, unique individuals constitute unique society,⁴¹ which possesses a well-defined creed and has the ability to enlarge its capacities. Such a society, according to Iqbal, is an Islamic society. Iqbal's ideas on the Individual and Collective Ego are based on the conceptions of a perfect Muslim individual and the Islamic society.⁴² An individual's well-being cannot be divorced from the environment that he lives in, which in turn, would imply that societal well-being would contribute towards individual well-being and vice versa. Therefore, this paper argues that existing literature on well-being has missed out one of the primary dimensions of well-being i.e. the spiritual dimension, which is as significant as physical and intellectual dimensions and even the other dimensions of human personality do not receive an integrated and wholesome approach. Although economic measures of development are extremely important, but these are no longer deemed sufficient. The subsequent paper is an attempt to unfold the concept of a wider framework of wellbeing.

Man's Well-being - A Metaframework

The spirit of the age that we live in "is more or less antagonistic to all truly religious thinking", says Muhammad Asad.⁴³ Resultantly, men's faith is losing its erstwhile power to shape human society and provide 'signature effect' to ethical goals and evaluations. It is a great paradox of modern world that entire humanity seems to be divided on religious lines: Christian Civilization, Jewish Civilization, Muslim Civilization, Hindu Civilization,

Buddhist Civilization and so on, and impinging threat of clash of civilization emanating thereof. But contemporary sciences are hardly prepared to offer any space to religion to guide the course of our mundane life. This dichotomy in thoughts and practices in the Western culture reveals itself every now and then. President Donald Trump, the ruler of most powerful nation of the world, said after taking his oath, "America would finally be protected by God."⁴⁴ One Jew Rabbi and two Bishops were invited to offer prayers in this ceremony, indicating deep religious bent of American society, as Trump is known for using sentiments of American people in his favour.

"Religion", says Dr Iqbal, "which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of responsibility which the advancement of modern science involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of building a personality here and retaining it hereafter."⁴⁵ Thus, Islam, and earlier Judaism and Christianity as well,⁴⁶ embrace the concept of well-being, which encompasses the development of a personality in this world, which may be able to lift itself to the next world.

It is with this premise that a fresh framework or model of well-being, worked out in the light of Holy Quran, is being presented, which postulates that man's well-being needs to be placed on a wider canvass. The Quran is such an ocean of knowledge, and to this researcher, embracing the collective wisdom of all the prophets, from Adam to Jesus, that numerous models from Quran, with different combinations, can be worked out. However, man's well-being cannot be ensured unless it encompasses the well-being of man as a species i.e. Self, Family, Community and Humanity at large, taking care of man's 'Physical Well-being', 'Intellectual Well-being' and 'Spiritual Well-being', which interalia, contain the following components:-

- a. **Physical Well-being.** There are a number of verses of the Holy Quran and also Ahadith (Sayings/Practices) of the Prophet

Muhammad (SAWS) which refer to physical well-being of man. Physical well-being contains: bodily health, mental health and security (of self, family, honour and property). There are clear precepts on almost all aspects of physical well-being, including economic needs and responsibilities thereof, requirements of healthy food, clean water, dietary habits, cleanliness of environment and environmental protection, rights and duties of each other to maintain physical health, security and safety of person, family, community and humanity at large. Scope of this paper, however, precludes further details.

- b. **Intellectual Well-being.** The very first verse of the Holy Quran revealed to the Prophet (SAWS) contains five words which pertain to learning and teaching, with clear instructions to 'read'. Seeking of education, according to Islamic teachings, is not optional but obligatory for all believers. Education has to start from home; therefore, Quran contains a treasure trove of pieces of advice rendered by prophets to their children. A systematic and balanced education would help develop a mind to have a broader world-view and more accommodative attitude, accepting plurality and diversity, working for own well-being, of family and community as a whole.
- c. **Spiritual Well-being.** Spiritual aspect of well-being has mostly been neglected in contemporary research, mainly because of critical tension between post-Enlightenment modernism and traditional scholasticism, where religion was relegated to being private affair, which had nothing to do with social sciences. However, new research for the last thirty to fifty years is accepting, though reluctantly, the influence of religion on people. The Quranic approach to man's well-being is primarily based on spirituality. This spiritual health and refinement; emanating from the love of Allah, the Creator of all human beings, fosters compassion, sense of justice with kindness, universal ethics of equity, and control on

animalistic instincts of an individual, which would result in promotion of peaceful habitat, where true well-being may be realized. Genuine love of the Creator and sense of accountability in the next world can make man a 'spiritual being', which is his ultimate destiny. The concepts enunciated above have been presented in the shape of Metaframework/model at the end of the paper.

Conclusion

Man's well-being is a grand and much debated topic in the contemporary research. Numerous frameworks and models have been presented in the past since the time of ancient Greeks. None of the frameworks has approached the subject of well-being in a holistic manner, which should be encompassing all aspects of man's life on the earth as well as preparation for the next world, which majority of human beings believes in. The spiritual dimension of well-being has mostly been neglected in modern research, barring peripheral remarks about religion and ethics by some theorists in the recent past. The study in hand did not only make an attempt to review the contemporary paradigms of well-being and happiness literature, but also to present, in the light of Holy Quran, a Metaframework of well-being, which contains substantial scope for further research, to work out more comprehensive frameworks, complemented by requisite instruments, to evaluate various aspects of well-being, in order to guide policy discourses within the states as well as international collaboration. Keeping in view the rapid globalization and marginalization of weaker states, man's well-being seems to emerge as a global responsibility, let alone being the responsibility of individuals or communities. UN sponsored HDIs was a positive step in the promotion of human well-being, but it has to move further towards more equitable, broader and just instruments, to help ameliorate lives of people all around the globe, particularly hunger and disease-ridden societies.

Responsibility

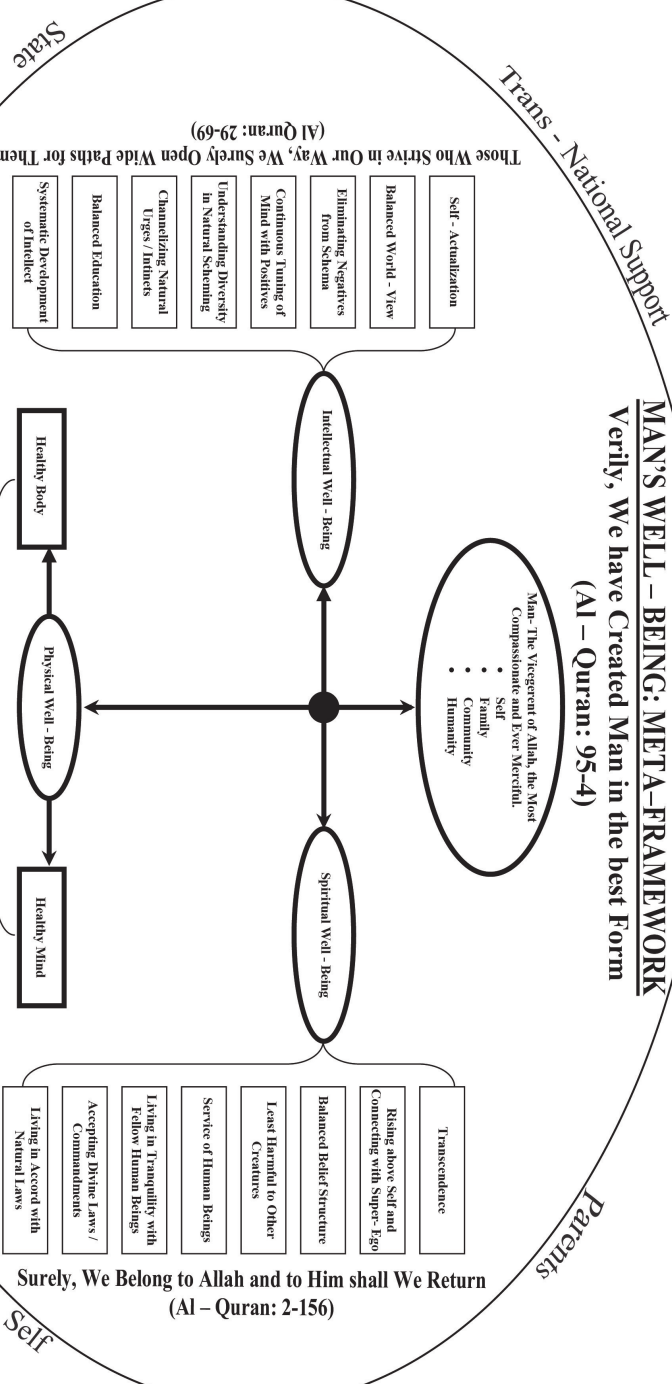
MAN'S WELL – BEING: META-FRAMEWORK

Verily, We have Created Man in the best Form

(Al – Quran: 95-4)

Man- The Vicegerent of Allah, the Most Compassionate and Ever-Merciful.

- Self
- Family
- Community
- Humanity



Those Who Strive in Our Way, We Surely Open Wide Paths for Them
(Al Quran: 29-69)

- Self - Actualization
- Balanced World - View
- Eliminating Negatives from Schema
- Continuous Tuning of Mind with Positives
- Understanding Diversity in Natural Scheming
- Channelizing Natural Urges / Instincts
- Balanced Education
- Systematic Development of Intellect

Intellectual Well - Being

Spiritual Well - Being

Healthy Body

Physical Well - Being

Healthy Mind

All Praise to Allah, the Lord and Cherisher of the Worlds
(Al – Quran: 1-1)

- Physical Exercise
- Balanced Diet
- Clean Environment
- Secure to Life, Honour & Property

Community

Family

Parents

Surely, We Belong to Allah and to Him shall We Return
(Al – Quran: 2-156)

Self

Conceived and Designed by
Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi and
Soofi Arif Ameen (Zahid)

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IMPACT OF AMERICAN WAR ON YOUTH IN FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS (FATA) OF PAKISTAN

Sultan Maqsood & Ahmed Saeed Minhas*

Abstract

The violence associated with American War on Terror (WOT) was one of the most discussed agenda items in Pakistan. A qualitative study was thus conducted on 120 students studying in educational institutions and Deeni Madaris located in South Waziristan Agency (SWA), Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan; who were exposed to high levels of violent acts complementary to WOT. The study has been conducted by using phenomenological approach to record a realistic view of the tribal youth on terrorism and the associated WOT. The war experience of tribal youth has been recorded through interviews by utilizing Childhood War Trauma Questionnaire (CWTQ) and Child Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Symptom Scale (CPSS). Besides concluding the sufferings of tribal youth from traumas like child's displacement; separation from loved ones; being victim of violence; active or passive involvement in the hostilities; bereavement; exposure to combat; witnessing of violent acts; sustaining physical injuries; extreme deprivation and emigration, etc.; the study confirmed presence of high level of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms among majority of tribal youth and concurrently existence of functional impairments consequential to the said PTSD symptoms. Whereas, fearful feelings and glaring hostile sentiments for the proprietor of WOT were identified as the general phenomenon among the entire youth of SWA.

Key Words: Terrorism, War on Terror, Violence, War Trauma, War Experiences, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

Introduction

A wide range of physiological and psychological impact has been reported on the well-being of populations exposed to violence accompanying wars. Various researchers have¹ concluded in their respective studies that

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terrorism linked to the armed conflicts around the world impacted community and family care networks. In their view, children are a particular group that is at risk to experience the social and psychological impact of the terror related activities. Some studies conclude that youth experiencing warlike conditions is expected to face wide ranging problems that include depressive and post-traumatic symptomatology, developmental impairments, functional and behavioral disturbances, health and psychiatric problems, and academic underperformance.² Even some studies find the occurrence of post-traumatic stress symptomatology upto 75 percent among the youth living in war-prone areas.³

Research evidences also suggest that the adverse psychological effects caused by traumatic conditions ensuing wars are long lasting and may have deep impact on youth's psychological and physical growth.⁴ The youth living in FATA of Pakistan, especially in SWA, were exposed to prolonged violence emanating from terrorism and counter terrorism campaign, which was initiated by the United States of America in Afghanistan. In view of the findings of the past studies, it was assumed that tribal youth in SWA, confronted with the highly volatile environment, might also be suffering from war related traumas and resultant developmental impairments.

Literature Review

The word 'terror' has been derived from Latin word '*terrere*' that means to frighten. Though, the phenomenon of spreading terror is considered terrorism, no consensus on the definition of terrorism has been reached as yet. The history of terrorism recorded in 'The Anatomy of Terror' is full of the examples, where terror was used in pursuit of material, religious, quasi-moral, ideological, political and religio-political aims.⁵ From over 100 published definitions of terrorism,⁶ this study adopted the standard definition of terrorism provided by the United States of America's Department of Justice:⁷

“Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”

The above-mentioned definition has been adopted, because WOT was introduced by Mr George W. Bush, the President of United States of America on 20 September 2001, as a wide-ranging military, legal, political, and conceptual fight against terrorist organizations, who used unlawful force or violence against American nation to intimidate or coerce Americans and American government for achievement of their nefarious designs.⁸ Actually, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon in United States of America on 11 September 2001 triggered the WOT. The member states of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as non-NATO nations joined United States of America in initiating a military campaign to abolish Al-Qaeda like militant terrorist organizations with its offensive in Afghanistan.

The WOT in Afghanistan has had a profound impact on the lives of people populated across Pak-Afghan border. FATA region, which was peaceful before 9/11 and had no signs of insurgency, was embroiled into militancy through spillover of foreign militants from across the Pak-Afghan border to save them from coalition’s intense war against Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Pakistan launched strong counter militancy operations in FATA to wipe out the foreign elements entering its territory from Afghanistan. Thus, the intense terrorism and counter terrorism campaign in different parts of FATA, especially SWA, resulted into enormous physiological and psychological sufferings of people in general and youth in particular.⁹ This study mainly focuses on the impact of war stressors and traumas on youth.

Joshi and Donnell and various researchers on war traumas found that, chronic and acute war traumas adversely affect mental health of youth living in the war infested areas.¹⁰ Even the study conducted in the United States of America on children, who were impacted by the attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001 revealed that the children experienced higher rates of post-traumatic stress, depression and anxiety

symptomatology.¹¹ Similarly, the studies conducted to assess the psychological impact of the bombing of World Trade Center in 1993 and bombing in Oklahoma City in 1995, revealed high risk of PTSD, depression, and anxiety symptomatology among youth.¹²

The experiencing of depression, anxiety and PTSD by youth further results into varying reactions among them. Durodié and Wessely elaborated a set of reactions of the youth exposed to traumatic situations associated with the war.¹³ In their view, the reactions include emotional (fear, shock, helplessness, anxiety, hopelessness), cognitive (intrusive thoughts, memories, images, hyper-vigilance), social (withdrawal, loss of trust and faith, irritability, avoidance behavior) and physical (loss of energy, insomnia, autonomic hyper-arousal). The instructions contained in 'Classification of the Mental and Behavioral Disorders (ICD-10)' also support majority of the findings of the research conducted by Durodié and Wessely.¹⁴

Pfefferbaum and co-authors conceived that the intensity of impact of trauma was also associated with the psychological and physical proximity of victims to the site of the violent incident. They considered the victim's presence in the area of violence as physical proximity and gaining knowledge of some one's getting killed or injured in the violence as psychological proximity. A few other studies have mentioned in their findings that children develop PTSD symptomatology, despite the fact that they were not directly exposed to violence and even they were not related to the victims of the violent act.¹⁵ Thus, a large group of researchers concluded that merely living in the neighborhood of communities with high violence levels and / or listening to the terrifying stories of violent acts appears to have noticeable psychological impact on the youth.

The impact of any violent act also relates to the repetitions of the exposures. In this regard, the accumulative life event model suggests that, youth's repeated exposure to violence increases its susceptibility to distress.¹⁶ Many other studies conclude that PTSD and depressive symptoms

could have significant psychological consequences for victims, who have not been physically injured.¹⁷ In Bosnia, the children experiencing the Sarajevo siege during 1994, exhibited PTSD symptoms as a result of their cumulative exposure to violent (witnessing of shooting), as well as a series of prolonged non-violent (lack of food and displacement) traumatic events.¹⁸ In Afghanistan, fifty percent children who experienced stressors of WOT have been diagnosed PTSD.¹⁹ In Iraq, Dr Haithi Al Sady, studied PTSD among Iraqi children exposed to killings, explosions, threatening noises, abductions, and turmoil due to war in Iraqi cities and concluded that 28% Iraqi children had already suffered from PTSD and the number was fast rising.²⁰

The theory of learned helplessness proposes that the youth experiencing uncontrollable and unpredictable events in their lives suffer from aggression, disruption of resources, physiological problems, and difficulty in problem solving.²¹ Such helplessness further threatens their mental and physical well-being, by associating it with passivity, poor cognition and uncontrollability. Youth tends to lose hope of affecting change in their life;²² pessimistic youth is more likely to suffer from depression, poor interpersonal relationships, shyness, loneliness, weak academic performance and reduced social skills.²³

Wars result into separation of family members, especially detachment of youth from their parents to save them from ills of war. Such separations from loved ones and detachment from associates also has its negative impacts. Attachment theory focuses on emotional bonds between individuals and long-term relationships and implications of weakening of the emotional bonds. It postulates that the attachment bonds allow the child to advance his or her sense of security. Whereas Bowlby, a psychologist claims that the bonds formed by children in their early age continue to impact their entire life.²⁴ Other researchers also find that attachment forms established in early life can result numerous outcomes;²⁵ the securely attached children develop greater self-esteem and superior self-

reliance during their growth. They exhibit more independence; produce better results in school, enjoy popular social relationships, and experience lesser levels of anxiety and depression. Weakening of these bonds certainly impacts the well-being of the youth.²⁶

Data and Methods

Research Site

The town named 'Wana' located in SWA, the heart of FATA was selected as the research site for this study. A convenience sample was constructed from local schools, where students belonging to various tribes were studying as day scholars and Deeni Madaris, where students had boarding facilities. Most of the students had witnessed conflict between the Taliban and law enforcing agencies and had sufficient understanding of the prevalent security environment and its outcomes.

Method

This study was conducted using a qualitative, phenomenological approach to obtain the views of the local students on terrorism and WOT.²⁷ The qualitative methodology proved to be very useful and most effective in recording, as well as understanding the war experiences of the children.²⁸ In pursuit of Moustakas directions,²⁹ an all-out effort was made to cut through taken for granted assumptions, and allow students to develop their individual perspectives without any predefined promptings. The experiences of tribal youth, who were exposed to a prolonged conflict in SWA, have been recorded through interviews by utilizing Childhood War Trauma Questionnaire (CWTQ) and Child Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Symptom Scale (CPSS); both contained in Compendium of the Tools for Assessment of Psychosocial Well-being and Mental Health of Children in the Context of Humanitarian Emergencies.³⁰

Participants

Sixty male and sixty female students studying in schools and *deenimadaris* located at Wana and its surrounding areas were selected,

using a purposeful sampling approach.³¹ The selection criteria ensured that all students were locals and had sufficient exposure to ongoing terrorism and anti-terrorism campaign in the tribal areas. Moreover, all participants were able to understand and write Urdu language. The participants' ages were between eight to sixteen years, with an average age of twelve years.

Data Collection, Analysis and Interpretation

The data collection for this research was carried out through fieldwork in educational institutions and Deeni Madaris located in Wana and surrounding areas of SWA, FATA during January through June 2015. All respondents were approached through their respective institutional and *madrasa* administration. The researcher explained the nature of the study and solicited the individuals' voluntary consent prior to proceeding with the interviews. Most of the respondents voluntarily responded without loss of time; no respondent declined becoming part of the sample. All the narratives were administered through interviewers and completed at respondent's ease. The data was collected through utilizing Childhood War Trauma Questionnaire (CWTQ) and Child Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Symptom Scale (CPSS).

Childhood War Trauma Questionnaire (CWTQ) contained twenty-five items and consisted of two sections; while Section One investigated the demographic particulars, Section Two examined child's direct, as well as indirect experiences pertaining to forty-five war-related traumas, encountered by him or her on exposure to conflictual situations. Such traumas were categorized like child's displacement, separation from loved ones, being victim of violence, active or passive involvement in the hostilities, bereavement, exposure to combat, witnessing of violent acts, sustaining physical injuries, extreme deprivation and emigration, etc.

Child Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Symptom Scale (CPSS) contained twenty-four items and this tool was used for assessment of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in tribal youth, which was exposed to war traumas. The

CPSS again consisted of two parts; while Part One followed the DSMIV criteria; Part Two measured the functional impairments consequential to the symptoms predicted in Part One. Part One consisted of seventeen items related to the frequency of symptoms and Part Two listed seven direct questions on functional impairment resulting from the symptoms explained in Part One.

All activities took place in a real neutral environment to minimize participants' discomfort. The participants were allowed to express themselves in any language. A *Pashto* interpreter was also available to assist participants and the researchers with correct interpretation and better understanding of the questions and responses. All the data collected was kept confidential and no names were used in the collection of the information.

The responses of the correspondents were recorded strictly as per their choices with no input or modification in their response. Several steps were taken to correctly analyze and objectively interpret the data. The percentages of responses were calculated with due diligence under each head. Peer briefing was also utilized to ensure proper processing of the data and its trustworthiness.³²

Verification

The reliability of the data was ensured by utilizing internationally recognized standard tools specifically designed for recording war experiences of the youth, PTSD Symptoms and their outcomes. To ward off inappropriate influence of bias on the findings of the study, the researchers gained personal insight on all relevant aspects through frequent interactions with the experts, counselors and researchers who had earlier worked on the similar aspects related to tribal youth. The coherence of the contents was ensured by avoiding the findings of this study being idiosyncratic to the behavior or perceptions of any single research participant or group. The data, findings and discussion of the findings reasonably fulfilled the

research purpose of the study. Moreover, the findings of the study and their implications satisfied the desired standards of trustworthiness, relevancy, competency and plausibility.

Results

The American WOT exposed the tribal youth in SWA to all traumas listed in Childhood War Trauma Questionnaire (CWTQ). The results showed that 98 % children were forced to change their homes and 78 % children shifted their schools. It was also revealed that 33 % children were separated from their fathers, 3 % from their mothers and 21 % from their both parents. The separation of children from their parents was caused due to various reasons; 13 % parents sent their wards away from them to save them from getting hurt in the widespread violence, 57 % male parents left their children to seek earning for loss of their businesses in the worsened security situation, 12 % parents fled to safe havens, 10 % parents joined fight, 13 % family heads were detained by the militants, and 5 % family heads went missing. The children's narratives further revealed that, 48 % children lost close relatives, close male members of the family, 24 % children lost their fathers and 19 % children lost their brothers. Results showed that 26 % children witnessed intimidations, torturing, injuring and killings. 47 % percent children were exposed to armed combat like shooting, shelling, bomb blast, etc. 44 % children were threatened to be killed, 24 % children were beaten by the militants and 22 % children were tortured, 9 % children were chased by the militants, 19 % children were detained and homes of 17 % children were looted. 7 % children suffered from physical injuries. 4 % children were engaged into real combat and they performed activities like weapon carriers, spies and even hardcore fighters, however, no child admitted killing of any individual. The children passed through extreme levels of the deprivations; 88 % children remained deprived of food, 77 % children had no water, and 22 % children did not have proper dress and

footwear. 23 % children suffered extra ordinary stressful situations, their experiences included witnessing killing of first relation in the hands of militants, witnessing butchering of a human being publically, witnessing bloody parts of human bodies spread all over the area targeted by the drone attacks, witnessing taking away of young students and leaving their parents weeping and crying in a total helplessness, detention in the militants' camp, and living without fulfillment of basic human needs.

The tribal children in SWA experienced PTSD Symptoms owing to their prolonged exposure to above mentioned traumas. Their narratives (details given at Table 1) revealed that 22 % children were experiencing PTSD Symptoms almost always, 35 % children experienced PTSD Symptoms 2 to 4 times a week, 33 % children were experiencing PTSD Symptoms at least once in a week or less, and only 10 % children were of the view that, either they did not experience PTSD Symptoms or experienced only once (graphical representation given at Figure 1). The results clearly indicated presence of a very high scale of PTSD symptoms among tribal youth in SWA.

The outcomes of children's PTSD Symptom drawn directly from their narratives revealed that 71 % children suffered in academics, 66 % children expressed their under-performance in discharge of the personal responsibilities, 48 % children could not enjoy fun and hobby related activities, 43 % percent children lacked concentration in prayers, 53 % children lacked enjoyment in their lives, 36 % children faced relationship issues with their friends, and 23 % children faced relationship issues within the families.

