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# of Social Sciences



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## Impact of Financial Instability on the Promotion of Field Hockey of Pakistan

Authors

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**Dr. Abida Naseer\*\***  
**Waheed Javed\*\*\***

### Abstract

The main purpose of this present research was to determine the impact of financial instability on promotion of field hockey. The research methodology was based on quantitative research approach. The present study was consisted on the cross-sectional research design. The population of the study was institutional players of field hockey of South Punjab. Self-administered questionnaire was employed to collect the survey data. A total number of 200 questionnaires were distributed among hockey players of diverse clubs, schools, colleges, and universities of Bahawalpur. Descriptive statistics (percentage, frequency, and standard deviation), Pearson's correlation analysis and regression analysis were utilized to analyze the collected survey data. Collected data was statistically edited in SPSS v-XXVI. Results of correlation coefficient revealed positive and highly significant (0.01) relationship between financial instability and the promotion of field hockey. Findings of the present study indicated that independent construct (financial instability) had positive and significant impact on the dependent variable (promotion of field hockey). It was concluded that field hockey needs to develop at grass root level to enrich the hockey institutions financially and government should take appropriate steps to uplift and revive the past glories of the national sport of Pakistan.

**Keywords:** Promotion, Field Hockey, Financial Instability, Players, Pakistan.

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## **Introduction**

Field hockey is a large-scale participative sport which played in all continents of the world. It was included for the first time in IV Olympic Games 1908. It is one of the most popular competitive sport not only in Asia but also all continents of the world. Field hockey was declared as national sport of Pakistan in 1947 according to its constitution (Javed, Shariff, & Nathan, 2015).

Sports are majorly affected by the disturbance in finance worldwide. The finance instability as an external factor played an important role in the decline of field hockey of Pakistan as well. Around the world, economic agreements and financial activities became deficit. In early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the depth and time of this agreements have not been confirmed (Humphreys, 2010). Systematic problems in sports are incorporated in important problems such as players' assessments, salaries of the management, players' financial developments, implements of strategies and trainings to improve performance (Swartz, 2017).

Financial temptations are considered strong motivators for sport success. Parents' encouragement especially depends on the financial incentives. Increasing financial incentives plays important role for hockey athletes to improve performance and positive perceptions towards facilities at the globe (Ali, Qambrani, Akhtar & Ansari, 2016).

Parents' encouragement positively influences their children to participate in sports. Encouragement, support, and praise from parents' consecution have been found relate with children sports related perception of sports participation. The motivational climate from mothers and fathers may influence their children to participate in sports (Layoi & Stellino, 2008).

For the last two decades, national field hockey team of Pakistan does not win any significant title that is why, the performance of player has been remained under severe criticism (Javed, Shariff, & Naseer, 2016). Less or no incentives is the central cause of decline in Pakistani players' performance. The standards of hockey are not up to the mark in Pakistan (The News, 2017). Financial problems may be a big reason for the decline of Pakistan national sport. Pakistan Hockey Federation (PHF) faced financial crisis as well (The Express Tribune, 2019).

Only players cannot be blamed for the poor performance, there is a fact of none-provision of enough funds provided to players. Pakistan field hockey is facing financial instability now a days which effects on the promotion of field hockey at its all stages. Irregular financial support from the government of Pakistan for the national sport is also countable reason of decline (The News, 2016).

## **Promotion of Field Hockey**

Success in sport at international level has contrasting values, because of a perception of national pleasure, economic advantage prospective, and overall negotiation. Management of related organizations (including federations) was also a factor affecting the promotion of

this team sport (Shabani & Hasani, 2017). The promotion of field hockey depends on financial resources.

Good financial conditions of players and expending sufficient forecast on athletes can lead to increase sport participation, training increase, implementation of facilities and sports equipment, increase motivation, investment of physical effort to win, decrease stress, and improve satisfaction (Ali, 2015). Field hockey was vanishing from schools and colleges, and it was a problem which effects on the promotion of field hockey (Dawn, 2015).

Universities often motivate their students for participation who are not fascinated in sporting activities. Knowledge of factors impacting sports participation is important if the universities are going to optimally assign funds to reach the need of field hockey. Parental income can also affect the scope of sports available to them prior to university rather through country side or disbursement necessary to pay for their children sports (Webber & Mearman, 2009).

In 2014 World Cup, it was the worst time when Pakistan was not qualifying for this world hockey tournament (ProPakistani, 2018). Government shows lack of interest to involve in sporting activities of the nation (Daily Times, 2015). In addition, whenever Pakistani field hockey lose a tournament, it effects on promotion of the field hockey.

Pakistan field hockey has remained in lack of facilities, quality coaching, and encouragement to produce the quality players as well. Even the attention is not being paid to train the available talent in the country. In Pakistani field hockey, no one can bring improvements unless we groom and train our youth from grass root level (Rameez, 2018). Ali et al. (2016) suggested a positive correlation between financial incentives and performance. Moreover, lack of financial resources in some sports included field hockey may lead to detrimental effects on sports performance. Lack of financial resources have negative impact on the sports facilities, coaching, and sports performance as well (Allender, Cowburn, & Foster, 2006).

### **Relationship between Financial Instability and Promotion of Field Hockey**

Sharp decline in the performance of Pakistani field hockey was occurred since mid-1990s and it had not won any significant title at international level (Javed et al., 2015). Humphreys (2010) described the impact financial disorder on the executive sports league. In future, sport facilities' renovation and construction may have affected by the confusion of credit flow due to financial crisis.

According to Shabani and Hasani (2017), the most important components affecting advancement of national sport are talent identification, financial resources, coaching facilities, and equipment. Financial factors supporting the athletes, training facilities, and advancement of coaches' knowledge are the important factors to improve the quality and quantity of hockey players.

Financial resources are the power sources and hidden agenda for an institution. Financial and non-financial issues are looked into so therefore that more money could be fixed for implementing a new training program.

Serious financial issues within the Pakistan Hockey Federation (PHF) have not make things easy while, it seems lack of will to find fresh talent (The Express Tribune, 2016). Only the players cannot be blamed for the poor performance, the fact was that there were not enough funds available to pay players allowances. Field hockey could not won any considerable title since 1994. There has been a keen decline in the performance of Pakistan since the time of mid 1990s and Pakistan field hockey had not won any remarkable title at international. Basically, the sports performance depends on the amount of investment of financial resources (Ali et al., 2016).

### **Impact of Financial Instability on Promotion of Field Hockey**

Finance effects on the sports performances. Investment of financial rely on the sports performance as well. Sports successes depends on the powerful motivation through financial incentives. Lack of financial resources have no positive impact on the sports performance, sports coaching, and sports facilities. Lack of financial resources also effected the grassroots level game and its coaching. Unprofessional coaching formation was one of the issue faced by Pakistani field hockey which effects on the promotion as well. Region of coaching and coaches was also reason of decline in the performance of national players (Javed et al., 2015; Javed et al., 2016).

Financial supports as well as governmental organization may influence the success and progress of sports (Shabani & Hasani, 2017). Financial fit has remarkable influence on the income obtained by executive sports team (Humphreys, 2010). In this regard, the major problem faced by Pakistan field hockey is lack of financial support, lack of money to clubs and less sponsorships (Hiploylee, Wennberg, & Tator, 2016; Santos, Camire, & Campas, 2016). The timing for budgetary calamity was difficult to examine precisely and its influence both huge as well as difficult to evaluate (Humphreys, 2010).

The effect of governance structure having a direct relation with the financial execution of certain sport. The significance of competitive balance on league firmness and how much stability is main factor of financial health (Wilson, 2017). Stable financial condition of athletes lead to increase sports participation and budget utilized on student athletes can also increase participation of sports (Ali, 2015).

Financial resources support athletes and developing training facilities. Financial instability effects on coaching structure, players' performance, and demands of the sports. Financial crisis featured a sharp decline in promotion of field hockey in Pakistan. Financial organization neglected at disconcerting rates and terms of securities dealing on stock markets cut down fiercely worldwide. Consequently, incomes earned by a professional sport team have remarkable influence on financial disaster (Humphrey, 2010).



Financial organizations are undercapitalized where they were unsafe to external shocks. Immoderate financial crisis were reviewed in the undercapitalization of the financial zone (Engle & Ruan, 2019). Financial performance refers to a series of budget goals, and the achievements of competitive balance (Ferri, Macchioni, Maffei, & Zampella, 2017). There has been no detail of financial inference for teams in expression of lost salary costs. There are some implications specify that sports performance essentially depend on the amount of expenditure of financial assets. In circumstances of higher education institutions (HEIs), one way of enlarging financial motivation to players of hockey in universities (Ali, 2015).

Field hockey as Pakistan's national sport was suffering from the hands of government due to lack of funding (ProPakistani, 2018). Financial support is a factor influencing the progress and success of the field hockey. Moreover, fund raising was derived for advancement for major sporting activities (Shabani, & Hasani, 2017). Humhrey (2010) suggested that revenues were the main factor in all professional sports. In addition, financial issues has a remakeable effect on the incomes obtained from executive sports league and sponsorships. Disturbance of income spill, because of budgetary issues, can influence hereafter games provision restoration. Financial sectors neglected at shocking costs and the rates of reliability deal on big board cut down worldwide.

Pakistan field hockey has been facing financial issues from the last two decades (The News, 2016). Ali et al. (2016) suggested that countries facing shortage of sports facilities, infrastructure, poor coaching, and insufficient sports equipment was due to lack of financial resources. Lack of financial resources were a fundamental cause of decline in sports worldwide.

### **Pakistan's Achievements in Field Hockey**

Pakistan won eight medals for field hockey in Olympics overall including three gold medals, three silver medals, and two bronze medals. Moreover, Pakistan field hockey wins four times World cup, three times Champion Trophy, and three times Sultan Azlan Shah Cup. However, by the more than last two decades, the national team holds no major title (Moiz, 2008).

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objectives of the present study were established below:

- i. To determine the relationship between financial instability and the promotion of field hockey.
- ii. To examine the impact of financial instability on the promotion of field hockey of Pakistan.

### **Research Hypothesis**

Keeping in view the objectives, the following research hypotheses were developed for the present research.

**Ha1.** There is a significant relationship between financial instability and the promotion of field hockey.

**Ha2.** There is a significant impact of financial instability on promotion of field hockey of Pakistan.

## **Methods and Materials**

### **Research Design**

Research design is a detailed information to determine how data was collected and which instruments was used in the study. The present research has a cross sectional study design. Cross sectional design is observational in nature and is known as descriptive research. Descriptive study is accepted in sequence to discover and capable to narrate the quality of the variables of absorption in an affair (Sekaran, 2003).

### **Population of the Study**

Population mentions as a whole group of individuals having same interest that the researchers wish to explore (Sekaran, 2003). The study conducted from all players of field hockey belonging to different schools, colleges, universities, and clubs of Punjab province were considered as population.

### **Sampling Technique and Sample Size**

In this study, simple random sampling was utilized as sampling technique. Sample size is one of the important aspects of research design to determine how large your sample should be. Therefore, the sample size of the existing study was 200 field hockey players.

### **Instrumentation**

The data was collected through questionnaire as an instrument for the prevailing research. Questionnaire was made self-administer by the researchers. It was employed on five-point Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The questionnaire was comprised of three portions carrying variables of the study such as demographic information, promotion of field hockey (items 14) and financial instability (items 10). Four sub-questions about demographic information of subjects were prepared to collect the data such as participant's age, gender, institution and qualification.

### **Procedure of Data Collection**

After selecting the tool of data collection. Researchers visited different schools, colleges, universities, and clubs. The researchers got permission from the heads of the institutions for the purpose of data collection. The researchers distributed 200 questionnaires to players of field hockey personally and explained the items of the questionnaire to the players for their better understandings. Players filled the questionnaires on the spot and returned them back.

### Data Analysis Technique

For the analysis of the present research, the data was numerically edited in SPSS v-XXVI for further testing through statistical approaches. For descriptive testing, mean, standard deviation, and frequencies were implemented to know the respondents' personal profile. Likewise, to test the hypotheses, Pearson's correlation coefficient and regression analysis were employed.

### Finding and Interpretations

In survey questionnaire, the first section was about the demographic information of field hockey players that have been investigated through frequency, percentage, mean, and standard deviation to make the findings clearer.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics (N-200)

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age	16	24	20.78	3.05

The minimum 16 and maximum 24 years of age was found of 200 respondents in the present study. However, mean age was calculated as 20.78 years and the standard deviation was measured as 3.05 as shown in Table 1.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Respondents about Gender

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Male	131	65.0
Female	69	35.0
Total	200	100.0

### Pearson's Correlation Coefficient

In the present study, the results of the research hypothesis 1 were drawn through Pearson's correlation analysis.

Table 3. Relationship between Financial Instability and Promotion of Field Hockey

Construct	Promotion of Field Hockey	
Financial Instability	Pearson's Correlation	.644**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	200

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The findings of Table 3 revealed that the financial instability was significantly correlated with the promotion of field hockey. The results indicated that independent construct (financial

instability) had a positive and strong relationship with outcome variable (promotion of field hockey).

### Regression Analysis

The impact of financial instability on the promotion of field hockey was investigated through simple regression analysis to test the research hypothesis 2. The regression analysis was examined to estimate the value of variance of financial instability in the promotion of field hockey.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics (N=200)

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Promotion of Field Hockey	47.0700	6.92128
Financial Instability	34.4800	4.78525

The results of the Table 4 showed that the mean scores and standard deviations of financial instability and the promotion of field hockey were found 47.07, 34.48 and 6.92, 4.78 respectively.

Table 5. Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.644	.415	.409	5.32005	1.658

The findings revealed that the value of R square was .615 (Adjusted  $R^2 = .409$ ), Std. Error of the Estimate 5.32 and Durbin-Watson 1.65, all values were considered at its highly significant level displayed in Table 5.

Table 6. ANOVA

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	1968.825	1	1968.825	69.563	.000
Residual	2773.685	198	28.303		
Total	4742.510	199			

The ANOVA results indicated the values of  $F=69.56(1,99)$  and  $p=.001$ . all values tabulated above were found positive and significant statistically.

Table 7. Impact of Financial Instability on the Promotion of Field Hockey

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	14.937	3.889		3.841	.000
Financial Instability	.932	.112	.644	8.340	.000

The results of the coefficients revealed that impact of financial instability on promotion of field hockey were measured as  $\beta=.644$ ,  $t=3.84$ , and  $p=0.01$ . These values were considered significant.

## Discussion

The basic purpose of the present research was to describe the statistical results and answer the proposed hypotheses by the research data through inferential analysis. Moreover, the present study demonstrated the effects of financial instability on promotion of field hockey.

The results showed that the relationship of financial instability was significantly related with the promotion of field hockey. Therefore, the strong and positive relationship was found between financial instability and promotion of field hockey. The reason behind this significant relationship was may be that players and sport teams face lack of funding and no proper budget is set out at grass root level for the promotion of field hockey. The prior studies also confirmed the significant relationship between financial instability and the promotion of field hockey (Ali, 2015; Humphreys, 2010).

If financial condition is not stable then the promotion of field hockey is also affected at any level. The results indicated that there was no financial support from the government to develop the proper infrastructure. Secondly, field hockey was not played at grass root level due to lack of skillful coaches, improper playing fields, and less incentives for the players and these are all suffering due to instability in funds for the national sport. The previous studies confirmed that there was a significant impact of financial instability on the promotion of field hockey (Shabani & Hasani, 2017, & Ochieng, 2019).

## Conclusion

The results of correlation demonstrated the positive and significant relationship between financial instability and the promotion of field hockey. Findings revealed that financial stability may also enhance the progression of field hockey with the availability of proper funds. It was concluded that field hockey needs the development at grass root level to enrich the hockey institutions financially and government should take appropriate steps to uplift and revive the past glories of the national sport of Pakistan. A well-stabled finance and financial support from government may enhance the level of players' participation in field hockey. Government should help them in their financial matters to promote the national sport of Pakistan. There is need to develop training camps to increase the interest of players in improving their skills. Latest technology should be provided to institutions at grass root level for the advancement of field hockey.

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## **Curriculum of Hatred and intolerances in Pakistan: A glimpse into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa textbooks**

### **Authors**

**Rizwan Khan, Ihsan Ullah, Abdul Wahab**

### **Abstract**

This is Qualitative study conducted in Swat, a District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, situated in Northwestern Pakistan. The target population of this study was Educationist, Intellectuals, secondary school teachers, University and College Lecturers, Members of KP curriculum board and Lawyers. The aim of this study was to know the nexus between hatred, intolerance and design curriculum of KP. For such purpose a total 30 in-depth interviews were conducted with expert in such field to examine the dilemma critically that how the course curriculum and textbooks influence the young minds. All these interviews were semi-structured, and the respondents were selected randomly. It was found that there is a strong nexus between hatred, intolerance and the design curriculum of KP. The analytical and critical investigation of the study not only disclose the connection between violence, hatred and course curriculum but also project some valuable recommendations which will eventually drag the attention of policy makers toward this context.

**Keywords:** Hatred, Intolerance, Curriculum, Textbooks, Extremism, Peace.

### **Introduction**

The education system of a country can be called a culture DNA, which contains all the hereditary genetic blueprint shaping what the society is going to become tomorrow. Forward oriented or fixated on the past, elected or authoritarian, classless or discriminatory, tolerant or intolerant, peaceful or violently engaged in civil wars and so on- the choices between such option are made when generation passes to the next one its morals and preferences. It is up to those in the offices, whether they adopt the primitive, modern or modest thinking in the education system. But unfortunately, in Pakistan, dogmatic imperatives enjoy significance in the state-sponsored

textbooks as they used it as a vital instrument for the formation of national identity and to groom the children as a patriotic citizen of the state (Hoodbhoy, 2000).

At the time of Independence, Pakistan inherited the British education system of Colonial era, that was mainly developed by the British to tighten its grip over the Indian Subcontinent (Tharoor,2016). Shashi Tharoor (2016) argue that they were not interested in educating the Indian masses, either Hindu or Muslims because the cost of education at the time was very expensive, while the benefit was too low. They used the English language as a tool of colonization and taught it to those who would serve as mediators between the rulers and the ruled. According to Laal (2018), the British left the Indian subcontinent with a literacy rate of 16% and the situation in the region which were to make up Pakistan was worst then the rest of Indian-Subcontinent.

Saigol (2003) call the Sharif report of 1959 as the manga Carta of education in Pakistan. The prime aim of this system under Ayub khan was the modernization of society, where he adopted a liberal form of Islam. He also shifted the responsibility from the state for universal education to the parents, which result in the massive numbers of the private institution throughout the country.

The separation of East Pakistan December 1971 influenced Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that single curriculum is prerequisite for national unity. That's why, parliament passed an act which makes it compulsory for provincial's governments to follow the national curriculum, design by the federal government. The mixing of religious nationalism and national ideology reached its peaks under the leadership of Zia al-Haq (1977-1988) (Lall,2004). Where, he ordered the Islamization of every section of the society and ordered the re-writing of history at all level, to redefine the meaning of Pakistan (Hoodbhoy,2016). However, the education system of Pakistan adopted its religious colour in 1947 at the national curriculum conference held in Karachi. In the said conference, Urdu and Islamic studies were made compulsory at school level which was a tool for unifying the diverse nation. In 1949, the main aim of education policy was to improve the quality of education, achieved 80% of literacy and bringing about 75% of children of going age to schools was never been achieved.

The national education policy of 1979 aimed to Islamize the youth, that's why the Islamic studies and Arabic, in general, was made compulsory even for medical, engineering and commerce students. Additional marks were also to be given for the memorization of the Quran. Despite the



democratic revival in the country, the education policy and curriculum which were adopted by the government of Benazir (1988-1990), ((1993-1996) and Nawaz Sharif (1990-1993), (19997-1999) were the same as adopted and followed by Zia's regime. That's why after the tragedy of 9/11, the textbooks of Pakistan, particularly the KP which were glorifying Jihad comes under the spotlight of the Western world, which results in the creation of national curriculum of 2006 (Hoodbhoy,2016).

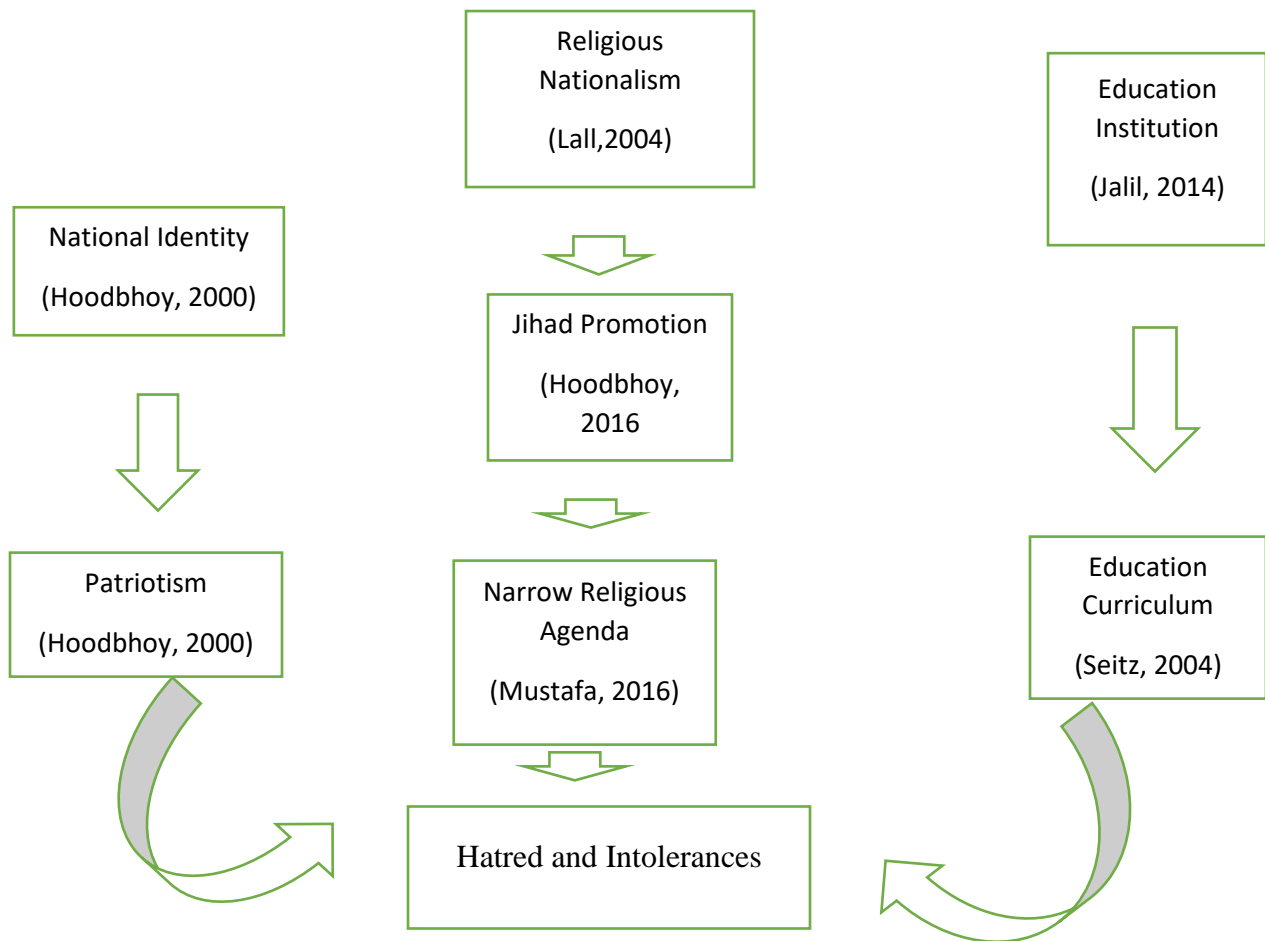
In Pakistan, many critical educational experts believe that there is a strong link between hatred and the design curriculum, Particularly Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The subject under study despite its greater significance has been overlooked by researchers. Apart from newspapers' articles hardly few research studies are part of literature in Pakistan which clearly manifest that the subject requires more critical and analytical studies. Narrowing the gap and adding some quality analytical work to the existing literature, we attempted to study the nexus between hatred, intolerance and the designed curriculum of KP. In this paper, we are interested to examine the particular dilemma critically that how the course curriculum and textbooks influence the minds of youth because we assume that violence and hatred can also be judged through the lens of course curriculum and Khyber Pakhtoonkwa textbooks in this regard are taken into account. To address the issue this study proposed some remedies in the second part as well. The analytical and critical investigation of the study not merely reveals the connection between violence, hatred and course curriculum but also projected some lucrative recommendations which will eventually drag the attention of policymakers towards this context.