All the participants of the study expressed their bitter and unfavorable sentiments for the people responsible for spread of a terror wave in their town, especially against the United States of America and its allies. Many of them were critical of the Taliban, however, their feelings and sentiments

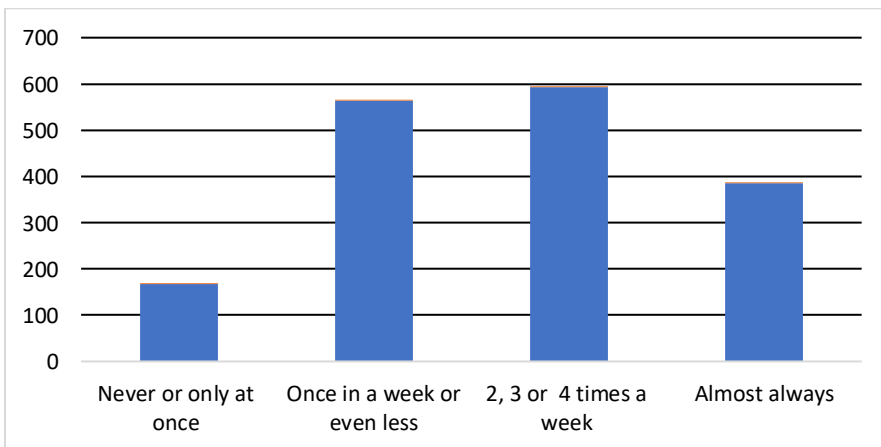
were comparatively harsher for the United States of America than other perpetrators of war.

Table 1: Percentage of Child PTSD Symptom

Symptom	Never or only once	Once in a week or less	2, 3 or 4 times in a week	Almost always
Had upsetting thoughts or other images about an event which arose in your mind when you did not want these to come in your mind	9	41	39	11
Seeing nightmares or bad dreams	6	60	25	9
Exhibiting or sensing as if an event was happening yet again (seeing a picture or hearing a little about that event and feeling that, I am there again)	8	28	26	38
Feeling distressed when you reflect about an event or hear about it (for example, being scared, sad, angry, guilty, etc.)	2	7	26	65
Developing sensations in your body on thinking about or hearing about a past event (for example, excessive sweating, fast heart beat)	5	9	31	55
Trying to avoid thinking about, talking about, and feeling about a particular event	6	43	34	17
Trying to evade activities, places or people, which remind you a traumatic event	8	19	52	21
Inability to recall a significant part of an upsetting event	36	24	35	5
Exhibiting lack of interest or undertaking activities you were in habit of doing	4	55	34	7
Not feeling very close to people who are around you	7	33	51	9

Inability to possess strong feelings (being unable to feel happy or unable to cry)	21	35	24	20
Strong feeling that your future hopes or plans will not materialize (you will not be able to get a job or get married or have kids)	21	41	28	10
Developing trouble in falling asleep or continuing sleep	4	35	38	23
Feeling bad-tempered or experiencing fits of anger	14	24	36	26
Inability to concentrate (losing story's track on television, or forgetting what you had read, or not paying attention in class)	6	34	38	22
Being excessively careful (trying to mostly look who and what is around you)	3	31	42	24
Being nervous or easily startled (when you find someone walking up behind you)	6	38	39	17
Total	166	557	598	379
Overall Exposure Percentage	10 %	33 %	35 %	22 %

Figure 1: Graphical Representation of Percentagewise PTSD Symptoms



Discussion

Most participants, being in the physical and psychological proximity of violence, described the ironic war experiences of being negatively impacted by terrorism and counter terrorism campaign in SWA.³³ Their narratives supported the findings of the earlier studies about adverse impacts of war on the mental health of the youth.³⁴ A large number of participants reported that they faced physical injuries and experienced distress and depressive symptoms similar to the findings of earlier researches conducted by Joshi and O'Donnell, Hoven, Duarte and Mandell, and Slone and Hallis.³⁵

The reactions of youth expressed in their narratives generally included emotional (fear, anxiety, helplessness), cognitive (memories, images, intrusive thoughts) and social reactions (withdrawal, avoidance behavior, or a general loss of trust), quite similar to the early work of Durodié and Wessely.³⁶ The narratives were further supportive of the assumptions made in the theory of learned helplessness professed by Roth as well as Wortman and Brehm, as the children reported experiencing of unpredictable and uncontrollable violent events; aggression and disruption of social and psychological resources.³⁷

The findings of the study also appeared to be in line with the findings of earlier studies conducted by Henry, Jones and Ishmael, as the children reported their tendencies of losing hope in affecting change in their lives and being hesitant to optimally benefit from educational opportunities.³⁸ Even they exhibited passivism, weak interpersonal relationships, introvert tendencies, and fragile academic perceptions, which were in line with findings of earlier studies conducted by Chang and Sanna, Henry, Ramirez, Maldonado and Martos, and Welbourne.³⁹

The difficulties expressed by the participants in development of attachment orientation and emotional bondage was contrary to the postulates of attachment theory and the findings of some earlier studies affiliated with this theory.⁴⁰ A large number of participants did not develop

self-reliance, self-esteem and healthier social relationships, which was not in line with findings of earlier research on this subject conducted by Ainsworth and others.⁴¹ Most of the children impacted by violence in SWA were found dispassionate in identification of their goals, contemplate the positive aspects, which needed change, and higher standards which they could achieve, this exhibited tendency was not in line with the findings of earlier researches.⁴² All participants had unanimously maintained that drone strikes in tribal areas of Pakistan have not been able to achieve the desired results in curtailing terrorism.

Conclusion

America's WOT distressed the tribal youth in SWA by creating a conflictual environment along Pak-Afghan border which not only took FATA into its fold but also exposed FATA's population to severe physiological and psychological sufferings. The youth, being the indispensable part of the affected communities, faced war traumas in their different forms and with varying intensities. This research has identified war traumas alongwith their intensities experienced by the children in SWA and the resultant outcomes in the form of PTSD symptoms and developmental impairment in tribal youth of the area.

The findings of the study clearly manifest that WOT forced 98 % children out of their homes, separated 57 % children from their parents, deprived 48 % children of their close relatives, exposed 26 % children to acts of intimidations, torturing, injuring and killings of people and 47 % percent children to armed combat, resulted physical injuries to 7 % children, deprived 88 % children of food, 77 % children of water and 22 % children of proper dress and footwear. After passing through such large-scale traumas, 22 % children were experiencing PTSD Symptoms almost always, 35 % children were experiencing PTSD Symptoms 2 to 4 times a week, 33 % children were experiencing PTSD Symptoms at least once in a week, and only 10 % children remained without PTSD Symptoms. Overall, 71 % children suffered in academics, 66 % children underperformed in discharge

of their personal responsibilities, 48 % children could not enjoy fun related activities, 43 % percent children lacked concentration in prayers, 53 % children lacked enjoyment in their lives, 36 % children faced relationship issues with their friends, and 23 % children faced relationship issues within the families. The study also identified negative sentiments of the tribal youth for the perpetrators of war, especially the United States of America.

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THE ACCOUNTABILITY CONUNDRUM OF NGOS

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Abstract

The centrality of state in provision of public goods and services has gradually been encroached upon by the market and the nonprofit sector known with the popular acronym of NGO. Previously limited to philanthropy and disaster relief, NGOs today act in political locales of advocacy, brokerage, evaluation, analysis, public awareness, and capacity building, etc. A coherent understanding of NGOs is, therefore, imperative to comprehend the nature of their activities, expanding scope of action and most importantly the underlying processes that will ensure their accountability. Despite the benefits and the need for NGO accountability, not much has been undertaken in Pakistan. The numerous pieces of legislation and the regulatory bodies to implement these laws, have failed to bring about the desired change in the functioning of NGO community. Moreover, the fact that the NGOs have failed to recognize the relevance of accountability, brings into question their legitimacy. Using a specific conceptual framework available in the studies on non-profit leadership and management, this paper attempts to explore the challenges of holding NGOs accountable in Pakistan and offers practical policy prescriptions to improve NGOs' governance and accountability.

Key Words: Public Policy, Governance, NGOs, Accountability, Pakistan

Introduction

Tocqueville during his first visit to the United States of America observed, "Americans of all ages, all stations of life and all types of disposition are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types—religious, moral, serious, futile, very general, very limited, very immensely large and very minute."¹ He would reiterate the same, if he visited contemporary Pakistan; a country impacted by globalization, democratization and regional proxy wars in the region, hence, transforming the landscape of governance and public policy in Pakistan.

The centrality of state in provision of public goods and services has

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gradually been encroached upon the market and the nonprofit sector, known by the popular acronym “NGO” (Nongovernmental Organization). Traditionally limited to philanthropy and disaster relief, NGOs in Pakistan now act in political locales of advocacy, brokerage, analysis, public awareness, and capacity building etc. They consist of multifarious bodies that function at local, national and international level. They range from international non-government entities, transnational groups, and global trade unions to community-driven enterprises, and universities, etc; and have had a profound impression on the various aspects of public life. Pakistan, therefore, now finds itself “in the midst of a ‘global associational revolution’- a massive upsurge of organized voluntary private activity, of structural citizen action outside the boundaries of the market and the state.”²

With the increasing significance of the NGO sector as an important stakeholder in governance, there has been a corresponding surge of public focus on this important area. Their rising number, corresponding increase in funding and grant of ‘consultative status’ by UN has re-enforced the argument for their greater accountability.³ Their legitimacy to exist will depend on their capacity to exhibit efficacy and accountability.⁴ Any void in accountability mechanisms will surely expose them to politically motivated attacks in democratic politics. This paper, hence, attempts to explore NGOs’ accountability in Pakistan’s unique environment through a specific conceptual framework and offers practical policy prescriptions.

Understanding NGOs’ Accountability: Conceptual Framework

The rise of NGOs has been accompanied with criticism and their detractors cry against the violations of national and international norms. Questions are raised on their role, obligations and responsibilities, and to whom, if at all, they should be accountable. Such questions have generally three dimensions: curiosity on their rapid growth, diversity of financial resources, and venturing into public policy. The stakeholders who include

donors, beneficiaries and the government, all want to evaluate the activities and operations of NGOs.⁵ Moreover there is a close relationship between the responsibilities of NGOs and human/civil rights. When they lobby for such rights, governments and businesses then take measures to curtail their influence, rights and freedoms. This threatens their very reason for existence, prominently on the pretexts of their accountability.⁶ Therefore, the debate on NGOs' accountability embodies politics and potential risks, depending on varying social, political and economic contexts. Although NGOs do not possess power or resources comparable to business and government, their political influence makes it important that their financial and executive transparency, efficiency and legality of actions are held to account. Moreover, NGOs have the responsibility to ensure compliance with their stated aims and objectives.

NGO accountability originates from their 'responsibilities', which can be considered in three ways. First, an NGO has organizational responsibilities like transparency, efficiency and legality of its activities; the second is the responsibility to comply with its mission and objectives and finally it is responsible to stakeholders i.e., management, donors, and beneficiaries. Internationally, there is also an increasing focus towards formulating accountability standards for NGOs. Most of accountability standards can be found in International Humanitarian Law. Prior to 1990s, there were only specific guidelines like WHO guidance on supplementary or therapeutic feeding or the UNHCR Field Handbook.⁷ There are multiple models of accountability relations and NGOs use different models for different stakeholders under different environments. The paper draws from the best match in viewing accountability in the framework of Ebrahim. According to this framework, NGOs are responsible to answer for particular performance expectations to specific stakeholders.⁸ Ebrahim's framework provides 'Dimensions' of accountability and then various 'Mechanisms' to satisfy these 'Dimensions'.

Dimensions of Accountability

- a. **Internal Accountability.** NGOs are responsible towards their aims, objectives, field staff and management. They are obligated to ensure certain internal governance mechanisms that may be voluntary or imposed by the government. Even international bodies like UN require consultative NGOs to exhibit strong internal accountability mechanisms. The byelaws should require the management to be answerable to board of governors/trustees. Increased internal accountability can offset the concerns that NGOs act recklessly.
- b. **External Accountability.** NGOs have obligations towards their donors, the governments, the locality where they operate and to the multinational corporations that assist them in their projects.
- c. **Upward or Patron Accountability.** It specifically deals with the spending of aid money according to the directions of the funding agencies and their legal obligations to stakeholders. This accountability features an inflexible approach, with the donors being provided with extensive written details, explaining how their funds are being utilized and what pre-set objectives have been met.⁹ However, upward accountability may pose a dilemma, when the expectations of actors are mutually incompatible.
- d. **Downward Accountability or Client Accountability.** Whenever an organization accepts responsibility towards another entity, it is logically accountable to that entity, morally and legally. It may include groups indirectly or inadvertently affected by the projects undertaken by NGOs.¹⁰ Downward accountability helps NGOs to reduce gap among donors and beneficiaries and assures success of their programmes. Herein all the stakeholders are consulted to ensure the best use of limited resources.

Mechanism of Accountability

- a. **Reports and Disclosure Statements.** These reports reveal pivotal legal, financial and operational data to the donors and the wider public in general.¹¹ Most reports, however, focus on the financial aspect of the NGOs without mentioning the quality of the work being pursued or downward accountability to the target population. NGOs comply with this to avoid loss of funding from the donors or loss of certification from a regulatory body or other corrective measures from the involved stakeholders.¹² The character of these reports differs among NGOs, depending upon the requirements of their donors and their host country. The Government of Pakistan is in the process of imposing more stringent financial transparency and reporting requirements on the foreign funded NGOs through the Economic Affairs Division. The Foreign Contributions Act was debated in the Pakistani Legislature for two years, due to severe resistance from the foreign donors and countries like the United States. It possesses utility with regards to encouraging internal and beneficiary accountability.
- b. **Performance Assessment and Evaluations.** Evaluation reports have immense potential to aid NGOs' learning process, giving donors and NGOs an opportunity to improve their performance. All projects have definite aims and objectives. Along with these objectives, performance indicators help to ascertain the level of completion of those objectives. By using these indicators, assessments can be conducted during the course of these projects. Performance evaluations, however, usually take place at the end. These reports are mainly meant for the donors (upwards accountability) and they help determine whether the funding for the project continues or is cut off. Hybrid evaluations also take place involving both the

donors and staff of NGOs. The Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) is one of these evaluations, which identify project's objectives in addition to the expected results.¹³ It helps to calculate progress of the concerned project against those objectives, which were established at the outset of the programme. It is essential that donors use their financial leverage to control actions of NGOs and employ evaluations as means to refine their work, build their functional capacity and learning capability.¹⁴ Small NGOs in Pakistan with limited resources are overawed by its onerous demands, which fulfill the requirements of donors, but fail in aiding the NGOs to improve their decision-making.

- c. **Participation.** Beneficiary participation is the inclusion of target communities in the formal course of planning and managing the projects.¹⁵ Beneficiaries hold the power to directly influence the project through their exercise of veto, a place on the negotiating table with donors or government and the ability to bargain with the relevant stakeholders. Hirschman argues that unless the communities are provided with the opportunity to influence NGO practices, objectives and their decision-making, the participation of these denizens will not result in downward accountability.¹⁶ The question remains as to how donors and NGOs incorporate participation, since communities do not hold any monetary or legal leverage on them. This is where the state can intervene and recalibrate the debate on the NGOs' accountability and lawfully empower communities to evaluate their performance. Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) is a successful example, where the beneficiaries were consulted from the conception up to the end of the project.
- d. **Self-Regulation.** Through self-regulation, NGOs are at liberty to formulate their own standards and codes of conduct. Self-

regulation has been preferred by NGOs, since it guarantees their independence and autonomy. The main purpose of self-regulation is to ensure the reputation and credibility of NGOs in the public.¹⁷ The process of development of codes has immense significance and a direct relationship to legitimacy.¹⁸ These codes bear positively on the NGOs' organizational structure and deter discrimination, gender bias, favoritism and other unethical practices in its functioning. Some codes of conduct have been developed by internationally reputed organizations, which can serve as examples of comprehensive self-regulation.

- e. **Social Auditing or Participatory Review.** Through Social Auditing, NGOs consider and report on their social considerations, objectives and performances to various stakeholders i.e. the donors, staff and beneficiaries. It incorporates participation, disclosure statements, evaluation reports and self-regulatory mechanism. Its main emphasis is to consider viewpoints of beneficiaries on the operations of the NGOs.¹⁹ The beneficiaries have control and the authority to decide as to which information to collect, what to ask and how to steer the process.

Challenges of NGOs' Accountability in Pakistan

The accountability milieu of NGOs in Pakistan has varied over the past three decades, moving along the national and international governance environments. The NGO phenomenon in Pakistan cannot be understood in isolation to the situation in Afghanistan. Aid flows to Afghanistan were logistically handled through Pakistan. Aid to Pakistan also continued to rise every year since 9/11 and NGOs were the channel for distribution of money and services. From 2002 onwards, US\$ 33 billion were provided by USA, most of which was channeled through NGOs.²⁰ This choice reflected international confidence in NGOs, instead of Government of Pakistan.

Indeed, USA came out with narrative of working directly with civil society instead of the 'corrupt' government.²¹ Pakistanis do have a counter narrative, which claims that NGO channel was actually not for efficient delivery of services, but primarily to support US strategic objectives through creation of extensive intelligence network in Pakistan, which would be impossible if aid were channeled through the government.

The phenomenon of NGO proliferation, democratization and ensuing conflict in Afghanistan fattened NGOs, but harmed the image of the sector. There was abundance of money and most donors were in rush to spend to reclaim more funds. Both NGOs and donors were focused on targets, not caring either for means or ends, because there were hardly any meaningful impact assessments. The problem was not how or who is spending money, as long as it was spent. Both government and NGOs faced capacity issue, which led to creation of new NGOs. Donors did not press for expenditure audits, as they were busy in planning projects for funds that were promised or were in pipeline.

Pakistan had been through an age of plenty, where NGOs, government and donors all had a heyday.²² People remained pliant and concerned only with getting public sector development projects without being concerned about its source and credentials. Instead of accountability, there was severe competition within NGO sector, and government and NGOs for funds. Inter-NGO competition also created an ideological wedge, which sharply divided them into conservative and liberal groups. The debate during this period was not about accountability, rather about legitimacy to the claim of funds. Many NGOs during this period became active in public policy advocacy. This coincided with the rise of liberal media in Pakistan, which eagerly gave space to advocacy of NGOs. For example, an NGO working for oversees Pakistanis overnight assigned itself a mission of 'democracy' and 'transparency' with heavy foreign funding. The NGO itself is a family business.²³

Consequently, accountability of NGOs in Pakistan faces some of the

following challenges:

Political Sponsorship. Devolution of power from federation has expanded NGOs role in local issues. Many NGOs reformed themselves into the rural support programs either independently or jointly with the government. The accountability dimension has become obscure, as it was not possible to determine where the government's role ends and from where the role of NGOs begin. The move of National Accountability Bureau (NAB) against dozens of nonprofits created by Punjab government is an eminent example. As both government and NGOs consume funds, it is in their mutual interest to put regulatory issues on the backburner. The accountability of NGOs has, thus, been convoluted by politicians and bureaucrats, who themselves came to the forefront by creating their own NGOs. A Chief Secretary of Punjab government had set up his own NGO in his official residence at Lahore and allotted over a billion rupees to it for disaster relief.²⁴ This helps politicians/bureaucrats not only to swindle money through contracting their NGOs, but also through extracting public loyalty for vote from their constituencies. Many politicians use their spouses or children to head such NGOs. This makes it difficult for the people to differentiate between the government and NGO projects.

Muddled Laws. The antipathy among NGOs and government, and poor implementation of the laws have fuelled the debates on accountability. Existing laws provide wide discretion to bureaucracy and, hence, to their erratic application and bribery.²⁵ Government has mostly ducked down on the issues of capacity building of regulatory authorities to monitor compliance of its laws. There are multiple laws, which either over demand accountability or totally ignore it. NGOs may, thus, focus accountability towards their most powerful constituency. Such multiple accountability dilemmas can be overcome by carefully sifting through the multiplicity of stakeholders.²⁶

Beneficiary Powerlessness. Beneficiaries are the reason for an NGO to exist, but they are generally poor and powerless. They are vulnerable and needy, more concerned with their needs being met than demanding accountability. They are unable to force NGOs to account. But, “accountability to beneficiaries is crucial to both fulfilling an organization’s mission and maintaining its legitimacy.”²⁷ NGOs in Pakistan by themselves are least interested in accountability, something they tout for the government at top of their voice. They will seldom impose self-regulation.

Self-Regulation Challenge. Public criticism has sometimes forced NGOs to adopt/prefer self-regulation and create a sort of accreditation or certification system to show that they value and desire effective accountability. This may, however, not be for accountability, but for their mutual collaboration to cartelize for benefits. Moreover, it could be a pre-emption to scuttle government efforts at regulation. The self-regulation has also been exploited for being accountable to the family only. Pakistani NGOs recognize the value of government regulation, but consider it to be an inadequate solution. First, there is a doubt whether our inefficient governance system can be enlarged to manage diverse and complex NGO sector. Second, would it be possible to regulate religious and multi-ethnic culture organizations. Third, since government remains a target of media and NGOs for its scandals, is it feasible to provide it with a whip, as it may come heavily on NGOs to silence them in the garb of regulation. NGOs have cautiously watched the attempts of Pakistani government to legislate financial laws for NGOs with its counter-terrorism policies. Perhaps, such dilemmas are leading to the popularity of adoption of international codes, but so far Pakistani NGOs have been wary of their adoption.²⁸

Slack Monitoring Mechanism. At present, there is a large number of NGOs operating in Pakistan, but online record shows that only a few provide the required annual information to the public and the

government. Most NGOs exist on websites, which either lack financial information or do not update about their finances. Government officers complain that they are disappointed with the resistance of NGOs to share even rudimentary evidence. “NGOs guard their financial information as ‘top secret’ and their employees fear to even to talk about it. This is used as a technique to evade accountability.”²⁹ Two big blows to NGOs’ image in the past were a multi-million dollar funding scandal by the USAID. The project was collaboration between USAID and the Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop to facilitate learning through culturally sensitive educational messages. Funding was terminated due to irregularities.³⁰ The second was funding a hair salon owner. “The scandalous performance of the NGO reflects on the work of so-called local charity organizations, feeding on foreign taxpayers’ money with little deliverance. Interviews with different people disclose that the work done by others has been claimed by the NGO to fetch more funds. Such a sad state of affairs raises questions about the performance of the NGO mafia.”³¹

NGOs as Family Firms. NGOs as a ‘la family’ concern is another issue for accountability. This has turned into interspersing the concepts of charity, politics and business. NGOs have become a tool for promoting business through ‘other means’. For example a popular singer has adopted an innovative technique to mix entertainment, charity and politics and created a tax free education and health empire. There are allegations against him that he has been using charity money for personal leisure and in one such instance quoted lost thousands of pounds (GBP) in a Casino.³² The non-profit sector is, thus, in a mess of corruption.³³

Vague Missions. Pakistani NGOs lack focus and direction in their missions and projects. Most NGOs do not have any institutional mechanism for performance measurement and they commonly cite the ‘resource constraint’ as its reason. They self-assign targets and then self-

assume their completion. Foremost of all, most NGOs are themselves not sustainable without foreign funding. Lack of accountability also comes from their vague missions like empowerment, women emancipation, capacity building, and raising awareness etc. Thus, a combination of lack of tools, will and desire of accountability add to the confusing state of Pakistani NGOs.

Shadow Governing Boards. NGOs have constituted governing boards, ostensibly for their web sites with no practical 'existence'. The members of the boards are mostly from a cellular industry jargon 'F&F' (family and friends). The power of governing board is exercised unilaterally by the creator of the NGO, who may be known with any title. "NGOs use names of rich and famous in their governing boards to attain legitimacy and credibility with donors. Some NGOs do have 'real' boards of governors, but such boards meet rarely and almost never completely."³⁴ Despite proliferation of NGOs in Pakistan, most are small with staff of 4-7 people.³⁵ With such staff, it is difficult to create space for governance or even delineate human resources for accountability requirements. Many NGOs, thus, may disappear, if there is a serious thrust by the government on accountability.

Policy Recommendations

In order to work through the challenges discussed, the following policy recommendations are important:-

- a. The government should consolidate existing policies and laws for creation of NGOs. A critical review of the language of old laws is required to make them more understandable and relevant to contemporary times. New laws may not be the solution, as over regulation may result into shutting down of transparent and honest NGOs. The capacity of the government should be kept in mind, while creating new laws and their implementation structures.