### **Operationalization of terms**

The term curriculum refers to lessons and academic content taught in a school or in a specific course or a program of university and college. It is characteristically referring to the knowledge and skills students that are expected to learn; the lessons that the teachers teach during the school, the assignments and project given to students, and the books, material, videos, presentations, and reading used in a specific program to assess the students (Ark, 2017). While, the term 'textbook' was defined by the English Oxford dictionary as a book used as a standard work for the study of a subject, i.e. English, Islamiat, Urdu or Pakistan study.

According to the English Collins dictionary (1979) “Hatred is the extremely strong feeling of dislike for someone or something. It is an extremely strong feeling of dislike (Cambridge dictionary, 1995). A violent act against other for some is also an act of hatred when it is based on the strong, tenacious and negative perception of other, who we intend and desire to hurt, terminate or make suffer. Hatred is often expressed in the form of work, expression or deed but it ultimately results in violence a violent act against others is also an act of hatred (Novarro,2013).

### Conceptual Framework



According to Hoodbhoy (2000) In Pakistan, dogmatic imperatives enjoy significance in the state-sponsored textbooks as they used it as a vital instrument for the formation of national identity and

to groom the children as a patriotic citizen. The promotion of national identity and patriotism give birth to intollent society which promote hatered. According to Lall (2004) the religious nationalism in Pakistan promoted jihad culture in the era of zialulhaq, the religious nationalism was at peak which uphold the narrow religious agenda in the country that resulted hater and intolerance in society (Mustafa, 2016).

According to Jalil (2014) the role of education institutions is very important. The curriculam which has been designed in the education institutions have played pivotle role in the mind building of a generation. The curriculam based on hatered promote intolerance in the society (Seitz, 2004).

### **Research Methodology**

The approach of this study to identify the nexus between hatred and designed curriculum of KP is qualitative, while Qualitative research is a type of social research which work with non-numerical data that seeks to understand the meaning from these data and help us to resolve the problem through the study of target people and places (khan,2014). The primary sources for this study are the school teachers, educationist, lawyers and intellectuals while secondary data was collected from different books of KP curriculum board. Keeping in view the broadness of this topic, the study was delimited to district swat, situated in the northern part of the province. purposive sampling technique was utilized to access the respondents, while semi-structured interviews were conducted from the respondents because it gives an opportunity to enquirer to skip a certain question and change the sequence of the question which bring more necessary information forward. The number of participants was chosen thirty in order to acquire multiple perspectives about the research questions. While conducting the interviews enough time were provided to the respondents just to record theirs coherently.

### **Findings and Discussion**

The following passage consists of the nexus between the designed curriculum and hatred in KP. The discussion focuses mainly on the hatred and designed curriculum, identified during the interviews with professionals in their field, particularly the educationist and scholarly community. Firstly, the possible relationship between the curriculum, hatred, intolerance and peace were discussed with more stress on the primary statements of respondents and the information from the

previous literature and at the end, a possible suggestion for the elimination of such curriculum was given.

## **Peace, tolerance and Education**

It is a general phenomenon that Education is the main driver toward peace, prosperity and tolerance. It helps in the transformation of the precarious security situation into a peaceful environment & can lead to political stability and social development. Many studies suggest that education can help in reducing the risk factor of people turning to violent activities by engaging them in economic and political activities (Thompson, 2015). The said argument was also supported by Khan and Yusuf (2011) where he stated that there is a relationship between conflict outbreak and low education attainment, countries with the lowest rate of education show greater chance of conflict. Ubogu (2016) stated that the inclusion of peace education at the school level can bring positive changes in the behaviour and attitude toward each other, which can enable the adults, youths and people from every walk of life to avert conflicting situations, whether it might be intra-personal, inter-personal, inter-group, intra-group, national and international level. One of the respondent from the professional category explained;

“Lack of peace education in our curriculum is the prime cause of violent behaviour in KP. He further stated that during the era of Gen Zia’s. literature regarded wars and jihad was inducted in the school curriculum which inspired many youths and inclined them toward Jihad in Afghanistan and Kashmir”

During his thesis Lall, (2004) elaborate the situation and stated that the national education policy of 1979 sets to Islamize the upcoming generation by giving religious angle to the textbooks. During the same year, Pakistan became the ally of the West against the Soviet Union, which result in the steady promotion of madrasas throughout Pakistan, particularly in KP. All these madrasas were funnelled with financial support from the west and Arab countries, particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to promote the Wahabis form of Islam. (ICG Asia report 2002) stated that the aimed of such actions was to fight the communism. Furthermore, the mosque and madrasas were to be used to spread primary education and every imam of the mosque would be considered as a regular primary school teacher. In the discussion of a good and bad, Islam could no longer unite the masses, because the imposition of the Sunni brand of Islam further deepens the gulf between

Sunnis and Shias. Furthermore, it also provide grounds to the ethnic riots in Karachi between Pashtuns and Muhajirs, increased hatred and intolerance toward the Ahmadi and finally a split amongst the Sunni sect, particularly the Deobandi and Baralvi school of thought. The process of Islamization during Zia's years in Pakistan result in the explosion of Jihadi and sectarian culture. It was in the environment of Zia's periods that our country drifts into radicalism and intolerance commenced.

### **Hatred, Intolerance and Design Curriculum of KP**

Seitz (2004) suggests that education can also make the situation worse for the group or society if mishandled or badly-organized. Curriculum, textbooks and other learning materials that promote hatred and intolerance are least coexistence for peace (Khan and Yusuf 2011). There are some empirical examples around the globe, where education is part of the problem instead of a solution. In many cases, it further split the different groups, sects and races (Bust and Saltarelli,2000). One of the respondents from the professionals explained;

“Our curriculum is spreading hatred; he further stated that it is taught to the student that Hindus of Subcontinent were the enemies of Muslims and Islam, that's why Muslims of subcontinent worked for day and night under the leadership of Quaid-e Azam and thus achieved a separate homeland”.

Since, the independence of Pakistan, education has been used to unified the nation and promote Pakistan's ideology. That's why, religion had been dragged to strengthen this ideology & brotherhood. Furthermore, Islam has always been an important tenant for national identity in Pakistan (Apple,2001). Nayyar and Khurshid stated that textbooks in Pakistan had hardly mentioned the non-controversial Indus valley civilization but it had totally ignored the Buddhist and Hindu period of history. (Salim and Khan (2004) stated that mostly in Pakistan's textbooks, the two-nation theory begins with the arrival of Mohammed- Bin Qassim to the Indian-subcontinent, where it was further cemented by the Ghaznavid expeditions. The social studies book for grade VI praises Mehmood of Ghazni while Salim and khan (2004) called it the distortion of history, Ghaznavid is label as a Hero where all his lootings were totally ignored. The showcase of History in such a narrow constraint is totally religious. Textbooks describe Hindus being scheming and conniving, always would not let any opportunity to destroy and attack Pakistan.

Indoctrinating children in such way provokes the young minds, where they begin to hunt for an enemy in their neighbouring and then across the borders, in this way it creates hatred and intolerance in their minds against other religions and cultures.

Huntington in his thesis as the clash of civilization (Ahmad,2015). Huntington, a US political scientist who published an essay in Foreign Affairs magazine, called “The Clash of Civilizations”, where he urged that the post-cold war conflict would be marked by civilizational conflicts. He further wrote the human are being divided into cultural lines; i.e. the western culture, the Islamic, The Hindu and so on. He called the “Islamic civilization” as the most dangerous and harmful because their primary attachment is toward their religion, instead of a nation-state (Brooks,2011). Such arguments can only be brought into practice through widespread manipulation of education, which is very harmful to the global peace (Lall,2014). One of the respondents reacted to the question asked about the mixing of religion and politics;

“Since the independence of Pakistan, religion is always being promoted through politics, which is very dangerous. Our Curriculum portrayed Hindus as inferior and treacherous, furthermore, Madrasas are the nurseries of extremism throughout KP”.

According to Khan and Yousuf (2011) Madrasas in KP might not be actively engaged in producing militants as portrayed by the west but it is producing graduate with narrow-minded ideological biased. Christine Fair (2006) argued that such cadre is deeply sympathies with Islamist militants from where they got the inspiration to join them in the future. Jalil (2015) our education institutions has become the factories of hatred, where a teacher taught religion even in classes of history, English and Pakistan study. It is a great dilemma in Pakistan that teachers and religious scholars taught the students as per their perspectives; if he is from Shia school of thought, he will give religious orientation to the lessons according to his belief. Peter Jacob quoted some of the passages from textbooks where non-Muslims were described as negative minded, treacheries and inferior. Recently, in a launching ceremony of a report, “State of religious freedom in Pakistan” by Jinnah institute at Islamabad, MNA Dr- Ramesh Kumar raised the issue and said, the curriculum in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa declare non-Muslims as “Kafir” (Infidels), he suggest to amend it urgently to prevent the spreading of hatred against the Minorities. Responding to a question about the root cause of the intolerance in our curriculum one of the respondents replied;

“Radicalization came into the system since the era of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, but after that, it arose from two-nation theory and then the objective resolution.”

Aurangzeb was a religious extremist who disturbs the peace of empire through his intolerant actions against the non-Muslims, which result in the weakening of the Mughal empire (Chetry,2018). The Re-imposition of Jizya (Tax on Non-Muslims), massive input of ulema in state affairs, temple desecration, such as the demolition of temples in Rajputana, Keshavanath temple in Mathura and Vishwanath temple in Banaras are the prime examples of Aurangzeb intolerant policies towards other religions. According to Prof K. Ali, such acts alienated the Jhats, Sikhs and Rajput's which resulted in the open rebellions against the Mughals in Mewar, Mathura, Punjab and Marwar. Zia's quest for the inclusion of great Islamic figures of subcontinent goes beyond from Jinnah's to Aurangzeb. Salim and Khan (2004) cited one of our textbook which portrays him as the great ruler, and praises such acts in the following words;

“Aurangzeb Alamgir, expel all the liberal elements from his Darbar. He strictly follows Shariah Law in the empire and handed over the administrative affairs of the state to the clerics”.

To strengthen the base for the Islamization of the state and the adaptation of intolerant and anti-liberal approach, history of the subcontinent was badly manipulated; Akbar rule of fifty years was simply ignored because the tolerant, secular and cultural amalgamated approach does not fit with the concept of two-nation theory (Salim and Khan (2004). According to the book of Pakistan study Class 9<sup>th</sup>, (KP Text Book Board, Peshawar)

“Sir Syed was the first Muslim leader who put forward the concept of two-nation theory, where he stated that Muslim and Hindus are the two separate nations, as per their religion, norms, values, tradition and even language, who cannot live together in the future”.

Jahangiri, (2004) criticized such an approach toward history and called it India-centric and stated that such narrow constrains toward history results in hatred and intolerance. He further said that one such alteration is two-nation theory, which led to the wrong belief that Pakistan was created

by Jinnah and others as a religious state. In the discussion of two-nation theory, one of the respondents replied;

“ If Muslim and Hindus of the subcontinent cannot live together, where was the two-nation theory, when Muslims was the rulers of Indian Subcontinent for one thousand years? If it is true, that both Muslims and Hindus cannot live together then why are the 201 million Muslims living in India? If it is still applicable, then what is the status of non-Muslims in Pakistan? Why we have issued nationalities to them? Why do they have representation in Pakistan’s parliament? And if, Muslims of the whole world is a single nation, then why there is a visa requirement for Muslims in Pakistan and other Islamic countries?”

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of nation while addressing the constituent assembly on August 11, 1947, said, “You are free to go to your mosque, you are free to go to your temples and another place of worship in the state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or Creed, it has nothing to do with the business of the state (Dawn, 2015)”. With this statement, while addressing the first constituent assembly of Pakistan, the father of nation ‘Jinnah’ made it clear that religion had no role in the future politics of Pakistan. To prevent the spreading of hatred and intolerance in Pakistan, this statement of Jinnah should be enough to set aside the two-nation theory and taught it to the students in a true sense (Jahangiri, 2011). The objective resolution had also affected the objectives of education in the form of manipulation of textbooks. The result of such steady radicalization of the curriculum was devastating; the first crisis came in 1953, in the form of agitation against Ahmadis in Lahore. Such biased in the curriculum was not only affected the religious minorities, but even women, the most vulnerable part of our community were also not spared. Responding to a question one of the respondents replied;

“You will have noticed pictures of boys in the textbooks while playing in the field and their sisters serving and cooking food; She further added that it does not share love and respect; the concept of us being Shia, Sunni and Hindu must be removed. Glorifying war and Jihad must be stoped and the since of being Human must be promoted.”



Since the 1980's, the militarism and lessons regarded war and jihad had badly impacted the minds of youths. The U-Turn of Parveez Musharraf after the 9/11 had put Pakistan on defensive and its education system which was clearly glorifying Jihad comes under the spotlight of the western world (Hoodbhoy,2016).

Mustafa (2016) cited a comprehensive survey of Tahira Abdullah about textbooks published by KP textbook board that our curriculum is spreading hatred and intolerance; She further added, it is glorifying war and Jihad. Distortion of history and stereotyping of women is another sad dilemma. Textbooks were used to promote their narrow religious agenda and achieved nefarious political goals. She also said that the successive government in KP, since 2002, particularly the MMA and PTI (In coalition with JI) had inflicted the young minds through textbooks.

ANP, (emerged from the non-violent movement of Bacha Khan) a secular in nature, took three years to change the pattern of textbooks but did not implement its policies in full-spectrum because they were out of office in 2013 General election. But up to some extent, ANP had significantly softened the textbooks during their five years term but after that, the Coalition government of PTI (2013-2018) along with the conservative Jumat-i-Islami and possibly on the advice of Maulana Sami-ul-Haque made some radical changes. For example, a new chapter was added to the KP textbook that glorifies Ghazi Ilm din, almost a century later after he killed a blasphemer (Hoodbhoy,2017). Even they (PTI) removed the slogan of peace added by ANP government at the front and back cover of textbooks. Mustafa (2016) further stated that there is a nexus between the textbooks and the militancy, hatred, intolerance, extremism, radicalism and Jihadist element in KP: such hatred and intolerance is not only restricted to the terror hit province of KP” but the education system of the whole country is adding fuel to the fire. Those in power understand that only controlling the minds of youths through textbooks can resist reforms and help them in achieving their political goals (Mustafa,2016). In the national education conference, November 27, 1947, the father of the nation made it clear in the following words that;

“The future of our state deeply depends upon the type of education we give to our children today, what we must do is to mobilize our future generation. We must also not forget that we must compete with the rest of the world, where they are moving very fast in this direction. In short, we must build the character of future generations based on their education policy.

Unfortunately, this clear message of Quaid was deliberately ignored by the policymakers on different occasions. Successive government have failed to design a sound education policy which can contribute to the tolerant Pakistani society who can compete with the rest of the world. Hasnain and Nayyar cited Maulana Bashir Ahmad Qadri where he said it is hard that our education system is contributing toward the tolerance and democratization of society. From the above analysis, it is concluded that educating youth in such a nationalistic and fund-mentalistic way can only increase hatred and intolerance, which is very harmful to the entire community.

The second part of this research is composed of the possible suggestion for the improvement of the current education system of KP. Education is the main driver toward the peaceful, prosperous and tolerant Pakistan. To compete and assure the rest of the world that it is indeed peaceful and tolerant, Pakistan must change its course curriculum and amended its textbooks, Particularly in KP. Hate materials that are biased in nature must be eliminated from the textbooks. Minorities students from all faiths should be allowed to study their own religions instead of Nazareth of the Holy Quran. The approach of peaceful co-existence and religious diversity should be promoted through textbooks, while heroes from all the faiths must be included in literature. Over Islamization of textbooks, use of religion for political purposes and meshing of Pakistani nationalism with religion must stop; stereotyping of women, distortion of history and Glorifying of war and Jihad must be immediately eliminated from textbooks. Furthermore, the holistic concept of peace, conflict resolution, prevention and conflict transformation must be promoted through curriculum; while lessons like disarmament, human rights, human solidarity, universal humanity, self-respect and respect of others, lessons regarded gender equity and tolerance must be priorities in the textbooks. Lessons of intercultural and interfaith must added the in course curriculum, while Preference should be given to Non-violence and Important Non-violent movements of the history in the textbooks of KP. To establish a soft and tolerant version of Islam on the ground, lessons regarded Sufism and important saints of Islamic history should also be added to the textbooks.

Apart from the course curriculum and the textbooks of KP, Madrasah education also needed urgent reforms which can allow and prepare the Madrasah graduates for modern economies to earn a livelihood for a decent life, while retaining their faith-based focus. The aim of such reforms must not be the secularization of textbooks but reverting the contents included on various occasions,

particularly during Zia's years because that would meet resistance from the conservative class of society. Furthermore, the primary aim should be the removal of distortion of history and the content that may endanger the conservative mindset to a violent-one. Suggested policy measure may not bring the change overnight but will set a right path in the decade that follows.

## Conclusion

Education is the main driver toward peace, prosperity and tolerance; many studies suggest that education can help in reducing the precarious, violent and conflicting situation into sustainable peace. But From the above discussion, it is concluded that there is a deep nexus between the hatred and designed curriculum of KP. The intervention of the state in Islamization of textbooks and the biased that have been taught to the students have altered the young minds. The current textbooks have distorted the historical facts, encourage religious intolerance, glorifying wars, Jihad and militarism. In the textbooks of KP, Pakistani nationalism was mixed up with Islam which further strengthens the conservative class of our society. On the other hand, the cadre, graduates from Madrasahs are deeply sympathized with radical Islamist, from where they got the inspiration to join them in future. Today, the outcome of such a curriculum in Pakistan manifests itself in the form of Violent and intolerant society, who also lack critical mindset and unity amongst the nation. If Pakistan is to emerge a stable, peaceful and tolerant country, it must adopt abrupt changes, not only in the curriculum of KP but all over the country.

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## **Emerging Role of Iran in the Middle East**

Author

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### **Abstract**

In the contemporary situation of the Middle East, Iran trying to upgrade its status to dominate Region. On the other side, major power America is frustrated by Iran behavior. The changing geopolitical environment has intensified the traditional military threats of the U.S for Iran national security. The research will explain the up going conflict in the Middle East and how Iran is playing its part in the disputes. Iran counterpart Saudi Arabia wants to dominate the region so the conflict emerges to become hegemonic power. Both states are fighting proxies in the Middle East. The research will comparatively analyze the position of Iran in conflicts. The contemporary clashes which include Syrian civil war, Yemen crises, Iraqi insurgency (up going Iraq protests), Iran-Saudi Arabia proxy and the future position of Iran. The research will also explain about the role of Iran supporting Hezbollah, Hamas against Israel. Iran has starting close ties with Russia and China. China has increased its interest in building infrastructure. The research will analyze the future aspects and common interest of both states. Iran nuclear deal is also important in the region. Further, it explores the reason why Iran behave likes that in the Middle East. The research will base on details which will be linked with past events and established new views.

### **Introduction**

Iran officially the Islamic Republic of Iran is a country located in western Asia commonly known as the Middle East. It consists of nearly 80 million populations according to the preliminary data from the decennial census conducted in 2016 approximately one-third is rural and two-thirds urban, located in the heart of the Persian Gulf region.<sup>1</sup> It occurs nearly 1.65 million square kilometers between Iraq and Turkey on the west and Pakistan and Afghanistan on the east. This country has a unique culture, a strong identity. Iran has a rugged mountain chains

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<sup>1</sup> Unescap, "Iran's Population and Housing Census-2016" Statistical Centre of Iran (SCI),2016  
[https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/Session6\\_Iran\\_Population\\_and\\_Housing\\_Census2016\\_Census\\_WS\\_24-26Jan2018.pdf](https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/Session6_Iran_Population_and_Housing_Census2016_Census_WS_24-26Jan2018.pdf)

surrounding by several basins inside. In East of the Central Plateau, there are two large desert regions. Lowland areas are located along the Caspian coast, in Khuzestan Province at the head of the Persian Gulf, and at several dispersed locations along the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman coasts. Iran has no major rivers. The only River in Iran for the navigable process is the Karun River.

Ali Khomeini is the supreme leader and Hassan Rouhani is the current president of Iran. According to the constitution of Iran, Shia Islam declares to be the official religion of Iran.<sup>2</sup> Around 90 per cent of Iranians are Shia Muslims and about 8 per cent are Sunni Muslims. Other religions present in Iran are Christianity, the Baha'i, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism. The constitution recognizes Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism, but not the Baha'i faith, as legitimate minority religions.

Iran is ethnically and culturally different from most other countries in the Middle East. The majority of its population is Persian. It is the only Shia state in the region that does not have diplomatic relations with the U.S.

Iran has a large amount of oil and natural gas resources. Oil reserves are estimated at more than a 130 billion and natural gas reserves at more than 32 trillion cubic meters (second in the world behind Russia).<sup>3</sup> Mineral resources currently exploited include bauxite, chromium, coal, copper, gold, iron ore, limestone, strontium, red oxide, salt, sulfur, turquoise, and uranium. About 11 per cent of Iran's land surface is capable of growing crops and other fertilizers. The most productive agricultural land, bordering the Caspian Sea, makes up about 5.5 per cent of the country's total land.