- b. The government should exercise its mandate to monitor the functioning of NGOs. The only scrutiny that NGOs face is at the time of registration. In fact, the authors found that many NGOs are not even aware of the laws, as they had outsourced their registration to business agents.
- c. There is no law to regulate the functioning of foreign organizations. The government needs to plug this gap legally, instead of relying on the bureaucracy. INGOs under the present system only have a vague relationship with the Economic Affairs Division. The department has no power to control these organizations. All funding of foreign NGOs must be subjected to governmental audit procedures. INGO projects should be strictly monitored by the state security networks.
- d. NGOs having expertise in governance and financial management should create a system of training for the novice NGOs. The Government of Pakistan in the past tried to create such a system of capacity building named 'Bunad' with funding from USAID, but it failed. A USAID report highlighted how such systems are manipulated by the people in power, who are corrupt and consume state and foreign funds. The report had forewarned that 'Bunad' would fail, because of its single overworked (incumbent Social Welfare Minister) owner.³⁶ Perhaps, there is still a need to revive such an idea, but from within the NGO sector.
- e. NGO board members should be appointed or elected through a transparent system on the basis of skills. No person should be on the board or executive position of the NGO, who cannot prove his own means of sustenance. The founders should not be on the board nor should they be recipient of its benefits in any manner.
- f. NGOs should be restricted to their core functions and such functions should be clearly delineated and approved by the

regulator. Certain NGOs keep changing their missions, at the behest of donors, which reflects their commitment to money rather than ideology.

- g. Self-regulation strategies need to be devised by the NGO sector in conjunction with legislative bodies and donors. The aim of such assessment tools should be to measure the organization's output, governance and financial management practices with the view to influencing its sustained existence in an evolving political, social, economic, cultural and technological environments.
- h. Finally, NGOs guard their financial reports as secrets, while their registration laws require the same to be made public. Such a tendency needs to be curbed by the government, by revoking or suspending their registration on receipt of complaint.

Conclusion

Accountability is a principal theme in governance. Understanding accountability of NGOs and the context of its application in Pakistan, however, had either lagged or was omitted altogether. Correspondingly, NGOs in Pakistan failed to recognize the relevance of accountability to the legitimacy of their functions and existence. People have become wary about their gradually intruding into the State functions. NGOs, thus, need to follow directives and laws, especially the laws to which they owe their creation. They should be above board in the consumption of their assets and consistent with their mission. If these organizations assert the right to question the government and hold it accountable, it is paramount for them to exhibit the same for themselves. Only then can they claim space for provision of public goods and services.

Despite the benefits and the need for NGO accountability, its practice in Pakistan has left much to be desired. The numerous pieces of legislation and the regulatory bodies have failed to bring about the required change in the functioning of NGOs. Simultaneously, NGOs have failed to recognize

the relevance of accountability for the legitimacy of their existence. NGOs accountability warrants that they comply with the expectations of government, donors and beneficiaries, while demonstrating the appropriate administration of both financial and human resources.³⁷ While there is no one set of solutions or a 'magic wand'³⁸, both government of Pakistan and the NGOs must operate in tandem to bring change in the lives of people. The degree to which the government should be involved, the extent of responsibility of NGOs for their own accountability and the need for a requisite governmental body, are all questions for debate with a view to arriving at a consensus. The recommendations of this paper can provide a thrust towards such an objective. No more should NGOs function with impunity from public oversight.

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COUNTERING VACUUM IN POLICY ON INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN PAKISTAN

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Abstract

Pakistan has been facing the critical issue of internal displacement for over a decade now. Though the establishment of the National Disaster Management Authority and the Provincial Disaster Management Authority in Pakistan is a step in the right direction, it is yet to be determined whether these bodies are sufficient to cater for the needs of the displaced persons or an overarching policy is needed. The same has so far not been chalked out to deal with challenges of internal displacement, emanating from natural and man-induced catastrophes. The paper argues that the country has never found a viable solution for displacement. The United Nations' Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement emphasise that states should implement these principles to cope with the issues of internal displacement. On the academic level, it is firmly believed that all states should incorporate these guiding principles in their domestic laws to tackle pre/post-disaster management situations along with a well-guided working plan to mitigate human sufferings. Also, the paper attempts to highlight the vacuum existing in the policy perspective about internal displacement and addresses the gaps with viable policy recommendations.

Key Words: Displacements, Policy Vacuum, Guiding Principles, Disaster Management.

Introduction

The dawn of the 21st century, contrary to the widespread expectations, has brought a high frequency of armed conflicts and natural disasters, leaving tens of thousands of people displaced in miseries around the globe. Both conflicts and natural disasters cause internal displacement; forcing people to move to safer places inside the borders of their country. Internally Displaced Person (IDP) means a person dislocated from his/ her area of habitat within his/her home country. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), when people are forced to leave their homes because of a

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threat to their lives but, unlike refugees, they do not cross international borders; instead, they remain inside the borders of their home country, they are called IDPs.

Since 1990, the magnitude of the internally displaced people all around the world have increased, due to a shift in political priorities across the globe.¹ Throughout the Cold War era, one super-power supported refugees from the other bloc to win the hearts and minds of people from the opposite camp. The Super Powers assisted the hosting countries to provide all possible amenities to the refugees and pursue their agendas. However, since the end of the Cold War with diminishing interests of the sole superpower and western allies in supporting the refugees, the international community has minimised its financial and technical assistance to the hosting countries. Therefore, states do not welcome displaced persons from across the border.

Francis M. Deng and Roberta Cohen stated that the problems of the internally displaced people were not less different from refugees, which Europe experienced, in the aftermath of the Second World War. They further elaborated that at that time, those displaced had come to gain the interest of the international community and, therefore, legal and institutional frameworks were developed for refugees, while it was not the case with the internally displaced people. They advocate for the creation of an institutional framework with legal binding over all member states of the international community under the auspices of the United Nations. Both, Deng and Cohen, devised the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (UNGPID) in 1998, after going through a rigorous need assessment process of the internally displaced population across the globe.² The Guiding Principles address the specific needs of the internally dislocated population all around the world and help identify issues of rights and protection of the displaced persons.

Moreover, the UNGPID provide necessary guidance for addressing issues pertaining to forced displacement, protection and assistance during

displacement, during the return, and reintegration.³ If states are unable to provide protection and assistance to displaced persons, as responsible sovereign entities in the comity of nations, they have a responsibility to ask for assistance from regional and international players.⁴ This support may be translated into material form, when international and national NGOs, getting financial support from international donors, are allowed to fill in the gap in humanitarian assistance and support left by the government, due to the scarcity of resources and required expertise and so forth. Though it is the primary responsibility of the states and the national authorities to take care of the needs of the internally displaced people, however, states usually lack aptitude, capacity and at times, the required will to provide internally displaced persons with assistance and protection. Thus, the international community has assumed the responsibility to assist governments facing crisis, while handling internal displacement situations.⁵

By the end of the year 2009, twenty-seven million people were internally displaced around the globe, due to armed conflicts.⁶ Pakistan too has faced major displacements of masses in the last decade; displacement of people from Swat, Dir and Buner, settled in the nearby districts of Mardan, Charsaddah, Swabi and Peshawar in 2009 and that of North Waziristan in summer 2014, settled mostly in Bannu. These displacements occurred prior to the launching of the military operation '*Rah e Rast*', (Correct Path) and '*Zarb-e-Azb*', (Blow of Azb) respectively. People of Khyber Agency were displaced due to the conflict between two militant groups, *Lashkar-i-Islam* and *Ansar-ul-Islam*. Local people migrated to Peshawar and Pabbi, located at 10 and 50 Kilometres from the conflict zone respectively. Moreover, in 2014 military operation Khyber-I started to eliminate militants in the subdivision Bara of Khyber Agency, which led to massive displacement. Similarly, people from South Waziristan Agency were displaced before the military operation '*Rah e Nijat*' (Path of Deliverance) against militants in that area, and they were settled in the adjacent districts of D.I. Khan and Bannu.

Most of the existing laws and policies in the country focus on emergency response efforts, and there is very little consideration for the protection and resettlement of displaced persons in the long term⁷. In the recent past, there are two main factors which gave rise to displacement in Pakistan; militancy in areas adjoining borders with Afghanistan and natural disasters, especially in 2005. Ideally, these factors should have been tackled effectively by the government. However, many intricacies were revolving around policy matters as Pakistan lacked a comprehensive policy response on the issue. This inadequate response by the Government contributed to the miseries of the displaced people. Displacement issue is mostly dealt with by Ministry of State and Frontier Regions (SAFRON) and NDMA and PDMAs usually come forward to support the displaced population under the National Disaster Management Act 2010.

The Regulation to provide for the aid of civil power 2011 is in place, however, that is mainly concerned with tribal areas, but it becomes challenging to enact the same, when it comes to tackling crisis situation in the mainland of the country. Pakistan Army comes forward in aid of civil power, whenever the Federal Government asks the Ministry of Defence. Nevertheless, the policy directions are given by Federal Government to determine whether the military is needed for aid in a specific district or otherwise. However, there are many grey areas such as how the Federal Government would ask the military to act in a specific district or province; how and under which law the authorities would be made accountable for their acts during the displacement situations, under which circumstances the state would deny access to the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to reach out to the ones who are displaced and in need of support. Moreover, the question of whether the district or the provincial governments should also be given the right to have a say in the decision-making process when the central government ponders over the option of asking the Army to intervene and control the situation in specific areas needs to be answered. Thus, there is a need of specific laws dealing with all

such issues of internal displacement during all stages of displacement beyond the scope of humanitarian assistance, including early and emergency response stages of internal displacement.⁸

Countering Exigencies of the Crisis by Law-making

Pakistan needs to incorporate the UNGPID into domestic law in order to ensure that the crises of internal displacements are dealt effectively. Moreover, there should be coordination between civil-military authority over policy issues.⁹ The legislature should initiate a law-making process on the issue of displacement on priority basis. For such a process, there is a need to consider the pre-displacement, during displacement and post-displacement scenarios of the internally displaced persons. However, before any in-depth discussion, the methods through which legislation may be done need to be deliberated. The parliament of Pakistan may pass a bill related to the flight of masses and the suggested legislation may enable all units of the Federation for such specific law-making in their own domain. The decision about military operation may be an exclusive right of the concerned province or district council.

The procedure for opting for military operation should include a documented and transparent process of reconciliation and dialogue by the relevant district councils and persons who have taken up arms¹⁰. If the district government fails, then it should include members of national and provincial assemblies in the dialogue process. Moreover, if the militants are not convinced through dialogue, and their activities are not under control of district government, then it should rely on the district police force to check militancy and the sabotage of law and order in the concerned district. The legislation should bind the provincial government to provide Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) within 24 hours, if a district demands so. The local clergy and other influential figures should be asked to play their role to influence the militants for shunning their anti-state activities. After the exhaustion of all such steps without any fruitful result, the district government should make

a formal request to the provincial government to approach the Federal Government to engage the military in curbing militancy¹¹.

Suggested Areas for Legislation

The government of Pakistan should take all possible measures in line with the internationally accepted code of ethics and human rights during internal displacement situations in the country. The legislation on the matter under discussion should, at least, incorporate the following measures.

- **Arbitrary Displacement**

The proposed legislation should declare all acts amounting to the arbitrary displacement of people as war crimes. The government should incorporate in the legislation the right of citizens to be free from arbitrary displacement. Likewise, when arbitrary displacement exceeds, it should become a war crime or crime against humanity under the 'Rome Statute.'¹² The government should penalise it. Furthermore, a mechanism should be clearly defined in the law about how to take punitive and administrative measures to ensure compliance with relevant rules of international humanitarian law, including rules on the conduct of hostilities and the duty to distinguish between civilians and combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives.

The bill should explicitly mention the method of prosecution for the concerned individuals accused of issuing such criminal orders or those who execute it.¹³ There are many countries which have such kinds of a provision in their domestic law. For instance, German Law declares the prosecution for war crimes of person, in connection with an international or local armed conflict, who deports or transfers any person by using coercive measures, provided that the displaced persons have had the lawful right to live in Germany, meaning that either the person is a citizen of Germany

or a legal migrant. German Law does not encompass displacements caused by the authorities, when meant for the security of the population or imperative military reasons, under the international humanitarian law. Article 284-A of the Colombian Penal Code goes a bit further beyond the minimum standard in this regard. It directs to penalise that person (s), who order (s) violence or use of other coercive measures against general masses or a specific number or sector of the population to displace one or more members of that sector of the population and make them change his/her/their residence. It stipulates that such ordering person (s) can be fined from 500 to 2000 salaries in addition to 15 to 30 years imprisonment and be banned from public office from five to ten years.¹⁴

State authorities in Pakistan may also ensure respect for the international humanitarian law. The distinction between civilians and combatants in international law should be impressed upon in domestic law.¹⁵ It may also be mentioned in the law that all involuntary displacements be justified on the ground of either security of the displaced population or imperative military reasons allowed under international humanitarian law and the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (UNGPID). Moreover, family members should not be separated, and all displaced persons should be allowed for a voluntary return to their areas of habitual residence. Provision against forced return of the displaced persons should be included in the law.¹⁶ It is essential for the military to prepare in advance to streamline their course of action according to international humanitarian law and the UNGPID.

- **Disaster Risk Reduction in Pakistan**

Additionally, as expected by the international community, the governments around the globe should adopt disaster management policies focused on disaster risk reduction and preparedness.

However, it is worth mentioning here that in the form of NDMA and PDMA the government of Pakistan falls fit into the category of adequately prepared states for disaster risk reduction, therefore, the country needs no additional efforts to bring itself into conformity with the international standard in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR). However, the Government of Pakistan should include a clear statement in its national development plans and resettlement policies that forced displacement, induced by development projects, must be authorized by law, justified by compelling and overriding public interests, required to protect those interests, and carried out with full respect for the human rights of affected persons.¹⁷ The government should also include provisions in the policies about resettlement and compensation, and the right to administrative or judicial review.¹⁸

Policies of DRR are mostly related to natural or human-made disasters. Policies and laws based on DRR should be directed to acknowledge the state's responsibility to reduce the risks of disasters such as the earthquake, floods, and wildfire. The legislation should include clauses related to the prosecution of those responsible in NDMA and PDMA in case of failure to inform the affected population in advance about an impending disaster. Some disasters, such as floods and wildfires can be predicted, therefore, responsible personnel in NDMA and PDMA should be made accountable through law-making in case of failure to prepare beforehand.¹⁹ Many less developed countries, as compared to Pakistan, have taken such steps to reduce risks of natural disasters. For instance, the constitution of Uganda stands for active government role by institutionalising machinery to deal with dangers and disasters induced by natural calamities or any other situation, having the potential of displacing people.²⁰ Likewise, such guarantees are given in the constitution of South Africa as well.²¹ In the case of Pakistan, it is appreciable that law-making in this

direction has already begun. However, effective decentralisation of PDMA is a need of the hour to deal with disasters efficiently. The National Disaster Management Act, 2010 requires an active District Disaster Management Unit (DDMU). Even after the recent devastating floods in the country, DDMUs were not established till January 2013, particularly in Sindh.

In general, law-making about natural disasters in Pakistan is satisfactory, but the Internally Displaced Persons Bill should also include the DRR policies at national, provincial and district level. Moreover, establishment and development of early warning system with a categorisation of intensity of disaster should be made mandatory for all DDMUs. Effective dissemination of disaster-related information in target area through electronic and print media should be made mandatory for all responsible authorities. Both international humanitarian law and UNGPID do not provide any room for arbitrary displacement. The proposed law in Pakistan may also clearly define those categories to make sure that arbitrary displacement is not carried out by anyone in authority. In the case of natural disasters such as flood, it is easy to convince residents of the affected areas falling in the flood line southwards in the country to evacuate. Officials should be made accountable for their lack of efficiency in controlling the unexpected situation emanated from early warnings of the flood.²²

- **The Obligation to Provide Humanitarian Assistance**

It is the responsibility of the concerned authorities to take care of displaced people's mental and psychological health by supporting them financially and keep their motivation level high for displacement. However, still, there would come a time when it would be necessary for the authorities to carry out an arbitrary evacuation of conflict-affected areas. Therefore, the proposed legislation may firstly, encompass the legal conditions for the displacement of ordinary people, secondly, endorse human rights

and confine the rehabilitation and evacuation process by the minimum loss. Thirdly, the role of government, INGOs, and International aid agencies might also be clearly defined in the proposed legislation.

International Humanitarian Law, UNGPID and other tools of international law emphasise the need for humanitarian assistance during internal displacement situations. Allowing the flow of humanitarian assistance to the displaced population is the responsibility of the governments. States should first provide humanitarian assistance to its citizens; if they fail to do so, then they should not resist the effort of international aid and humanitarian assistance agencies to complement their efforts.²³

In Pakistan's displacement situations, international humanitarian assistance efforts are generally welcomed by both civil and military bureaucracy. However, Balochistan had shown some observations in a few cases in the past.²⁴ Exploitation and discrimination of resources by authorities is also observed in the name of humanitarian assistance in displacement situations. For the betterment of the dislocated population, the government should reasonably engage the international aid agencies for vulnerable people.²⁵ The government should also make it obligatory for different parties involved in the conflict to ensure freedom of movement for the international relief and humanitarian personnel in the conflict zone to assess and provide aid to the affected population. Any party to the conflict failing to do so should be prosecuted and charged with war crimes.

Most of the states have domestic legislation, in constitutions or other laws, regarding different phases during displacements such as the right to food, water, and shelter. However, few states have domestic laws regarding humanitarian assistance during emergency situations. There is still a lot to be done as far as law-making for humanitarian assistance in Pakistan is concerned. In many

developed, under-developed and developing countries, legislations cover humanitarian assistance, however, that is not described explicitly concerning displacement. Therefore, Pakistan needs to include humanitarian assistance in the proposed legislation to ensure its obligations towards its citizens as a responsible sovereign state.²⁶

After a disastrous earthquake in Balochistan province in 2013, NDMA stopped the UN assessment team in Karachi to visit the affected area. Clashes between institutions and government had directly affected the displaced people in the province by the earthquake. PDMA in Balochistan claimed that there were more than 200,000 people affected, while NDMA insisted that the number was about 125,000. The IDP specific law should explicitly mention the method of prosecution against responsible elements present in any tier of the government for taking irrational decisions.²⁷ Besides, the government of Pakistan should make a tribunal to hear the complaints of the dislocated people and decide those complaints on war footing as unique situations need particular attention to cope with critical conditions.²⁸

- **Rights of the Displaced Persons**

It is the violation of the right to freedom of movement, if someone wants to leave conflict zone, but gets trapped in it or to limit the movement of displaced people in the specific area. There is no such restriction placed on the right to freedom of movement of the dislocated ones across the board in Pakistan, however, some incidents indicate restricted movement of displaced people.

To ensure that the displaced persons enjoy the right in respect of family life, domestic law in Pakistan should incorporate the following aspects regarding family rights during law-making on the subject, like definition of family, organized registration system, security issues, guardianship and custody matters of missing

individuals and children, and specify conditions for the involvement of international humanitarian actors.

Moreover, to ensure the right of the displaced persons to get adequate food, the legislation should first define and explain 'adequate food'.²⁹ The phrase of the provision of clean water should be mentioned in the legislation to take care of the health of the dislocated population. The legislation should emphasise the need for mandatory provision of food in camps, as it is observed in numerous cases that the displaced persons were not given assistance in the shape of food or the cash for food.³⁰ Thus, it should be unequivocally mentioned in the law that the concerned authorities are responsible for taking care of the right to adequate food for displaced people in the country.

Additionally, oversight of the provision of adequate food and potable water to dislocated masses should be assigned to a specific ministry such as National Food Security and Research or some other relevant ministry. The same practice has been adopted in the National Policy on IDPs in Uganda, which has assigned the task of provision of potable water to Ministry of Water, Lands, and Environment (MWLE) and the local governments.³¹ Therefore, the federal and provincial governments in Pakistan should also be prepared to play their role and responsibility in taking care of all needs, mainly food and potable water needs of the dislocated people.

Right to shelter or adequate housing is one of the fundamental rights of the displaced people. This right goes hand in hand with the right to food, sanitation and potable water. Displaced from their homes, the masses lose the sense of security and safety, therefore, it is crucial that authorities provide for an adequate shelter of the displaced population. It should also be explicit on the matter of adequate housing for them during the phase of long-term solutions.³² Consequently, right to health does not mean access to

medical and health facilities alone. It also means to have all essential determinants of health such as the right to have nutritious food, right to have adequate potable water and sanitation and right to have suitable and adequate housing facilities. During armed conflicts, the state authorities should be held responsible for ensuring that the affected populations have access to health facilities.³³ There are various exemplary laws in different states that have provisions in this regards like the Columbian law 387 on internal displacement provides for the establishment of ready-to-use health mechanisms such as access to rehabilitation, hospitals, psychological, dental, surgical and comprehensive medical assistance.³⁴

The government should consider various aspects, while devising legislation specific to internally displaced persons such as recognition of the right to health, registration process for identifying health needs of IDPs, establishment of accountability system for authorities and ensuring the best available health services.

- **Registration of IDPs**

Every individual has the fundamental right to be recognised as a person everywhere before the law in times of peace and crisis. According to numerous international norms such as the UNGPID state that responsible authorities have the obligation towards displaced citizens to facilitate them in the recovery of original documents or acquisition of duplicate identity documents to enable them to enjoy certain other rights, dependent on their identity documents such as identity card, passport and academic certificates / degrees.

However, internally displaced persons need documentation not only to enjoy their right to freedom of movement both at domestic and international fronts, but they also need documentation to get registered for medical, shelter and other humanitarian needs, such

as to receive food.³⁵ In many cases, they need identity documents to receive pensions and other pecuniary benefits. In order to keep complete details of the displaced masses, the government should involve NADRA for the acquisition of information needed for their pensions.

Documentation regarding private property is also a significant issue for the government. To find a solution for illegal control on private property, the Ministry of Displacement and Migration in Iraq has introduced a form to incorporate all information about the private property of internally displaced persons before their displacement. Thus, even in the absence of original property documents, the IDPs can establish a claim to their property, once they return to their areas of habitual residence.³⁶ Therefore, it is strongly recommended that the government should also introduce an information collection form regarding the left-over property of displaced masses in the conflict zones to make them establish their rightful claim to their property, occupied by others.

- **Economic, Social and Political Aspects**

Internally displaced persons are always faced with financial problems, as their means of earnings, too, are affected due to dislocation. With the loss of established means of earnings, displaced families find themselves destitute. It is the right of all individuals, without any discrimination to have access to adequate and dignified means of living.³⁷ Due to the influx of internally displaced person, labour becomes quite cheap in host areas. While carrying out the cumbersome process of law-making on the said subjects, the government should take into consideration desirable steps for their uplift.

Elections are critical in the context of armed conflict-induced internal displacement, because the election in conflict situation means that parties to the conflict have shown leniency in their stances. It is crucial that internally displaced persons be facilitated

in casting votes, as it is their democratic right, even if they are away from the constituency, where their votes are registered. Moreover, Principle 22(1) (d) of the Guiding Principles also emphasises the right to political participation of internally displaced persons to ensure that their interests are represented.³⁸ However, the ability to take part in politics also carries some more inbuilt rights with it, such as the right to represent people, campaign and be elected in the election, is a right for which one should have the right to freedom of speech as well. Therefore, law-making on this sensitive subject should not ignore the political aspect of the lives of the displaced people.

- **Other Challenges**

There have been reports regarding extra-judicial killings.³⁹ One can dispute the figure or even the authenticity of the whole issue of extrajudicial killing; however, the law regarding such issues be made comprehensive in a manner that counter-insurgency efforts yield desired dividends instead of resulting in more losses.

Moreover, the military has been actively involved in repulsing militants in both Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) and getting control of cleared areas.⁴⁰ These militias (militant groups) must not be given a free hand in their respective areas, since they carry out extra-judicial killings mostly for their vested.⁴¹ The under-discussion legislation should forbid the rise of militant groups, which may pose a risk in the short or/and long-term.

- **Financial Assistance and NGOs**

Usually, NGOs fill the vacuum left by the government in the provision of services to the people. Financial assistance is either spent by the government directly or it is disbursed among NGOs to help the government coping with the situation. Various local and international NGOs have actively participated in relief and rehabilitation of the displaced persons from Swat in 2009. The

financial assistance for the dislocated population has been pouring into Pakistan since the earthquake of 2005, however, the impact is not being noticed. The international donor community should, therefore, not tie their financial support for the displaced to their well-knitted monitoring and evaluation standards, as these standards cannot be followed by many local NGOs and even, at times, the government of Pakistan itself cannot follow it, due to lack of institutional capacity. It has been observed that close monitoring through documentation alone limits the projects' activities to the pieces of papers. For instance, the USAID insistence on the display of its logo on all items meant for IDPs makes it difficult at times to distribute those items among the needy ones effectively.⁴² The same principle goes for the distribution of aid by government officials, who are vulnerable to militants. Therefore, it is suggested that all international donors should try to focus on providing financial assistance to the Federal Government instead of NGOs.

The international donor community should accept the fact that organisations working in Pakistan understand the local dynamics better than them and, thus, their opinion and expertise should be given more importance. The local implementing partners should be included through meaningful participation during the need assessments, designing programs and producing reasonable timetables and performance evaluation tools during their projects.⁴³ They should concentrate on improving the aid efficacy through a partnership with Federal Government institutions, along with national and international NGOs with the right track records.⁴⁴

An official of UNHCR Pakistan, Islamabad, says on the condition of anonymity that the international donors should also develop such impact assessment tools which would measure institutional strengthening and go beyond the conventional approach of numbers game, based on measuring the output alone. Moreover, the donor organisations and countries should

incorporate the representatives from national and provincial public accounts committees and civil society organizations in their monitoring and oversight mechanism.

Conclusion

The road to reforms and rectification may be a long and tough one, but the issues in hand, related to this subject are complicated, and they need to be addressed with multi-faced resolution methods. There are various constitutional amendments and Acts in place in the country, most of them can be termed great pieces of legislation, such as 18th constitutional amendment of 2010 and the Right to Information (RTI) Act 2013. Specific Bill or Act for internal displacement situations will enable Pakistan to cope with the ever-growing challenges of internal displacement systematically and institutionally. Devising such a law and bringing it in practice is not impossible, as many developed states of Europe and underdeveloped African countries have demonstrated the formulation of such displacement specific laws. Law-makers in Pakistan should take guidance from the Guiding Principles on internal displacement in these endeavour.

The first and foremost responsibility of the Federal Government is to chalk out displacement related laws. In this connection, the input may be sought from all stakeholders vis-a-vis various organisations, agencies and provincial governments etc. to deal with the problems of internal displacement effectively. Among the provincial governments, the governments of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan should consider the measures as mentioned earlier and carry out law-making processes in their respective provinces on these lines, as the two provinces are the epicentres of conflict-induced, human-made and natural calamities-induced internal displacement in the country.

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THE POWER OF SOCIAL MEDIA: NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Khadija Younus*

Abstract

Web-based social interactions are the kind of media that depend on discussion and communication between individuals or groups online. These online interactions not only enable individuals to meet and speak with unfamiliar people, but they let them know what is going on around the world. From one viewpoint, online networking has assumed a vital role in strengthening of democratic norms and creating awareness on almost every issue. On the other hand, it has been used to instigate conflict and division, by spreading misinformation and heighten tensions in fragmented societies like Pakistan, which could have far-reaching impact on national security. Hence, social media not only encourage rights' consciousness, democratic practices, communication revolution, educational excellence and political activism, but is also tainted by cyber terrorism, harassment, electronic forgery, pharming, and click-jacking. To harness this watch-dog of society for maximum benefits necessitates regulation, monitoring and early intervention, at the same time, building a better case for self-regulation. Government, media organisations and civil society together with the help of proper regulatory laws can utilize this information revolution in providing equal platforms to voices traditionally excluded from the national discourse and catering for diversity and plurality to make Pakistan a strong, progressive and democratic state.

Key Words: Social Media, Scalable Sociality, Information Communication Technology, Cybercrimes

Introduction

Today, we are part of an 'Information Society', where every individual lives two lives, a real and a virtual (embedded in information systems). The merger between information and computer networks has integrated Information Communication Technology (ICT) systems into products and domains, which traditionally functioned without them. ICT covers any item that will store, recover, control, transmit or get data electronically through computers, digital television, email, and robots. One of the major manifestations of it is the internet; a borderless ocean filled with information resources. Among all applications and usages, social media

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revolution is a fundamental fragment of internet mechanism, where people can interact freely, discuss information and share their views about everything under the sun. The technologies such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, LinkedIn etc., are regarded as the fifth dimension to the existing four dimensions of warfare – the land, sea, air and space. This fifth and newest dimension of warfare has neither any geographical boundaries nor limits, penetrating every aspect of human life, including education, social interaction, law enforcement, media, diplomatic functioning-business, research, development, and military.

Social media can be defined as variety of internet and network-based technologies that allow for asynchronous and multi-dimensional information sharing, communication, and participation in activities. It can also be said that social media is ‘the type of media that is based on conversation and interaction between people online.’¹

The study in hand elucidates the significance of social media, how it interrupts the boundaries of one way communication, where current scenarios, information, thoughts and feelings can flow freely, changing the perceptions of people, leveraging visible change and offering a capability for informed and intelligent decision-making. How it has gained a vital role in starting off social movements and mobilization of collective endeavours, assumes an essential part in political and social movements, by giving individuals a stage for political and informative outpouring, and symbolic recognition for a shared cause. In various ways, social media has piloted constructive changes in the way public communicate and consume information, yet it has a shady side too. The paper also throws light on some of the frequent and commonly used ways of abuse through social networks and various risks to which social media users are exposed. What needs to be done to ensure the safety of person and personal data is also the concern of this paper, suggesting a proposed mechanism to minimize and to some extent, limit the dangers posed by this information revolution to vulnerable societies like that of Pakistani.

Social Media - Theoretical Perspective

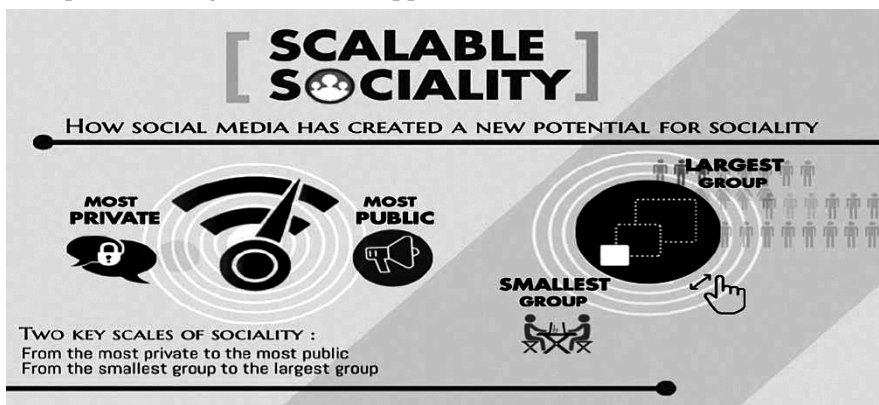
Since the increased access to the Internet in 1960s, the networked populace of the world has expanded from millions to billions. This expanded utilization of web also brought an upheaval in the utilization of social networking. This social networking trend developed as an integral part of life and included vast online populace, ranging from common citizens, political specialists and activists to non-governmental associations, programming houses, broadcast communication firms, and governments so on and so forth. Resultantly, the correspondence canvas turned out to be more unpredictable, denser and participatory attributable to the involvement of numerous actors. Likewise, the organized online population currently can access to more data, information, public speeches and an enhanced ability to undertake challenging tasks.² Thus, online networking apparatuses like Email, Instant Messages, Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, YouTube, Flickr and so on, have turned out to be central and inevitable tools of social interaction and communication in every field of life.

Prior to Facebook, Snapchat, WhatsApp, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube, etc., there were two means through which people interacted with one another, using media. The first was public media such as television, newspapers and radio. With such media, anyone as long as they had access to it, could be the audience. Additionally, accessible for a long time was media that encouraged private communication between two individuals, for instance a phone discussion, called 'dyadic' communication. In the past, individuals could meet in groups face to face, yet it was unprecedented to make group based activities inside media, for example, the phone. With the advancement of the web in 1990's, this polarization between private and public media began to change. An email could be sent to a number of people. Bulletin boards, chat rooms, specialized forums and blogging were created, which appealed to wider audience. At the same time, group media such as CB radio (a short-distanced radio communication system between individuals with limited number of channels), was developed. The initial

development of social networking sites for example, Friendster, QZone and then Facebook is a kind of transmitting or broadcasting to a limited group of people rather than to the general public at large. This broadcast in a way is scaling communication downwards. On the other hand, there are some social media platforms such as WhatsApp and Wechat, which are revolutionizing private exchanges and communications, such as telephones and messaging services, by scaling them upwards. Each and every member of the group is free to upload and post equally either a clip, an article or news bulletin to other members of the group.³ Consequently, contribution of social media platforms towards sociality can be understood through two scales; the first scale is from the most private to the most public interaction and the second one from the smallest group of two to the greatest group of uncountable numbers. This aspect of social networking sites is attributed as 'Scalable Sociality'.⁴ Janet and Daniel have graphically described the scalable sociality⁵ as given below:-

Figure 1: Graphic Representation of Scalable Sociality through Social Media

Social media has passed through different stages of transformation. In this process many social media applications became obsolete and new social

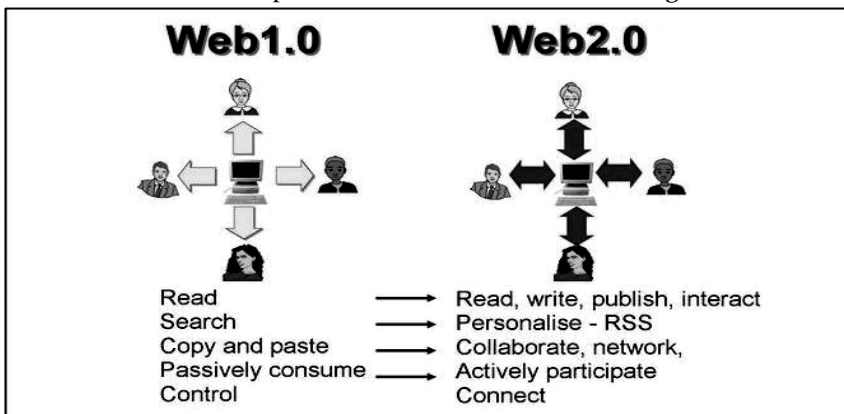


networking sites were introduced. The focus is also on what developments have occurred in the World Wide Web (WWW) over the period of time to bring about transformations, which have facilitated new modes of

connection, online communication and set a tone for future events too. Generally, the social media websites include Usenet Newsgroup, Internet Relay Chat (IRC), Bulletin Board Systems (BBSs), Instant Messengers like Skype, ezTalks, Viber etc., Friendster and Live Journal, Forums, LinkedIn, MySpace, Facebook, Orkut, and Twitter. These are different online forums that allow sharing of information and interchanging of articles. Most of them are used for communication and message sharing.⁶ These websites were developed in the 1970s and 1980s, connecting more than 110 million users with one another.⁷ Tracing back the history, Web 1.0 emerged in the 1990's and denoted the first development in the World Wide Web (WWW), which was essentially a collection of web pages interconnected by hyperlinks, but did not provide interactive content. Later, the emergence of Web 2.0 highlighted the 'second generation of web development' created by innovative specialist Tim O'Reilly, where the broadcasting information was not only viewed, but could be commented upon too, so viewers had the choice to connect, collaborate and build upon thoughts and ideas to create a new generation of thinkers, idealists and learners, thus, promoting a social constructivist approach to learning.⁸ Alice Caspers has described social constructivism⁹ in the following illustration (Figure 2):-

Figure 2: Diagrammatical Representation Showing Difference between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0

Oluwafisayo states that the type of technological advances that have stemmed from the implementation of Web 2.0 are regular commentary



sites, such as Wikipedia, where users build upon other contributors' knowledge, podcasts and social media networks all of which stimulate world discussion and involvement. This Web 2.0 carries forward the constructivist approach to learning, because one's knowledge is enhanced by the contribution of others, creating a transformed and deeper understanding, at the same time, encouraging individuals to be in control of their own learning.¹⁰ Bryan Eisenbergtoo, while characterising social media as an effective tool of sociality, emphasizes its importance as enabling people to create their own content according to their own knowledge.¹¹ Talking of the nature of these platforms, Brian Solis says the world of socialized media is not only evolving continuously, but also maturing and upgrading human knowledge, capability. It will keep on growing in so far as individuals understand that these new social instruments and systems require an altogether new responsibility and are epitome of what individuals represent and how these tools add to sociology, characterizing groups and individuals.¹² For example, Facebook is a platform which helps people to communicate online. LinkedIn and Myspace are used for professional networking, such as job searching, professional information and help in creating curriculum vitae.¹³ Other websites such as Orkut, Twitter, Instagram, and WhatsApp are used for video and photo sharing. Twitter is recognized as micro-blogging network and allows users to post approximately 140-character text messages, which are called 'Tweets'.¹⁴ So in this digital world, once a person connects to the internet, he/she has admittance to multiple platforms that are not only global but mostly free.

From now onwards, the discussion rallies to the positive dimensions of social media.

- **Means of Education**

Online networking is a thing that is being utilized as part of a creative way for educational purposes. Students are being educated to use this tool in a better way in classes and not just for messaging, texting or chatting. Social Media sites' usage in classrooms calls for

inspection too and in this regard it is important that school managements establish broad policies to monitor and regulate the use of social media sites in class rooms. Through social networking tools, students, parents, teachers and educators collaborate online. It also enables students doing different activities, such as blog making, development of professional links, announcements about class activities and sharing information with fellow students, educators and parents. By using social media platforms, students' awareness, knowledge about issues and their engagement in lesson can be enhanced, if teachers and school administration remain professional, by ensuring compliance to the rule that social media tools and web are used only for instruction and curriculum.

- **News Breaking Tool**

Generally, media outlets contend to out-scoop each other yet today, if they hang on to a story for too long, they risk being surpassed by bloggers, facebookers, citizen journalists and twitterers. Online networking tools, for example, Facebook, Twitter and also web 2.0 applications like Google and blogs have changed the news business and the reporting practice inside out. They show amazing outcomes, albeit, a high vulnerability for errors. Entry to the domain of journalism is very easy now since anybody with a PC, or a Smart Phone can be their own distributor or publisher. They can blog, tweet or Facebook any material, anytime, anyplace. What makes social media exceptionally convincing to journalism is the power by which it has turned out to be a persuasive news breaking instrument. In this context, an example of U.S. State Department can be mentioned, when it requested Twitter to defer its planned maintenance on the site since it was being utilized by protestors infuriated by the consequences of Iran's controversial presidential election in June 2009.¹⁵

- **Word of Mouth on Steroids**

In social media platforms, news is word of mouth on steroids.¹⁶ For example, the news about the passing away of Michael Jackson in 2009, people on Facebook and Twitter broke the story ahead of any significant news organization. The moment the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Medical Center, made the demise declaration official, social media and news websites reported record number of people accessed these platforms in such a way that some of these websites were crashed. That instance showed how information is disseminated and consumed in social media, the speed with which it spreads and the magnitude of its influence is ungraspable. It demonstrated that the gatekeeper role is not selective of journalists, because the participatory culture of online networking has enabled everyone with journalistic traits.

- **Influencing Political Transformations**

William Dutton of the Oxford Internet Institute has termed social media as the fifth pillar of state with press, judiciary, executive and legislature making up the other ones. He further said, 'we are witnessing the emergence of powerful new voices and networks which can act independently of the traditional media. Highly networked individuals (helped by new platforms like social networking and messaging) can move across, undermine and go beyond the boundaries of existing institutions.'¹⁷ Social media assumed a revolutionary position sparking political awakening and awareness among different countries of the Middle East during the 'Arab Spring' of 2010. Online networking acclimatizes individuals with a remarkable and fast mode of communication, which spread information and provided input, assembled a strong faction of activists and sped up the progress of protests, minimizing the gaps existing in their coordination, besides connecting them with the outside world. These social media featured revolutions spread like fire on multiple social networking sites and gave a chance to talk,

advance, and actualize political deliberations as full-grown movements.¹⁸ In the ‘Trump Election’, the amount of fake news spread across multiple social media platforms, are numbered in so many hundreds of thousands, that they created the ‘Disinformation Bubble’,¹⁹ where people were to verify and test the facts themselves not by any authentic platform or authority. Hence, this ‘Post Truth’ era is all about such news, which appeals to public emotion and personal belief than objective facts in shaping their perceptions.²⁰

- **Shield against Sexual Harassmen**

Social media platforms are a great way of social transformation and fighting against social ills. This realization is gaining momentum that social media is not just a game or a useless pastime and can be an effective tool in bringing about social reformation and awareness. Pakistan’s first ever international social media summit featured a famous Egyptian activist Rebecca Chiao, among many other guest speakers whose online project ‘HarassMap’, grabbed the attention of local and international media, being an online forum operating for women, who have been sexually harassed in Cairo, Egypt. In case of any complaint, a woman can email, message or telephone through which other ladies can know the areas of danger for their safety.²¹

While talking of the positivity of social media, one cannot ignore its potential disadvantages, which pose serious threats to people and society. The hazards of social media are discussed below:-

- **Internet Addiction**

Research has proven that social media sites can be extremely addictive. Individuals who use these sites for their daily chit chat are snared to a point that they disregard health responsibilities, particularly their eating schedule. The addictive nature of internet causes dietary issues, obesity, heart problems, disturbed sleep patterns, and other related health issues. Internet addiction is also

termed as Pathological Internet Use (PIU); this scale is used to identify people with excessive internet use patterns. These patterns include mood-altering, failure to fill major obligations, guilt and craving. In this phase, internet users get information from different websites as per their satisfaction, but in later stages of internet addiction they lose their ability to make right choices.²² Pediatricians can help to educate people about both intricacies of online presence and the hard-hitting social and health issues that are experienced by online interaction. They can encourage families to address the issues of cyber bullying, status update syndrome, social anxiety and depression by advising them to kill communication gap existing in their homes and relationships, becoming better educated about the many technologies their partners and youngsters are using.²³

- **Negative Impact on Teens**

The effect of social media sites on the conduct of children and teens is very distressing. The younger lot of the general public, like children and teens, make up a very large part of the internet population. Hence, they are affected by its negative effects to a greater extent. Additionally, excessive exposure to online platforms, because of addiction to the virtual world, hampers teens from participating in physical exercises and socialization. Making contact with other people outside the social network is not necessary for them and this tendency results in their becoming socially stagnant. Trying to impose restrictions on children in using any particular online forum may not work too well, but a parent with constant involvement and participation in their children's activities will provide them much better chances keeping oversight over their online activities. At the same time, most of the people are normally unaware of the requirements for online security and, thus, become easy victim of cyber-criminals, who are out there to get benefitted from such gullible users, either by hacking their accounts or

blackmailing them by getting illegal access to their confidential data.²⁴

- **Account Phishing**

It is to phish for a person's login credentials. In online banking frauds, the attacker sets up a site that is the same as that of the login page of the focused social network website and then he/she establishes a connection to it by means of email or message purportedly from the social network itself.²⁵ After getting access to the target account details, the attacker can either sell the login credentials in the black market or impersonate the original account holder by sending messages to his/her friends that appear to originate from the owner. To spot such attackers is easy as the fake login sites do not have a valid SSL certificate, which is a small data file that digitally binds an online address key to an organization's details, thus, leading to detect the anomaly by the original account users.

- **Pharming**

It is a scamming practice in which malicious code is installed on a personal computer or server, misdirecting users to fraudulent web sites without their knowledge and consent. Watch out for site URLs that use varieties in spelling or area names, or utilize 'com' rather than 'gov', for instance. It is better to type a website's address as opposed to clicking on a hyper link.

- **Cyber Terrorism**

Cyber terrorism is the most dangerous feature of digital age, which has enhanced the influence and range of non-state actors and at the same time equipped individuals with smart technological advancements that provide ample space for terrorist organizations to thrive and influence youth for their ulterior motives. Cyber terrorism is a lethal form of cyber threat, where internet is used for recruitment, propaganda, financing, incitement to commit act of terrorism. At the same time, using social media platforms to

intimidate people for advancing religious, political or ethnic causes, falls into the domain of cyber terrorism and is punishable with imprisonment and fine in many countries of the world.

- **Clues to Conflict**

Vulnerable societies fall victim to conflicts, social media provide seeds for clues to conflict to bring disorder in such societies. These clues can be detected through some indicators, which are divided into two categories named structural and content indicators.

‘Structural indicators’ are concerned with media outlets and media professionals’ degree of plurality, reach and accessibility, journalists’ isolation physically and representation ally from their national and international contemporaries along with legal environment prevailing in society vis-à-vis media. On the other hand, ‘Content Indicators’ are helpful in detecting clues involving those subjects designed to create fear by focusing on past violence and history of ethnic hostility of certain individuals or groups and manipulating stereotypes and identities to ‘dehumanise’ masses, thereby, justifying injustice claiming that such acts are to be perpetrated not against any individual, but against what he or she represents. Likewise, content designed to create a sense of resignation and inevitability among viewers, leads them to discredit all other alternatives to conflict. Here, citing the example of Rwanda is pertinent, how media was used to promote violence in 1994 and a private radio station was used to instill fear of an impending attack by a Tutsi militia on Hutu people. In Pakistan, the recent killing of a PML-N worker in Sialkot, Punjab, by PTI supporters speaks volume of the hatred spread against political opponents on social media that has taken a ruthless shape.²⁶

At this point, nipping these ‘Clues to Conflict’ in the bud through a number of interventions may prevent vulnerable societies from violent conflicts. These interventions cum opportunities include ‘Structural Interventions’, which are concerned with strengthening

of domestic and international journalist networks through consolidation of independent media, free of government and pressure groups' influence, developing journalists' competence, by enhancing their physical and human resources, working with legislature and judiciary for effective laws protecting media independence and journalists along with a strong judiciary to enforce such laws needed to be employed to weaken media abuse. Alongside, providing journalists with a sense of security by consolidating domestic and international journalist networks will help them report on issues without succumbing to pressure or prejudice rather with objectivity.

The second kind of intervention is 'Content-Specific', which aims at training journalists in a manner, so that they could rise above religious, political, ethnic and regional influences to recognize the correct source of grievances of groups or people. Projecting 're-personalisation' among people and discouraging de-humanization through their writing and videos, in order to sensitize them on issues concerning other ethnicities or regions is very important. In this regard, the video 'Spacebridges' is important to cite, which provides a platform, where people belonging to opposing sides of a conflict involve in exchange of views with each other via live video chat. This kind of platform was first used during the Cold War in 1983, when members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America (USA) Congress interacted candidly to clear their views regarding each other. A more recent usage of the Spacebridge dialogue took place between Phil Donahue and Valadimir Pozner, 2013. The duo had hosted televised discussions between audiences in the Soviet Union and the U.S. via satellite in 1980s' and they continue doing so even today. Making an apt use of this medium, they are enlightening people across the globe on multiple world issues.

Finally, the last type of intervention is 'Aggressive' which being the last resort, calls for jamming or off-airing of those programs that promote abuse and manipulation to such an extent after which violent conflict becomes inevitable.²⁷ These interventions minimize and mitigate clues to conflict in fragmented societies preventing violent conflicts from taking place, thereby, making the quality of life of people better.

Pakistani society, being divided on ethnic, religious and sectarian lines henceforth, presents a case study of what challenges and opportunities social media throw at it.