Iran's economy is dominated by the oil industry, which is part of the state sector. In the early 2000s, more than 80 per cent of export earnings came from oil and gas. Iran has a number of large industries. Iran had an estimated Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2017 of US\$447.7 billion.

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<sup>2</sup> Glenn E. Curtis, Eric Hooglund, "Iran a country study" U.S Library of congress, pg27, 2008

[http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS\\_Iran.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS_Iran.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Glenn E. Curtis, Eric Hooglund, "Iran a country study" U.S Library of congress, pg26, 2008

[http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS\\_Iran.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS_Iran.pdf)

In the contemporary world, Iran has become a major regional player in the Middle East. Iran is trying to upgrade its status to dominate the region. Majority of the regional issues have included due to the Iran involvement to some degree in the Middle East conflict. Following back to the past in 3200 BC, Iran became the object of repeated interferences by outside tribes and powers, especially in the 20th century. This has strongly affected Iranian perceptions of the outside world as unfriendly and hostile. In 1979, Iran political structure changes. The Iranians deposed the Western-backed Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, and later fought an eight-year war against Iraq that ended in a military stalemate and essentially pushed the Islamic Republic towards a defensive posture to prevent future foreign interventions. After the Islamic Revolution, Iran has attempted to increase its role and influence in the larger Middle East.

After the overthrow of Shah of Iran, Iran has been ruled by the religious leaders which are called theocracy and hardliners on the basis of the revolutionary idea of velayat-e-faqih (It is a Shia Islamist system of governance that justifies the rule of clergy over the state).<sup>4</sup> Iran's animosity and distrust toward the United States and the West at large have been displayed through public statements by the Iranian leadership as well as official policies that challenge America's strategic interests especially in the Middle East, such as ensuring the security of Israel and U.S. regional allies, protecting the access to regional resources and preventing Iran from militarily dominating the region.

The Islamic revolution brought a sudden end to the role of Pahlavi dynasty which rule from the last 50 years had been identified with the attempt to modernize and westernize Iran. The Revolution replaced the monarchy with an Islamic republic, vesting ultimate power in the hands of a clerical leader and the clerical class as a whole. Theocracy rule started in Iran.

In the recent years, political tensions in the Middle East have been reached in heights over the intersecting crises stemming from the Syrian civil war, the unravelling of the Iran nuclear agreement, the war in Yemen, Iraq protest, the Israel conflict, Iran-Saudi Arabia proxy and the future position of Iran. The common state participation in the conflict is the direct or indirect involvement of Iran. Iran dominates its hegemony regime. Since 2012 intervention in Syria has

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<sup>4</sup> Glenn E. Curtis, Eric Hooglund, "Iran a country study" U.S Library of congress, pg33, 2008

[http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS\\_Iran.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS_Iran.pdf)



stoked anger and anxiety in the Gulf States, which fear Iran's regional hegemonic ambitions, as the main element in increasing the tension is due to the hegemonic war between the two major power of Middle East Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Gulf States felt abandoned by the US under the Obama administration, which they believed prioritized the nuclear agreement ahead of pressuring Iran over its regional policies. From the perspective of the Gulf States, this has led to Iran's destabilizing influence spreading as which is the evidenced by its support for Bashar al-Assad the president of Syria in the civil war, as its military support for the Houthis in the Yemen civil war as well as the ongoing relationship with Lebanon's Hezbollah.<sup>5</sup> Iran has also repeatedly been accused of promoting unrest in the region and supporting the principally Shia opposition in Bahrain. Middle East politics is very complicated. The major two powers which include Iran and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia always counter each other. Both have different religious sect as Saudi Arabia have a population of Sunni majority whereas Iran consists of Shia majority state. Both states have different alliance as Saudi Arabia receive support and being a long term ally of the United state of America. The USA has a national interest in the Middle East region. Whereas Iran received support from the Eastern side.

## **Hypothesis**

The structure of the Middle East forcing Iran to maximize its security followed by the maximization of power.

## **Questions**

Q: Why Iran is challenging the status quo?

Q: How Iran is countering existing structure?

## **Theoretical Framework:**

In this contemporary world, a state goes for the maximization of power so this research uses structural realism to scrutinize data regarding Iran intension in the Middle East. Now it is

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<sup>5</sup> Sanam Vakil, "Iran and the GCC Hedging, Pragmatism and Opportunism", chathamhouse,2018  
<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-09-13-iran-gcc-vakil.pdf>

essential to develop proper conversance with basic assumptions of structural realism. Structural realism usually begins with the following assumptions:

- International system is anarchic; that is, there is no credible power above the states that compromise the system.
- States cannot be certain of the intentions of other states
- At least some states have offensive capabilities
- That states have preferences which they seek to realize, and that survival is a prerequisite for realizing such a preference

From the above defined premises, structural realism guides us towards the following aspects. The structural theory composes of offensive and defensive realism. Offensive going for power maximization and defensive going toward the security maximization. As first of all a state requires survival in order to seek its preferences in a global world which a state seeks to survive. It is because of equivocal aura prevailing in the international environment. States are deeply concerned about the balance of power and compete among themselves either to gain power at the expense of others or at least to make sure they do not lose power.<sup>6</sup>

### **Iran challenging the status quo**

After the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, the first supreme leader of Iran in 1989 marked the beginning of the transformation of Iran from a revolutionary into a status quo power. Instead of exporting revolution, Iran main focused on the reconstruction at home and regional stability. A number of factors contributed to this transformation.

The tension between the Iran and Gulf states is not new but throughout the recent history, disagreements have arisen due to internal political developments, ethnical and sectarian differences, and also the strategic and territorial rivalries. Iran is challenging the status quo as to maintain its regional position and especially fact cannot forget the role of Alliances in the Middle East so for the possibility of survival, Iran has/have to play its game in the region.

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<sup>6</sup> John Mearsheimer , "the tragedy of great power politics" W.W. Norton & Company, 2001  
<https://samuelbhfauredotcom.files.wordpress.com/2015/10/s2-mearsheimer-2001.pdf>

Arab spring also plays an important role in destabilizing the region.<sup>7</sup> The Arab Spring was a series of pro-democracy uprisings that enveloped several Muslim countries, including Tunisia, Iraq Morocco, Syria, Libya, Egypt and Bahrain. The events in these nations generally began in the spring of 2011. However, the political and social impact of these popular uprisings remains significant until today.

## **Iran Proxies in the Middle East**

Due to the political struggle of Iran in the Global world Iran making proxies to maintain its position in this map. Historical fact Iran has not been a significant factor in Yemen crises.<sup>8</sup> It has long maintained a diplomatic presence in Sanaa, but it has influence during the two decades before the war was marginal. During the six Saadah wars between 2004 and 2010, former President of Yemen Ali Abdullah Saleh gives a statement that Iran supporting the Houthis, but U.S. analysts found little evidence to support his claims. Ties between the Yemeni governments which are backed by Saudi Arabia in Aden have been damaged in the recent years by Iran's support for the rival in Sanaa linked to the Houthi movement.

In 2011 and 2012, Iran's role began to change during the Arab Spring uprising. Tehran's support for the Houthis increased in that period, although Iran was not a player in negotiations that led to Saleh's resignation from government. In the regional backdrop to the war in Yemen Iran is an important actor. Saudi Arabia has made its position clear to support the official government.

In Saudi Arabia views the Houthis takeover in Sanaa represents a disruption of normalcy. From Iran's point of view, it is the natural consequence of the Yemeni government's repression and external relations. Saudi Arabia justifies its military operation by as President 'Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi's call help from Saudi Arabia for the protection of Yemen and Yemeni people. As Iran believes this intervention as illegal and unjust.<sup>9</sup> On the other side, Saudi Arabia sees Houthis a proxy of Iran, as religious fact Houthis consist of Shia identity so due to the common sect Iran helped. Despite the Iran official government denying the support for Houthis rebel but in reality,

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<sup>7</sup> history.com.editors, "Arab spring", history.com, 2019

<https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/arab-spring>

<sup>8</sup> Gerald M. Feierstein, "Iran's role in Yemen and prospects for peace", Middle east institution, 2018

<https://www.mei.edu/publications/irans-role-yemen-and-prospects-peace>

<sup>9</sup> "Yemen crises: why is there a war?", bbc, 2019

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29319423>

Iran has a large influence. According to the reports of the UN, Yemen considers being the world's largest humanitarian crisis, with almost 15 million people at risk of starvation and repeated outbreaks of deadly diseases such as cholera etc. In this conflict, Iran is challenging its counterpart Saudi Arabia to maintain the regional hegemony. In a recent year, drone attack was done by Houthis toward Saudi oil refinery. Iran has been widely blamed by Saudi Arabia and western power regarding the attack but Iran officially denies. This attack also shows how much Houthis are influence by Iran.

Another important conflict in the Middle East is the Syrian civil war which started after the Arab spring and still now it's ongoing. The Islamic Republic of Iran has done amazing efforts to keep the president Bashar al- Assad in power. Iran has provided significant support for the Syrian government in the civil war which includes financial, technical, and logistical as well as the training of the troops. As the main reason for supporting the Assad regime by Iran is to counter the US and Saudi Arabia.

In Syrian crises there are domestic as well as foreign factors involves. Mainly four main groups are fighting first the Syrian armed forces and its allies which include Iran, Russia and especially the Lebanese Hezbollah secondly Kurds then ISIS and the four groups is Syrian rebel which is supported by the US, Gulf states, Turkey, Israel and Saudi Arabia.<sup>10</sup> According to the reports, the CIA trained nearly 10,000 rebels. As in the crises, the main conflict is regarding sectarian Shia and Sunni. Assad regimes get support from Shia states as well as a Shia militant organization but on the other side Al-Qaida the Sunni militarized organization backed by the Sunni Gulf States.

It is also a fact that Iran and Syrian relations don't depend on religious as Syria consist of secular state while Iran has a system of religious rule. Instead, their bilateral relations came through political and strategic points. Even Iran economy crumble and faced a lot of sanctions but Iran financially helps Syria.

In a new development, Iran has to start a new relationship with China. China has increased its interest in building infrastructure.<sup>11</sup> The new silk road which also boosts the economy of Iran as

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<sup>10</sup> Esther pan, "Syria,iran and the Mideast conflict", council on foreign relations,2006

<https://www.cfr.org/background/syria-iran-and-mideast-conflict>

<sup>11</sup> Massoumeh torfeh, "the promise of Chinese investment brings Iran in from the cold",trtworld,2019

<https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/the-promise-of-chinese-investment-brings-iran-in-from-the-cold-29686>

well as in geopolitical structure china is rival of the USA as the proverb your enemy, enemy is your friend. China and Iran have developed a broad and deep partnership. Increase their economic ties, arms sales and defence cooperation against the United States. This partnership also threatens the US interest and object in the Middle East. In a previous day china Russia along with Iran doing naval exercise in the northern part of the Indian Ocean. The three states appear to have primary objectives the protection of the security of their shipping route and countering the influence of the United States in the region. The main security threat exists in the Middle East at present the ongoing efforts by the United States to destabilize the nations that refuse to cooperate with the US in the global system of hegemony and Iran along with its alliances challenging the status quo and force of US domination. A greater level of cooperation by Russia, China and Iran increases the level of stability and security in the region. However, there is also a greater risk for a potential confrontation between the Western and Eastern powers in the region.

Hamas and Hezbollah organization are also influenced by Iran. Hezbollah is the Shia Islamic militant and political organization based in Lebanon. Hezbollah act as a proxy of Iran in Israel-Iran conflict. Hamas is the Sunni Islamic organization working in Gaza strip. As the official claims, the group was founded and supported by Iran. Both groups are working for the interest of Iran against Israel in the region.

In the contemporary situation of the Middle East Iraq also play a key role. After the thrown of Saddam Hussain the president of Iraq and during Arab spring the Iraq influence increased toward Iran. In early 2014 when the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS or Daesh) started to intervene in Iraq major cities; Iran tries to help in the situation. Before 2004 Iran role was so minimum in Iraq due to the Sunni regime but later on after the regime changed the situation also come in the hand of Iran. Iran backed militia helped save Iraq from ISIS. Not only in the military but financially and logical support Iran was forward. Iran makes proxies to make sure their influence. In the current situation after the death of General Qasem Soleimani who was an Iranian Major general in the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) from 1998 until his death, commander of its Quds Force, a division primarily responsible for extraterritorial military both Iran and Iraq come close to each other. One of the highest rank officers who was killed in Iraq soil in a drone attack by the US its open threat and challenge to Iran but this action also promotes the future war in the Middle East. As the response, Iran cannot go for convention

warfare but it can attack the national interest or fight a proxy war. After the attack, it is expected that Iraq is now the palace where future war can be pretended or it will be the sandwich between the US and Iran. A day-by-day escalation also increases the chance of war in the region and this war will directly affect the Middle East and Asian region.

## **Iran Nuclear Deal**

Iran nuclear deal also plays a significant role in Middle East politics. The deal was named as Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) commonly known as the Iran nuclear deal is an agreement on the Iranian nuclear program. The deal was finalized in Vienna, the city of Austria on July 14, 2015. This deal happens between Iran and the P5+1 state. This includes the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, Russia, France, China, United Kingdom, United States and plus is Germany along with the European Union. The deal was successfully adopted by both parties.<sup>12</sup> The deal took almost 20 months for finalizing. Iran ready to enriched uranium eliminate stockpile. For the next 15 years, Iran will only enrich uranium up to 3.67%. To monitor and verify Iran's compliance with the agreement, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) will have regular access to all Iranian nuclear facilities. In return, Iran will receive relief from related sanctions. But now this deal is in deadlock.<sup>13</sup> On May 8, 2018, President Donald J Trump announced the United States' withdrawal from the international nuclear pact with Iran. As he stated that the deal was one-sided it did not bring peace but the other member stays in the deal. The US administration putting maximum pressure and due to economic sanctions, Iran faces huge crises. As a response Iran also playing its game through a proxy as in the recent attack in an oil refinery in Saudi Arabia by the Houthis Iran gives the message that if we cannot sell oil and gain the proceeds, we will try to ensure others can't either. In present time Iran also announced to end the Commitment to nuclear deal after the killing of General Solemani. The statement said by Iran officials that the Iranian government would no longer limit the enrichment of uranium so the new era of conflict will emerge. Iran also said it

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<sup>12</sup> Sanam Vakil, "Iran and the GCC: Hedging, Pragmatism and Opportunism", chathamhouse, 2018  
<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-09-13-iran-gcc-vakil.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> "Iran nuclear deal: Key details", bbc, 2019  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-33521655>

would still cooperate with the International Atomic Agency and reenter the nuclear deal if the sanctions are removed.

The proxy's war between Saudi Arabia and Iran is challenging the world to participate others in their event. There alliance also participate and support both state to show their presence and support toward their alliance

In the current situation, Iran is going toward maximization of power through influencing others by hook or by crook. The main objective of Iran is the maximization of power in the region as offensive realism and then come toward maximization of security through defensive realism. Through this process, Iran can ensure its presence in the global system.

Iran is challenging the state quo to maintain its presence in the global map and through fighting and participating in different events Iran put its value especially in the Middle East conflicts the main conflict such as Yemen, Iraq, Syrian moves toward Iran so Iran is countering the status quo through its hard as well as soft power.

### **Conclusion:**

In the contemporary world, there is a paradox myth that Iran is going toward Maximization of power. According to Richard N Hass, the world is having the age of non-polarity.<sup>14</sup> It is important to maintain that state actor in their own interest as the world is anarchic in nature so every state has to make sure their presence in this world. Iran the core state of the Middle East has a large number of conflicts in the region. Saudi Arabia, the core state of the region has also a vast number of conflicts which is already going on. The US treated Iran as the major threat to the US Interest and as the Trump administration proves it's by putting sanctions, announcing pull out from Iran Nuclear deal (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) that indirectly threat the US intension on the other side Iran also announced to Ends commitment to nuclear deal after Soleimani killing. Iran further announced to take the revenge of Soleimani. As per realist tradition when the status quo being challenged the conflict emerges. Iran challenges the

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<sup>14</sup> Richard N Hass, "the age of non polarity", foreign affairs, 2008  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2008-05-03/age-nonpolarity>

superpower US. In the response the US trying to de-stable Iran position in the region with its Alliance such as Saudi Arabia and Gulf state. The US has close ties with its alliances.

It is also the fact that Iran is not in a better position in conventional warfare but in proxies Iran dominates the region. Iran will try not to participate in the conventional war but it can go for the proxy war. After the death of General, the escalation between both states has been increased and there will be the possibility of war. The agreement between UAE and Israel known as “Abraham Accord” will also escalate the conflict in the Middle East. As we cannot ignore the importance of the US in the region as the US is the superpower in the world and threading a superpower will always have a big

In the upcoming era, the new war will be started most properly the proxy that will define the position and future aspect of Iran and it will also reshape the Middle East map.

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## Causes of Low Women Political Participation

### *A Case Study of Dhurnal, Dholar (Chakwal) and Laliani (Sargodha)*

Author

**Muhammad Zubair**

#### Abstract

The focus of my research is to investigate the reasons of low women political participation and issue of barring women to vote in three locations Dhurnal and Dholar in Chakwal and Laliani in Sargodha. Constitution of Pakistan ensures women equal and full political participation but their role in electoral and political process is significantly low. Empirical researches suggest that socio-economic reasons including gender, caste, class and extreme religious interpretations results for low women political participation. According to Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), there are over 12 million less women voters as compared to men in electoral lists in Pakistan and without filling the gap in electoral list, the equal women political participation is not possible. The women voter turnout in 2018 General Elections remained only 40 percent with only 21 of 46 million registered women voters used the right to vote. Furthermore, there are many areas including Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani where the women voter turnout remained significantly low and women were even barred to use their right to vote. The research investigates the hurdles in low women political participation and low voter turnout of these areas with the help of primary and secondary data.

There is a research gap in the field of women political participation and no comprehensive qualitative research has carried out in Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani to investigate the situation of low women political participation. I have conducted semi-structured interviews with fifteen (15) women in each location and five (5) interviews from civil society representatives who have extensive experience working on women political participation. I have also gathered the secondary data from election observation reports of different civil society organizations and voter turnout data from ECP.

The data reveals due to gender discrimination in the area, religious interpretations, community collective decisions to bar women to vote, issues in getting CNICs and voter registration, low literacy rate, lack of civic education and distance of polling stations are main reasons of low women political participation and low women turnout. State has introduced progressive legislation including 10 percent women voter turnout requirement in each constituency, such legislations helped the women to increase their participation in electoral and political participation however still there is need to introduce and implement a comprehensive approach to address all hurdles including socio-economic to ensure electoral participation of women.

**Key Words:** Women political participation, Women voter turnout, Right to vote

## Introduction

I start my thesis with golden wording of Quid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah the father of the nation that shows the guiding principles regarding role of women in all spheres of society. “No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you; we are victims of evil customs. It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life”. (Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1944)

Globally women’s political participation lags behind that of men. Women political participation remained a challenge in modern history of the world. Continuous and rigorous struggle made it possible to ensure women political participation. In modern democracies such as United State the right to vote for women ensured after decades long fight in women’s suffrage movement. In 1920 first time in the history of USA, women used their right to vote.<sup>1</sup> Most of developed nations provided constitutional cover to ensure women right to vote in 20<sup>th</sup> century and the gulf and Arab countries such as Kuwait, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia the right has been granted as recent as in 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The situation of women political participation in developing countries such in Pakistan is challenging due to multiple socio-economic factors. Pakistan is the second largest Muslim country in terms of population. Pakistani politics is parliamentary in nature under framework of 1973 constitution. Pakistan has bicameral parliament that is composed of two houses, the Senate (upper house) and the National Assembly (lower house). The country has weak democracy as since the birth of Pakistan in 1947 it has been ruled by powerful military dictators. Elected government in the country remained in struggled to complete their constitutional terms and the governments remained dismissed by presidents or removed from power by army chiefs. According to Hassan Askari Rizvi- “Democracy in Pakistan faced a host of difficulties which did not let the democratic principles, institutions and processes develop firm roots in the polity”.

Due to continuous interruptions in elected government, the democratic system in Pakistan has been weak and hostile. During 1980’s and 1990’s the democracy was derailed by military dictators and presidential dissolving the government. The elected government remained fragile and their policies remained unstable due to frequent interruptions and the trust of general public shattered due to inconsistency of the system.<sup>2</sup> This resulted in weak democratic institutional mechanism in the country.

Women are about half of Pakistan’s population. Due to many social, political and economic hurdles, the political participation of women in Pakistan remains very low, particularly in rural areas of Pakistan<sup>3</sup>- The country has deep disparities in women political participation, on the one hand, Pakistan has examples of great women leaders who played critical and significant role in independence of the country such as Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah, Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan,

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.history.com/topics/womens-history/women-who-fought-for-the-vote-1>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/democracy-in-pakistan-elections-tell-us-why-politicians-behave-badly/>

<sup>3</sup> Determinants of Female Employment Status in Pakistan- Pakistan Journal of Commerce and Social Sciences 2015, Vol. 9 (2), 418-437

Viqar un Nisa Noon etc. On the other hand, there are still areas in Pakistan where women are barred to vote. Article 25 of the constitution of Pakistan ensures equality of all citizens but its implementation in women political participation is not true in Pakistan. Pakistan's international commitments also require the country to ensure women political participation such as the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Furthermore, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) Order of 2002, the Political Parties Order of 2002 and the Election Act 2017 also provided a legal cover to increase the women political participation.

Malik and Aamir (2017) described the role of women in politics and argued that women in Pakistan remained active in politics at all levels particularly their role as mobilization during election phase remained remarkable. They remained instrumental to mobilize women voters to take part in electoral process. Their participation in local bodies, provincial and national level elections also remained very active and meaningful. Women have been taken to collective and individual political activism during all critical historical phases of Pakistan such as Pakistan Independence Movement, fight against the Hudood ordinances under the Zia regime and during the various elections, their presence in the decision-making bodies of both political parties and national institutions has been minimal. Their voices remained unheard as compared to their population and their historical participation.

According to Heinrich Boell Stiftung (HBS) 2018 report, women political participation has significantly improved at national level when the quota was allocated for women to participated in political process in federal and provincial assemblies including senate. To increase the women political participation, as per election act, 2017- all political parties are now required to award at least 5 percent of tickets to women to contest on general seats in general elections. Political participation of women as candidates and voters is critical, as without their role in decision making, the development of a country is not possible. Women face a number of obstacles in their political participation in Pakistan. Socio-economic factors and different existing patriarchal customs lead to the low political participation of women.

The women representation was increased through quota and 33% seats were allocated to women to increase their political participation but women political participation as a voter is still significantly low. Women's voter registration and the voter turnout among women also must be considered in order to understand the state of women political participation in Pakistan. According to the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), women voter turnout in the 2018 general elections remained 40 percent and still a huge number of women were not able to use their right to vote. This was the first time that Election Commission has recorded and issues gender segregated voter turnout data in compliance with the provisions of Section 91 of the Elections Act, 2017. There is huge gender disparity in voter lists and women in politics. According to Election Commission of Pakistan, there are still over 12 million women who need voter registration as without voter registration no citizen can use their right to vote. In Pakistan no voter can use their right to vote without Computerized National Identity Cards (CNICs) and voter registration. National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) is responsible for CNIC registration and Election Commission is for voter registration. As it required pre-requisite documentations such as Form B, marriage certificate, school certificates etc to eligible for CNICs and women in some cases do not have such documentations. On the other hand, NADRA centers to register CNICs are far flung

areas in rural areas so it is very difficult for women to travel and get their CNICs. This is one of the reasons that the number is so high for women who do not have their CNICs.

Zaheer (2015) argued about hurdles of women in their political participation as in Pakistan the situation of women political empowerment is not up to the mark. Despite increased in number of seats in parliament the state of women in different sectors remained minimal. Still women are facing many problems to their political empowerment and political participation in Pakistan. There are still areas where women political and electoral participation is significantly low. The socio-economic factors are such factors which are considered as barriers to their advancement.

According to Election Commission of Pakistan, It has been observed that women's political participation as voters in general and local government elections are significantly low, particularly in Potohar region<sup>4</sup> where in some Union Councils women were barred to vote in General Election 2013, Punjab Local Government Elections 2015<sup>5</sup> and General Elections-2018. Despite the constitution provides the equal opportunity of women political participation, there has been incidents in Pakistan, where women were barred to vote. Only in General Election 2018, women in Shangla (Khyber Pakhtoonkha), Dhurnal (Chakwal) and Laliani (Sargodha) were barred to vote. Earlier in General Elections 2013 and Local Government Elections 2015, Dholar (Chakwal) was also in the list where women were barred to vote. According to the new policy if the women voter turnout remained less than 10 percent in a constituency the election results will declare nullify. This rule has been introduced in elections reforms prior to General Elections-2018. In this context, the polls in Shangla declared null and void by Election Commission of Pakistan because no women polled the vote in the whole constituency. This is the first time in the history of Pakistan that Election Commission declared the elections null and void and re-polled on the basis of barring women to vote. On the other hand in Dhurnal and Laliani the women voter turnout remained less than 10 percent but the rule applies at constituency level so the election was not declared null and void in these locations.

### **Statement of Problem:**

The women electoral participation as a voter is significantly low in three areas i. Dhurnal, Chakwal, ii. Dholar, Chakwal and iii. Laliani, Sargodha. Due to socio-economic factors, women cannot independently use their right to vote and they are barred to since 1960's. Despite of relatively better literacy rate as compared to other districts of Punjab, the women voter turnout in these areas remained either zero or significantly low. In General Elections 2013 and Local Government Elections-2015 not a single woman used their right to vote in above-mentioned locations as they were not allowed to vote. In General Elections-2018, women voter turnout in district Chakwal remained highest as compared to men<sup>6</sup> but still the turnout of women in Dhurnal and Dholar remained significantly low and only 14 women used the right to vote in Dhurnal. In Laliani no women polled the vote till 2:00 pm until the civil society and Election Commission intervened. The women in same districts can use their right to vote but the issue of barring women to vote only exists in abovementioned three locations.

<sup>4</sup> Potohar region includes the current four districts of Jhelum, Chakwal, Rawalpindi, Attock

<sup>5</sup> PODA Election observation report 2013 and 2015

<sup>6</sup> <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1788276/1-women-chakwal-make-hi/>

**Research Questions:**

The research is focused on investigating the main hurdles in women's political participation particularly low women voter turnout in the three areas, Dhurnal, Dholar in Chakwal and Laliani in Sargodha. The main research question is to investigate "What are the challenges and obstacles faced by women to use their right to vote and political participation in above mentioned three locations?" o examine patterns and trends to address women's low political participation in the three locations Dhurnal and Dholar in Chakwal and Laliani in Sargodha. What are socio-political factors and historical prospective that restricts women political participation? Other questions that are looked in this research include: What are the pre-requisite documents for women to use to vote and what are the hurdles to obtain the pre-requisite documents in three locations? What are the patterns of women voters and do they vote independently? What are reasons of barring women to vote?

**Hypothesis:**

Due to socio-economic and political reasons the women political participation and women voter turnout is low in Dhurnal and Dholar in Chakwal and Laliani in Sargodha and they are not allowed to use their right to vote.

**Limitations of Research:**

Only three locations are selected for research where women were barred to vote. There are also some other locations where women were barred to vote, but to financial and administrative constraints the main research will be confined to three locations.

**Objective of the Research:**

1. To understand the hurdles to women political participation as voter in Dhurnal and Dholar in Chakwal and Laliani in Sargodha.
2. What are the laws, institutional mechanisms and international commitments available and its implementation to ensure women political participation?
- 3.

**Research Methodology**

This research method is qualitative in order to identify the various barriers hindering political participation of women in Dhurnal and Dholar in Chakwal and Laliani in Sargodha. The research methodology focus is on the collection of data by snowball sampling and proof of hypothesis. This research analysis is qualitative in nature. Primary and secondary data is used to analyze the trends of women in electoral and political process like gender segregated data of voter turnout and electoral rolls. Sample size for primary data is 15 (Fifteen) from each area in Dhurnal and Dholar in Chakwal and Laliani in Sargodha to assess the issues and hurdles for women for their effective political participation where women were barred to vote. Semi structured interviews with 5 (Five) civil society experts who have been working on women political participation is conducted. The research is helpful to understand the reasons of barring women in Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani and it is also helping the policy makers to formulate policy to ensure women

political participation. Low women political participation is dependent variable and socio-political and economic factors are independent variable.

**Qualitative Analysis:** In analysis primary data as well as secondary data is used to proof the hypothesis.

**Research tool:** Semi-structured Interview

The primary data collected through the snowball technique by the semi-structured interviews.

Research Tool	Dhurnal, Chakwal	Dholar, Chakwal	Laliani, Sargodha	Civil Society Experts	Sample Size
Semi Structured Interviews	15 Women	15 Women	15 Women	5	50

### Significance of the Research:

The significance of the study is that it would be a source of information for researchers and scholars. This research is a good addition in the existing literature of women political participation and gender role in politics. There are only a few researches on women political participation and no research has been done to inquire the reasons of barring women in Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani. It will also help the policy makers to make decisions and formulate policies to ensure women political participation particularly in rural areas like Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani. To understand the existing trends of women voter turnout and analyses of gender gap in electoral lists is very important to learn how these gaps can be reduced to increase the number of women participating in electoral process.

### Scope of Research:

Finding reasons of barring women to use their right to vote is an important. The research has been focused in three areas Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani. Prior researches have been done generally but not focused on specific area as a case study. The scope of this research has focused on rural areas of three locations and where literacy rate is relatively higher but women political participation is low.

### Literature Review

Literature review showed different views of the different authors regarding causes of low women political participation in Pakistan. According to the different authors and researchers due to socio, political factors and patriarchal society, women political participation is low in Pakistan. However, there is no specific research on why women are barred to vote particularly in rural areas of Pakistan.

Naqvi and Khan (2018) described the causes of barring women to vote as in Pakistan, socio-political issues to bar women from voting include agreements amongst political parties and religious leaders. These are serious constraint to women political participation in some rural areas

of the Pakistan. Despite the new law and 10 percent requirement of women voter turnout in each constituency, still in General Elections-2018 it emerged women in the Shangla were barred from voting. In many other parts of the country women were barred to vote.

Awan (2016) in a research study very clearly mentioned the hurdles in women political participation, he narrated that the reasons behind low political participation of women as the women are dependent on men and they are not financially independent to take the decisions at household level and community level and they cannot participate in electoral and political process without the consent of men counterparts.

Akhlaq and Anwar (2017) argue in a research study on Femininity and Women Political Participation in Pakistan about women political participation. They narrated that women voter turnout has increased over the period of time and more and more women got registered and electoral lists and number of women who voted have also increased. Due to less or no acceptability of women participating in electoral and political process at rural areas of Pakistan creates a lot of hurdles for women to vote and participate in electoral process.

Xavier and Ghazala (2013) described female voting behavior in Pakistan and shared that rural face multiple hurdles in free mobilization to go outside and use their right to vote. Due to lack of accessibility to different resources, they cannot access polling related information and cannot go to polling stations on polling day to use their right to vote.

Arfan (2015) described in his research study about male's perception about female political participation. Despite of constitutional provisions to ensure women political participation, women face multiple socio-cultural hindrances particularly due to subordination role, they cannot decide without the consent of the men and the perception of men regarding women political participation also play significant role in ensuring women right to vote.

Asif (2017) in a research study narrated the case study of lower Dir where women were barred to vote. His research findings included the role of religion in barring women to take part in politics. Religion plays an important role in interpretation of women right to vote, people commonly perceive women political participation as an un-Islamic. The conservative school of thought regarding religious interpretation bar women right to vote and confine them within the boundaries of home.

Bari (2005) in a research stated that women socio-political and economic factors contributed in low women political participation of women. She argued that women in general have less economic empowerment and their dependence on men creates a lot of hindrances for them to decide about their political and electoral choices, hence restricts their political participation.

UNDP (2005) in a research study described the gender parity issues in electoral lists as women are about half of the country's population but there are 12 million less women voters as compared to men. Voter registration and CNIC are pre-requisite of using the right to vote and without these documents and listing, the women political and electoral participation will remain low.

Mansuri (2011) has stated motivations behind women voting pattern in a research study. She described that women in developing countries face multiple hurdles in using their right to vote and their choices and opinions in electoral and political process. The socio-political factors in Pakistan are not friendly for women to participate in voting process and their responsibilities to do the

domestic chores, security issues, violence and community discouragement for women to engage in political process restricts their right to vote and their engagements in electoral participation. Lack of civic education and illiteracy also contributes in restriction in women political participation. The women who are illiterate and have no information about voting process tend to participate less in political process. The literacy rate contributes positively in women political participation.

National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) (2010) highlighted the issues of low women electoral participation as the women in Pakistan are not much active in politics. The state has made legislations to improve the women state of political participation however not much has done to address the social issues such as patriarchal social setup that is a major hindrance in women political participation. The gender inequality at all steps of political participation can only be addressed through a comprehensive approach to ensure women can independently take part in electoral process.

According to ninth edition of the Global Gender Gap Report 2016 Pakistan is ranked second last in gender equality. The report highlighted huge gender discriminations in all walks of life including the political and electoral participation of women. The report suggested the government of Pakistan to take necessary steps to work on gender equality and meet its international commitments to uplift the status of women in the country.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) 2005 published a policy paper “Women in Pakistan” and presented different issues of women in Pakistan, particularly in politics. The constitution of Pakistan provides gender equality and asks for affirmative actions to ensure gender equality including equal participation in politics and electoral process.

Sattar (2015) in World Times described historical political participation of women in Pakistan “From 1999 to 2008, under General Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan’s Majlis-e-Shoora passed the Women’s Protection Bill while the cabinet also approved reservation of 10% quota for women in Central Superior Services and 5% quota for women across the board in all government departments. Besides this, women’s quota in local governments was also enhanced to 30% but it was later reduced to 17.5% under the Legal Framework Order (LFO) 2002”.

Highlighting issues of women barring to use their right to vote, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) in a research study (2013) on Barriers to Women’s Political Participation in Punjab described the reasons on low women political participation as there are less women voters as compared to men voters despite of equal population of women. Women even barred to vote in different constituencies in elections 2013. In barring women to vote, political parties, community elders and religious leaders have integral role as they came in to an agreement to bar the women to vote. Government must take steps to address these issues and ensuring women political participation.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2012) in a report pointed out the issue of barring women to vote as restricting women to vote is against the constitutional right of women to use their right to vote. Women in Pakistan were barred to vote in elections and despite of reports and complete evidences, election commission has not declared any elections null and void. This is due to lack of legislations, laws and policies to ensure women political participation. All persons who restrict women political participation should be treated under the law.



Khan (2017) described the gender gap in electoral participation in Pakistan and stated that in 2013 General Elections the voter turnout data shows that gender gap in voter turnout has increased in 2015. The main reason of low women voter turnout was that there is gender gap in electoral lists. The full participation of women in elections is not possible until the women are registered in electoral lists. This issue of not registered in electoral list is severe in rural areas as compared to urban areas.

Siddique (2015) examined Women empowerment through representation in Pakistan and stated that women empowerment in all spheres of life is very important and empowerment in one sector can contribute the empowerment in other sector. For example, the women who are economically empowered have more mobility and access to information; hence her political empowerment is more. Likewise, the women who are socially empowered have tendency to participate more in electoral participation due to more participation in decision making. The women who are more politically empowered will automatically empowered in economic and social spheres. Each one of the empowerments complements the other.

Suggesting legal measures to ensure women political participation, Zafar (2018) in a research study pointed out that despite the constitutional and legal guarantees to ensure women political participation, women face many hurdles in political participation. Therefore, it is strongly recommended to review electoral laws and amend it. There has been amendment in Representation of People Act (ROPA) where the Election Commission has an authority to declare the elections null and void where the women voter turnout remained under 10 percent but still more needs to done to ensure women political participation.

Mjahid and Haq (2016) argued in a research paper that in a society like a Pakistan, men have more control in different resources and women have lack of access to resources. Even the high literate women have not as much control over resource as the men have, this uneven distribution of resources reflects on all sectors of women life including the political participation and independent decision making in electoral and political process. This social phenomenon restricts the women political participation.

Aurat Foundation (2010) in a research study described the causes of low women political participation as women are about half of the population of the country but their political participation is significant low. The women face issues in CNIC and voter registration and this is the reason of gender gap in electoral lists. Due to huge gender parity in electoral lists women cannot use their right to vote and even face restrictions to vote on polling day.

Sarah (2017) argued about low women registration in electoral rolls and shared that low registration in electoral rolls is the cause of low women political participation. There are huge gender inequalities at all levels of women political participation in Pakistan and the main causes for the inequalities includes huge gender gap in electoral lists, socio-political and economic factors and illiteracy particularly in rural areas contributes in low women political participation.

Mumtaz (2005) described socio-economic reasons for low women political participation as there are a lot of reasons that limits women political participation including gender inequality, poverty, extreme interpretation of religion that restrict women mobility, violence. All these factors keep women out of politics and electoral process. To ensure women political participation, the state of women empowerment needs to increase at all levels.

Salwa (2014) discussed significant role of Pakistani women in democracy and politics. She highlighted contributions of leading women politicians as number of women politicians participated in parliamentary affairs and contributed in legislations. Pakistani parliamentary history has witnessed leading women politicians including Benazir Bhutto (Muslim world's first-ever women head of government) and Dr. Fahmida Mirza, the first ever women speaker in Pakistan. There are also more women politicians in Pakistan who devoted their whole life in politics and for the promotion of democracy. In a society like Pakistan where women political participation has a lot of difficulties, the women politicians made a history.

Bari (2015) discussed the challenges of women politicians in Pakistan as they face multiple challenges on the floor of assembly and their contributions have challenged by their male counterparts. Women parliamentarians are not treated equally by their colleagues in the parliament as they think that they have no constituency and they were elected by the votes of people. There is also acceptance issue as quota seats has increased the number of the women in the parliament and men parliamentarians question their presence and even feel reluctant when the women parliamentarians receive development funds.

Moheyuddin (2005) in a research study stated that due to women's low electoral participation women in Pakistan have a very limited role in the formulation of social policies at national and provincial level. Women have very limited role in decision-making at all levels and their contributions in governance and politics has been low. Due to male dominance in different sectors of society there are in-built inequalities in governance and political structure.

Sarwet (2014) described different hurdles for women political participation and described that in Pakistan historically women were kept away from the mainstream politics and different factors contributed in to this particularly structural issues, culture, socio-economic factors and low facilitation to women to participate in political process. Despite the multiple hurdles the Pakistan has produced leading women in politics. Over the period of time the participation of women as a voter and representatives increased and legislations and policies have also contributed in ensuring women political participation.

Common Wealth (2013) in election observation report described issue of huge gender parity in electoral rolls that limits women political participation. There is a gender gap in electoral lists and despite of efforts by different organizations there is still huge gap that needs to be addressed to ensure women political participation. number of women on the electoral roll remains substantially lower than the number of men. Based on election commission figures there are over 10 million fewer women than men. The efforts for registering women is positive but still a lot more needs to be done to register over 10 million women as voter to ensure their political and electoral participation. As CNIC is mandatory for voter registration so addressing the issue of gender parity in electoral lists there is need to introduce a mechanism where maximum women can obtain CNIC.

Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN)-(2018) in a report described voter turnout trend in General Elections-2018 that national voter turnout decreased marginally from 53.62% in 2013 to 51.99% in General Election 2018 but 8.45 million more voters turned out to vote as compared to General Election 2013 this shows the overall trust of citizens on the democratic process. Surprisingly, the women voter turnout in Chakwal remained higher than male as men turn out recorded 55.68 percent and women turnout recorded 60.72 percent in General Elections 2018 but

in the same district in union council Dhurnal and Dholar the women voter turnout remained substantially low and the women were barred to vote. However, in Laliani (Sargodha) overall women voter turnout remained as low as 46.65 percent as compared to men voter 58.45 percent.<sup>7</sup>

Hassan and Rauf (2015) in a research study discussed low women political participation due to socio-economic factors as Pakistani society is a male dominated society. Women do not have a significant position in the politics at grass-root democratic political process. Women voters are not encouraged to cast their vote and they are not provided conducive environment to participate in electoral process. In some of the constituencies even the candidates and political parties sign an agreement on the question of disallowing women voters and barring women to use their right to vote, particularly in rural areas of Pakistan. Therefore, a large portion of society is kept away from polling stations during elections.

European Union Election Observation Mission Report (2018) discussed state of women political participation in General Elections 2018. Women were reportedly barred to vote in at least eight constituencies in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab upon agreements between local elders and political parties. As per Elections Act 2017 the election will declare null and void in a constituency if women turnout is less than ten percent. Even the harassment cases were reported on polling day. By and large international standards were not implemented to ensure women political participation.

The available literature review provides general hurdles of women political participation and lacks finding the causes of women low political participation particularly at voters' end. There is no such comprehensive research carried out in Potohar region particularly in Dholar, Dhurnal and Laliani to investigate the reasons of barring women to vote. The research causes of low women political participation in rural areas of Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani is a good addition in literature review and comprehensive to identify causes of women's low political participation in three locations. The section of international commitment and legislations is helpful to understand the available government's commitment to ensure women political participation.

### **State of Women Political Participation in Pakistan**

This section is an analysis of current status of women political participation in Pakistan. Different socio-political factors that restrict women political participation, voter registration, women voter turnout and the incidents of barring women to vote in Pakistan are discussed in this section.

Women's political participation is indicator to measure gender equality. According to the census 2017, women constitute half the Pakistan's population of 207 million citizens, and of the overall 97 million registered voters, 42 million is women. In Pakistan, there is no constitutional bar on the political participation of women. However, since the independence of the country, women's political participation and representation in decision-making institutions has remained minimal or very low. Socio-economic factors as well as existing structures are considered as barriers to their advancement in the political life. Efforts are being made in Pakistan to increase women's political participation as voter and as member of the parliament through legislative measures but still a lot more needs to be done to ensure women political participation.

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<sup>7</sup> <http://fafen.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/FAFEN%E2%80%99S-Analysis-of-Voter-Turnout-in-GE-2018.pdf>

Generally, women's social situation to men is of systematic subordination as the women has to take care of domestic chores and men is considered as bread earner that enhances their value in socio gender status. Men and women activities are considered as inside and outside, where this is the understood unwritten understanding in our society that women have to take care inside home affairs and men has to take care outside factors such as economic activities, these roles limit the women mobility, hence limits the role in politics. Men are given more opportunities to get education where women have limited resources to go for education. As per Economic Survey of Pakistan 2017, women literacy rate is 45 percent against men literacy rate that is 69 percent. The same gap exists in voter lists and voter turnout. This situation leads to women in subordination role and their dependence on men in different spheres of life. Women have a limited role in the formulation of economic and social policies as they have low representation at parliament at all levels. Due to male dominance in Pakistani politics, the voices of women are unheard in national political and governance system and they remain unrepresented in policy formulation.

The constitution of Pakistan put no restrictions or any hurdles on women's political participation. However, they have very nominal role in political parties and political structure. After the reserved seats were allocated to women through quota system in 2002, the parliament has witnessed increased number of women and they also contributed substantially in legislations. On consideration of women's invisibility in national politics, the provision of women's reserved seats in parliament existed throughout the constitutional history of Pakistan from 1956 to 1973. Initially the quota was 3 percentage which with the passage of time reached to 33 percentage.

Political parties play significant role in ensuring women political participation. So far, there is no significant increased political participation within the political parties as only a few women in leading positions in major political parties. Furthermore, political parties award only limited tickets to women to contest on general seats, most of the women awarded tickets on reserved women seats. Only a few women are seen on the list of central executive committees of political parties. In Pakistan, all political parties have specified their women's wings. However, the membership of women's wings is smaller than the male membership of the party.

Another main hurdle of women political participation is general perception towards politics. Jabeen and Jadon (2018) in a research study elaborated this phenomenon as politics in Pakistan is considered as a dirty game and people associates politics with corruption and violence. The people belonging to lower middle class consider as politics only a business of rich people and they think politics is out of bound for women and they should not engage this dirty game. Furthermore, the politics is dominated by feudal and tribal mindset keeping no space for common people. Gender role in Pakistani society further put women at a disadvantageous position in politics by providing men more prominent roles in governance. This perception limits women participation in political life. Men decide for women where to vote and sometimes even not to vote and bar the women to use their right to vote.