Social Media – Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan

As the world is moving from traditional economic models to knowledge intensive models, Pakistan is fully poised to harness the benefits of Information Technology's ever-dynamic social media platforms' power and potentials. Approximately 60% of 200 million population of Pakistan includes youngsters. The ever increasing digital landscape of the country has created new platforms for socialization and communication not only at personal level to initiate social and political viewpoints, but also for commerce and business promotion of organizations. On ICT front, Pakistan has achieved many milestones through the successful auction of 3G/4G spectrum by Ministry of Information Technology, which has brought about a far-reaching change on the digital scene of the country, as it has increased the broadband subscriptions to almost 30 million people, which has led to internet penetration to almost 19%, which is, indeed, remarkable as compared to less than 3% in 2013.²⁸

Online Networking Usage Patterns in Pakistan

The trends of online networking in Pakistan are same as that of any progressed and developed countries of the world. Facebook is the mainstream online networking site in Pakistan with 25 million users at the end of year 2016.²⁹ It is important to know the data regarding use of social

media platforms by Pakistanis before proceeding to challenges and opportunities, which they pose to the state of Pakistan. Table 1 is providing data regarding different social media sites usage by Pakistanis in 2015:

Table 1: Social Networking Sites Users in Pakistan in 2015

Facebook	12 Million
Twitter	3 Million
Linkedin	1.2 Million
YouTube	1.4 Million

Source: (Pakistan Annual Social Media Report, 2015)

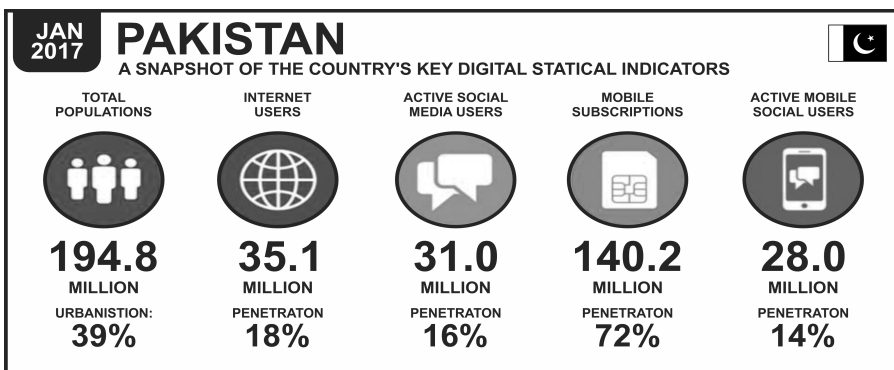
Table 2 indicates that usage of these sites increased considerably in 2017.

Table 2: Social Networking Sites Users in 2017

Social Media Website	Users
Facebook	30 Million
Twitter	3.1 million
Snapchat	0.5million
Instagram	3.9 million

Source: Pakistan Social Media Users Crossed 44 million in 2016-2017³⁰

Figure 3: Pakistan’s Key Digital Statistical Indicators for the Year-2017



Source: Pakistan Advertiser’s Society³¹

Impacting the electioneering process in Pakistan, it has been observed by many independent watchdogs that almost 69% of Pakistani males and 31% of females used social media in 2013, general elections and one of the major reasons for such phenomenal popularity of social media is the easy

accessibility of smart phones at low rates. This led to the increase in the use of social media on smart phones by a majority of Pakistani population. Social media sites' popularity among young Pakistanis has led the political parties to use them for propagation of their agendas in 2013 general elections. The success of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in 2013 elections, as the second biggest political party of Pakistan after Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz, owes a lot to these platforms which have opened up new spaces for voters and enabled them to experience democratization of expression and will through Twitter, Facebook and online blogs.³² Media industry has mushroomed immensely in Pakistan for the last ten years or so. It has brought radical changes in the existing mind set of people and has provided them food for thought on multiple national and international issues. At the same time, this digital revolution has generated more needs, which vary from person to person, ranging from entertainment to information, socialization and communication with people, being in charge of knowing more about issues to generating discussions on different contents.

It is apt to say that social media revolution has prevented Pakistani society from being stagnant and endows a vibrant and healthy form of a living society. At the same time, it has underlined that public interest is issue-centric; meaning people are more concerned about economic, political and trade issues as well as matters regarding war and peace confronting the state. Routine matters of diplomacy do not penetrate deep in public psyche. Alongside, Pakistani media, especially social media has played its role in creating consensus on key issues such as war against terrorism, shaping debates on human rights, drone attacks etc.

Having penetrated so deep at various levels of Pakistani government and society, ICT has exposed them to cyber threats and attacks too, which are used to destabilize countries. In Pakistan, damage inflicted by cyber-attacks could be much worse for not having enough cyber regulations to protect privacy and critical data. Even the most developed countries of the world got badly affected, when a recently occurred major cyber-attack

'Wannacry' wreaked havoc in United States, NHS (National Health Service) hospitals in UK and Petro China, causing disruption in vital services and resulting in a loss of income.³³ In this context, Pakistan being a developing country and literally far behind in terms of cyber security and regulations, could face dire repercussions in the face of such cyber-attacks, when necessary ICT security regulations are not enforced. So, the need is to make sure the protection of data pertinent to state, its businesses and citizens. Also, in Pakistan the way information (digital or otherwise) around public or private spheres, is handled, exposes it to dangers. There is little understanding that passing an email around on paper defeats the purpose of privacy and sensitive information can easily be leaked. Furthermore, using outmoded versions of software in a number of Pakistani offices leaves them susceptible to cyber-attacks, which may result in loss of income and disruption of vital services. To avoid such setbacks, it is important that all Pakistani government websites, computers and data must be interlinked together and be governed by a uniform and strong IT policy to guard information that is critical for national security.³⁴

There is no denying fact that social media has altered the contours of public discussion in Pakistan, and highlighted issues that used to be dropped by the wayside before the opening up of ICT networks and platforms. In this respect, different public sector entities are in place to regulate, monitor and secure online traffic and services. To name a few; Ministry of Information Technology (MoIT), Federal Investigation Agency's National Response Centre for Cyber Crime (NR₃C), and Pakistan Telecom Communication Authority (PTA) are responsible for regulation, protection, promotion and availability of quality ICT services across the country. People's power is growing with these ICT services and state has felt, at times, its authority threatened and has thought of to what extent citizens' practice of freedom of expression on line can be granted. Time and again Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) has itself admitted the futility and costliness of attempting to enforce internet restrictions and had

admitted before the National Assembly's standing committee on Information Technology and Telecommunication that it had no jurisdiction over platforms such as the Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp. The PTA realistically has identified, as to where the responsibility for the effective use of social media lies i.e., with society itself. It has expressed its inability that despite having sweeping powers under the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016 – including section 34, which affords PTA to 'remove and block' any information, it thinks improper on virtually any pretext, it cannot control information shared on these platforms though it empowers the body to sentence people with imprisonment and fine of PKR 10 million maximum for multiple cyber-crimes. PTA appears to understand that controlling is neither possible, given the borderless nature of the internet, nor is it appropriate to enforce a regulation that has least acceptance among the general public. Barring criminal offences that do material harm to individuals and the state—harassment, identity theft, money laundering, militant activities, etc. self-regulation is the key that can work online. This may not be as neat a prescription as the state desires, but it is pertinent to recall that attempts to codify moral policing has not borne out results and had only further eroded the relationship between the people and their government and harmed the most vulnerable segments of society – the poor, women and minorities.³⁵ On the other hand, there are strong views in favour of regulation and monitoring of online activities, since fragmented societies like Pakistan are prone to conflicts and media especially social media are powerful tools, used by actors intending to instigate conflicts by disseminating particular messages and opinions, thereby, shaping individual's views and heightening disagreements in society. They call for media monitoring and systematic review of different social media platforms, so clues to seeds of conflict could be identified and neutralized to avoid division on ethnic, sectarian and cultural lines.³⁶ This monitoring mechanism should be all-inclusive, keeping all stakeholders on board, including PTA, the Internet Service Providers Association, and Pakistan Software Houses Association in concert with all the other relevant

ministries to ensure that no innocent is harassed or punished in the name of monitoring laws. At the same time, all such laws ought to be devoid of ambiguities and double meaning in order to curtail its misuse and abuse.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are proffered for government and its related ministries concerning multiple social media dimensions in the country:-

- a. It is imperative for the government to initiate a comprehensive National Information Operations Policy in concert with Ministry of Information Technology (MoIT), Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA), Pakistan National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) and Defence Committee of the Cabinet, giving guidelines to all the relevant government departments on ICT and information warfare. At the same time, involving IT industry and its activists such as Internet Service Providers Association, and Pakistan's Software Houses Associations in developing mechanisms and systems to professionally monitor internet traffic, especially the social media platforms to detect and curb seeds of conflict in society.
- b. A lax code of conduct for social media already exists in the form of Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016, which needs strengthening and enforcement in letter and spirit. Any ambiguity regarding ordinary citizen's liberties and punishments in the name of security must be avoided, ensuring that no innocent is subjected to abuse or harassment in the name of security protocols.
- c. Key ministries involved in public diplomacy and foreign relations must be enabled to be a part of the digital transition. Government officers must be trained to be familiar with an in-depth understanding of the 'Digital Age', especially that of social media. It

will help them understand that getting the government's message across, is crucial using ICT apparatus.

- d. Establishment of a 'Media Board' comprising public and government media organizations' professionals for a systematic monitoring and review should be accorded high priority in vulnerable societies like that of Pakistan. While guaranteeing application of structural and content specific interventions in media to nip clues to conflict in the bud, it would further have relevant legislation and its implementation for media independence along with safeguarding journalists from abuse and isolation. This platform would create opportunities to enhance local journalists' competence – physical and human-by jelling them well with domestic and international media networks for reporting on issues with utmost impartiality and objectivity.
- e. Usage of social media sites for educational purposes must be encouraged in schools and colleges across Pakistan but institutions' management and monitoring is equally important. In this regard, professionalism on the part of principal, teachers or director is essential and their approval for selection of particular social networking sites for classrooms is mandatory. The administrator, principal, or director must be trained as to which sites to be approved for instructional purposes. Schools' social media accounts may be used to promote the institution or school-related programmes, activities and events, as well as to provide information about its schedules, meetings, and important deadlines.
- f. The phenomenal growth of social media has endowed it with the title of a watch-dog of society and civil society of Pakistan can harness this watch-dog for promoting the socio-economic opportunities for all and sundry, unearthing corruption, stressing transparency and exerting pressure on the relevant quarters for good governance in Pakistan.

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ETHNO-REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTY SUCCESS IN PAKISTAN (1970-2013): AN ANALYSIS

Muhammad Mushtaq^{*}

Abstract

The propensity to organize parties along ethno-regional lines has remained alive in most multi-ethnic states. Additionally, the growing ethnic strife and political fragmentation in the recent past has resulted in the proliferation of ethno-regionalist parties worldwide. These parties have attracted considerable electoral support and, resultantly, have moderately influenced public policy in several cases. This paper attempts to determine the role of ethno-regionalist parties in the politics of Pakistan by examining their electoral performance in general elections. The evidence demonstrates that the influential role of ethno-regionalist parties in the politics of Pakistan will prevail until a significant shift in behavior of the national electorate occurs.

Key Words: Ethno-regionalist Parties, Electoral Support, Electoral Process

Introduction

Ethno-regionalist parties¹ have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. There are several studies available on ethno-regional parties.² Similarly, considerable literature on the electoral politics of Pakistan is available.³ But the ethno regional parties of Pakistan have remained overlooked, as no study has exclusively reviewed the dynamics of electoral support of ethno-regional parties of Pakistan. In this context, this paper attempts to grasp ‘whether the electoral support of ethno-regionalist parties in Pakistan will persist or it is likely to wither away’?

Investigating the electoral support of ethno-regional parties in Pakistan is important for several reasons. First, the ethno-regionalist parties of Pakistan originate from the smaller provinces and are supposed to be a

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vehicle of political incorporation for minority groups. Second, some ethno-regionalist parties have received stable electoral support in federal and regional elections over the years. Third, these parties have joined various coalition cabinets and, resultantly, have moderately influenced the public policy. Finally, the recent debates over party politics and electoral studies have overlooked the ethno-regionalist parties of Pakistan.

The ethno-regional political parties have attracted stable electoral support in many diverse societies. The meaningful electoral support for such parties in Quebec, Catalonia, Scotland, and the Basque Country has been noticed by the scholars on ethnicity and party politics.⁴ In the Subcontinent, the ethno-regionalist parties have successfully challenged the mainstream or multi-ethnic parties. The proliferation of Ethno-regional Parties (ERPs) in India has resulted in the continued decline of electoral support for the 'two genuinely national parties, the Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janta Party.'⁵ In the case of Pakistan, several Ethno Regional Parties are registered with the election commission of Pakistan. This paper does not aim to describe the development of these ERPs, but to evaluate their electoral support in the general elections over years.

Ethnicity and Electoral Politics in Pakistan

The Pakistani federation consists of four provinces and capital territory, Islamabad besides state of Azad and Jamu Kashmir (AJK) and Gilgit Baltistan (GB). Each of its provinces is associated with a certain ethno-linguistic group – Punjab with Punjabis, Sindh with Sindhis, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with Pashtuns, and Balochistan with Balochis. Similarly, each province has a substantial geographically concentrated minority: Seraikis in South Punjab, Mohajirs in urban Sindh, Hazarewals in Hazara region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pashtuns in north Balochistan. This diversity has a great impact on the electoral politics of Pakistan.

Owing to their numerical strength and the relative adventurous position in the power-structure of Pakistan, the Punjabis have remained centrist in their approach.⁶ Conversely, the ethno linguistic groups based in the smaller provinces have been asserting for greater degree of autonomy. Majority of the ERPs of Pakistan have demanded autonomy, equitable share in the state institutions, and recognition of cultural and linguistic identity. They have sought fiscal autonomy, ownership rights of the natural resources, extended role of the Senate in certain policy domains and territorial accommodation.

Generally, the 'first past the post' electoral system tends to strengthen the two-party system by excluding the parties with geographically-dispersed electoral support. However, the ERPs of Pakistan have geographically-concentrated electoral support and get fair representation in the parliament. Like many other multi-ethnic states, Pakistan has a multi-party system. Now, there are 321 political parties registered by the Election Commission of Pakistan. Though, only 18 political parties have representation in the National Assembly and 13 in the Senate after the elections of 2013 and 2015 respectively. The political parties of Pakistan can be grouped into three broad categories: first, the mainstream political parties that have stable electoral support across the regions; second, the religious political parties which have mostly geographically-dispersed electoral support, and third, the ethno-regional parties whose electoral support is geographically concentrated and confined to the respective ethnic groups.

Historically, Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League have remained the leading political parties in Pakistan. Both parties have displayed stable electoral support across the groups and regions in several elections. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (Pakistan Movement for Justice) of Imran Khan emerged as a third mainstream party in the general elections of 2013 by winning the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and getting considerable support in Punjab. The religious political parties represent the

various factions and sects of the Muslims. These parties lack adequate representation in the parliament, because of their geographically-dispersed electoral support. However, some parties such as Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F) have traditional electoral support concentrated in certain regions. Ethno-regional parties are operating in all regions of the state. However, majority of these parties have no attraction for the Pakistani electorate. The ethno-regional parties of rural Sindh, South Punjab, and the Hazara region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have remained unable to attract the masses. However, the MQM in urban Sindh, ANP in Pashtun region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, PKMAP in Pashtun Balochistan and the Baloch Nationalist groups in Baloch region of Balochistan were able to gain electoral support in several elections. The detail of ethno-regional parties of Pakistan is presented in the following table.

Table 1: Ethno-regional Political Parties of Pakistan

Province	Region	Ethno-regional Political Parties
Punjab	South Punjab	Pakistan Sariaki Party
		Sairkistan Qaumi Ittehad
		Seraiki Sooba Movement Pakistan
	Bahawalpur	Bahawalpur National Awami Party
		Awami Tehreek Bahali-e-Soba Bahawalpur Pakistan
Sindh	Urban Sindh	Mohajir Qaumi Movement Pakistan
		Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan
		Mohajir Ittehad Tehrik
	Rural Sindh	Sindh Democratic Alliance
		Sindh Dost Ittehad
		Sindh National Front
		Sindh Taraqi Passand Party (STP)
		Sindh United Party
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pashtun Region	Awami National Party
		Awami National Party (Wali)
	Hazara Region	Hazara Awami Ittehad Pakistan
		Hazara Democratic Party
		Hazara Qaumi Mahaz
		Ittehad Milli Hazara
		Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara
	National Party	

Balochistan	Baloch Region	Jamhoori Wattan Party
		Balochistan National Congress
		Balochistan National Democratic Party
		Balochistan National Movement
		Balochistan National Party
		Balochistan National Party (Awami)
		Mutahida Baloch Movement Pakistan
		All Muttahida Baloch Qaumi Movement
	Pashtun Region	Pakistan Brohi Party
		Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party
		Pashtoon Quomi Tehreek
		Pakhtoonkhwa Qaumi Party
		Kakar Jamhoori Party Pakistan
		Jamote Qaumi Movement

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan⁷

Pattern of Electoral Support in Pakistan

Pakistan is a parliamentary federation. The federal parliament is bicameral, consisting of the National Assembly and the Senate. However, the provinces have unicameral legislature, the provincial assembly. Each assembly has general and reserved seats for women and religious minorities. The members of National Assembly and provincial assemblies on general seats are elected through first-past-the-post electoral system for five years' term. However, the members for reserved seats are elected through 'proportional representation system of political parties' lists of candidates on the basis of total number of general seats won by each political party" in the respective Assembly.⁸ The members of Senate are elected through proportional representation system by provincial assemblies and national assembly for the period of six years.⁹

Pakistan has had a checkered history of electoral politics. The first general elections on the basis of adult franchise at national level were held in 1970. Awami League, a party that contested election on its 'six points' agenda for provincial autonomy, won all except two of seats in Bengal. In the West Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto won 62 out of 82 seats in Punjab and 18 out of 27 seats in Sindh. Although Pakistan People's Party (PPP) emerged as the second largest party in the

National Assembly, it lost elections in Karachi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (the then North-West Frontier Province-NWFP), and Balochistan. National Awami Party (W), won three seats each in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum Group), Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (Hazarvi group) won seven and six seats in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa respectively.¹⁰ After the separation of Bengal in 1971, PPP became the largest party in National Assembly. Subsequently, the 1973 constitution was passed by National Assembly and Mr Zulifqar Bhutto became the prime minister of Pakistan.

The second general elections were held in 1977. The Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) that consisted of the nine opposition parties contested the election against PPP of Bhutto. PPP won the elections but the opposition parties did not accept the results and accused Bhutto of rigging. The opposition protested and the Army imposed the martial law. The next elections were held in 1985, but on non-party basis. After the demise of Zia-ul-Haq regime in 1988, Pakistan returned to the constitutional democracy once again.

Since 1988, Pakistan has held seven general elections. With some exceptions, the ethno-regional parties, besides the mainstream parties, have contested the general elections.¹¹ Overviews of the results of several elections are summarized in the following paragraphs.

In the general elections of 1988, PPP emerged as a leading party in National Assembly by securing 94 seats out of 207. In the province of Sindh, while Sindhis overwhelmingly voted for the PPP, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement¹² won majority of seats in urban Sindh, particularly in Karachi and Hyderabad.¹³ Islami Jamhoori Ittehad-IJI (Islamic Democratic Alliance) won the election in Punjab and succeeded to set-up its government in the province. The Baloch and Pashtun nationalist parties received considerable electoral support in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan respectively. The government of Benazir Bhutto was sacked and the mid-term elections were held in October 1990. IJI, a nine-party coalition, won the elections in

Punjab. Besides its governments at center and in the province of Punjab, IJI installed coalition governments in Sindh, Balochistan, and then the NWFP in collaboration with the ethno-regional parties of respective provinces. Once again, the elected federal and provincial governments were dislodged, and the elections were scheduled on October 6, 1993. In the elections of 1993, the mainstream parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) and PPP made notable inroads into the provinces.¹⁴ While MQM boycotted the elections, the regional parties of the then NWFP and Balochistan suffered defeats in the national and provincial elections. The Islamist parties could not attract the Pakistani electorate. PPP formed coalition government at center and in the province of Punjab. PML-N and Awami National Party (ANP) succeeded in setting-up coalition government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. MQM demonstrated its electoral strength in the urban Sindh during provincial elections. Once again, the early elections were announced owing to the dismissal of the government. PML-N won the general elections of 1997 convincingly. It not only won the Punjab but also successfully made inroads in the rural Sindh. The ethno-regional parties such as MQM, ANP, BNP, JWP managed to win the elections in their respective traditional constituencies. The JUI-F also won two seats in the National Assembly.¹⁵ PML-N formed coalition governments in Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with MQM and ANP respectively. Again, the governments were dismissed, but this time because of the military takeover on October 12, 1999. After almost three years of military rule, once again general elections were held in Pakistan on October 10, 2002. The most interesting feature of these elections was the sizeable electoral support for the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA), in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. PPP won the elections in Sindh and PML-Q in Punjab. MQM successfully maintained its electoral support in urban Sindh. The next general elections were held in February 2008. PPP won the elections in Sindh and PML-N emerged as the leading party in the Punjab. MQM, once again won the elections in Karachi and Hyderabad. ANP won the election in Pashtun region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Baloch and Pashtun nationalist parties of Balochistan

boycotted the election. After the elections, PPP formed a coalition government in collaboration with PML-N, ANP, MQM, and JUI-F. In addition, coalition governments were formed in all provinces.

The next general elections held in May 2013. PML-N won the elections in Punjab decisively. PPP maintained its electoral support in rural Sindh and the MQM in urban Sindh. PTI emerged as the leading party in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The nationalist parties of Balochistan, PKMAP, and NP accomplished considerable electoral support in respective regions.

This brief description of the elections results seems to suggest that Pakistani electorate is quite dispersed. The regional political parties are generally able to attract electoral support in respective regions. Historically, the Punjab has remained centrist in its approach and has overwhelmingly polled votes for mainstream parties. Even, the Seraiki nationalist parties could not appeal to the electorate of southern Punjab. But, the voting behavior of the smaller provinces exhibit persistence of electoral support for regional political parties. The urban Sindh has outrightly voted in favor of Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) in all provincial elections since 1988. Similarly, many voters in rural Sindh have constantly cast votes for Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The voting behavior of Pashtun region in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is not in line with the non-Pashtun region of Hazara. Previously, the Awami National Party (ANP), Qaumi Watan Party (QWP), and PPP demonstrated stable electoral support. However, in the 2013 elections, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) has emerged as the leading party in this region. In contrast, the Hazara region has remained a stronghold of Pakistan Muslim League for years. The mainstream political parties have limited electoral support in Balochistan. While the PKMAP, a Pashtun nationalist party, and JUIF, an Islamist party, enjoy electoral support in north Balochistan, the Baloch nationalist parties have strong electoral support in the Baloch countryside. The membership of political parties in the contemporary parliament is provided in the following table.

Table 2: Representation of Political Parties in the National Assembly and Senate of Pakistan

S. No	Political Party	National Assembly	Senate
1	Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N)	187	26
2	Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP)	46	27
3	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	34	7
4	Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)	23	8
5	Awami National Party (ANP)	2	6
6	Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam-F (JUI-F)	13	5
7	Pakistan Muslim League-Q (PML-Q)	2	4
8	National Party (NP)	2	3
9	Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP)	4	3
10	Balochistan National Party-M (BNP-M)	0	1
11	Balochistan National Party Awami (BNP-A)	1	2
12	Pakistan Muslim League-F (PML-F)	5	1
13	Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)	4	1
14	National People's Party (NPP)	2	0
15	Qaumi Watan Party (QWP)	1	0
16	Pakistan Muslim League-Z (PML-Z)	1	0
17	Awami Muslim League (AML)	1	0
18	Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan (AJIP)	1	0
19	All Pakistan Muslim League	1	0
20	Independents	9	10

Source: National Assembly & Senate of Pakistan¹⁶

The Continuity and Change in Electoral Support of Ethno-Regionalist Parties

The previous sections illustrate that MQM in urban Sindh, ANP in Pashtun region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and the ethno-regional parties of Balochistan had sustained considerable popular support in several elections in Pakistan. Hence, this section analyses the continuity and change in the electoral support from 1988 to the 2013 elections in Pakistan. This section

discounts the ethno-regional parties of south Punjab, rural Sindh, and Hazara region of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, owing to their minimal level of support.

Awami National Party (ANP)

ANP is a Pashtun nationalist party that derives its electoral support exclusively from the Pashtuns. Though the party has membership statewide, its stronghold is the Pashto-speaking region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.¹⁷ The party had won several seats in several national and provincial elections in the Pashtun region, particularly in the districts of Peshawar, Charsada, Nowshera, Mardan and Swabi. During the seven general elections of National Assembly (1988-2013), its electoral support has revolved around 20-30% of the votes in Pashtun belt of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.¹⁸ However, it could not appeal the non-Pashtun electorate of Hazara region. The table illustrates that the party had stable electoral support between 1988 and 1997. However, its vote bank reduced in the general elections of 2002. The Mutahida Mujlis Amel (MMA, an alliance of religious political parties) contested this election in province of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (that is adjoining Afghanistan) with an anti-America slogan. This campaign policy of MMA contributed to its victory and fractured the Pashtun nationalist appeal for ANP. The party came back strongly in 2008 by winning the provincial elections and forming a coalition government. However, ANP lost elections of 2013. The party asserted that it was the major victim of terrorist attacks during the election campaign. Several of its workers and supporters were killed and injured during the terrorist activities, mostly in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In a letter to the Election Commission of Pakistan, it expressed its concern that it was not provided with a level playing field during the election campaign.¹⁹ The table demonstrates symmetry in terms of electoral support of ANP for the national and provincial elections. The party remained unable to attract the non-Pashtun constituency of the province over the years.