Women as a voter also face a lot of problems to use their right to vote and participate effectively in democratic and electoral process. Women voters remained under-represented in 2018 elections. The election results show that turnout of women voters was around 40 percent, which means around 21 million out of the 46 million registered women voters came out to exercise their right to vote.<sup>1</sup> According to FAFEN 2018 report their significant increase in the number of voters registration between the two general elections from 86.18 million in 2013 to 105.96 million in 2018. There is power politics involved in civil documentation as most of the time men do not feel

comfortable to register the women and get CNICs as this may leads that women demand lands etc. The number of men voters who polled their votes was about 60 percent of the registered men voters.<sup>2</sup> Also, election result in two of the constituencies had to be declared invalid because the turnout of women voters there was less than 10 per cent.<sup>3</sup> There are reports that in a number of constituencies most women were barred from polling their votes and a small number was allowed to vote “to fulfill the bare minimum voting requirements laid down in the Election Act 2017.”<sup>4</sup> There is huge gender disparity in voter lists as still over 12 million women do not have their identity cards hence ineligible to use their right to vote. To register all women in voter lists and to issue them CNICs to get them eligible to use their right to vote, The National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), has estimated that it will take 18 years to bridge the existing gap between men and women voters if 5,000 new CNICs are issued to women every day. An analysis of NADRA’s registration capacity shows that it cannot achieve even that target. On average, it can issue 6,966 CNICs every day 3,862 to men and 3,104 to women. These numbers suggest it may take close to 27 years to end the existing gap between men and women voters. Put increase in the population into the mix and a solution will look like it’s almost impossible in near future.<sup>8</sup>

After promulgation of Election Act, 2017 that required Election Commission of Pakistan to declare a constituency’s result null and void if at least 10 percent women turnout not recorded. There have areas where women were barred to vote including my research area (Dhurnal, Chakwal, Dholar, Chakwal and Laliani, Sargodha). It was first time in 2015 by-polls in the electoral history of the country when results of PK-95 in Dir Lower were declared null and void owing nonparticipation of women voters. Before that there were many reports where women were barred to vote but election were not declared null and void. In Local Government Elections 2015, in a union council, Dhurnal not a single woman came out to vote and an organization Potohar Organization for Development Advocacy (PODA) filed a petition to Election Commission to declare the election null and void but the results were not declared void due to non-existence of legislation and policies. Likewise, Women were allowed to cast their votes in Hali Banda area of Achini on the outskirts of Peshawar on General Elections 2018 day after the Election Commission of Pakistan took notice of locals barring female voters in NA-29 and PK-71 from exercising their right to votes.<sup>9</sup>

Only in General Elections 2018, women political participation remained significant low as on the one hand there is huge gender gap in voter list and on the other hand there are a lot of hurdles for women to use their right to vote. Women were not allowed to vote in Banda Sheikh Ismail in Nowshera while in village Trakha Nowshera female voters used their right of franchise for the first time. Meanwhile, only two votes were polled at three female polling stations in Swabi’s NA19 and PK-47 that shows significant low women political participation. In General Elections 2018, Shangla remained the only constituency where elections were declared null and void after getting less than 10 percent women voter turnout. There is a slight issue in 10 percent law, if women barred to vote in one union council and the overall constituency turnout get over 10 percent, the law then does not permit to declare the elections null and void. For example, in Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani case, women are barred to vote in one union council but in overall constituency the turnout of women resulted more than 10 percent that in turn does not allow election commission to declare the election null and void.

<sup>8</sup> <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1154065>

<sup>9</sup> <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1766054/1-women-voters-allowed-vote-na-29-ecp-takes-notice/>

There are many reasons behind barring women to vote. According to Guardian News, during General Elections 2013 in Upper Dir major political parties signed a written agreement barring women from voting and stipulating large fines for anyone breaking the agreement. In the end just one woman's vote was recorded. Likewise in the same elections, Nara Amazai a union council of Haripur district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) where women are barred from voting on elders' decision. Since 1947 women voters of Nara Amazai have never cast their votes in any of the national and provincial elections that shows the state of women political participation in Pakistan.

As per Section 9 of the Elections Act, 2017, Anyone found trying to restrict or bar women from voting face a prison sentence of up to three years, a fine of Rs 100,000 or both but still barring women to vote is done in very systematic way that the segments of society who barred the women to vote do not take this in a written rather on just verbal orders that in later difficult to identify and prosecute. Culture and tradition, in many underdeveloped countries women are not given their right to exercise their personal right but, in many instances, considered as if they were to follow or agree with whatever decision their male counterparts will have agreed on. The issue of female voting turn-out has a cultural phenomenon and a question of honor in the areas where according to people bringing out women for voting would bring bad names to their honor. This is the reason women are not free to vote and most of the time male counterparts decides where to vote or even not to vote. Men think that women know less than them and this is not their right to use their right to vote. Furthermore, due to lack of civic awareness, in certain contexts women may not see themselves as voters, and prefer to concentrate on domestic activities. Particularly in rural areas women also do not feel confident or politically informed to participate in political process. As majority of the women do not take part or take interest in day-to-day politics and after five years in Elections, they do not feel comfortable and confident to vote independently.

Sometimes the logistic issues also lead to limit women political participation such as distance of home from polling station and non-availability of basic facilities at polling stations like drinking water, latrines, sitting benches etc. Potohar Organization for Development Advocacy (PODA) in its Election Observation Report for General Elections-2013 pointed out that lack of facilities is one of the reasons of low women voter turnout. Most of the polling stations in rural areas set in government buildings such as schools, union council offices and basic health units, these buildings lack basic facilities so women feel reluctant to visit on polling day to use their right to vote. Transportation is another factor that limits women political participation as voters. If the distance of polling station from home is more than 1 KM, the women need transportation to visit to polling station to vote, if the transportations would not available the women voters would not go to polling stations to vote.

Religion is another obstacle for women to use their right to vote. The concept of Purdah (Veil) that limits women's movement outside the home limits. Since religion plays a significant role in Pakistan and the religious interpretations confine women within the boundaries of the home and do not allow them to go outside the home and visit mix gatherings of men and women. This is the reason in joint polling stations of men and a woman there is tendency of low women voter turnout as compare to the polling stations set exclusively for the women. One school of thought even considers women role in politics as an un-Islamic and against the basic preaching's of Islam. Rehman and Kiran (2015) argued about role of religion in women political participation as with the advent of Islam, women were given a right in electing their leaders. Prophet Muhammad

(PBUH) received bai-ah (oath) from the people. The Quran deals with the issue of women giving the bai-ah to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Allah tells the prophet to accept the pledge of women.

Lack of sensitization about importance of vote is another key reason of low women political participation. Due to low literacy rate among the women particularly in rural women, they are not educated about importance of vote and their right to vote. The women in general take the voting as a casual activity and consider as men to participate in the electoral process. Their lack of opportunities to access the information on voting rights, cause their low political participation in Pakistan.

A marriage in other cities of women also restricts women electoral participation. In Pakistan a citizen can get CNIC once he/she turns to age of 18 and after getting CNICs their names are enlisted in voter lists. The women who get marry after getting CNICs will have to shift to her husband home (*Which in most of the cases situated in other cities as of parent home of women*). This needs to amend the address details in electoral lists. Due to long distance of home from Election Commission office and lack of sensitization women do not amend their lists in electoral lists so they can use their right to vote on polling day. There is need a mechanism where vote can automatically shift to the preferred location of women when she gets marries.

The political image of the country also plays a significant role as a motivation to use the right to vote. In developing country like Pakistan where politics considers as dirty game women gets very less motivation to use their right to vote. Furthermore, they experienced very little visible impact in their lives due to their voting so they are not much motivated to participate in electoral process. They consider that their single vote cannot make any difference and keep them away from voting.

Violence impacts the electoral participation of both men and women. Election violence is also a deterrent for women political and electoral participation in Pakistan. When election violence erupts either before, during or after elections, women who are always vulnerable to such violence and who feels so much for the kids would shy away from the cycle of registration with the view that the process will again bring violence which put them and their children in a disadvantaged position. For example, Baluchistan remained violence prone area and in result women political participation in the area remained very low as compared to other parts of the country. Likewise, the women in tribal set-ups have less political participation due to violent political history.

### **Conclusion:**

The abovementioned narration shows that women in Pakistan face multiple issues that affect their political and electoral participation. The issues can be categorized in two sets i) social-political factors that further includes poverty, cultural bars due to women in subordination role in Pakistan, not having CNIC and voter registration particularly in rural areas, religious factors where women are not allowed to go outside without male member, lack of education and sensitization about importance of vote etc. ii) administrative and logistics factors that includes distance of home from polling stations that restricts women to go out to poll their vote, lack of facilities in polling station such as drinking water, latrines, sitting arrangements, no transportation facilities on polling day and far flung NADRA and Election Commission offices that prohibits women to go for CNIC and

voter registration. Both factors together become hurdles in women political participation. The government and other relevant stakeholders can overcome the administrative factors by providing access to women to CNICs and voter registration and providing adequate facilities at polling stations. Women voter education can also be used as a tool to mobilize the women to use their right to vote. The first and most important hurdle in women political participation is socio-cultural factors that take time in community change. According to 'Global Gender Gap Index 2018' report released by the World Economic Forum (WEF) Pakistan is the second worst country in the world in terms of gender parity, ranking 148 out of 149 countries.<sup>10</sup> Pakistan occupies the last place in the South Asian ranking of gender gap. Considering such gender ranking, addressing socio-cultural issues to ensure women political participation in Pakistan is not an easy task. However, provisions in Election Act-2017 that requires at least 10 percent women voter turnout in each constituency and efforts by Election Commission to register women as voters may leads to change the state of women political participation.

### **Status of Implementation of Constitutional/Legal Provisions and International Commitments to Ensure Women Political Participation in Pakistan**

This section is an analysis of constitutional provisions and Pakistan's international commitments and its implementation that ensures women political participation. Pakistan has signed different conventions and convents that require Pakistan to take necessary steps and provide conducive environment to increase women political participation. The section has also an analysis of challenges in implementation of international commitments.

First time in a history in an international document United Nations Charter defined equal rights for men and women without any discrimination. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) provided equal rights and Pakistan become the signatory of the declaration in 1948. In this way all the United Nations declarations and resolutions of the United Nations Security Councils were applicable for Pakistan and Pakistan is legally bound to legislate accordingly on the basis of principles of declarations and resolutions. Pakistan adopted Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)<sup>11</sup> and its (Article 21) (1) says that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. This principal guideline ensures equal participation of women in political and electoral process. UDHR provided policy guidelines which later on translated to other UN covenants and conventions that ensure freedoms, human rights including women political participation.

Although Constitution of Pakistan guarantees dignity, freedom and equality amongst citizens without discriminating them as gender but its actual application has not been experienced since the birth of the nation and in practice women are rarely equal to their male counterparts (SDPI-2008). The women remained neglected part of the society and they have marginalized role in mainstream politics and democratic system and this is due to inequality that exists in political process and the patriarchal negative perception about women political participation both as voter and representative. The women rights as equal citizen have always denied due to socio-cultural norms through promoting women segregation and even political participation at a very low level.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.dawn.com/news/1452284>

<sup>11</sup> [http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr\\_booklet\\_en\\_web.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf)



Article 224 of the constitution of Pakistan<sup>12</sup> guarantees periodic elections as “A general election to the National Assembly or a Provincial Assembly shall be held within a period of sixty days immediately following the day on which the term of the Assembly is due to expire, unless the Assembly has been sooner dissolved, and the results of the election shall be declared not later than fourteen days before that day.” “Article 18 of the constitution provides equal space to women in every lawful profession, while Article 25 lays down the principles of non-discrimination and affirmative action in their case.” However, in Pakistan women’s political participation remained neglected at all levels until 2001, when the gender quota was reserved at the local, provincial and national level. Through a legislative provision 33 percent of seats were reserved for women in the local government and 17 percent in the national and provincial level.<sup>13</sup> It took another 16 years when the state through legislation requires at least 10 percent women voter turnout in each constituency to validate the polls.<sup>14</sup> This cannot solve the issue of women political participation completely as at constituency level women voter turnout could be 10 percent but it does not ensure the women voter turnout of at least 10 percent at union council level such as Dhunral, Dholar and Laliani. The women voter turnout remained over 10 percent in all three constituencies but at union council level the women voter turnout remained less than 10 percent except Dholar in General Elections 2018 and in all three locations in General Elections 2013 and Local Government Elections 2015.

The Government of Pakistan has ratified seven core Human Rights Conventions<sup>15</sup>, including the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Ratifying the international conventions requires the country to legislate as per the commitment of the convention. Following articles of the CEDAW also ensure women political participation and requires the state of Pakistan to legislate accordingly to ensure women political participation:

- States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:(a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.<sup>16</sup>

The implementation of abovementioned articles exists in legal framework where there is no discrimination on the bases of gender in political and democratic participation. Women can contest the elections as of men and they can also vote as of men. There are no separate rules and regulations to vote or run the elections just on the bases of gender. Furthermore, the affirmative actions were also taken to ensure women political participation such as gender quota in parliament and minimum requirement for women voter turnout. The issue exists at socio-cultural level where the

<sup>12</sup> [http://na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681\\_951.pdf](http://na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> [https://www.af.org.pk/pub\\_files/1358744372.pdf](https://www.af.org.pk/pub_files/1358744372.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/laws2017/Election%20Act%202017.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.mohr.gov.pk/uploads/reports/status%20of%20convention.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

women are considered as subordinate and ownership of women. The women's less participation in decision making leads to low women political participation. The social transformation is required for effective implementation of legislations to ensure women political participation.

Pakistan has also adopted the convention on the Political Rights to Women, 1952<sup>17</sup>, to undertake concrete steps to ensure women's right to vote. However little of its commitment to ensure equal women political participation has been incorporated into national law and Pakistan's legal system still contains no definition or specific prohibition of discrimination. It is important to note that none of these conventions can be directly enforced. A number of them contain enforcement mechanisms, through inter-state complaint or individual complaint however, since Pakistan has not acceded to these specific provisions, its international commitments cannot be enforced. Women are underrepresented in terms of voter registration and in terms of electoral participation in Pakistan. Equal participation in politics for women is a prerequisite for effective and genuine democracy. The United Nations Charter prescribes a minimum of 33 percent representation of women in all representative bodies.<sup>18</sup> However, the representation of women presently stands at 17 percent at the national level. According to Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) when Pakistan ratified the CEDAW in 1996, there was sufficient optimism for gender equality in the country. However, till date the articles of CEDAW are far from being implemented in Pakistan. Political participation, for example, is one area where, apart from poor progress, impediments are actually placed to prevent women from playing an active role in the democratic process. For implementation of CEDAW and Beijing Platform of Action, Government of Pakistan prepared National Plan in 1998<sup>19</sup> however till date the women are barred to vote in many areas of Pakistan showed the poor implementation of CEDAW in Pakistan.

Pakistan officially participated in 1995 in the fourth World Conference on women in Beijing as called Beijing platform for action. The conference has shifted the global focus on gender equality and human rights.<sup>20</sup> In implementation of Beijing Platform of Action, Pakistan has committed to achieving 30 percent representations of women in leadership positions but still no proper implementation took place in Pakistan to ensure this commitment.

Comprised of 17 goals, 169 targets and 232 indicators, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted by 193 Member States to tackle a broad spectrum of challenges. Pakistan has also committed itself to meet the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with the objective of building on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Goal 5 of SDGs ensures gender equality and its target 5.5 ensures equal women political participation<sup>21</sup>. However due to lack of coordination mechanism, lack of education and sensitization about SDGs there are a lot of ambiguities in implementation of SDGs. This is also need to know that Pakistan has failed to achieve MDGs and if no proper implementation mechanism will establish, Pakistan will fail to achieve its targets in SDGs. The Pakistani women face a lot of challenges due to a lack of implementation of international obligations and constitutional provisions that ensures women political participation.

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<sup>17</sup> [https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtmsg\\_no=XVI-1&chapter=16&lang=en](https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtmsg_no=XVI-1&chapter=16&lang=en)

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.criterion-quarterly.com/pakistan-and-the-convention-on-the-elimination-of-all-forms-of-discrimination-against-women/>

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.ncsw.gov.pk/previewpublication/13>

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/Beijing%20full%20report%20E.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs>

There are significant gaps in available laws, policies and actual practice on the ground regarding ensuring women political participation. Despite of laws still there are many reasons that women have restricted mobility, access to education, access to health facilities, lack of participation in decision-making and full participation in electoral and political process.

### **Conclusion:**

Pakistan has provided equality of women in constitutions and ratified the conventions that ensure women political participation. In compliance of conventions and convents the state has also introduced progressive legislations for women empowerment in all spheres. The issue is effective implementation of legislations and policies. The implementation mechanism is too weak in Pakistan. After 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, the powers have devolved to provinces but still there are coordination and administrative issues in implementation of laws and policies. There is need to implement existing laws and policies and wider stakeholders such as communities and civil society organizations should be engaged. Regarding ensuring women political participation, the root cause issues need to be addressed and this could only happen to empower women economically, socially and politically.

### **Data Analysis**

This section focuses on data analysis. The primary data collected through the semi-structured interviews from Dhurnal and Dohlar, District Chakwal and Laliani, District Sargodha and secondary data is collected through research reports, election observation reports of FAFEN, PODA, European Union, gender segregated data of voter turnout from Election Commission of Pakistan and related books on women political participation. Experts' semi-structured interviews were also carried out to assess the state of women political participation in Pakistan. Following is the analysis of each location data to understand the causes of low women political participation:

#### **I. Dhurnal, District Chakwal**

Dhurnal is a union council of District Chakwal in the Punjab Province of Pakistan and it is part of Tehsil Lawa of Chakwal. It is 79 kilometers from Chakwal city.<sup>22</sup> According to the block wise provisional summary results of the 6<sup>th</sup> population and housing census 2017, Dhurnal has a population of 14,015 and 2,601 houses.<sup>23</sup> In General Elections-2018 only 21 out of 5,501 registered women voters in Dhurnal used their right to vote.<sup>24</sup> According to Potohar Organization for Development Advocacy (PODA) Punjab Local Government Elections 2015 Election Observation Report, in local government elections 2015 not a single woman in Dhurnal used their right to vote. The area has two government high schools for boys and one for girls. It also has separate degree colleges for boys and girls. The literacy rate especially among women is higher in Dhurnal than in most other villages across Punjab.<sup>25</sup> Fifteen (15) women were interviewed in

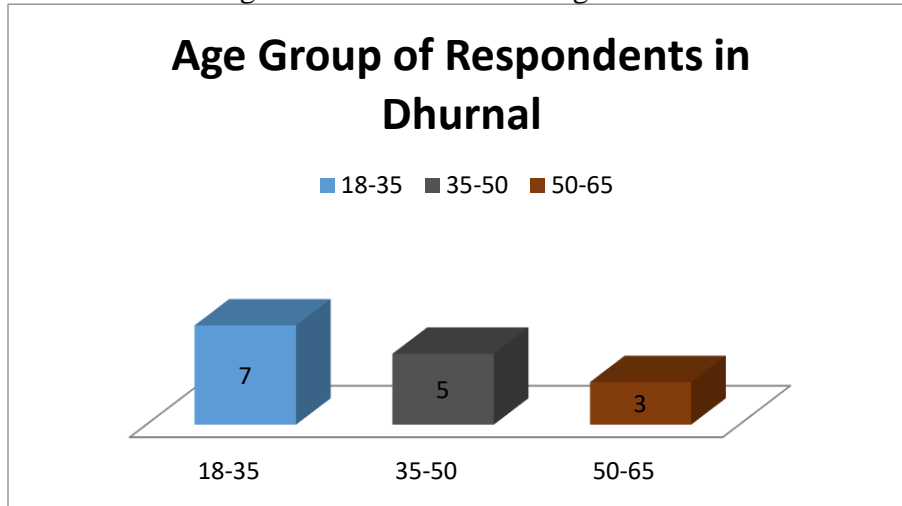
<sup>22</sup> <https://www.dawn.com/news/1218671>

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/content/block-wise-provisional-summary-results-6th-population-housing-census-2017-january-03-2018>

<sup>24</sup> <http://spearheadresearch.org/?p=34904>

<sup>25</sup> <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1154065>

Dhurnal to investigate the reasons of barring women to vote. Following are results of research:



**Figure 1 Age Group of Respondents-Dhurnal, Chakwal**

**i. Gender Biasness in Women Political Participation/Cultural Issues:**

Elections are essential to democracy and development but if a large percentage of the population particularly women is excluded the process lacks credibility. Historically the people of Dhurnal consider that men can only vote and women are not allowed to vote. The women of Dhurnal are barred from casting vote for last 60 years and the reason behind the ban is that the people of the village are in view that women are not wise enough and have no right to elect a person who would rule them and the only men are authorized to fulfill this responsibility.<sup>26</sup> During the semi-structured interview one respondent shared that in General Election-2018 one men who was contesting the election said that he even prefer to lose if women would vote for him as men can only decide who is their representative. The village has a semi-feudal culture and only men can decide if women can go outside the home or not. 11 out of 15 respondents shared that women cannot decide on their own about their voting rights and the men can only decide and grant permission to women to vote. The interviewees shared that the decision to bar women from voting was taken just before a general election in 1962. As there had been dispute at community level just before the elections in 1962, that led deaths of many people and the women were seen at the core of all that violence. Afterwards the local elders decided to keep the women away from the electoral process. From 1962 to 2017 not a single woman used their right to vote and in General Elections-2018 only 14 women used their right to vote in the political history of the village.

Interesting factor in gender dimension is that girls are not prohibited to go to schools or colleges as most the girls are literate and this is the only political participation where women and girls are not permitted to use their right to vote. All interviewees shared that community has no problem sending their girls to school for education but when it comes to vote, the women and girls have to abide by the elders' decision. Furthermore, the interviewees shared that women themselves respect the community's decision and they are not willing to take part in electoral process. The secondary

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.aaj.tv/2018/07/women-of-dhurnal-chakwal-cast-vote-after-five-decades/>

data also verify the gender biasness as low women political participation. NCSW in (2010) issued gender review of political framework for women political participation and described the issue as Pakistan has male-dominated political culture. Women as registered voters are also not taken seriously by the state institutions, including political parties. The patriarchal tribal values and customary practices also restrict women registration as voters and to take part in electoral or democratic process considering politics as the domain of men.

## **ii. Religious Interpretations to Bar Women to Vote:**

The root-cause of barring women to vote is community elder's decision in 1960 where the community collectively offered Dua-e-Khair (collective prayer and endorsement from all community members that no one will violate the decision). The violator will have to face the social and religious boycott. The fear of social and religious boycott keeps the communities away from permitting women to use their right to vote. 5 out of 15 interviewees were in of the view that religion does not allow women to go out of their home and they cannot go against the will of their men to take part in voting. To justify the 1960's decision to bar women to vote, community has now found many religious dimensions. Due to rigid local ban even election candidates do not expect votes from women and there has been un-written agreement or understanding among candidates of different political parties that women would not vote them in elections. One of the interviewees consider a sin if women take part in electoral process or go to vote without permission of men. Almost all of the interviewees shared that they would not prefer to go against the community decision (Dua-e-Khair). In conventional Islam there is equality between men and women. Islamic rules are often misinterpreted by the religious leaders and demonstrate biased against women particularly in free mobilization of women and decision making at different spheres of life.

Umer Shumaila and Othman Zaheruddin conducted a research study in 2016 on socio-cultural obstacles to women's participation in politics, in rural areas of Balochistan and the study revealed the same findings to use of religion interpretation to bat the women to vote. The research study results showed that in some part of rural Balochistan the religious party is active and most of the communities are followers of that religious party so all political parties decided mutually that they will not allow women to vote. In a result even polling station are not established in some parts of the rural Balochistan. The religious political party thinks that women political participation is unethical and unreligious because any women who want to join politics, they have to come out from their homes which is against Islamic laws.<sup>27</sup> The religious interpretation is used in many areas to bar the women right to vote. Researchers suggest that the countries with dominant religions have low participation of women in politics such is case of Pakistan.

## **iii. Administrative Issues that Restricts Women Political Participation:**

The interviewees revealed that men are not comfortable to send women to mixed polling stations, historically there was no separate polling station for women. Furthermore, large number of men present in the streets and outside the polling stations on polling day so women prefer to keep in their homes in order to avoid any dispute or violence. The huge gender disparity also reflects in Dhurnal, due to lack of pre-requisite documentations and lack of sensitization a lot of women are

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<sup>27</sup> [https://ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol\\_7\\_No\\_10\\_October\\_2016/15.pdf](https://ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_7_No_10_October_2016/15.pdf)

not registered in electoral lists. However, the issue is that the women who are registered in electoral lists even cannot use their right to vote. Distance of home from polling station in another hurdle for women to poll their vote, however in General Elections-2018, Election Commission highlighted their issue and establish separate polling station for women, even than only 14 women came out to vote.

#### **iv. Lack of Voter Education and Sensitization:**

One of the interviewees shared that her single vote has no value and if her vote can avoid any community dispute, she is ready to not go for vote. This kind of understanding also reflected from other interviewees. The community prefers to respect the elder's decision for unity of all segments of the village. The community had lack of awareness about citizenship rights, women constitutional rights and importance of vote. None of the interviewee knew the Election Commission's requirement of at least 10 percent women voter turnout in each constituency. The interviewees were not fully convinced about voting right of women or the voting of women can make any difference. Regarding voter education a local organization PODA and Election Commission have worked in the village and sensitized the communities about women right to vote however a lot more needs to be done. 7 out of 15 women interviewees used their right to vote in their lives.

#### **Conclusion:**

The empirical research suggests that the higher literacy rate leads to increase in women political participation both as a voter and a candidate. According to Alif Ailan district education ranking report 2017, Chakwal is 6<sup>th</sup> most literate district of Punjab<sup>28</sup> but still there is a village where women are barred to vote. On the other hand, Chakwal remained the highest women voter turnout district as compare to men in General Election-2018<sup>29</sup> but in the same district in Dhurnal only 14 women used their right to vote. The research findings suggests that sometime literacy rate play a little role in ensuring women right to vote. There are many highly educated girls and women in Dhurnal who are bound to stay in their homes and obey the elders' decision of barring women to vote. There has always been respect of Dua-e-Khair or community collective decision in rural Punjab and the community avoid breaking such decisions. The fear of social boycott or community disputes on polling day due to women votes, the community at do not let the women to come out for a vote. However, in General Elections 2018, about 14 women used their right to vote, creates hope for other women that they will also able to poll their votes in coming elections. It is very hard to judge in Dhurnal, whether the men are barring women to vote or women themselves are not so much mobilize to come out for vote. This thin line is very difficult to understand because when you will start talking to women to investigate their low political participation, after a certain point they will start sharing that they themselves do not want to take part in electoral process. The Election Commission's 10 percent rule only applies at constituency level and if this rule applies at the union council level can change the situation of women political participation at Dhurnal. Regional Manager, PODA who has extensive experience working with women in Dhurnal revealed that educated women of Dhurnal such as doctors, teachers etc do not vote and only the families who have shifted from Dhurnal and settled in cities are using their right to vote.

<sup>28</sup> <https://elections.alifailaan.pk/rankings/>

<sup>29</sup> <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1788276/1-women-chakwal-make-hi/>

## II. Dholar, District Chakwal

Dholar is a union council of District Chakwal in the Punjab Province of Pakistan and it is part of Tehsil Talagang of Chakwal. According to the block wise provisional summary results of the 6th population and housing census 2017, Dholar has a population of 8,117 and 1,561 houses.<sup>30</sup> There are 4,534 registered women voters in Dholar and women are barred to vote since 1977.<sup>31</sup> According to Election Commission of Pakistan, not single women polled her vote in Dholar in local government elections 2015. According to PODA Election Observation Report 2018, about 1397 women from Union Council Dholar used their right to vote first time in their lives, so the women voter turnout remained 30.80 percent. Earlier the women voter turnout remained 0 in Dholar. Fifteen (15) women were interviewed in Dholar to investigate the reasons of barring women to vote. Following are results of research:

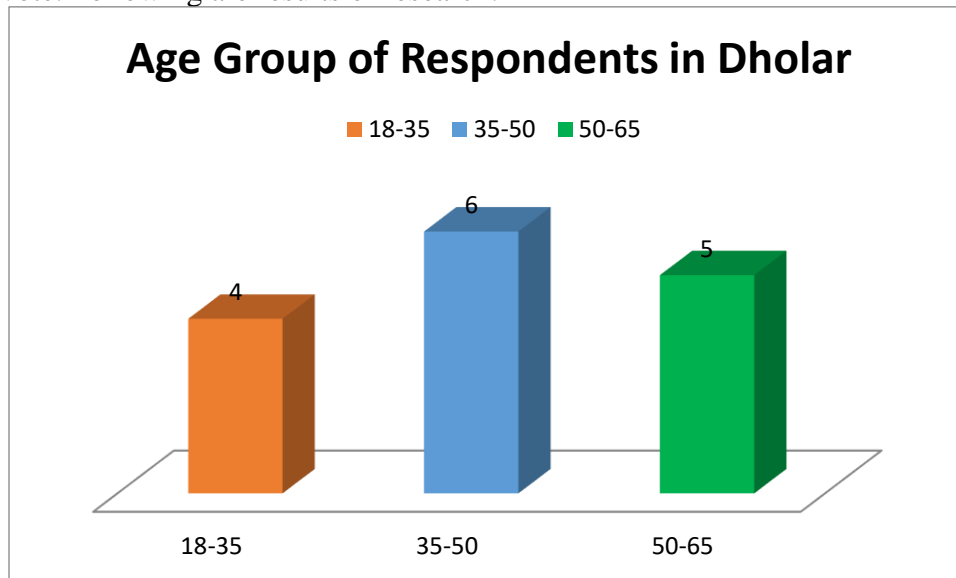


Figure 2 Age Group of Respondents in Dholar

### i. Male Dominated Society and Cultural Issues:

Gender bias is an accepted phenomenon in most traditional societies in rural Pakistan. Dholar has a semi-feudal culture with deep-rooted gender issues. The area is male dominated where women has very little role in decision making. From 1977 to 2017 not a single woman polled their vote until the General Elections-2018 when 30 percent of registered women voters used their right to vote first time in their lives. The interviewees were of the view that community consider men as a decision maker particularly in political affairs and only men can participate in electoral process and go out for votes. Historically the decision of barring women to vote came in to practice in elders' decision in 1977. Since then, the community own the collective decision and restrict women right to vote. The community also does not want the free mobilization of women when it

<sup>30</sup> [http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/CHAKWAL\\_BLOCKWISE.pdf](http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/CHAKWAL_BLOCKWISE.pdf)

<sup>31</sup> <https://timesofislamabad.com/29-Jul-2018/stop-them-where-are-thy-going--how-14-women-in-dharnal-voted-to-break-50-years-old-taboo>

comes to polling day, men prefer to keep their women in their homes because a lot of men present in the village. The interviewees revealed when the community elders decided that women would not vote in 1977, initially the decision was only for the women of leading community families called Maliks and they have not barred the women of working castes to use their right to vote. The men belonging to the working castes later on decided that if the women of leading families cannot vote, why the women of their families should vote. The main dimension of banning the women to vote was the concept of Veil (Pardah) and women to consider as the honor (Izzat) where the women are izzat of the family and they should confine to the homes. With the passage of time the women political participation remained zero in the community under the un-written agreement. Even the candidates of political parties have not expected votes from the women in the community because they knew if they will talk the community about women vote, the men would not also vote for them.

With increase in communications and mainstream media the issue has highlighted and some local organizations started working on it. The issue has not completely resolved but many houses now permitted their women to vote. 6 out of 15 interviewees shared that they openly went out for vote in General Elections-2018 and even men helped them provided them transportations to reach the polling stations and vote. 8 out of 15 representatives shared that still, there is a lot of community pressure to restrict women to vote and still the community transformation will take time to allow women to vote. The women political participation is undesirable particularly women casting the votes.

Naz Arbab conducted a research study in (2012) on socio-cultural impediments to women political empowerment in pakhtun society and the research findings were that gender subordination is one of the main factors of low women political participation. As the research findings suggested that the gender role ideology is being used as an ideological tool to restrict women with in the private arena of home as mother and wives to keep them busy in domestic chores. This is one of the main reasons that restrict women political participation in Pakistan.<sup>32</sup>The gender role in Pakistan is so significant in low women political participation.

## ii. Distance of Polling Stations

Another dimension of barring woman to vote in 1977 was the distance of polling stations from the villages. According to 5 interviewees whose age is more than 50 shared that in 1980's and 1990's there has been long distance of polling station from the villages and men were did not preferred to take the women to the polling stations due to lack of transportation and lack of facilities in polling stations such as sitting area, latrines etc. In an area where the women mobilization had already been limited and the distance of polling station had doubled the problem and restricted women political participation. One of the interviewees shared that women used to wear Burqa (veil) when they go outside the home and once in history some men went to the polling station wearing Burqa and polled the vote on women's behalf. This was at that time when the electoral lists had no photographs and CNICs had only thumb stamps. However, when I asked the question if the Election Commission establish the polling stations near the village, would the women vote? 11 out of 15 interviewees responded that this will increase the women political participation. They also shared that the women who voted in General Elections 2018 was due to near polling stations.

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<sup>32</sup> [http://www.savap.org.pk/journals/ARInt./Vol.3\(1\)/2012\(3.1-21\).pdf](http://www.savap.org.pk/journals/ARInt./Vol.3(1)/2012(3.1-21).pdf)



### iii. Lack of Voter Education and Sensitization:

The interviewees shared that there is lack of voter education in the community. The communities lack the importance of vote of women. As the women since 1977 never polled the vote so due to not participating in civic or electoral process, they are not much mobilized about importance of their vote or how their vote can make the difference. 6 out of 15 interviewees shared that women are not considering themselves as voters and they are too much busy in domestic chores that they cannot concentrate on another activity. Due to lack of participation in electoral process, women also do not feel confident or politically informed to participate in political process. The interviewees shared that two factors mainly contributed in the polling of women voters in General Elections 2018 i) Distance of polling station and voter education for women. The interviewees shared that voter education for both men and women can increase the women political participation in the area. 6 out of 15 women interviewees used their right to vote in their lives.

### Conclusion:

In traditional patriarchal society of Pakistan, women are expected to be dependent on men particularly rural areas of the country such as Dhunral and Dholar. In both locations, the gender biasness remained one of the main factors of low women turnout. The women are confined to their homes and they are not allowed to take part in electoral process. The concept of women subordination also played a significant role where the women has no choice and decision powers and they cannot decide on their own about electoral participation. The role of community collective decision, Dua-e-Khair also restricts women political participation. No one in the community can take the brave step to go against the decision of community about barring women to vote. Furthermore, the women have lack of voter and civic education and they are not mobilized to take part in electoral process. Due to long time disassociation with electoral process, they are not confident and free to use their right to vote. Lastly the administrative issues also restrict women political participation in Dholar. Long distance from polling stations, lack of facilities at polling stations and no separate polling stations for women also restricts women political participation and the women are not able to use their right to vote. Despite of high literacy rate in the district the women political participation is very low in the Dholar and this is due to abovementioned factors mainly gender issues, historically barring women to vote, administrative issues and lack of voter education. However, it seems that the case of Dholar is not as complex as Dhunral and women started voting in General Elections-2018. This is anticipated after interviews and secondary data analysis that women political participation will increase in Dholar in coming years.

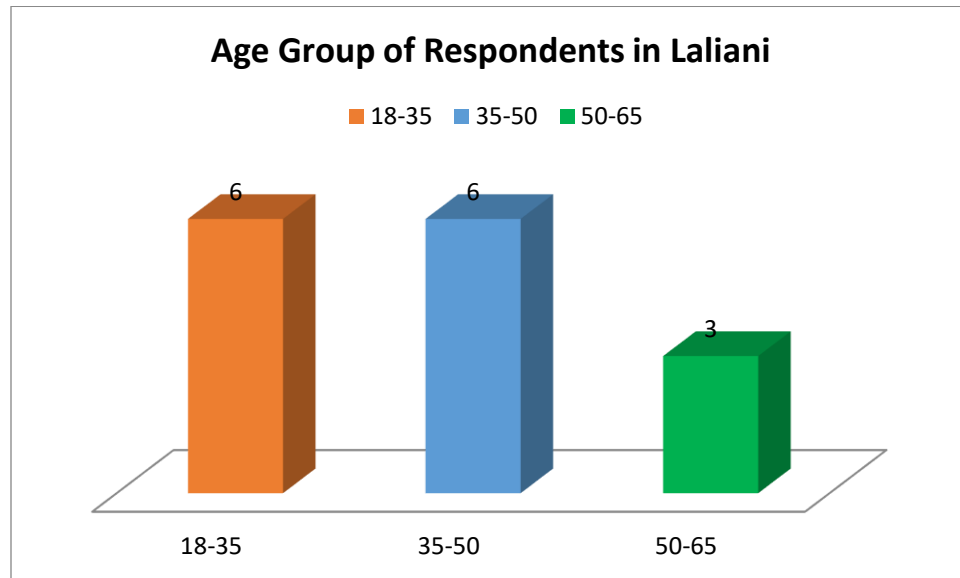
### III. Laliani, Sargodha

Laliani is a union council of District Sargodha in the Punjab Province of Pakistan and it is part of Tehsil Kot Momin of Sargodha. According to the block wise provisional summary results of the 6<sup>th</sup> population and housing census 2017, Laliani has a population of 15 690 and 2567 houses. 33. According to Election Commission of Pakistan there are 1.17 million male voters and 0.931 million women in Sargodha that accounts a gender gap of 0.245 million in voter lists<sup>34</sup>. According to PODA Elections Observation Report for 2018, In Union Council, Laliani, Sargodha not a single woman had polled her vote until 3:00 p.m. on the Election Day. Fifteen (15) women were

<sup>33</sup> [http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/SARGODHA\\_BLOCKWISE.pdf](http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/SARGODHA_BLOCKWISE.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/frmGenericPage.aspx?PageID=3086>

interviewed in Laliani to investigate the reasons of barring women to vote. Following are results of research:



#### **i. Gender Biases/Cultural Barriers and Low Women Political Participation**

Laliani is situated in semi-feudal area where the people have relatively large land holding. Bhakars and Sheikhs are prominent tribes in the area. The interviewees shared that historically the leading families of the area were not used to take their women to the polling stations as a local myth that courts and polling station/elections are not good places for women and the women from good families should not visit such places. 8 out of 15 interviewees shared that women's mobility is only restricted for voting, however they can freely go to school, colleges, hospitals and markets. 7 out of 15 interviewees negated that women have free mobility and shared that women and girls can only go to Madrassas for religious education and for other places such as hospitals and markets the women should have to be with men and women cannot go freely. One of the interviewees shared that the women who polled votes in General Elections 2018 belong to lower families as there is a community myth that women belonging to good families cannot go to polling staff to vote. Only a few women who are educated can go freely and without the free mobilization women's active participation in political process is not possible. One of the interviewees shared an important point that no it become the ritual that women will not poll their votes and this ritual is not as important as the other rituals of semi-feudal societies. It is very difficult to break the ritual and the rituals associated with the women or Izzat are the ridged one. Women political participation become undesirable and has been considered as like social stigma. The interviewees shared that despite of the extensive voter education campaigns by some of the civil society organizations, so far, no significant change has seen regarding women political participation. Another community myth is that community associates' elections and polling stations with fights and disputes so they prefer not to allow women to vote. The defined gender roles are also a factor of women political participation as the community perception about women is that they are only to take care of domestic chores and they have no role in politics. Due to financial dependency the women in Laliani are not empowered to decide for their political participation. Some women in Laliani still do not have CNICs and their votes are also not yet registered which also restrict their political participation. The ratio of registered voters to women population is considerably low.

Religious interpretations also restrict women political participation in the area as most of the people in the area belong to Wahabi sect of Muslims who define strict lines for women mobilization and confine them within the boundary walls of the homes and restrict their free mobilization. As the people are more religious and they tend to restrict and oppose women participating in elections and voting.

### **ii. Lack of Voter Education**

On investigating the situation of voter education of the interviewees, two of the interviewees shared that how can the women voting make the difference and on behalf of women men can use the right to vote. As most of the women have never used the right to vote in their lives so 9 out of 15 interviewees even did not know about polling process. Furthermore, only 3 interviewees shared that vote is right of women and they should take part in electoral process. They have also shared that due to lack of voter education, women are not confident enough to participate in electoral process. Most of the women who got higher education have shifted to urban areas and cities and they are now using their right to vote. However, the women who are still staying at Laliani are semi-literate or illiterate and have lack of basic voter education. Only a few women can vote when their male counterparts allow them to vote. So, lack of voter education is also another important factor of low women political participation. Illiteracy and lack of civic education and sensitization about their rights in relation to politics hinder women's political participation.

Most of the women do not have information or lack of access to information about the electoral processes and how can they participate in electoral process. They have lack of awareness about rights and laws available that ensure women political participation. Due to largely underrepresented in decision-making positions at all levels women in Laliani has a low political and electoral participation.

### **iii. Polling Scheme and Political Parties as Barrier to Low Women Political Participation**

There has been an unwritten agreement among the leading political parties at local level to not ask the women to vote. The political parties have significant role in mobilizing voters and they are equally responsible to prevent women from developing political skills and experiences. Some women cannot participate in the elections and use their right to vote because they do not have access to the polling stations either because the polling stations are very far away or because no transportation is available and they cannot go to the polling stations without men counterparts. If the polling station is far away from the village and home the women are dependent on their men to drop them to polling stations to use their right to vote. The presence of male polling staffs in polling stations also a hindrance in women electoral participation and significant number of men do not feel comfortable to allow their women to use their right to vote. Only 4 out of 15 women interviewees used their right to vote in their lives.

### **Conclusion:**

The equal participation of in electoral and democratic process plays a pivotal role in women political empowerment. Without an active participation of women in elections the participation of all segments of society in electoral process remained doubtful. In Pakistan, cultural traditions segregate the population by gender and when it became the ritual that women would not poll the vote creates a lot of problems and challenges to break this ritual. Society caves religious

interpretation in favor of barring women to vote as in the case of Laliani. Generally, in Pakistan, women are dependent on men financially and their mobility is only decided by the men. In case of elections and voting, women cannot independently go out to vote. There are some commonalities and differences in three case studies of Dhurnal, Dholar and Laliani. Gender interpretation as barring women to vote is common in all three locations. Women have limited access to politics, electoral information and voting procedures due to mobility issues. In Dhurnal women and girls are only restricted to use the right to vote but they can go to school and colleges but in Laliani the mobility of women is even limited. Likewise, most of the women in Dhurnal and Dholar have CNICs and voter registration but the ratio of women voters as compared to their population is quite low and this shows the procedural hindrance in women political participation.

The main historical root-cause of barring women to vote is different in all three locations. In Dhurnal women are barred to vote due to Dua-e-Khair in 1962 that came in to implement after community violence. In Dholar the decision of barring women to vote was due to community's elders' decision in 1977 and initially it was only for the women of leading families called "Maliks" later on it become the ritual for all women in Dholar. In Laliani, barring women to vote was only for women of leading families such as Bhakkars and Sheikhs, later on it become the community ritual that women would not vote. The literacy rate in Dhurnal is much better than Dholar and Laliani. The community in Dhurnal prefers separate polling stations for women so the women can go to vote without presence of any other men. The community in Dholar prefers near and joint polling station so the men can take the women with them on polling day to vote. Religious interpretation is also a common feature in all three locations as barring women to vote, people from these communities considered women's participation in politics as un-Islamic. They confined the women within the home putting them the responsibility of domestic chores and considering politics only a matter for men.

Ensuring women right to vote, the ECP should take concrete steps in addressing those issues that are root-cause of barring women to vote. This includes mobilizing and sensitizing community elders, working with political parties so they can mobilize the communities, facilitating CNIC and voter registration, civic and voter education, educating community religious leaders and planning of comprehensive polling schemes for women so maximum women can use their right to vote.

***Some leading questions of FGDs are as following:***

- *Basic Information (Name, Age, Educational Qualification)*
- *Do you have CNIC and voter registration?*
- *Have you ever used the right to vote?*
- *Can you vote freely or have there any obstacles to vote?*
- *What are the reasons that women voter turnout remained significantly low in your area?*
- *What are the reasons that man can vote and their voter turnout remained better as compared to women voters?*
- *Can women independently decide whether to vote or not?*
- *Does religion play any role in your area in women political participation?*
- *Can women right to vote make any difference? What is the significance of women right to vote?*
- *What are the processes to poll the vote?*

- *What are the recommendations to ensure women right vote?*

#### **IV. Civil Society Analysis on Women Political Participation**

Five (5) civil society experts who have extensive experience working on women political participation were interviewed to understand issues of low women political participation in Dhunral, Dholar and Laliani. The semi-structured interview methodology was used to gather the data. Following are the findings of the interviews:

- The main factor of low women political participation highlighted by the interviewees was huge gender gap in electoral lists. Due to lack of accessibility to NADRA and ECP, the women have lack of civil documentations particularly CNICs and voter registration that in result restricts the women political participation. The NADRA centers and Election Commission offices are situated far away from rural areas so women cannot go there to obtain their CNICs and voter registration. The first step in ensuring women political participation is 100 percent registration of women in electoral lists and comprehensive and holistic approach is required in this regard. All other factors of women political participation come after this basic factor. NADRA centers are situated at district or tehsil level and it is difficult for women to travel to NADRA to get CNIC so the system should be established where women can get their CNICs at their door steps. The issue of low women turnout is a cultural phenomenon particularly in a rural area of Pakistan and a woman voting is a matter of honor in the areas where according to people allowing women for voting is against the cultural norms.
- The second factor highlighted by the interviewees was gender discrimination and patriarchal society. The low participation of women in decision making and pre-defined gender roles where women are only confined to homes looking after the domestic chores restricts the women political participation. Restrictions in women mobility is another key hindrance in their political participation. The women and girls in rural areas cannot go outside the home without the men. The free mobility is very much necessary in ensuring women political participation. It will take time to address the gender related issues by engaging women in economic activities and providing them opportunities to pursue for economic activities. The more women will economic empowered the more she has political participation.
- The third factor highlighted by the experts was religious interpretations to bar the women to vote. In rural areas the religious interpretation is against women political participation and it is considered that mingling of women with men and going outside the home and to vote is un-Islamic and against the preaching's of Islam. When barring women to vote become the society ritual with some religious interpretation, it become difficult to break this ritual. Religious practices are used as powerful instruments of stereotype against women political participation. Furthermore, the Purdah (Veil) issue that is associated with the women also restricts women political participation.
- The fourth factor revealed by the respondents is the literacy rate. It was shared that the women who are literate tend to participate in electoral process. As they know the importance of vote, voting process and their mobility is more as compared to illiterate

women. In Pakistan, the literacy rate of women is quite low particularly in rural areas of Pakistan. Literacy rate is positively associated with the women voter turnout. The literacy rate positively contributes in civil documentation, voter and civic education and can use the right to vote. Empirical researches suggest that literate women are more economically, socially and politically empowered.