Table 3: Electoral Support of Awami National Party

Elections	National Assembly Elections			Provincial Assembly Elections		
	KPK	Pashtun KPK	Non-Pashtun KPK	KPK	Pashtun KPK	Non- Pashtun KPK
1988	17.67	26.26	0.58	15.98	21.69	1.20
1990	13.35	20.15	0	14.97	20.72	1.89
1993	14.34	21.75	0	15.39	21.47	0.95
1997	19.90	31.62	0	20.92	29.34	3.07
2002	9.39	14.00	0	11.34	15.88	1.26
2008	17.58	26.56	0.76	16.66	23.29	1.81
2013	7.66	10.99	0.41	10.34	12.77	2.18

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan²⁰

Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)

Though Mohajir Qaumi Movement (Mohajir National Movement) was renamed as Muttahida Qaumi Movement (Joint National Movement) in 1997 to 'adopt a more inclusive outlook away from Mohajirism', yet the pattern of electoral support for MQM suggests that it relies fundamentally on the Mohajir constituency in urban Sindh.²¹ The results of several elections depict that Karachi and Urban electorate of Hyderabad has voted overwhelmingly for MQM in national, provincial, and local bodies election since 1988. During the seven elections, the voting share of MQM in Mohajir constituency has remained stable. Its vote shares in 'Mohajir constituency has remained between 40-70% in the national and provincial elections. When it boycotted the national assembly elections in 1993, the turn out in urban Sindh remained substantially lower.'²² However, beyond urban Sindh its support has remained nominal. The detail of the electoral support of MQM is given in the following table.

Table 4: Electoral Support of Muttahida Qaumi Movement

Elections	National Assembly Elections			Provincial Assembly Elections		
	Sindh	Rural Sindh	Urban Sindh	Sindh	Rural Sindh	Urban Sindh
1990	27.18	1.74	68.95	27.76	4.96	67.49
1993	N/A	N/A	N/A	24.86	4.42	64.62
1997	14.26	2.45	43.03	20.13	3.01	56.72
2002	15.37	3.86	40.31	14.88	3.37	40.17
2008	31.00	1.21	70.94	30.88	2.23	70.78
2013	24.60	2.90	59.69	25.53	2.81	60.43

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan²³

Pakhtunkhwa Mille Awami Party (PKMAP)

The Pakhtunkhwa Mille Awami Party (PKMAP) is a Pashtun nationalist party that was formed by Khan Abdul Samad Khan in 1987. The party derives its electoral support from the Pashtun region of Balochistan. The results of national and provincial elections (1988-2013) reveals that the party has sustained its support in several elections. However, outside the Pashtun region of Balochistan its electoral support shrinks markedly.

Table 5: Electoral Support of Pakhtunkhwa Mille Awami Party

Elections	National Assembly Elections			Provincial Assembly Elections		
	Balochistan	PB*	NPB**	Balochistan	PB*	NPB**
1988	6.68	11.22	2.14	2.27	6.00	0
1990	7.84	16.46	1.16	7.10	18.15	0
1993	12.31	26.26	1.34	7.83	20.74	0
1997	7.74	13.03	2.40	6.20	16.06	0
2002	8.31	19.37	0.80	6.62	18.46	0
2013	15.61	28.06	2.12	12.80	22.91	0

* Pashtun Balochistan
** Non-Pashtun Balochistan

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan²⁴

Baloch Nationalist Groups

The Baloch nationalists protested against the amalgamation of Balochistan into the province of West Pakistan under the One-Unit scheme in 1955. Ustoman Gal (People's Party), a political party was formed in 1955 that "opposed the One-Unit scheme and demanded for the formation of

unified Balochistan province.”²⁵ Yahiya Khan (1969-71) regime broke up the One-Unit scheme and reinstated the provincial status of Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then the Northwest Frontier Province), and Sindh. In addition, Balochistan was granted the provincial status. In the general elections of 1970, Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ataulah Mengal contested the election under the banner of National Awami Party (W). However, Akbar Bugti, another prominent Baloch leader did not join the party.²⁶ The NAP (W) won eight out of twenty provincial assembly seats and formed a coalition government in Balochistan.²⁷ Ataulah Mengal remained the Chief Minister from May 1, 1972 to February 13, 1973. As it has been mentioned earlier, the general elections of 1977 remained controversial. The political parties were not allowed to contest in the non-party elections of 1985.

The Pakistan National Party (PNP) of Ghous Buksh Bizenjo and the Balochistan National Alliance (BNA) contested the general elections of 1988.²⁸ BNA emerged as the leading party in Baloch region and Akbar Bugti formed a coalition government. The alliance of Akbar Bugti and Ataulah Mengal proved short-lived. Mengal founded Baloch National Movement (BNM) and Bugti formed Jamhoori Wattan Party (JWP) in the general elections of 1990, BNM, JWP, and PNP contested elections in the Baloch region of the province.²⁹ The JWP of Akbar Bugti remained winner in this contest. BNM of Ataulah Mengal was further divided into BNM-M (Mengal group) and BNM-H (Hayee group) before the general elections of 1993. So, in the elections of 1993 four Baloch factions contested the elections: JWP, PNP, BNM-M, and BNM-H. This polarization contributed to the defeat of Baloch nationalist groups in the election. Then, PNP of Bizenjo and BNM-M (Mengal) were merged and Ataulah Mengal found Balochistan National Party (BNP) in 1996. The party won 1997 elections and formed coalition government in Balochistan.³⁰ Later on, Bizenjo formed another political party, namely the Balochistan National Democratic Party (BNDP). Subsequently, National Party (NP) was established by merging the BNM and the BNDP. “Abdul Hayee Baloch became the first chairman of the National

Party and Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo became the secretary general of the new party.”³¹ The Baloch factions had boycotted the 2008 elections. In 2013, National Party (NP), Balochistan National Party (BNP), and Balochistan National Party-Awami (BNP-A) had contested the general elections. NP had won the election and emerged as an important political player in the province. It set up its coalition government in the province. The electoral support of various Baloch nationalist groups has been summarized in the following table. The table illustrates lack of stability in the electoral support of Baloch groups.

Table 6: Electoral Support of Baloch Nationalist Parties

Region	Year	National Assembly Elections				Provincial Assembly Elections			
		BNA/JWP	PNP/BNDP/BNP-A	BNM-M/BNP	BNM-H/NP	BNA/JWP	PNP/BNDP/BNP-A	BNM-M/BNP	BNM-H/NP
Balochistan	1988	7.77	7.50	-	-	10.49	5.75	-	-
	1990	16.74	9.64	6.40	-	17.38	9.09	-	-
	1993	8.28	4.99	11.65	2.82	10.12	7.65	5.85	6.99
	1997	10.12	-	19.68	11.41	9.00	-	8.39	16.21
	2002	8.34	1.35	5.12	9.50	9.73	3.10	6.08	3.82
	2008	-	5.46	-	-	-	5.27	-	-
	2013	-	1.0	6.95	4.64	-	0.81	6.19	5.80
Baloch Region	1988	18.52	9.91	-	-	14.98	8.52	-	-
	1990	24.68	16.70	10.35	-	19.60	13.66	-	11.49
	1993	38.53	8.59	20.19	12.36	15.60	11.01	9.30	9.89
	1997	15.20	-	27.43	17.48	13.14	-	16.59	25.03
	2002	13.86	0.79	6.91	15.40	8.67	5.19	6.42	2.87
	2008	-	9.55	-	-	-	9.10	-	-
	2013	-	2.0	9.82	7.18	-	1.5	9.95	10.63
Pashtun Region	1988	-	-	-	-	3.11	1.20	-	-
	1990	6.51	-	-	-	13.91	1.97	0.16	5.92
	1993	4.78	0.11	-	-	1.08	2.11	2.29	2.17
	1997	0.87	-	5.43	0.52	2.41	4.10	-	1.72
	2002	0.21	-	2.49	0.83	-	0.61	-	-
	2008	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2013	-	0.08	4.29	2.29	-	0	2.5	1.2

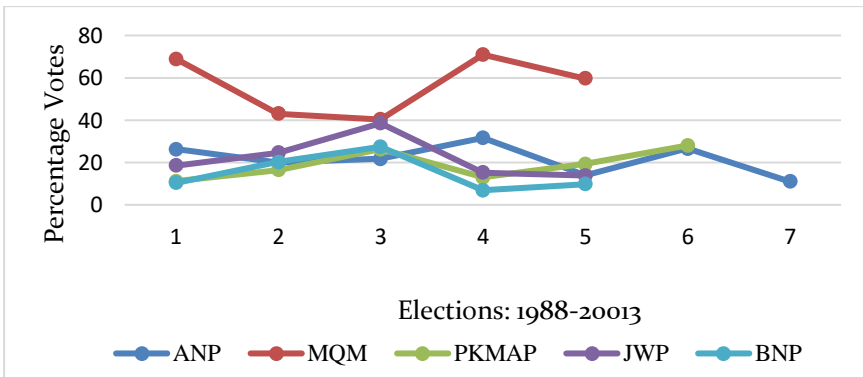
Source: Election Commission of Pakistan³²

Comparative Electoral Support of Ethno-regional Parties in Pakistan

This section compares the relative stability of electoral support for ethno-regional parties of Pakistan during 1988 to 2013. The previous section demonstrates that MQM had attracted significant electoral support in the

urban Sindh. The party had won several parliamentary and local elections over the years. Historically, Karachi had remained well-known for its electoral support to the Islamic parties. PPP lost the 1970 elections in Karachi as the city polled more votes (40-45%) to the Islamic parties. But since 1980s, the Islamic parties had lost the ground and proved not a challenge for the stable electoral support of MQM. The statewide parties such as PPP, PTI, PML-N had remained unable to make inroads successfully in the urban constituency of Sindh.³³ The evidence shows that MQM had received more stable and meaningful electoral support in comparison with the other ethno-regional parties.

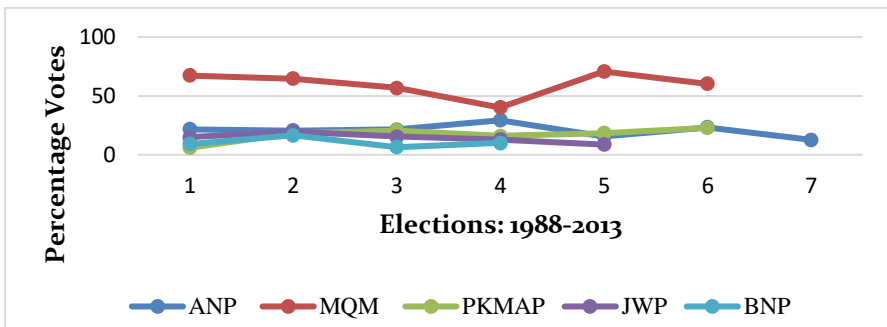
Figure 1: Electoral support of ethno-regional parties in respective regions: National Assembly Elections (1988-2013)



ANP, the Pashtun nationalist party of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa traces its origin to the Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God) movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan launched in first half of the twentieth century in British India. Therefore, ANP is the oldest ethno-regional party of Pakistan. The electoral support of party in Pashtun region is strong enough to form coalition provincial governments more than once. However, its support is not comparable with MQM support in urban Sindh. The statewide parties/alliances had earned more electoral support than ANP in several elections. For example, more votes in the Pashtun region were polled for PPP than the ANP in the general elections of 1988 and 1990. Similarly, MMA (an alliance of Islamic parties) 'scored more than 50% votes in Pashtun belt

and left no room for ANP to enter national assembly in 2002.³⁴ In 2013, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) has won the elections in Pashtun region. However, ANP has demonstrated stable electoral support over the years. PKMAP, the Pashtun nationalist party of Balochistan had received considerable electoral support in several elections. In the Pashtun constituency of Balochistan, its electoral support has fluctuated between 11% and 18% of the total polled votes.³⁵ However, the support of PKMAP was improved significantly in the 2013 elections. The party won elections in the Pashtun region and has joined the provincial government as coalition partner. Hence, it has appeared as an important political player in the politics of Balochistan.

Figure 2: Electoral support of ethno-regional parties in respective regions: Provincial Assembly Election (1988-2013)



The results of several elections in Baloch constituency of Balochistan province demonstrate that it is the most electorally diverse region of Pakistan. A number of Baloch factions has had contested the elections and divided the nationalist vote bank among themselves. Owing to the first-past-the-post electoral system that “effectively reward strong parties and penalize the weak ones”, the Baloch groups remained at disadvantage.³⁶ However, intermittently, the Baloch leadership formed cabinets at provincial level and played vital role in the politics of Balochistan. The election results of Baloch constituency suggest that the state-wide parties had successfully made inroads in the Baloch region. PPP and PML, together, ‘scored 23%, 19%, 26%, 16%, 28%, and 46% votes in national and

28%, 22%, 26%, 13%, 20%, 57% votes in provincial assembly elections during 1988-2008 period respectively.³⁷ The ethno-regional parties of rural Sindh, south Punjab, and the Hazara region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa seem struggling to attract the masses. The table 7 presents summary of the statistical analysis of the electoral support in National Assembly elections for the ethno-regional parties as well as the statewide parties for the period 1988-2008 for all constituencies of Pakistan. All factions of Pakistan Muslim League are grouped under the label of PMLs and the all offshoots of Pakistan People's party are grouped in the cluster of PPPs in the table. Similarly, the religious groups are grouped and tagged as Islamists in the table. The table compares the strength and stability or volatility of electoral support for ethno-regional parties with the national parties of Pakistan. The value of coefficient of variance is the best measurement to gauge the stability of party support. Among the ethno-regional parties, ANP and MQM have relatively stable electoral support. On the other hand, the level of electoral volatility is relatively higher in Baloch region. Overall, however, "the statewide parties are more consistent in their electoral support than the ethno-regional parties" in Pakistan.³⁸

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics: Federal Election in Pakistan (1988-2008)

Parties	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	S. D	C.V
JWP	4	0.021	0.612	0.313	0.310	0.243	77.63%
BNM-M/ BNP	4	0.190	0.654	0.328	0.234	0.219	66.76%
PNP	3	0.164	0.601	0.433	0.533	0.235	54.27%
BNM	2	0.238	0.379	0.308	0.308	0.100	32.46%
PKMAP/PM	5	0.121	0.487	0.300	0.307	0.135	45.00%
ANP	6	1.030	2.091	1.725	1.778	0.379	21.97%
MQM	4	3.182	7.400	5.032	4.774	1.856	36.88%
PMLN	6	30.16	49.37	40.47	40.60	6.83	16.87%
PPP	6	23.75	38.52	32.34	34.02	6.42	19.85%
Islamists	6	1.97	11.00	4.76	3.35	3.56	74.78%
Independents	6	9.84	19.55	13.57	11.32	4.50	33.16%

Source: Consociationalism and Multiethnic States: Post-1971 Pakistan- A case study by Muhammad Mushtaq³⁹

Conclusion

This investigation demonstrates that although the electoral support of ethno-regional parties is not equal to the national level parties, but they have sustained their presence in relevant regional centers over the years. Often, the ethno-regional parties have made formidable presence in the national assembly. By joining coalition governments, they have played important role in federal policy-making. But, ethno-regional parties have played more vital role in the provincial politics. Although the ethno-regional parties have certain challenges, they will continue to play important role in the politics of Pakistan until any significant shift in behavior of the national electorate.

Endnotes

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- ¹ Earlier draft of this paper was presented in the 75th Annual MPSA Conference, April 6-9, 2017, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL., USA.
 - ² See for example, Lublin, David. *Minority Rules: Electoral Systems, Decentralization, and Ethnoregional Party Success*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014; Winter, Lieven De., and Huri Tursan. *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe*. London: Routledge, 1998; Ziegfeld, Adam. *Why Regional Parties? Clientelism, Elites, and the Indian Party System*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016; Newman, Saul. "Ethnoregional parties: A comparative perspective." *Regional Politics and Policy* 4 (1994): 28-66; Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001; Tronconi, Filippo. "Ethnic Identity and Party Competition. An Analysis of the Electoral Performance of Ethnoregionalist Parties in Western Europe." *World Political Science Review* 2 (2006): 137-63; Chandra, Kanchan. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: patronage and ethnic head counts in India*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
 - ³ See for example, Mujahid, Sharif al. "First General Elections." *Asian Survey* 11 (1971): 159-171; Weinbaum, Marvin G. "The March 1977 Elections in Pakistan: Where Everyone Lost." *Asian Survey* 17 (1977): 599-618; Rais, Rasul B. "Elections in Pakistan: Is Democracy Winning?" *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 12 (1985): 43-61; Syed, Anwar H. "The Pakistan People's Party and the Punjab: National Assembly Elections, 1988 and 1990." *Asian Survey* 31 (1991): 581-597; Ziring, Lawrence. "The Second Stage in Pakistani Politics: The 1993 Elections." *Asian Survey* 33 (1993): 1175-1185; Wilder, Andrew. *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behavior in the Punjab*. London: Oxford University Press,

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- 4 See for example, Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stephan. "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia." *Daedalus* 121 (1992): 123-139; Winter and Tursan, Regionalist; Newman, "Ethnoregional parties", 28-66.
- 5 Vaishnav, Milan. "The Complicated Rise of India's Regional Parties". Accessed November 1, 2017. <http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/11/13/complicated-rise-of-india-s-regional-parties-pub-53585>.
- 6 Punjabis are the largest group in Pakistan consisting of almost 45 % population of the state.
- 7 Data retrieved from, "Election Commission of Pakistan". Accessed January 13, 2017. <https://ecp.gov.pk/>
- 8 Ibid
- 9 The Senate of Pakistan is consisting of 104 members. Each province of Pakistani federation has 23 members in the Senate. In addition, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have 08 members and the federal capital area (Islamabad) 04 members. The National Assembly of Pakistan elects the members of federal capital and members of National Assembly from FATA elect the members of Senate from the FATA. However, recently FATA is merged in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and seats reserved for FATA will be abolished since the next Senate Elections.
- 10 Baxter, Craig. "Pakistan Votes — 1970." *Asian Survey* 11 (1971): 197-218.
- 11 Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Jamaat Islami Pakistan and nationalist parties of Balochistan had boycotted the general elections of 2008. Earlier, Muhajir Qaumi Movement did not participate in the elections for National Assembly in 1993.
- 12 Muhajir Qaumi Movement was renamed as Muttahida Qaumi Movement-MQM in 1997.
- 13 Kennedy, "Ethnicity in Sindh", 938-955.
- 14 Amin, Tahir. "Pakistan in 1994: The Politics of Confrontation." *Asian Survey* 35 (1995): 140-146.
- 15 Information retrieved from, "Election Commission of Pakistan". Accessed December 24, 2016. <https://ecp.gov.pk/>
- 16 National Assembly of Pakistan. "party wise list". Accessed January 21, 2017. <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/index.php>; Senate of Pakistan. "Party wise list" Accessed January 21, 2017. http://www.senate.gov.pk/en/party_wise_list.php?id=-1&catid=261&subcatid=2&cattitle=Members%20of%20Senate.
- 17 Mushtaq, Muhammad, "*Consociationalism and Multiethnic States: Post-1971 Pakistan- a case study*," (PhD diss., Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan Pakistan, 2011).
- 18 The vote percentages for certain political parties in respective regions for various elections discussed in this paper are calculated by the author. The all constituencies of Pakistan for national and provincial elections were divided along ethno-linguistic lines: The Pashto speaking belt, the Baloch countryside, Urdu speaking Mohajir constituency, Sindhi-speaking region, Siraiki belt and Punjabi speaking region. The boundaries of various ethno-linguistic groups

were drawn using the information available in 1998 census report about the language composition of Pakistan. The detailed election results of each constituency are available at website of election commission of Pakistan (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2017). The vote percentages for different political parties in particular region was calculated by dividing the total votes of a particular party by the total valid votes of that particular region. The percentages were calculated for the national assembly and provincial assemblies' elections for the period of 1988-2013.

- ¹⁹ Pakistan Today. "ANP writes to ECP, expresses reservations on election campaign". Accessed May 7, 2013. <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2013/05/07/national/anp-writes-to-ecp-expresses-reservations-on-election-campaign/>.
- ²⁰ Data retrieved from "Election Commission of Pakistan".
- ²¹ Waseem, *Democratization in Pakistan*.
- ²² Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 188.
- ²³ Data retrieved from "Election Commission of Pakistan". Accessed December 28, 2016. <https://ecp.gov.pk/>
- ²⁴ Ibid
- ²⁵ Siddiqi, Farhan Hanif. *The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan: The Baloch, Sindhi and Mohajir Ethnic Movements*. London and New York: Routledge, 2012: 62.
- ²⁶ Ibid
- ²⁷ Baxter, "Pakistan Votes—1970", 197-218.
- ²⁸ Balochistan National Alliance was consisting of Akbar Bugti (ex-governor of Balochistan), Ataullah Mengal (ex-chief minister of Balochistan), and Dr. Abdul Hayee (prominent Baloch leader).
- ²⁹ Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 190-192.
- ³⁰ Mahmood, Amna. "Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan." *Pakistan Vision* 15 (2014): 1-39.
- ³¹ National Party. "National Party Website". Accessed December 2, 2016. <http://www.nationalparty.com.pk/index.php/explorer/history2>.
- ³² Data retrieved from "Election Commission of Pakistan". Accessed December 26, 2016. <https://ecp.gov.pk/>
- ³³ Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 188.
- ³⁴ Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 186-187.
- ³⁵ Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 189.
- ³⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica. Accessed December 23, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/plurality-system>.
- ³⁷ Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 192.
- ³⁸ Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 198.
- ³⁹ Mushtaq, *Consociationalism and Multiethnic States*, 196.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN MODERNISTS AND TRADITIONALISTS IN PAKISTAN: THE CASE OF COMMISSION ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LAWS, 1955

Naila Maqsood & Muhammad Jamil*

Abstract

The creation of Pakistan may be said to have involved activities carried out by persons who had acquired modern Western education. During the crucial years of their struggle, they explicitly made use of Islamic symbols for mobilization of the Muslim populace in the subcontinent. In this, they were joined by a number of Muslim ulama who had initially opposed Western modern education and institutions. After independence in 1947, divergence of views between the two, emerged on several occasions. In the case of Report of the Commission on Marriage and Family Laws, 1955, divergence was embodied in a majority report and a Note of Dissent. This article discusses the divergence between them as expressed in two documents, namely Report and Note of Dissent, both published in The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary, the former in June 1956 and the latter in August, the same year. The article advances the view that arguments of both largely became an exercise in polemics. The article speculates on the way, whereby, the two could have undertaken a more serious analysis and could have resolved the difference.

Key Words: Note of Dissent, Mobilization, Divergence, Marriage and Family Laws, Male-dominated Society

Introduction

Women from educated and well-to-do families played a visible role in the mobilization of the Muslim populace during the Pakistan Movement, thereby, achieving public space and a degree of emancipation in the otherwise patriarch and male-dominated society. After independence, women's role in political life was not as visible as it was during the Pakistan Movement. Women, however, did continue their endeavours to organize, and formed All Pakistan Women's Organisation headed by the wife of the

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Prime Minister. In 1955, the Prime Minister of the time contracted a second marriage and the event triggered an activist response against the practice. On the representation of the upper class women to the bigamous Prime Minister¹, the government constituted Commission on Marriage and Family Laws with the terms of reference to study the existing laws governing marriage, divorce, maintenance, among Muslims that require modification in order to give women their proper place in society and other ancillary matters according to the fundamentals of Islam.² The commission was headed by a retired Chief Justice of Pakistan, replacing the first president of the Commission who died suddenly. The other members had parity, three males and three females. One of the male members was an alim (scholar in Islamic fiqh). The report of the Commission was not unanimous; the alim (pl. ulama) wrote a note of Dissent. The Commission's majority report (henceforth the Commission's report) and the Note of Dissent both were published in the Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary, the former on June 30, 1956 and the latter on August 30, 1956.

This article analyses the two documents as a case of controversy between modernists and traditionalists in Pakistan. The modernists emphasized 'progressive' interpretation of Islamic Law through *Ijtehad* (forming independent opinions in Islamic fiqh), when the basic sources i.e. the Quran and the Sunnah (tradition) of the Prophet of Islam, were silent on a question. The traditionalist maintained that the Sharia (Islamic Law) was now embodied in the teachings of four schools of law, upon which consensus had come to exist by the end of the third century of Hijra and were now to be followed as authentic schools of Islamic law. Differences among the four schools are understood to be inconsequential and, therefore, tolerated.