- The fifth factor shared by interviewees was lack of civic and political education. The women in rural areas have lack of education about voting procedures, importance of vote and polling process. This leads to decrease their interest in electoral process. The women who are more politically educated tend to participate more in electoral process. The civic and voter education should be extended to wider communities including men so they should also know that vote is a woman constitutional right.

### Conclusion

Pakistan has a patriarchal society and the rights of women have denied since the inception of the nation. Women's political and electoral has remained minimal irrespective of the fact that women constitute about half of the country's population. Despite of constitutional provisions of ensuring women equal participation in all walks of life, the women political participation is significantly low in Pakistan. There is a strong correlation between the status of women and their role in political participation. Pakistan is the second worst country in the world in terms of gender parity, ranking 148 out of 149 countries in the Global Gender Gap Index 2018.<sup>35</sup> This shows the overall gender situation of Pakistan. In Pakistan according to 6<sup>th</sup> Population and Housing Census 2017, women constitute about 49 percent of the total population<sup>36</sup> and in electoral lists there is a gender gap of over 12 million women voters<sup>37</sup>. In registered women voters, women voter turnout in the 2018 General Elections remained 40 percent with 21 of 46 million registered women voters participating in polling<sup>38</sup>. The numbers of women voters in Pakistan have been increasing with the passage of time. There are more than 42 million women registered in the electoral list that accounts 44 percent of the total registered voters.<sup>39</sup>

The primary and secondary data shows that there are a lot of issues and hindrances in women political participation. Due to set gender roles, the women have lack of opportunities performing in labor markets and politics. They have lack of opportunities in getting education. According to the Pakistan Economic Survey, 2017-2018, Pakistan's overall literacy rate is 58 percent with literacy rate of men 70 percent and 48 percent of women<sup>40</sup>. The literacy rate for women and girls living in rural areas of Pakistan is even lower than 48 percent. Due to low literacy rate the women political participation remains low.

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018>

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/>

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.news18.com/news/buzz/despite-increase-in-women-voters-gender-gap-in-pakistans-political-sphere-remains-1829777.html>

<sup>38</sup> <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1800497/1-beyond-women-voter-turnout-elections/>

<sup>39</sup> <http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eseasia/docs/publications/2018/08/status-of-the-rural-women-in-pakistan-report.pdf?la=en&vs=3739>

<sup>40</sup> [http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey\\_1617.html](http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey_1617.html)

The society in Pakistan is influenced by cultural and social norms and people value the social ritual. The women are living in subordination role and they are being discriminated on the basis of gender. Men do not accept equal role of women in different spheres of life. In politics, this is an un-written understanding that men decide the role of women in politics and men provide very little space to women to participate in electoral process. Generally, women in rural areas are dependent on men in all steps of their political participation. If they have to get CNIC they cannot go without men, even to pay the fee of CNIC they are dependent on men, to register themselves in voter lists, they cannot go alone to ECP office, on polling day they cannot decide themselves whether to vote or not? Where are polling stations and they are again dependent on men to bring them to the polling stations to use their vote. Even the women who use their right to vote cannot vote independently according to their own wish.

Empirically research suggests that the economically empowered women tend to participate actively in electoral participation. The labor force participation of women is low and they are engaged in unpaid work. Due to dependency on men in economic affairs, they cannot participate in decision making process even at domestic level. The findings of my research on Dhunral, Dholar and Laliani suggest that the women who are engaged in jobs or economically independent can decide about voting. Furthermore, economically empowered women have civil documentations that are pre-requisite of using the right to vote. Finally, the women who are economically empowered have no mobility issues and tend to participate more in electoral and political process. Women in Pakistan are confined in homes and only engage in domestic chores. They are also engaged in the informal economy doing work unpaid at home under a highly exploitative manner. The wrong depiction restricts their political participation.

On the other hand, women's political representation and participation is improving with the passage of time and the state has also introduced some progressive legislation to ensure women political participation such as 10 percent women voter turnout in each constituency, women quota in parliament and efforts for registration of women in electoral lists. More women used their right to vote in 2018 elections as compared to 2008 and 2013 elections. The cases of barring women to vote have decreased with the passage of time. However, still a lot more needs to be done in filling the gender gap in electoral lists so all eligible women voters can use their right vote, addressing the challenges that hinder women political participation particularly targeting those areas where women are barred to vote such as Dhunral, Dholar and Laliani. ECP has a critical role in addressing these issues and bringing all relevant stakeholders such as communities, community elders, community activists, religious leaders and civil society together to ensure equal and full women political participation. Furthermore, politics is a continuous process and this process of engaging communities should start years before the elections as most of the time issue of barring women highlights just in election days cannot make the huge difference.

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## An Inquiry in to the Causes of the Fall of Ayub Khan

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### Abstract

General Ayub Khan usurped power in October, 1958 and declared himself as the Chief Martial Law Administrator by ousting the then president, Iskendar Mirza. He ruled the country for about eleven years before resigning from the post and surrendering power to the then Commander in Chief of Army, Yehya Khan. The fall of Ayub Khan was the result of many problems intruded in the Pakistani politics and society. The political alliances formed during the era were giving tough time to Ayub which were equally supported by anti Ayub movements by urban middle class, students, lawyers, labors and teachers. In such circumstances, it was hard for Ayub to continue and lastly surrendered power to Yehya Khan. This study covers an overview of the first military regime in Pakistan. The aim of this study is to discuss the fall of Ayub Khan, its causes and consequences. The study is qualitative and is based on secondary data. The research shows that the causes of the downfall of Ayub Khan were mostly political. Strong opposition from both parts of Pakistan forced Ayub Khan to handover the control to Yahya Khan. The consequences of Ayub's fall were good for that time because it brought about the restoration of parliamentary democracy and universal adult franchise. However, Yahya Khan's short era led to many disasters. The economic growth came to a very low point. The regional differences vastly increased after 1970 Election. The problem of transfer of power led to severe army actions in East Pakistan.

**Keywords:** General Ayub Khan, Dictatorship, Pak-India War of 1965, Basic Democracy, EBDO

### Historical Background:

Ayub Khan's regime started in October, 1958 after 1956 constitution was abrogated and martial law was imposed. General Ayub Khan came to power through a military takeover. The main aim for the time being was said to control the crises going on in the country but later it proved that the main reason was coming to power. Ayub Khan for most part of his reign wasn't concerned

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with anything except holding his power. He cleared his path by banning the political parties and replacing the parliamentary system with presidential form of government. It was the first time Pakistan had a dictator as a ruler. The political instability was at the peak in those starting years of Pakistan. The military regime happened to stabilize the situation but it turned out the other way. Everything Ayub did was to protect his chair as president and he succeeded to do that for many years. However, the Indo-Pak war 1965, the presidential election 1965 and Tashkent agreement changed everything. The war led to economic sanctions. The presidential elections were on Basic Democracies system. The opposition accused Ayub of rigging the election and the BD system came under serious criticism. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto exposed the Tashkent agreement, formed the Pakistan People's Party and expressed strong opposition to Ayub's regime.

The popularity of PPP in West Pakistan and Awami League in East Pakistan was bringing troubles to stability of regime. Asghar Khan's movement and few other political alliances were creating hurdles for a stable Ayub's government. Finally, the movement against his government intensified towards the end of 1968. Anti Ayub movement was launched by urban middle class i.e. students, lawyers, teachers, doctors, laborers, politicians etc. It became quite difficult for General Ayub to tackle so much opposition from politicians as well as common people from all walks of life. He ultimately decided to resign in March 1969. In his last radio address to the nation on 25 March 1969, he said, "I cannot preside over the destruction of my country". This ended a rather stable and progressive era in the history of Pakistan.

Ayub Khan replaced parliamentary form of government with presidential in the 1962 constitution. This move further strengthened the position of president and gave him more legal powers than the constitution of 1956. He kept the major powers in his own hands and just used the Basic Democracies for presidential elections. Ayub Khan made full use of all these powers in first few years of his rule. At the end of 1965, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto left and started exposing Ayub's policies. Ayub Khan couldn't hold on to all the powers and had no strong support anymore and at last relinquished the power.

Ayub Khan's era is still regarded as the best in Pakistan. Economic development, industrial development, mega projects, land reforms and Muslim family law ordinance were revolutionary. But Ayub concentrated maximum powers in his hands. He disqualified the political parties through

an ordinance on charges of corruption. Economic disparity was at the peak. The common people never got the fruits of the developments Ayub made. All these problems led to the Fall of Ayub Khan. This study is an attempt to identify the major causes of his downfall and the major consequences his regime made on the polity of Pakistan. The research is based on the secondary sources of data. The study materials are taken from newspapers, articles, journals, books, past research, published reports and internet.

### **Causes of the Fall of Ayub Khan**

Scholars have expressed various opinions regarding the fall of Ayub Khan. For example, Haider (2016) stated that the immediate causes of the fall of Ayub's regime were the presidential elections and Indo-Pak war in 1965. In January 1965, Ayub was elected as a president through the electoral college of Basic Democrats who were elected through Ayub's Basic Democracies system. Ayub was accused of rigging and his Basic Democracy was held responsible for Miss Fatima Jinnah's loss who was more popular in general public. The 1965 war was largely a question on Ayub Khan's strategy, intention and tactics. The historians believe that it was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who led Ayub to a military disaster for achieving political benefits who later became a strong opponent of Ayub Khan. Haider (2016) has explained how Ayub Khan's policies just aimed to prolong his reign. He neglected some very important issues including the case of East Pakistan. Although the fall of East Pakistan happened two years after Ayub's reign, many believed it was the fallout of his policies.

Barki (1972) has given a socio-economic explanation to the fall of Ayub's regime. He points out the so-called economic growth as a result of economic inequality. 22 families controlled around 80% of national wealth. The economic development was qualitative not quantitative and it couldn't stop the rise in prices so that the general public could take advantage. There was a plethora of economic reasons which overburdened Ayub's downfall. Shahid Javed Burki (1972) rightly identified the fundamental disconnect between the public and the Ayub's junta that celebrated 10-years of being in power by highlighting GDP growth and other inflated macroeconomic indicators. The general public, however, cared less of the aggregate statistics as they struggled without much success against price inflation and spatial income disparities. Burki points out that the so-called economic growth was rooted in income inequality, which worsened over time between regions

and among people with the growth in the macro economy. The result was evident: half of the industrial wealth accrued to Chinioties in Punjab and the immigrant Memons, Bohras, and Khojas. At the same time, General Ayub opened the door to foreign experts who were ignorant of, and alien to, the political economy of Pakistan. Yet they came armed with policies that might have worked elsewhere but were ill-suited for Pakistan's challenges. General Ayub's economic prowess need not be discounted entirely. His penchant for central planning is evident in the second five-year plan. The inflow of foreign capital, at twice the rate of that of India, sparked growth in industries that supported consumer goods. One must also review what drove the growth and what industrial sectors blossomed as a result. It was primarily driven by foreign aid, the same way General Musharraf's rule was buttressed by American aid after 9/11, 2001. By December 1961, foreign aid was more than twice the size of foreign loans. With the second five-year plan in 1964, foreign aid was responsible for 40% of the total investment. Foreign aid covered 66% of the cost of imports. Despite the foreign investment as aid and credit, and the aggressive public works program pursued by the regime to generate new jobs, unemployment persisted, and even worsened during the second five-year plan. The regime allocated twice as much for atomic energy than it did for technical training.

A critical report by none other than Dr. Mehboob ul Haq, the then Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, revealed that a coterie of just 20 families controlled two-thirds of the industry and three-fourth of the banking. Pakistan's poet laureate, Habib Jalib, could not ignore the injustice. His poetry galvanized the public as he recited poems at gatherings where tens-of-thousands heard him denounce the 20 nouveau riche, who became even richer at the cost of keeping millions of poor. Jalib wrote "Biis gharanay hein abaad / Or karorron hein nashaad / Sadar Ayub Zindabad" (Haider, 2016).

General Ayub's years preferred treatment of West Pakistan irked East Pakistanis, who couldn't ignore the sustained rebukes when General Ayub placed three of the largest legacy projects, i.e., the construction of the new capital (Islamabad) and the two large hydel projects (Mangla and Tarbela) in West Pakistan. Furthermore, General Ayub never kept a confidante from East Pakistan as all the King's men belonged to West Pakistan.

After the complete study of economic policies of Ayub Khan, we conclude that the economic growth was quantitative and not qualitative. It was highly dependent on foreign aid and

foreign loans. Some powerful families were controlling most part of the industries and bank assets. Another problem was that the development and economic growth was of no use for common people. There was no control over price growth. Lastly it was the disparity in developmental field too as the development was restricted mostly to Punjab and Karachi. East Pakistan and the small provinces of West Pakistan were mostly ignored and that led to crises throughout the country (Hussain, 2006). East Pakistan largely remained dissatisfied during Ayub's regime. East Pakistan was the bigger part of Pakistan but right since the independence, it was treated much less than other parts of Pakistan. It is an atrocious truth that since independence all the governments including that of Ayub Khan had neglected East Pakistan. Like his predecessors, he did nothing to decrease the economic disparity between East and West Pakistan. He was aware of the acute grievances of the Bengalis, but he did not try to tackle it seriously. As Bengal was a densely populated and politicized province, its feeling of deprivation was increased by the absence of democratic institutions in Ayub's highly centralized regime. They were the ones, who opposed the military regimes more than anyone else. Ayub Khan's introduction of EBDO and arrests of highly dignified Bengali political leaders further increased their grievances. Economic disparity was another big problem due to which tensions raised between East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan had a stable and better economy than West Pakistan at time of Independence. In 1949-50, The GDP of East Pakistan was Rs. 13,130 million rupees and that of West Pakistan was Rs. 11,830 million.

Jute, rice and tea were one of the biggest exports but the earnings were mostly spent in West Pakistan with a small part given to East Pakistan. In 1960, 75% of export earnings originated from the Eastern wing but their lifestyle remained at the lowest level as compared to others. Bengali leaders claimed that "What was earned in East Pakistan was spend here in West Pakistan." The development was mostly restricted to West Pakistan. Except for establishing a few Universities, the West Pakistan rulers were not interested in development of East Pakistan. Projects like Katpai Dam and Karnaphuli paper mills remained a source of discontent as the Dam affected 40000 people were not compensated. The Karnaphuli paper mills worked in such a way that the East Pakistan paid for the transportation of paper to West Pakistan (Mustafa & Nawaz 2014).

The major issue that created disparity was representation. This was the key problem that deprived East Pakistan. The military was fully controlled by West Pakistan. West Pakistan had a

total representation of 845 in high ranked officers including Majors and above. East Pakistan had only 14 in that range. East Pakistan was under represented in almost all the sectors of governance (Baxter, Malik, Kennedy & Oberst, 1981). So, it was disparity of all kinds that led to tensions in East Pakistan. Comparatively less development, less representation, economic exploitation and low standard of life were the biggest reasons of dissatisfaction of East Pakistan. They led to chaos in East Pakistan and ultimately to the fall of Ayub Khan's regime.

Lawrence Ziring (1981) says that economic development is not same as political development. In Ayub's military regime, Pakistan made big economic gains but it had almost zero political change. Political development mostly tends towards social awareness and less towards social conflicts. Bureaucratic politics was at the peak in Ayub Khan's regime.

Media was tightly controlled under Ayub's regime. Siddiqui (2001) stated that the media and press were not independent. The Pakistan Times, Imroze and Mashriq were placed under National Press Trust. It meant that the papers would go to the public after the government's approval. Control over press and media was very tight. According to an ordinance in 1960, Ayub Khan introduced the Press and Publications Ordinance which dealt with all the printing presses to submit security deposit for publishing newspapers and books. The government could forfeit the security deposit and could stop the printing presses from publishing newspapers or a book if the matter contained:

- a) Reports on crimes of violence or sex produced in a manner to excite unhealthy curiosity or interfere in administrative laws;
- b) Encourage the commission of offence as murder or any offence of violence;
- c) Directly or indirectly targets the sovereignty or creation of Pakistan;
- d) Spreading hatred in any group of the country; and
- e) Highlight the feeling of enmity between the people of West and East Pakistan.

The Press and Publications Ordinance (1960) seemed adequate enough to emasculate the press. But after lifting martial law, Ayub was faced with the challenge of mobilizing 'political support' for his regime and needed a totally subdued press. Hence, the scope of press freedom was further curtailed. This was done through ordinances known as the Press and Publications (West Pakistan Amendment) Ordinance, 1963, and the Press and Publications (East Pakistan Second

Amendment) Ordinance, 1963 (The daily Dawn, November 7, 2010). Similarly, on September 2 1963, Ayub Khan started his control on press by taking over the independent papers, namely the Pakistan Times, Imroze and weekly Lail-o-Nahar. The Press and Publication Amendment Ordinance known as “National Press Trust” took over at least fourteen established dailies and weeklies and their chain papers including the Pakistan Times, Imroz, Morning News, and Mashriq. This was the government's aim to stop unauthorized publications. But it badly crushed the freedom of press and media. Nationalizing the press and media killed the hopes of public awareness of actual government policies and problem of Pakistan. Almost all the publications were directly or indirectly controlled by the government. Most of them were used for government's advertising purpose and praising the policies of regime (Parveen & Bhatti, 2018). This oppression of press and media was the root cause of zero awareness in Ayub Khan’s rule.

Jahan (1970) is of the opinion that the problem of East-West Pakistan integration is known to everyone. Ayub Khan did nothing for national integration. The problems that affected integration during Ayub's era were economic, developmental, and representational. The West Pakistan was in relatively good and stable conditions. It was getting all the attention from the centre in developmental work but that was restricted to Punjab and Karachi. Punjab in specific was the focus of Ayub Khan and his company's developmental work. Karachi was made the centre of industries and other heavy businesses. There was not much development other than Punjab and some part of Sindh. This led to crises all over the country (Maniruzzaman, 1967). The Provinces in West Pakistan were unhappy with the One Unit System. Punjab was the center of development throughout the regime. Other provinces couldn't get enough attention and it was causing tensions in the people of then NWFP (now KP), Sindh and Baluchistan. Movements were started in these provinces calling for equal attention and opposing the One Unit Systems. The issues in East Pakistan were relatively bigger. It even couldn't get the attention like smaller provinces in West Pakistan. East Pakistanis had no other option but to revolt against the regime (Jahan, 1970). These were the chore issues in national integration of Pakistan during Ayub Khan’s reign. First there were differences between East and West Pakistan over the development and representation. Then there were opposition of One Unit System in West Pakistan as the small provinces were mostly ignored. These problems were enough to fail the national integration of Pakistan. East Pakistan contributed 54% of the population and was different from West Pakistan in terms of language,



culture, social structure, demographic characteristics and historical traditions. Also, there were different groups living in West Pakistan. The common say about Ayub's regime was that "All the developments happened in Punjab and Karachi". The rest of the country rarely got benefits of Ayub's economic development.

Rizvi (1974) is of the opinion that Ayub Khan's military regime was the first of many. Pakistan suffered a total of 4 military reigns but it was Ayub who paved the way for the rest. The military regimes might have happened out of necessity but the main objectives of all were supreme powers. The dictatorial approach has severely affected the political development process in Pakistan and was the main cause of the downfall of the military leader.

Universal adult franchise was curtailed by the system of Basic Democracies. The system of Basic Democracies introduced by Ayub Khan consisted of rural and urban councils directly elected by the people that would be concerned with local governance and would assist in programs of grassroots development. Basic democracy was a tiered system inextricably linked to the bureaucracy, and occupied the lowest rung of a ladder that was connected to the country's administrative sub districts (Tehsils), districts, and divisions. Later, under the constitution of 1962, Basic Democracy units were to become the Electoral College for the election of the president and of the National Assembly (Khan, 1965). Thus, Basic Democracies were taken as nothing more than a convenience for the rulers. It would be difficult to decide what the Basic Democracies could have achieved if they had been allowed to function in the way they were theoretically set up to do. Some evidence exists especially in East Bengal that they could have created co-operative communities, but in fact they were misused from the beginning. In East Pakistan BD was extensively bribed with the free use of public funds and it was hoped to create a vested interest in Ayub's rule. The system was largely influenced by the bureaucrats who dominated the decision making in most part of Ayub Khan's rule. The system was often related to decentralization of powers in political arena but in reality, it was only restricted to the decentralization of developmental authority. The system failed to increase the political participation and could not improve the democratic culture. The system provided stability and security to the president but did not strengthen the political system itself. No development happened in the political system and political culture. The system also led to the introduction of rural elites (Ziring, 1971). The biggest criticism made on Basic Democracies was that it acted as an electoral college for the election of

president. The right to vote through universal adult franchise was denied and the elections could be easily bribed, bought and paid.

There was bureaucratic politics and rural elite's involvement in policy making. The era of Ayub Khan was deprived of any kind of political participation as politicians and political bodies were banned. The system had very limited powers for the Basic Democrats. In most of the cases, they could not use those powers correctly. They were controlled by the local upper class and bureaucrats. The BD system was almost entirely controlled by the bureaucracy. Professionalism, competence, and honesty, which were the hallmark of the British system, started giving way to cronyism, pliability, and dishonesty both intellectual and financial. This was truer in the case of senior officers who would go to any length to please their superiors (Siddiqui, 2001).

Ayub Khan's anti-corruption stance was applied to bureaucracy in the starting years of his reign. They were asked to show all their assets for cleaning bureaucracy from corruption. After sometime, the bureaucracy started to rise in the policy making process as there was no political participation. The higher bureaucracy was actually ruling most of the affairs of the state. The corruption started rising once again in bureaucracy. Corruption was mainly the outcome of high prices at that time. The common people had no trust on bureaucracy and the rise in corruption led to high criticism on bureaucracy. As bureaucracy was one of the pillars of Ayub's regime so its weakness indirectly made the Ayub's regime weak and led to the fall of Ayub Khan (Ziring, 1981). Similarly, corruption was rising in local bodies and there was no proper check on it.

Politicians and political parties were disqualified by instruments such as Elected Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) passed in 1959 which was promulgated for the disqualification of politicians. Under this law, a person could be disqualified from being a member of any elective body. Under this harsh law, 75 leaders were disqualified for participating in political activities for 8 years (until December 1966). Several politicians like Suhrawardy and Qayyum Khan were disqualified. The EBDO, particularly its application, was severely criticized in the legal and political circles throughout Pakistan. Under the EBDO, Ayub Khan primarily targeted East Pakistani politicians from the Awami League while leaving the Muslim League largely untouched (Latif, 2019). EBDO was meant to get rid of all those political elements that could offer resistance or come in the way of Gen Ayub's political ambitions. The system did not spare anyone against whom even the slightest charge of misconduct could be investigated. The democratic process in

Pakistan was always slow and this ordinance completely killed the little progress we made in democratic process. Through disqualification and arrest of highly influential politicians, Ayub paved the way for a pretty long 10 years rule without much resistance (Mehboob, 2017). However, the restrictions were counterproductive and helped in bringing down his downfall.