This article briefly traces the origin of both traditionalism and modernism to appreciate the divergence between the two. In the case of the Commission, the two contending parties largely adopted polemical stance and did not utilize the opportunity to moderate the divergence. The article

attempts to explore the manner, whereby, the polemics could be minimized and some measure of convergence achieved.

Establishment of the Tradition (Taqleed)

The establishment of tradition takes us to the evolution of Islamic Law.

a. Islamic Law under the Prophet and His Successors

Islam, as a religion, is based on teachings contained in the Quran, believed by Muslims to have been revealed by God to the Prophet (S.A.W.S) of Islam. The Quran is the basic source of law, known as the Shari'a. It is believed to represent the divine will for human conduct that would assure a person's success in this world and salvation in the hereafter. When acted upon faithfully, the Quranic law promised prosperity and durability of the Muslim community.³ During the life of the Prophet, if the Quranic injunctions needed explanation, they were provided by the Prophet himself through his words and deeds, both things usually summed up under the term Sunnah. Acquisition of deeper knowledge of faith and, thereby, law was enjoined upon Muslims in Quranic verses revealed during the last year of the Prophet's life. The Prophet's successors during the period 632-662 A.D. carried out public affairs according to the injunctions of the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet.

Meanwhile, many persons having more knowledge of what was right and lawful began to emerge as a result of the deeper study of the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet. Considerable supply of experts of Islamic law, or ulama (singular: alim), became available during the next period in Islamic history, i.e. the Umayyad period, 662-750 A.D. By the end of the Umayyad period, Islam witnessed a transformation from a religious community in Arabia into a vast polity absorbing a great number of races, cultures and religions. Administration in the complex situation exercised the minds of ulama, who were usually charged with the function. Till the beginning of the Umayyad, guidance was coming from the Rightly

Guided Caliphs. During the Umayyad period, such guidance was rare and ulama-administrators had to depend upon knowledge being generated in the educational institutions, legal exertions of ulama, both as organizations and as individuals. Ulama as judges utilised the available knowledge and tended to make use of discretion in settlement of disputes. In the process, a practical system of legal administration did come up, but not a scientific jurisprudence.⁴

b. Post-Umayyad Developments

Further development of Shari'a occurred with the realization that important dislocations had occurred during the Umayyad period. Rectification was sought both on the political and legal fronts. On the political front, movements had been afoot to dislodge the Umayyads from power and a coalition between Banu Abbass (the dynasty originating from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet) and groups from the progeny of the Prophet. They were able to remove the Umayyad from power by 750 A.D.⁵ On the legal front, far reaching developments were taking place in the society, particularly in Kufa in Iraq and Madina in Arabia. In Iraq, Abu Hanifa (A.D 699-768) distinguished himself as the chief advocate of analogy (qiyas) as a major source of law, whenever specific Quranic verse and Sunna was not available. Qiyas (analogy) means to use human reason to compare an existing situation with one for which legislation already exists. For example, if the Quran has banned wine, it means that, by analogy, it has also banned any form of alcoholic drink, whose effect is like wine, namely one which causes intoxication.

In Madina, Malik Ibn Anas (A.D. 718-96) had selected a body of hadiths (sayings of the Prophet) acceptable to recognized jurists of Madina, as a main source of law, when the Quran appeared to be silent on a matter. This was known as Ijma (consensus) among Madina jurists. The Ijma was a weapon with which the Madina

jurists attacked the Iraqi jurists (especially Hanafis) on the ground that they had departed from the Sunnah (actions/precepts, words) of the Prophet. However, it was feared that such Ijma might constitute legislation by man. Also, a major danger in the Malki school was that emphasis on Sunnah also included some of the customs of the pre-Islamic Arabia.⁶

It was here that Shafi'i's *Risala* made its entrance.⁷ The *Risala* clarified the Quran as source of Islamic law. The Prophet's Sunnah was regarded as indispensable in clarifying meaning of particular Quranic legislation, or an ambiguous text. In trying to achieve a consistent legal theory, Shafi'i accepted the unquestionable authority of the Quran and admitted authentic Sunnah of the Prophet as next binding source of law. He also attached great significance to the consensus of the Muslim community in arriving at a rule of law. He tried to limit the use of analogy to questions of detail, when there was no relevant text in the Quran, Sunnah, or consensus. Analogy, he maintained, could not supersede the other three sources of law, but rather it must be superseded by them. Also, analogy was not to be based on a special or exceptional case, and it had to conform to the general spirit of the law. In taking this attitude, Shafi'i established a balance between those who used analogy extensively and those who rejected it as a source of law. Shafi'i's one time student Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855) also emphasized the tradition of the Prophet as a source and made his own collection of authentic hadiths, namely, *Musnad*. He came to have a large body of disciples, whereby, a fourth school of Islamic law was established in his name.⁸

Among Sunni Muslims, the four schools of law came to be fully established by the 9th century A.D. Discussions and debates continued and worked towards the solidification of these schools, a kind of Ijma occurred, on the validity of the four schools. The Ijma was permissive in the sense that it permitted differences between

the schools. Further discussion came to be precluded on points which were the subject of consensus among the four schools. Discussion was also precluded on those matters where the jurists had agreed to differ. Such *ijma* began to spread all around in the Sunni Islam, and any further use of independent reason or further *Ijtihad* beyond the four schools began to disappear. By early 10th century, the right of *Ijtihad* was replaced by the duty of *taqleed* (imitation) in the footsteps of the founders of the four schools. Tradition had been set in the formation of the four schools. Those who like to imitate that tradition became the traditionalists.

The tradition reached its zenith under the teachings of Al-Ghazali (d. 1111). His teachings emphasized that should a regional Sultan recognize the caliph, and the caliph recognize the ulama, there would be no break with the traditional Islamic political system. Al-Ghazali's formulation struck very deep roots. With the demise of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad in 1258, Ulama's role became more prominent. Some efforts to the contrary, notwithstanding (e.g. Ibn Taymiyyah asserting independent opinion in matters of Islamic law), *taqleed* doctrine continued to predominate among Sunni Ulama, remaining valid for succeeding generations. Muslims in the Indian Subcontinent followed the traditionalist pattern before the creation of Pakistan and became quite active after independence in 1947.⁹

c. **The Modernists**

The modernists among Muslims are those who have developed appreciation for development of science and technology and democratic political institutions in the Western World. They interpret the teachings of Islam in such a way, as to bring out its dynamic character in the context of the intellectual and scientific progress of the modern world. The modernists earnestly make efforts to reconcile differences between traditional religious

doctrines and secular scientific rationalism and between continuity of Islamic tradition and modernity.

The Indo-Pak subcontinent came into contact with Europe in the 17th century, with the British establishing their rule by 1857. The crisis among Muslims gave rise to different movements, one of which came to be known as Aligarh movement. Its originator, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, believed that while revealed religion represented the Word of God, nature was Work of God.¹⁰ Scientific discoveries represented knowledge of nature. According to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Word of God and Work of God could not be at variance. Furthermore, he believed that when there appeared a contradiction between a scientific fact and a religious rule, then the latter must be reinterpreted according to scientific evidence. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan concluded: "if we keep in view the principles deducible from the Quran itself, we shall find that there is no contradiction between the modern sciences, on the one hand and the Quran and Islam, on the other."¹¹ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, thus, attempted to build a new theology to respond to the modern change.¹²

The other towering thinker, who attempted a reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, was Allama Muhammad Iqbal.¹³ According to him, "The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to reinterpret the foundational legal principles in the light of their own experience and altered conditions of modern life is, in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."¹⁴

Post-Independence Modernist Views in Pakistan

An important venue for debate that developed in Pakistan was, of course, the Constituent Assembly and the occasion of the framing of a

constitution. One of the central issues was the place of Islam in the constitution. Re-interpretation of Islamic law and its history in modern times has been a stupendous task for which two major positions emerged in the country, namely the modernists and the traditionalists.

Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, an academic turned-legislator, thus, articulated modernist position on the nature of Islamic Law, "Muslims recognized Islamic law, the shariah, as sovereign. But the shariah included not only the principles found in the Quran and the Prophet's traditions, which were immutable, but a large mutable element consisting of the medieval jurists' opinions relevant to the circumstances of their own times.

During the intervening centuries, the world and the state of human knowledge had changed much. The shariah, in its existing form, could not therefore be accepted as the 'legal sovereign'; it needed 'considerable overhauling' and the principles themselves needed new interpretation. Even the Quran and Sunnah could not be made legally sovereign until new interpretations of their basic principles had been made and accepted by the people."¹⁵ Qureshi held a position in the cabinet and it would not be unreasonable to view his thesis as the government's counter offensive against the ulama in a contest for leadership.

The Ulama claimed a guiding and, thus, a controlling role in the polity, because of their claim of knowledge of Islamic law as established by four recognized school of law. The position that none of such schools' interpretation was binding, that all of them were open to reconsideration, and that the people had the right to accept or reject this or that interpretation, sought to demolish the entire moral basis and rationale of the ulama's claim to authority.

The politician was saying that Islam was what the Muslim community believed and did, that, in effect, the ulama were not indispensable to the process of Islamization thus conceived, and that he could manage it quite well by himself.¹⁶ This was liberalism at its peak.

The Report of the Commission on Marriage & Family Laws, 1956

The Commission was appointed to study the existing laws governing marriage, divorce, maintenance among Muslims that required modification in order to give women their proper place in society and other ancillary matters according to the fundamentals of Islam.

a. The Commission's Emphasis on Ijtehad

The Commission's Report took the view that laws and injunctions promulgated in the Quran deal mostly with basic principles and vital problems. They consist of answers to the questions that arose while the Book was being revealed. The entire set of injunctions in the Holy Quran covers only a few pages. The Commission held that it was the privilege of the Holy Prophet to explain, clarify, amplify and adapt the basic principles to the changing circumstances and the occasions that arose during his life-time.

The Commission opined that as nobody can comprehend the infinite variety of human relations for all occasions and for all epochs, the Prophet of Islam left a very large sphere free for legislative enactments and judicial decisions even for his companions. This, the Commission says, is the principle of Ijtehad or interpretative intelligence working within the broad frame-work of the Quran and the Sunnah.¹⁷

b. The Commission's Polemics against Traditionalists

The Commission, in its attempt to justify Ijtehad, tended to employ loose language, particularly in the introductory portion of its report. Indeed, the Report indulged in unwarranted polemics and some illustrations of the same are in order. Ijtehad is a technical term, but it was used loosely, making the bland statement that the members of the Commission had exercised their individual judgment. Probably, the Commission took a cue from Allama Iqbal, who did express favorable views regarding participation of the

common people in Islamic legislation. But that was to be in a legislative assembly and not individually by members of a commission.¹⁸ Besides the loose statement regarding individual judgment, the Commission's Report emphasised that the members gave particular attention to the "opinion of the learned liberal and enlightened persons." "The phrase liberal and enlightened" evokes a perception of copying the Western ideas at the cost of indigenous values and morals.¹⁹ The Commission needed to be careful in stating its ideas.

The Commission asserted that Muslim state and society had become dormant and stagnant due to monarchical and feudal influences and owing to the apathy of the custodians of the law. In their view, if the process of Ijtehad had continued indefinitely, Muslim society would have received rejuvenation from time to time.²⁰ Such assertions were made without any qualifications and any mention of historical circumstance, particularly with regard to the work of the ulama, performed in maintaining the integrity of the Muslim community.²¹

The Commission reiterated that Muslims all over the world, during the last three centuries particularly, had been left behind in the rapidly accelerating race of social, political, economic and cultural advancements. Muslims needed to appreciate the significance of changing realities and the influx of new and undreamt of factors. Such changes required a modern approach, new rules of conduct, and fresh legislation in almost all spheres of life and a radical remodeling of the legal and judicial system. No nation, in the opinion of the Commission, could stand aside as an idle or wondering on-looker, while the world progressed rapidly. No nation, big or small, could now stand in indifferent isolation.²² In saying so, the Commission indulged in unwarranted rhetoric, magnifying the achievements of the Western civilization and painting a bleak picture of the conditions of Muslims in the world.

Sweeping generalization at the cost of nuanced analysis undercut the chances of receptiveness of the Commission's view. In a further attack on the ulama, the Commission held that Islam countenances no kings and recognizes no priests. Some inhabitants may be more learned in Muslim law than others, but that did not vest them with special privileges.²³ However, Ulama in Pakistani society do carry authority in matters of Islamic law, enjoy a lot of respect and people seek guidance from them in religio-social matters. The Commission made unwarranted assertions, showing carelessness in the use of words for what it wanted to convey.

The Commission asserted, "if the reforms proposed by this commission are welcomed by the liberal and enlightened section of the public and receive legislative sanction, they will form an important contribution to the scheme of reconstruction demanded by all, who are not fossilized by tradition or blinded by sheer authoritarianism."²⁴

Again, the Commission uses the phrase "liberal and enlightened section of the public." Use of this phrase invites the label of being Westernised for the members of the Commission and goes to lessen authoritativeness of their approach to the issues in question. The use of phrases like "fossilized by tradition" and "blinded by sheer authoritarianism" in a report by a Commission appointed by the government for reforms in marriage and family, was simply polemical, and generative of resistance to its ideas and proposals.

In the view of the Commission, if Muslim society wanted to become genuinely free and dynamic again, offering itself as a model for all other types of democracy, the original spirit of Islam had to be revived. The Commission made this suggestion after a highly polemical observation, namely: "Law is ultimately related to life experiences, which are not a monopoly of the theologians only."²⁵

c. **The Commission's Substantive Recommendations**

The substantive recommendations of the Commission were: there should be compulsory registration of marriages and that marriage contracts should be signed by the parties to the marriage or, if illiterate, that their thumb-prints should be affixed. A copy of the registration instruments was to be deposited in the Tehsil (a revenue collection subdivision), where the parties resided.²⁶ Limitations of age were suggested below which males and females should be deemed not competent to marry. Penalties were suggested to prevent the selling of daughters. Restrictions were put on the husband's power of divorce; particularly the 'Divorce' pronounced three times in one sitting was to count only one time. Judges in such courts were deemed to make efforts at reconciliation at pre-trial hearings.²⁷ Wife could demand divorce (called Khula) by foregoing (Mehr) property given to her by husband at the time of marriage. Measures for maintenance of divorced wives and their children were recommended alongwith suggestions for safeguarding the property of wives and minors.

To eliminate polygamy, a man contemplating to have a second wife was to present himself before a court to explain the circumstances which, according to him, could justify his taking this step. In cases with rational justification, the court could permit a man to take a second wife only on the condition that in the matter of maintenance and other treatment no injustice was done to the first wife and her children.²⁸ The Commission was of the opinion that such steps would greatly curb the unrestricted and uncontrolled practice of polygamy which in their view, caused so much distress in family life.²⁹

Note of Dissent

One of the members of the Commission was the well-known scholar of Islamic law, Maulana Ehtisham ul Haq Thanvi.³⁰ He did not agree with the Commission's report, and wrote a Note of Dissent.

The Note's Polemics

Thanvi submitted his Note of Dissent in the Urdu language and official translation of the same was published in the Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary dated 30th August, 1956. In the Note, Thanvi offers some robust points for his disagreement with the Commission. At the same time, he also indulges in mere assertions, accusations and polemics, thereby, minimizing the academically sound aspects of his discourse.

An initial statement from Thanvi, partly serious, partly assertive, was a methodological one. According to him, Fiqh in fact means adherence to principles and rules in deducing and deriving general conclusions from particular instances. Forming of general conclusions from particular instances is not possible until one has before one's mind all the instances to which injunctions of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah are applicable. Any attempt on the part of those who do not know one single provision of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah correctly, to form general principles and draw conclusions, is deviation from the right path and complete ignorance.³¹ Members of the Commission, according to Thanvi, were not capable of preparing a new set of principles of jurisprudence that could supersede the existing ones by generalizing from specific positions. They were also not willing to be guided by the established laws of jurisprudence. To take personal and individual whims as the basis for the derivation of laws and principles was, said Thanvi, neither 'Fiqh' nor 'Ijtihad' but amounted to distorting the religion of God and the worst type of heresy.³²

Thanvi particularly attacked the lengthy 'introductory' remarks in the report. Thanvi threw a challenge: "If the Introduction-writer is fond of 'Ijtihad', he should frame his own principles of jurisprudence, which should be different from those of the four prominent Schools of Muslim law and which should lay down new rules and principles of derivation. If he succeeds in doing so, we shall be only too glad to recognize a fifth school."³³ At the same time, Thanvi stressed that drawing of conclusions in the absence of any set rules and principles was just impiety and vainglory.³⁴

The Commission, while stressing the importance of Ijtihad, charged that Muslim law was stagnant. Thanvi retorted that the charge of stagnation was the figment of the imagination of the Westernized class of people. They were too weak and feeble to check or withstand the surging tide of atheism and drifted with the current (of atheism). In that state of affairs, they were trying to drag Islam along with themselves.³⁵

According to Thanvi, Islam began to be dubbed as a rigid and outworn creed, as a result of the British education imparted through colleges and universities. Such education created in the hearts of Muslims a disgust and hatred for Islam. In his view, the Muslims who received that education, were outwardly Pakistanis but mentally Englishmen. Glory of such persons lay in their apish imitation of their white masters.³⁶ The West-ridden class of people in the subcontinent tried to foist their own selfish motives upon Islam to please their British masters. The British, in Thanvi's view, encouraged the trend that, if the right of interpreting Shariat was vested in Ulema only, the evils of priesthood and papalism would crop up and vitiate Islam.³⁷

Thanvi blamed that the emphasis on eliminating the role of the Ulama was tantamount to force the 'Ijtihad' of the ignorant, with the object of changing the religion of God. The Commission, he asserted, assumed the position of an expert authority on Shari'a and an absolute Mujtahid. Thanvi charged that all members, excepting himself, remained one and united in contravening the Quran and the Sunnah and in ridiculing the Muslim jurisprudence.³⁸ He termed the Introduction-writer as a person "utterly ignorant of elementary propositions concerning God, His Glory, the Prophethood, and the comprehensiveness and universality of religion."³⁹ In Thanvi's view, the country was confronted with a group whose entire mentality had been poisoned by the colonial educational system and these very people had captured the political leadership of the country. They were trying hard to impress upon the new generation that Islamic laws were inferior to man-made laws.

Although largely polemical, Thanvi's criticism has some constructive aspects as well. An important aspect is to encourage eradication of evils through education as against the Commission's over emphasis on legal procedures. For example, the Commission recommended signature/ thumb impressions of partners to a marriage on Nikah-Nama along with signature of Nikah Khawan to guard against forced marriage. According to Thanvi, such document could not safeguard against forcedness. It could be created by force. In his view, the evil could be stopped through education for promoting knowledge about rights and obligation regarding matrimonial life and cultivating self accountability through raising God-consciousness.⁴⁰

Towards Convergence between Modernists and Traditionalists

The Commission's report in its "Summing up" twice quotes Allama Iqbal's views for support of its analysis and recommendations. Interestingly, Thanvi also quotes Iqbal in his Note of Discent and emphasizes that "Allama Iqbal had advised against accepting the Ijtehad of shortsighted scholars." Allama Iqbal's verse reads, "it is safer to follow the footsteps of the bygones than the Ijtehad of shortsighted scholars."⁴¹

After quoting the verse, Thanvi comments: "it is obvious that the members of the Commission cannot even rank among alims or learned scholars, not to speak of their shortsightedness or [im] maturity of thought."⁴²

Allama Iqbal does espouse both the strands, the liberal as well as the conservative. He welcomes the liberal movement in Islam, but makes two important points. First, liberalism, in his view, has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration. In the aftermath of World War I, race-idea in Islam was making its entry and Allama Iqbal feared that it might wipe off the broad human outlook, which Muslims had imbibed from their religion. Secondly, religious and political reformers among Muslims "in their zeal for liberalism, may overstep the limits of reform in the absence of check on their youthful fervor."⁴³

Iqbal's thought may provide a point of convergence for Pakistan's modernists and traditionalists. According to Allama Iqbal, Quran had a dynamic outlook on life, involving the idea of evolution. At the same time, his teaching was that life was not change, pure and simple. Life had within it elements of conservation also. Islam, by means of its well-conceived institutions, succeeded to a very great extent in creating something like a collective will and conscience in a heterogeneous mass. In the evolution of such a society even the immutability of socially harmless rules relating to eating and drinking, purity or impurity, had a life-value of their own; Such conservatism tends to give the society a specific inwardness, and further secures that external and internal uniformity which counteracts the forces of heterogeneity always latent in a society of a composite character. The critics of such institutions must, therefore, try to secure a clear insight into the ultimate significance of the social experiment embodied in Islam.⁴⁴

One can find a substantiation of Iqbal's concerns through the comments he made on Zia Gokalp's view.⁴⁵ Gokalp took the Quranic rule of daughter's half share in relation to the son to mean inferior status of the female. Iqbal defended the Quranic rule, saying that the rule reflected the daughter's economic opportunities, and the place she occupies in the social structure of which she is a part and parcel. According to Law, daughter is full owner of the property given to her by both the father and the husband at the time of her marriage; further, she owns her dower-money, and the responsibility of maintaining her throughout her life is wholly thrown on the husband. Iqbal went further in asserting the wisdom of Quranic Law of inheritance: "Modern society with its bitter class-struggles ought to set us thinking; and if we study our laws in reference to the impending revolution in modern economic life, we are likely to discover, in the foundational principles, hitherto unrevealed aspects which we can work out with a renewed faith in the wisdom of these principles."⁴⁶

This presents a serious note of caution for the modernists in Pakistan, and points to the importance of education, education of all in the teachings

of the Quran, both legal and moral. Thanvi emphasizes both moral and legal education. The Commission's Report also points to education as an instrument of knowing one's rights. Consciousness of rights is important, but that can become one-sided. There should be consciousness both of rights and obligations. Pakistani society may be described as non-literate (not able to read and write), but it still possesses knowledge of culture. The process of education may be devised in a manner that can build on the 'non-literate' yet rich culture and raise consciousness about rights and obligations in the social polity.

Thanvi as well as the Commission are realistic about tendency among people to indulge in inequity, but they attribute such behaviour to different reasons. The Commission thinks that its reason lies in lack of law, while Thanvi believes that its reason is non-recognition of religious responsibility. The remedy according to the Commission is more legislation, for Thanvi it is through promotion of education based on Islamic notion of the Day of Judgment, i.e. the consciousness of God. The two parties to the controversy could have given more reflection on creating institutions that could fulfill the common purpose, namely, inculcation of habits of social responsibility. The two did not engage themselves in a fruitful dialogue, preferring debate and dissensus and in the process, losing opportunities for consensus in vital public questions.

Conclusion

The controversy in Pakistan between those who want to stick to what they see as the original Islamic principles of socio-legal organisation and those who advocate the incorporation of modern Western ideas and institution in public life, takes us back to the history of Islamic Law and institutions. Islamic religion originated in Arabia as a monotheistic religion with the revelation to the Prophet Muhammad (SAWS) forming the Holy Book, Quran, to provide guidance to its believers in the conduct of life in this world and salvation in the hereafter. The believers followed the

teachings, as they were revealed and sought clarification from the Prophet till his demise in 632 A.D.

His successors maintained the social order according to the teachings of the Quran and what Prophet left by way of his Sunnah. Meanwhile, the Arabs made conquests and brought vast areas of former Roman and Sassanid empires under their rule. Contact with other civilizations and peoples necessitated the interpretation of the Quranic teachings and the Prophet's Sunnah to new, practical legal situations. Learned men in the Quran and Sunnah styled as Imams (leaders) attempted to lay down codes of conduct, which they believed accorded with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. Developments continued for around four centuries, when legal innovations came to be synchronized into four accepted schools of thought among majority of the Muslims of that time. This majority was known as Sunni Muslims in contradistinction to others, e.g. Shia Muslims.

The Islamic civilization came to feel serious military, political and intellectual threats, which became particularly acute in the 19th century. By that time European powers had established their colonies in Muslims lands, and had brought in legislations perceived to be at variance with Muslim belief and way of life. A number of Muslims started to rethink the traditional law and concluded that certain desirable Western ideas and institutions accorded well with the teachings of Islam, if the latter were properly interpreted.

Jamal ud Din Afghani⁴⁷ may be said to have pioneered the modernist movement. In the Subcontinent, there appeared a number of persons, but two are of pivotal importance, namely, Syed Ahmad Khan (d. 1898) and Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938).

Once the country was created, controversy among modernists and traditionalists became acute and showed up, whenever there arose a question in institutional reform. One such occasion was the Commission on Marriage and Family Laws 1955. Members of the Commission split up and a

Note of Dissent had to be appended to the main report. The contents of both the documents show polemical behavior between the parties, notwithstanding some major points of agreement, which could act as bases of fruitful dialogue and service to the polity. Such points come mainly from the thought of Allama Iqbal, which becomes pivotal to reform in socio-legal sphere in Pakistan. Iqbal's notion of "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" is still valid in this point in time, for generating interest for research in contemporary sciences in the light of broader principles of the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet (SAWS).

Endnotes

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- ⁴ Noel James Coulson, (1964). *A History of Islamic Law*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 21-35
- ⁵ Ibid. 34
- ⁶ Muhammad ibn Idrīs Shāfiī, *Al-Imām Muhammad Ibn Idrīs Al-Shāfiī's Al-Risāla Fi Uṣūl Al-fiqh: Treatise on the Foundations of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1997), 41.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Coulson, op. cit., 72
- ⁹ In the Indo-Pak subcontinent, Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1962), a great scholar of Madrisa Rahimiah of Delhi, followed Ibn Tamiyya in asserting the right of Ijtihad by successive generations to meet new situations. But it did not strike deeper roots. Allama Iqbal admitted in 1920's that it was difficult to speak on the subject of Ijtihad in the prevailing environment among South Asian Muslims. See Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. 131.
- ¹⁰ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the first prominent Muslim leader of the 18th century who left his unmistakable impact through famous Aligarh Movement on Muslims in education, religion, social life and politics. He realized that the plight of Indian Muslim could not be improved without educational revolution. Through articles, speeches, pamphlets, scientific and translation societies, he was able to convert his people to his line of thought.
- ¹¹ Tauseef, Ahmad Parray. (2011). 'Islamic modernist and reformist thought: A study of the contribution of Sir Sayyid and Muhammad Iqbal'. *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, 1(2), 79-93.
- ¹² Ibid; 84
- ¹³ Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) is generally known as a greatest poet-philosopher of all ages. His poetry inculcated a new spirit of freedom among the Muslim of India in 19th century. As a result, the Muslim nationalism surfaced as a strong force and the Pakistan Movement acquired purpose and direction.
- ¹⁴ Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan. (2013), 118
- ¹⁵ Syed Anwar Hussain. (1982). *Pakistan: Islam, Politics, and National Solidarity* New York: Greenwood Publishing Group. 74
- ¹⁶ Ibid; 75
- ¹⁷ Gazette of Pakistan op. cit., 1199
- ¹⁸ Iqbal, *Reconstruction.....* 138.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. 1201
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Ibid; To appreciate the historical role and motivations of the ulama for taqleed.
- ²² Ibid; 1202
- ²³ Ibid.

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- ²⁴ Ibid; 1203
- ²⁵ Ibid; 1205
- ²⁶ Ibid; 1208
- ²⁷ Ibid; 1214-15
- ²⁸ Ibid; 1216
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Maulana Ehtisham ul Haq Thanvi (1915-1980) was a renowned religious scholar. He was member of the commission set up to recommend reforms, wrote a powerful dissenting note against the commission's recommendations.
- ³¹ Ibid; 1564
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid; 1568
- ³⁴ Note of Dissent in The Gazette of Pakistan, Extra., August 30, 1956 op. cit., p. 1568
- ³⁵ Ibid; 1568-69
- ³⁶ Ibid; 1569
- ³⁷ Report, 1571-72
- ³⁸ Ibid; 1573
- ³⁹ Note of Dissent, op. cit., 1576. The writer was no other than Mian Abdur Rashid, Ex-Chief Justice of Pakistan, who assumed chairmanship of the Commission after the death of the first chairman, namely, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din.
- ⁴⁰ Gazette of Pakistan op. cit., 1577
- ⁴¹ Ibid; 1229-1232
- ⁴² Note of Decent op. cit., 1568
- ⁴³ Iqbal, op. cit., 129
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Zia Gokalp (1876-1924)) was a Turkish poet, writer, political activist and sociologist. As a sociologist, Gokalp was influential in the negation of Islamism, pan-Islamism, and Ottomanism as ideological, cultural and sociological identifiers.
- ⁴⁶ Iqbal op. cit., 135
- ⁴⁷ Sayyid Jamal al Afghani (1838-1897) was a political activist and Islamic ideologist in middle east, south asia and Europe during 19th century. He was recognized as one of the founders of Islamic modernism and a strong advocate of pan-Islamic unity against Western imperialism.

FACTORS INFLUENCING COUNTERPRODUCTIVE WORK BEHAVIOUR IN PAKISTANI ORGANISATIONS

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Abstract

This paper attempts to investigate the prevalence of interpersonal workplace aggression (IWA), organisational citizenship behaviours (OCBs) and counterproductive work behaviours (CWBs) among employees in Pakistani organisations. Interpersonal workplace aggression, organisational citizenship behaviours and counterproductive work behaviours were measured through adopted instruments, after establishing the validity of measures. The population of the study included private sector organisations in Pakistan. Data was collected by administering close-ended questionnaires to a sample of 123 respondents, selected through convenience sampling design. Data were analysed, using descriptive statistics, correlation and multiple regressions statistical tools. The results indicated significant positive relationship between IWA and counterproductive work behaviours, whereas, significant negative relationship was found between organisational citizenship behaviours and counterproductive work behaviours. The study's implications, limitations and directions for future studies are discussed.

Key Words: Interpersonal Workplace Aggression, Counterproductive Work Behaviours, Organisational Citizenship Behaviours.

Introduction

Interpersonal workplace aggression (IWA) has been identified as a major negative organisational occurrence that has the potential to create a verbally and physically abusive environment for employees in an organisation, either through direct or indirect aggressive behaviours. Studies have looked at IWAs in the context of personality trait¹ as well as organisational predictors², and even gender.³ However, notwithstanding the causes of aggressive behaviour in organisations, it has been found to result

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in emotional and mental damage for the targets as well as aggressors. It has also been found to be a major cause of several negative outcomes for organisations, when targets look to escape the aggression, and when that is not possible, to retaliate in like manner.⁴

One outcome of interpersonal workplace aggression is the manifestation of counterproductive work behaviours (CWBs) directed at the organisation and the individuals within the organisation, and these have been found to have important sociological, emotional, psychological and economical outcomes for the organisations and its employees.⁵ Rather, CWBs are dysfunctional behaviours having consequences for the individuals as well as the organisation, where they work. Dysfunctional behaviours not only violate organisational norms, but also affect its productivity and profitability via the adverse effects experienced by employees.⁶ Counterproductive work behaviours is one such individual dysfunctional behavioural outcome, having costly consequences for organisations. This also creates a stressful environment for employees, directly and indirectly, leading to poor job outcomes and poor workplace relationships. Moreover, low self-esteem, lack of confidence and physical disease are also outcomes of CWBs.⁷

While considering the psychological capital within the context of organisational life, organisational citizenship behaviours (OCBs) are another critically important element, and are likely to have a strong effect on the manner in which employees display their organisational and occupational loyalty. Organisational citizenship behaviours are discretionary behaviours exhibited by employees in response to enhanced job experiences, strong interpersonal workplace relationships and attachment to the job and the organisation. These OCBs are diametrically opposed to CWBs, and when employees engage in one, they withhold the other. Seen in the context of aggression in the workplace, when employees engage in CWBs, they are likely to withhold their OCBs as a retaliatory response as well.

The present study aims to develop an understanding of the presence of IWA in corporate sector organisations of Pakistan and the effects that the presence and frequency of aggression has on CWBs that employees engage in. Furthermore, within this scheme, the study also aims to examine the relationship between CWBs and OCBs in the presence of IWA.

Literature Review

IWAs (Interpersonal Workplace Aggression) are elements of organisational behaviour that are perpetuated and tolerated either due to the cultural acceptance of elements, or due to fear of retribution from powers that be, or both.⁸ Research suggests that aggression in workplaces and the consequences include a wide range of behaviours that are mainly intended to harm another person, and includes verbal aggression, rumour mongering, making obscene gestures, making open verbal and physical threats, withholding information necessary for a person to do their jobs effectively, etc.⁹ This has resulted in the phenomenon becoming a major point of concern for individuals and managers both.¹⁰ Interpersonal Workplace Aggression can be attributed a number of terminologies, including abusive supervision, such as display of hostile verbal and non-verbal behaviours by supervisors, though it does not include physical aggression.¹¹ It also includes workplace bullying, such as subjecting a defenceless victim to sustained negative acts in a workplace;¹² and incivility, including rude and discourteous behaviours aimed at a disregard of mutual respect.¹³ Social undermining including behaviours that are intended to retard the development of positive relationships, success and reputation at the workplace are also included within this context.¹⁴

These behaviours inevitably lead to the development and exercise of deviant behaviours within organisations, aimed at other employees as well as the organisation. Other such behaviors include rude behaviours, decreased productivity, increased absenteeism, presenteeism, turnover intentions, etc. Research has established that experiencing high levels of workplace aggression leads to certain undesirable behavioural outcomes in

retaliation, including Counterproductive Work Behaviours (CWBs) and Organisational Citizenship Behaviours (OCBs). Counterproductive work behaviours refer to any actions taken by employees that are intended to harm individuals in the organisation or bring harm to the organisation itself. Also included in this is any harmful effect to the work that these employees are entrusted with.¹⁵ Organisational citizenship behaviours are affected in the sense that victims of aggression may withdraw courteous, discretionary or cooperative behaviours that are not necessarily a part of their job description, but are critical to the development of a cordial and healthy workplace environment.

In extreme cases of workplace aggression, victims of aggression also engage in job search behaviours, by actively looking for alternative opportunities to escape the aggression they experience at the workplace. These outcomes are further intensified, if a person of authority is undertaking the perpetuation of aggression within an organisation, such as a manager or supervisor. Also, in such cases, there is a tendency for the target of aggression to release his/her frustration in other ways than through direct retaliation, which could be damaging to others in the organisation, the reputation of the organisation, and the quality of work being performed by the victim.¹⁶ For most targets of interpersonal aggression in general, and aggressive supervision in particular, the final, or even at times, the only response is to leave the organisation and look for another job elsewhere, but for this behaviour to manifest itself in victims of aggression, it is essential that they experience aggression on a regular basis. Turnover is an effective behaviour for escaping interpersonal aggression, but if these aggressive episodes occur infrequently, most people would not engage in job search behaviours.¹⁷

Emotions occupy a central position in such deviant behaviours in response to emotional stressors such as workplace aggression.¹⁸ Employees perceive and appraise situations at their workplaces and develop responses accordingly. Behaviours and situations that generate a negative emotion

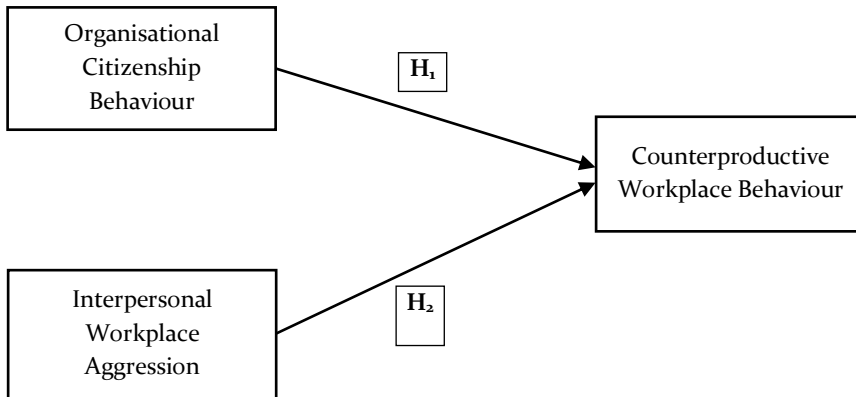
within employees ultimately generate undesirable responses, such as CWBs. The degree and frequency of these deviant workplace behaviours are directly influenced by the degree of control that employees perceive they have on the situation, and those who perceive that they have a fair degree of control are less likely to view these situations as stressors and engage in deviant behaviours.

Another important factor here is the personality of the victim; people develop their responses to aggression based on the strength of their personalities and their ability to manage stressful situations as well.¹⁹ CWBs cost organisations, employees and productivity, high turnover and increased work stress, and a generally negative workplace environment that creates a lack of energy, enthusiasm and optimum productivity from employees in an organisation.²⁰ In order to reduce the occurrences of CWBs and other such deviant workplace behaviours, organisations need to work on the various components of the workplace environment that can have a significant effect on the victim, his/her co-workers, and the organisation itself.

On the other extreme of the continuum of deviant behaviours lies proactive civil behaviours in the organisation, exercised as OCBs. Such positive behaviours that employees display when they are satisfied with their jobs and with their organisations act as indirect sources of organisational development and enhanced organisational reputations. All of these are inevitably reflected in the quality of work being done in the workplace. Organisational citizenship behaviours are affected in the sense that victims of aggression may withdraw courteous, discretionary or cooperative behaviours that are not necessarily a part of their job description, but are critical to the development of a cordial and healthy workplace environment. OCBs are as beneficial for the organisation as CWBs are harmful.²¹ One response of victims of workplace aggression is the withholding of OCBs, or a gradual decline of such positive behaviours within the organisation. Evidence also suggests that CWBs and OCBs are negatively correlated.²²

There have been limited studies in this respect in Pakistani organisational context and most of the studies only identify relationships between CWBs, incivility²³, injustice²⁴, workplace ostracism²⁵, etc., whereas, in some studies, the mediating and moderating roles are examined. The full scope of IWAs is missing among studies, providing the literature gap for a pragmatic model. The present study aims to develop the direct linkage between IWAs in presence of OCBs, arguing to contribute to the existing literature in the context of a developing country and workplace environment. Furthermore, the investigations into the causes of human behaviour have attributed aggressive behaviour to innate tendencies²⁶ as well as to it being a learnt behaviour.²⁷ Yet other researchers maintain that it is a function of both tendencies.²⁸ For the purpose of this study, the cognitive theory has been used as the chosen theoretical framework.

The cognitive theory maintains that individuals react to their experiences based on their perceptions and interpretations of the incidences. Also, these interpretations are affected by the moods of an individual at any given time, and memory plays a critical role in such factor.²⁹ Cognitive theorists maintain that aggressive behaviour is learnt rather than being innate, and is thus a mental process based on perceptions and thoughts. As per the cognitive approach, the cognitive schemata that affect the possibility of aggression is also developed within an individual's mind through experience. The social behaviour in individuals is largely determined by the way they process the incidences in their environments, based on their cognition, and develop their responses based on the attention that they pay to these experiences, by retrieving their stored and rehearsed behaviours.³⁰ Since this research study aims to develop an understanding of the relationship and dependency between IWAs, OCBs and CWBs, this theory is deemed as an appropriate theoretical model. Based on a thorough review of literature, the following research model is conceptualised:

Figure 1: Conceptual Model

According to the research model, following hypotheses can be formulated:

H₁: *Interpersonal Workplace Aggression has a significant positive effect on Counterproductive Workplace Behaviours on employees in private organisations in Pakistan.*

H₂: *Organisational Citizenship Behaviour has a significant negative effect on Counterproductive Workplace Behaviours on employees in private organisations in Pakistan.*

Research Methodology

The purpose of the research was to establish the prevalence of Interpersonal Workplace Aggression perpetrated by supervisors/ co-workers towards employees, and the retaliatory behaviour, if any, of the employees, and the forms this behaviour take. In terms of research instruments, these were adopted from various studies including IWA scale adopted from Glomb's Aggressive Experiences Scale (AES),³¹ OCB scale adopted from the 20-item version developed by Fox and Spector,³² CWB scale adopted from Bennett & Robinson.³³ The final research instrument included 31 items, in which 11 represented Interpersonal Workplace Aggression, 10 items for Organisational Citizenship Behaviours and 10 items measured Counterproductive Workplace Behaviours. The questionnaire employed a

Likert scale, ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree. The inter-item consistency was tested using Cronbach alpha values for all the scales used in the study. All the scales and the questionnaires were administered to individuals within their workplaces by the researcher.

Employees of major corporate sector organisations were the population of the current study. The chosen organisations included banks, telecommunication companies, educational institutes, manufacturers and other private companies. A total of 200 respondents were selected, based on convenience sampling technique. Questionnaires, comprising of verified instruments, were emailed to employees working in selected corporate organisations. Out of 210 distributed questionnaires, a total of 123 respondents replied to the questionnaire, with a response rate of 61.5%.

Results and Analysis

Data analysis and presentation of results was undertaken, using descriptive and inferential statistics such as mean, standard deviations, reliability statistics, Pearson correlations and multiple regressions.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (N=123)

	Mean	Standard Deviation
CWB	1.6138	0.50316
OCB	3.8146	0.7213
IWA	1.7664	0.62042

Descriptive Statistics (Table 1) show the mean and standard deviation of the all study variables.

Table 2: Pearson's Correlation Matrix (N=123)

	CWB	OCB	IWA
CWB	.785	-0.222**	0.371**
OCB		.860	-0.032
IWA			.884

** $p = .001$ (Boldface shows Cronbach's Alpha Values)

Table 2 shows the Cronbach value for CWB, OCB and IWA scales above the acceptable range of 0.7. Hence, reliability statistics shows inter-item consistency among the different items of the instruments.

Similarly, Correlation Matrix (Table 2) results show significant positive relationship between Interpersonal Workplace Aggression and Counterproductive Workplace Behaviour ($r=.37$, $p=.001$), whereas the results show a significant negative relationship between organisational citizenship behaviour and counterproductive workplace behaviour ($r=-.22$, $p=.001$). However, a weak negative relationship is depicted between interpersonal workplace aggression and organisational citizenship behaviour ($r=-.03$, $p=.07$). These results verify the hypotheses I and II.

Table 3: Regression Analysis between IWA, OCB and CWB (N= 123)

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F</i>
Constant	1.69	0.24		6.82	0.01			
IWA	0.30	0.06	0.37	4.60	0.01	0.19	0.17	14.28**
OCB	0.16	0.05	-0.23	-2.85	0.01			

** $p= 0.01$

According to the results of regression analysis in Table 3, the value of $R^2=0.19$, shows that both independent variables, interpersonal workplace aggression and organisational citizenship behaviour, collectively explain 19% of significant variance in the dependent variable, counterproductive workplace behaviour ($F= 14.28$, $p=0.01$). Furthermore, the Beta value of standardised coefficients shows that for every unit of standard deviation movement, the dependent variable increases by 0.37, whereas, for every unit increase in standard deviation, organisational citizenship behaviour decreases by 0.23 of counterproductive workplace behaviour. These values explain individual relative contribution of both independent factors. The interpersonal workplace aggression ($\beta=.37$, $p=.01$) contributes in the

variance significantly higher than the organisational citizenship behaviour ($\beta = -.23$, $p = .01$).

Although the literature review showed strong positive relationship between IWA and CWB and a strong negative relationship among OCB and CWB, we may conclude from the study that while significant relationships exist among the dependent and independent variable as theorized, these relationships are weak. The results depict that aggressive behaviours like angry gestures, giving the silent treatment, interrupting or cutting off a person while speaking, withholding information from employees etc., were experienced by the respondents. Conclusively, the Pearson's correlation and regression analyses have verified both of the posited relations.

Discussion

The relationship between IWA, OCB and CWB as established through this research identifies several factors that are unique to this research paper. The research study suggests that individuals in Pakistan's private sector organisations do not experience much incidences or frequencies of IWA, and the relationship between incidences of IWA and CWB has been deemed significant, but weak.

Moreover, CWBs have been established to have a strong negative relationship with OCBs as well, and this relationship has also been found to be weak in this study. This is a new finding in the context of the relationship between IWA and CWB, as the literature review suggests a strong positive relationship between IWAs and CWBs.³⁴

Additionally, earlier studies in the context of Pakistani organisations have established that significant degrees of CWBs do exist, although the relationships have been moderated by various factors. Workplace ostracism and organisational cynicism have both been found to have a strong positive relationship with CWB³⁵, and this is in contrast to the findings of this study, in that ostracism and cynicism can be seen to be some extensions of IWA in their manifestation in organisations. Yet another research has found high

degrees of CWBs in a comparison between blue and white-collar workers in Pakistani organisations, and this is also in contrast to the results of this study, although the same study has reached similar findings in the context of IWA in that it is seen to be generally minimal in Pakistani organisations.³⁶

Another study has established the relationship between certain other factors that can be associated with IWA, such as leader mistreatment, employee hostility, organisational sabotage, intention to quit, etc. These have been found to have a significant relationship with CWBs, which has also been found to be the case as a result of this study, though this study establishes the relationship to be rather weak.³⁷

The findings of this study, when taken in view of the ones with previous studies, indicate that while there may be factors that contribute towards CWBs in organisations, these need to be studied in more details as these may differ from those manifested through IWAs. Counterproductive work behaviour has been found to exist in Pakistani organisations, but their direct relationship to IWAs and OCBs has not been established as strongly as has been done in previous studies. This factor can be further examined in future studies to establish a link between the three elements in a more concrete manner. However, the analysis based on the theoretical framework identified for this study has been established due to the presence of the significant relationship between IWAs, OCBs and CWBs, based on an individual's experiences, their interpretations of these experiences and their response to them.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Interpersonal workplace aggression is an issue that needs to be tackled efficiently and effectively. Targets of IWA tend to react in ways that are detrimental to both the organisation and the individuals within. This whole phenomenon is rather complex, and there are no simple questions, or simple answers. There is a need to look at the bigger picture and formulate

solutions that would cater to the scenario as a whole, rather than adopting a fire-fighting approach. The results of this study clearly indicate that the issue is present, though not rampant, and interpersonal aggression can come to be associated with behaviours that are counterproductive for both targets and their organisations, and thus, need to be tackled on the same level.

On the basis of results of current study, some recommendations are proffered. Firstly, interpersonal aggression at work needs to be identified as a social problem, and proper awareness in this regard needs to be developed, with laws being formulated, regulated and maintained to protect the rights of employees to a sound physical and psychological workplace environment. Increased public awareness through media, books, internet and other mass awareness programmes and advice groups would also make the general class of working people more aware of this problem, and if they are suffering in silence, they may be able to voice their issues at some forum. Scholars and researchers should make efforts to fully understand the depth of this issue and the reaction of individuals to it, in order to better inform the public and policy-makers in this regard.

Secondly, organisations need to proactively work in ways that can contain the display of aggressive behaviours and the resulting deviant workplace behaviours in their own interests, even if these are minimal to begin with. Organisations need to realise that the maximum damage is being done to the productivity of any business, and this needs to be curtailed. There is a need for managers to work towards the development and maintenance of an organisational culture that does not tolerate these occurrences at any cost. In this context, soft skills need to be developed in employees, including interpersonal skills training, 360-degree feedback systems, clear organisational policy on non-tolerance of aggressive behaviours, and an elaborate and authentic feedback system that handles grievances on the issue as a priority. Human resource policies and practices need to be designed and communicated to all stakeholders in this respect,

and compliance needs to be ensured by taking disciplinary action towards non-compliance.

Lastly, individuals need to realise their own responsibility in this context and need to develop self-esteem and personality traits that helps them deal with instances of aggression with proactive and positive handling rather than a negative retaliation. They need to be able to recognise aggression and report it unequivocally to concerned authorities, so that remedial action can be taken at the earliest. In this context, work group support should be sought, and peer support should be extended to those asking for help. Individuals should keep a record of all such behaviours that they deem aggressive, either from supervisors or from co-workers, in order to have documentary proof. This helps build the case against the aggressor. Stress management remedies need to be accessed and used during the process to maintain a sane frame of mind. Similarly, employees need to strengthen and follow workplace ethics, by discharging their duties honestly and efficiently, so that executive / managers should find minimal opportunities to resort to aggressive behaviours. It will help create healthy working environment in our organizations.

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**List of Publications by
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10. Urdu Translation of Art of War by Sun Tzu, 2013
11. Evolving Dynamics of FATA: Reflections on Transformations, 2014
12. ‘World War –I and Its Impact on South Asia’ - 02 Dec 2014 Post Symposium Report, 2014
13. World War – II: An Analytical Study, 2016
14. CPEC – A Reality Check, 2018
15. ISSRA Papers (Six-monthly) – 9 Volumes