Ayub Khan's foreign policy was strongly based on the name of his book "Friends not Masters". He never compromised on his stance but some of his policies did turned the tables on him (Khan, 1967). Ayub Khan was a great modernizer. He made Pakistan, the most trusted ally of US and the West. Pakistan also had good relations with China and stable relations with USSR. Two of his biggest achievements that turned him into a world statesman were the settlement of border dispute with the People's Republic of China which created an everlasting basis for Sino-Pakistan friendship and the Indus Basin Treaty for the division of waters between India and Pakistan. These were recognized as acts of great courage and vision. Ayub's relations with the US came under great strain when he failed to respond to President Kennedy's suggestion, during the Indo-China War in 1962, that Pakistan should cooperate with India in order to enable the latter to deal with 'the Chinese threat'. Ayub insisted that unless the Kashmir dispute was settled on equitable terms there could be no cooperation between India and Pakistan. Ayub did not know at the time that he had quite unknowingly frustrated a possible Indo-American program to subjugate China. The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, had written to Kennedy 'a hysterical letter' suggesting the bombing of certain targets in China a few days before the Chinese declared a surprise cease-fire (Khan, 2006).

Two other decisions had far-reaching implications for Ayub. He served notice on the US in April 1968 terminating the lease for the communications base in Peshawar. The notorious U2 aircraft took off from this base was shot down over the Soviet Union. Khrushchev told foreign correspondents in Moscow that he had drawn a red circle around Peshawar. This came as a complete surprise to the US administration, and when, immediately after the notice was served, Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin visited Pakistan, this caused further concern in Washington.

About this time Ayub decided to go ahead with the construction of the Sinkiang Road despite the opposition of his own Commander-in-Chief who pleaded that the army engineers could not complete the job without taking undue risk of loss of life. A Chinese delegation came to Pakistan and offered to undertake the road works in areas which the Pakistani engineers considered

hazardous. Ayub accepted the offer much to the annoyance of the Americans. After that the Americans saw no reason to support Ayub who responded by declaring that he wanted the Americans as 'friends not masters'. The most 'allied-ally' of the United States in Asia had turned 'radical' through contact with the People's Republic of China.

Tashkent Agreement, no support from US in 1965 War and strained relations with USSR at the last years of his regime were the main failures of Ayub Khan's foreign policy. Tashkent Agreement in particular united the political groups against Ayub Khan. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Ayub's Foreign Minister and a big companion, also left him after discontent on the agreement. Ayub Khan was left with no support after Bhutto rose as big opponent to his policies and it started the decline of first military regime. Tashkent agreement marked as the beginning of Ayub's downfall. The Soviet Union, which had remained neutral when India and Pakistan went to war in September 1965, played the broker afterwards at Tashkent. The Soviet government formally announced on December 8, 1965 that the Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri and the Pakistani President, Muhammad Ayub Khan would meet at Tashkent on January 4, 1966. Largely due to the efforts of Soviet Premier Kosygin, India and Pakistan signed the Tashkent Declaration (Bajwa, 2013). The significant clauses of this agreement were:

- a) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree to make all efforts to establish good relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They affirm to renounce the use of force in the settlement of their disputes.
- b) The President of Pakistan and the Indian Prime Minister agree to withdraw, no later than February 25, 1966, all armed personnel to the position held before August 5, 1964.
- c) Both India and Pakistan agree to follow the principle of non-interference in their affairs and will discourage the use of any propaganda against each other.
- d) Both the countries also agree to reopen normal diplomatic functioning and return the High Commissioners of both the countries to their posts.
- e) Measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between the two countries were to be taken. Measures were to be taken to implement the existing agreements between Pakistan and India.
- f) Prisoners of war would be repatriated.

- g) Discussions would continue relating to the problem of refugees and eviction of illegal immigrants. Both sides will create conditions that will prevent the exodus of the people.

In Pakistan, the common narrative about Tashkent agreement was that we lost on table. It is believed that Ayub Khan signed the agreement without consent from Bhutto. Bhutto while addressing the UN stated that we will fight for Kashmir in any conditions. Bhutto was keen on solution of Kashmir issue when he finally had the world's attention. He did not back out of his stance on Kashmir till the end. When Ayub Khan signed the agreement, Bhutto remained no longer his companion. He started exposing the Tashkent agreement that led to a massive fall in Ayub's popularity (Burki, 1971).

The 1965 elections were another point in the downfall of Ayub Khan. The elections were indirect and mostly rigged in favor of Ayub Khan. The "Basic Democracies" proved only to be helpful to the powerful candidates as pre-poll rigging was reported. Popular candidates lost because of basic democracies as it was Ayub's system and the members supported him because of that.

The 17 days long war between Pakistan and India brought severe consequences. Both India and Pakistan claim to have won the war but the independent observers disagree to this claim. Pakistan and India both couldn't reach their aims. Pakistan started the war for Kashmir, but couldn't get an inch of it. India struck Lahore with full force to destroy Pakistan but the move proved to be highly unsuccessful. However, the war proved to be a huge drawback in Pakistan's growing Economy. The war was completely unplanned, fruitless and unfinished event. The war of 1965 highlighted the Kashmir issue. Bhutto created so much hype about Kashmir that the international community was ready to work for the solution of Kashmir issue. Bhutto was not ready for a cease fire until the Kashmir issue was resolved but Ayub Khan suddenly called for cease fire. This move was not well received by most part of the country and somehow led to the decline of Ayub Khan (Rabbani, 2011).

In October of 1968, the government selected the Fortress Stadium in Lahore to celebrate the military dictator. In preparation for the parades for the "Decade of Development," the government told Punjab University students to attend the celebration. They wanted the entire stadium to be filled. To rebel, students of the National Student Federation prepared a song titled

“The Decade of Sadness” that critiqued the “Decade of Development.” Once parades had started within the stadium, students began to sing their song, shocking the audience. Following this resistance, the government began to repress and fight against protests (Mansoor, 2018).

In Rawalpindi, on 7 November 1968, the police opened fire on a student rally against the government for the killing of three students which led to the creation of a Student Action Committee. This committee was another student-led action group, apart from the National Students Federation, that sought to increase the effectiveness of student action. The committee selected Sheikh Abdul Rasheed as the coordinator, but the police later arrested him while he was leading a student rally in Rawalpindi. The reaction was even stronger as a complete strike paralyzed the city for a whole day.

Another factor in these movements was the political mobilization initiated by Z. A. Bhutto in both urban and rural areas. The students were soon joined by industrial workers, peasants, intellectuals and journalists. The protest intensified with time and turned into a mass movement against the regime. The government tried to stop it by oppression and then by dialogue but the pressure inserted was too much to control.

Industrialization in Pakistan came in Ayub's Era. The development and industrial growth were tempting people for shifting to big cities. Urbanization was on the rise in Pakistan and there were not enough facilities to support it. Urbanization without proper planning was leading to several problems including public health, infrastructural, and sanitation issues. The industrialization was leading to rise in pollution and wastes in industrial cities. This was leading to different kinds of disease especially in streets' children (Haider, 2010).

In 1962, Ayub wanted to author a new constitution and form his own party. He called for a convention of some leading Muslim League and Republican Party members. The convention announced the formation of a new Muslim League. However, it became PML-Convention when some other ML leaders refused to join it and formed their own faction. PML-Convention's manifesto echoed the political and economic tenor of the Ayub regime: Rapid industrialization, free-market-enterprise and 'Muslim modernism' with emphasis on science and technology. The PML-Convention became the majority party in a parliament elected through Ayub's complex 'Basic Democracy' system. Ayub was chosen as the party's chief and a young Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

became its first Secretary General. However, the strength of PML-Convention was temporary. Making of a new party was nothing but protecting the president. PML-Convention won in 1965 with heavy margin. It got a huge majority in Assembly and also Ayub Khan won the presidential election. The elections faced huge backlash on charges of pre-poll rigging. It was completely wiped out in next elections. Awami League and Pakistan People's Party emerged as the biggest parties in Pakistan. The results of 1970 elections proved that the strength of PML-Convention was fictional and temporary.

Unlike General Zia ul Haq (1977-1988), who spent 11 years of his dictatorial rule to Islamize Pakistan, General Ayub was more of a modernist who was wary of the attempts to Islamize Pakistan. While addressing a seminary he articulated his views as "This I consider a great disservice to Islam, that such a noble religion should be represented as inimical to progress ... In fact, it is great injustice to both life and religion to impose on twentieth century man the condition that he must go back several centuries in order to prove his bonfires as a true Muslim." General Ayub's most significant and long-lasting contribution is the promulgation of Muslim Family Laws Ordinance in 1961 that empowered women, especially in the matters of marriage and divorce. Though the commission that drafted the recommendations was constituted in 1954, the Ayub regime took steps to implement the laws empowering women. Before the family laws were enacted, neither marriages nor divorces were required to be registered with the state. This created severe hardships for divorced women, some of whom eventually remarried. Their former husbands could, and some even did out of malice, accuse them of adultery since the women lacked proof of divorce from the first husband. The new laws also required men who desired a second wife to seek formal consent from the first wife. In summary, the acts and ordinances introduced by the Ayub regime discouraged polygamy, "protected the rights of wives and granted the rights of inheritance to grandchildren." Despite his belief and the desire to modernize the society, General Ayub was quick to give into religious orthodoxy as long as the policy about-turns prolonged his control over power. Similarly, naming Pakistan as "Republic of Pakistan" by dropping the word "Islamic" in the 1962 Constitution also made the religious section of the society turned against him.

A single incident which changed the domestic situation dramatically was Ayub's illness. In January 1968, he was stricken by a heart attack. The news of his critical illness became known and a spate of wild rumors engulfed the country. Ayub's temporary absence created vacuum which

exposed the ineffectiveness of the institutions he had created. The President House was cordoned and the Commander-in-Chief Yahya Khan set up a private command post to stay with the governing bodies. Ayub Khan recovered after 2 weeks but everyone was sure that he won't bear the load of another election. The anti Ayub movement got rapid pace and put him under more pressure.

### **Consequences of the Fall of Ayub Khan**

The Fall of Ayub Khan was nothing but just a change of a leader as another military dictator, Yahya Khan, took his place. But it did have some serious consequences on future of Pakistan. Some of the consequences of Ayub's fall are:

a) *Another Military Regime:* Fall of Ayub Khan led to the beginning of yet another military regime. The circumstances in 1958 and 1969 were not much different. Yahya Khan declared martial law in the country to end the current tensions across the county to silence the voices of those fighting against Ayub's regime. Yahya Khan was doing everything as told by the political parties (Wilcox, 1969).

b) *Restoration of Democratic System:* The fall of Ayub Khan was a sign of hope for finally restoring the democratic system in the country. When Yahya Khan took charge of the country, he announced that the democratic process will be restored. The parliamentary form of democracy was going to come back. Fresh elections were going to be organized based on direct election. The right of vote according to universal adult franchise was restored. Pakistan was finally going to witness the perfect democratic system.

c) *1970 Elections and Transfer of Power:* These were the first direct elections held in Pakistan on the basis of adult franchise and were also said to be the most free and fair ever noted in the country's history. Polls for National Assembly seats were held on December 7, 1970 with provincial assemblies' elections on December 17, 1970. The optimism surrounding the event was visible amidst increased tensions between what were then known as East and West Pakistan. The elections were held under Yahya Khan's Legal Framework Order (LFO) of March 30, 1970. Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman's Awami League (AL) from the East and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) from West Pakistan were the front-runners in the campaign for these elections. Being Pakistan's first ever direct elections, countries both friendly and not so much were



keen to observe the process (Al-Mujahid, 1971). The national polls were swept by the Awami League which secured 167 out of 313 NA seats making it the single largest party in the country. Moreover, Bhutto's PPP, which stood largely in opposition to AL, managed to secure 82 seats in the National Assembly. It looked like the Awami League was finally going to reap the fruits of all the hard work they have done for a democratic Pakistan. But the leaders in West Pakistan including Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and others were stopping the process of transfer of power to East Pakistan. They did anything possible for it and even sacrificed the East Pakistan. It was the darkest period in the history of Pakistan where a party who had doubled the majority of runners was robbed off their right to rule (Naeem, 2020). Ayub Khan was the main factor of fall of East Pakistan. Ayub Khan's regime exploited East Pakistan by using their exports for profit without giving them enough in return. Disparity was at the peak in economy, development and representation. This led to rise in anti Ayub's movements in East Pakistan that continued till the fall of East Pakistan.

d) *End of a Progressive Era:* The fall of Ayub Khan marked the end of a progressive era. Pakistan status rose in international community. Ayub Khan's work in industrial development was also a big plus point in future perspective. The economic growth was not a stable and qualitative but still Pakistan gained enough benefits from it by reorganizing the state machinery. The fall of Ayub Khan led to nothing but more tensions across the country. The biggest of them was of course the tensions in East Pakistan over the transfer of power leading to war and fall of East Pakistan in 1971. All these incidents stopped the process of development and economic growth. Pakistan remained highly unstable in its internal affairs for coming few years.

### **Major Findings:**

The major finding of this study are listed below

- a) Ayub Khan's downfall is mostly related to his political failures. His era is known for economic growth and development but this statement is often criticized. The economic growth was not a qualitative one as it was strongly based on foreign aids and debts. His era of development couldn't make people's lives better because of economic disparity and continuous rise in the prices;
- b) The Basic Democracy system failed miserably as political system. It was criticized for indirect election process, making of rural elites and high ratio of pre-polls rigging;

- c) The fall of East Pakistan happened two years later after Ayub's fall but he laid the foundation for it. East Pakistan was kept backward in economic growth and developmental work. Another big problem was exploitation of East Pakistan. Rice, tea and jute from East Pakistan were the biggest part of Pakistani exports and still East Pakistan was not given any proper share in the income.
- d) Non political movements played a big role in the downfall of Ayub Khan. They criticized Ayub Khan's policies and exposed his hollow claims of what he called "Decade of Development". They were well supported by journalists, labors, industrial workers, teachers, intellectuals and majority of urban class.
- e) Ayub Khan after the disqualification of the big politicians thought the political bodies and political activities were no more threatening but he was wrong. The political participation rose to a high level after the ban was removed.
- f) Ayub Khan's martial paved the way for more military takeovers in future. Martial law was prohibited in Pakistan for a long period but few incidents in Ayub Khan's rule legalized it after the courts started working under military regime.
- g) The objective of Ayub Khan throughout his rule was more power. He did everything possible to spread the limits of his powers. He presented a very centralized constitution in 1962 where presidential system was introduced.

## **Conclusion**

The fall of Ayub Khan was a result of his policies in every field. It's not just political, he made blunders in almost every field. All of his policies lacked proper implementation despite looking good on paper. He did everything just to protect and prolong his reign. Presidential form of government, basic democracies and joining a political party are few of them. His economic policies were also never perfect. The economic growth was only qualitative and the people couldn't bear the fruits. The case of East Pakistan was royally ignored by Ayub Khan just like the rulers of Pakistan in the past. Political movements started against Ayub in different parts of the country by opposition. They were soon followed by anti Ayub movements from student, lawyers, teachers and people from different fields of life. In January 1968, he was affected by a viral infection and

his health at the end of the year further deteriorated. In February 1969, he said he will not participate in elections. This set the stage for Yahya Khan.

Between 1958 and 1971 President Ayub Khan, through autocratic rule was able to centralize the government. Khan brought together an alliance of a predominantly Punjabi army and civil bureaucracy with the small but influential industrial class as well as segments of the landed elite, to replace the parliamentary government by a system of Basic Democracies. Basic Democracies code was founded on the premise of Khan's diagnosis that the politicians and their "free-for-all" type of fighting had had ill effect on the country. He therefore disqualified all old politicians under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order, 1959 (EBDO). The Basic Democracies system did not empower the individual citizens to participate in the democratic process, but opened up the opportunity to bribe and buy votes from the limited voters.

By giving the civil bureaucracy a part in electoral politics, Khan had hoped to bolster central authority, and largely American-directed, programs for Pakistan's economic development. But his policies exacerbated existing disparities between the provinces which gave the grievances of the Eastern wing a potency that threatened the very centralized control Khan was trying to establish. In West Pakistan, notable successes in increasing productivity were more than offset by growing inequalities in the agrarian sector and their lack of representation, an agonizing process of urbanization, and the concentration of wealth in a few industrial houses. In the aftermath of the 1965 war with India, mounting regional discontent in East Pakistan and urban unrest in West Pakistan helped undermine Ayub Khan's authority, forcing him to relinquish power in March 1969.

After the end of 10 years long reign nothing changed much as Pakistan went to another military regime. The economic growth that was on the rise for years now started declining. The relations with India got worst as the chaos continued throughout the country. Ayub Khan didn't want Pakistan to have yet another marshal law but he could not stop it. In short, Pakistan remained highly unstable after Ayub Khan's regime.

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## **Cyber Space Regulation and the International Humanitarian Law**

Author

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### **Abstract**

Over the period of two decades, the threat landscape of state, global and human security has substantially modified, becoming ever-more dangerous. In this context, the cyber revolution has played a marked role in altering the threat landscape. However, the world is yet unprepared to deal with the consequences of the most dreadful outcome of a cyber-attack-a nuclear war while the domain of cyber space remains largely unregulated. This research will attempt to investigate the differing positions of states hindering the achievement of a global consensus for the regulation of cyberspace and argue whether International Humanitarian Law is applicable to cyber-attacks and if its applicability is sufficient to address the threat of cyber-attacks. The impact of the research includes being able to come up with certain recommendations.

**Keywords:** Cyber Space, Cyber Attacks, International Humanitarian Law

### **Introduction**

Today, while the world is witnessing the spread of coronavirus and a resultant social disruption, the hackers are successfully exploiting the situation to either further their malicious agendas or test their cyber skills in the absence of a regulatory framework. The enormity of the exploitation can be ascertained from the fact that the World Health Organization has reported a five-fold increase in cyber-attacks during the current pandemic (WHO, 2020). Similarly, a 238% surge has been witnessed in cyberattacks against banks (Avantia, 2020). Besides the aforementioned, there have been numerous other reports claiming a sudden spike in cyberattacks during the period. Reports in January also claimed a cyber-attack on the United Nations that crippled 40 servers at the UN office in Vienna and the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human rights

(McCallion, 2020). Alongside a spike, 82% of chief information officers have claimed that the techniques used by hacktivists have been advancing where weak links caused by technologies and processes in use by supply chains are being exploited besides the exploitation of human factors (Avantia, 2020).

This thus elevates fears of more frequent attacks in cyberspace of the degree of the 2007 cyberattacks on Estonia or the 2010 Stuxnet attack on Iran's nuclear centrifuges. The former included a series of attacks targeting websites of major organizations such as the parliament, ministries, banks and newspapers and thereby crippling the digitally dependent state; while the latter involved the destruction of one-fifth of Iran's nuclear centrifuges by targeting the control systems. Also, in this context, the monstrous risk of an accidental nuclear war due to the hacking of the missile command supercomputer cannot be ruled out. Moreover, the cyber warfare tools have become an easy weapon of choice for states' conduct of Hybrid warfare. However, as of yet, there is no effective regulation of cyberspace vis-a-vis the International Law. The aforementioned risks call attention to an acute need for global regulatory measures governing cyberspace for the sake of human, national and International security.

The research plays a two-fold role. Having highlighted the mounting threat of cyber-attacks, the research first gives an overview of various countries differing positions on the subject of 'information security in cyberspace' that have been hindering the achievement of a global consensus on the governance of cyberspace. Second, it argues whether the International Humanitarian law is applicable and sufficient to limit cyber-attacks until a new legal regime is constituted. Finally, the research very briefly lays down the necessary recommendations.

### **Various Countries positions on the subject of 'Information Security in Cyberspace'**

To understand as to why the world has been unable to regulate the domain of cyberspace despite recognizing its deleterious consequences, there is a need to take account of the wider context concerning the ideological differences among the various states which had been on display at the United National Group of Governmental Experts process. Since the challenges of information and communications technology were first brought to the focus of the UN General Assembly in the late 1990s, the "UN GGE process" has been the major avenue for interstate dialogue about the international legal regulation of cyberspace. It is the forum where the Groups of Governmental

Experts” (GGE) (assisted by the UN’s Office for Disarmament Affairs) set up by the UN Secretary General to study the “Developments in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security” have discussed the ways of best approaching the many challenges being posed by the new technologies.

In the context of UN GGE, major areas of contention among states that have been hindering the achievement of a global consensus in the domain of information security in cyberspace include the following:

- 1) Applicability of International humanitarian law to cyberspace
- 2) The right of states to ensure their own information security
- 3) Adoption of a new legal regime relating to Information security
- 4) Application of the countermeasures and the right of self-defense in cyberspace
- 5) Disregard by some states for the need of disarmament and nonproliferation in connection with countering the threat being posed by information warfare

The following section will elaborate upon the differing positions of states on the subject of “information security in cyberspace” leading to a deadlock. Nevertheless, states are united by their desire to protect their critical infrastructure against cyberattacks.

The most important point of contention has been the disagreement over the applicability of IHL to cyber space. In the 2012/2013 GGE, the Chinese blocked any attempt to explicitly mention humanitarian law principles in the group’s report on the basis that an endorsement of their applicability would legitimize armed conflict in cyberspace (Henriksen, 2019). Hence, the 2012/2013 report concluded that “the application of norms derived from existing international law relevant to the use of ICTs by States is an essential measure to reduce risks to international peace, security and stability” (UNIDR, 2013). but failed to reference International Humanitarian law. Although the 2014/2015 consensus report was a step forward in that the report referred to the international legal principles of necessity, humanity, distinction and proportionality that are the principles of IHL or the Law of Armed Conflict (UNIDR, 2015), but these principles were not referred to in the context of the IHL. Prior to the drafting of the final report, the Chinese and the Russian delegation objected to the direct mentioning of the pertinence of IHL in the document and hence the final report could only make a reference to the aforementioned principles. The US has



interpreted it as endorsing the applicability of these IHL principles in cyberspace but the Chinese and Russians have avoided doing so. Given the lack of consensus particularly on how the IHL applies on the use of communication and Information technologies, the GGE failed to submit a final report of its recommendations to the UN General Assembly in the year 2017 (Henriksen, 2019). The major reason being the reluctance on the part of China and Cuba was to concede to the applicability of IHL to cyberspace. The Cuban delegation viewed an endorsement of its applicability as leading to the legitimization of the scenario of war and military actions in the context of ICT. This view was also backed by the Chinese delegation.

Similar to this is the disagreement over the utilization of the right of self-defense and countermeasures in cyberspace. China has maintained that any allusion to Article 51-the right to self-defense-would send an erroneous notification to the international community suggesting the authorization of cyber warfare (Korzak, 2017). Moreover, it was during the 2017 GGE that the Cuban delegation also opposed the use of the right of self-defense and countermeasures in cyberspace.

Another area of disagreement is the question of Information Communication Technology and the free flow of information or to be more specific over the term, Information Security, itself. The East Bloc considers certain ICTs and free flow of information itself as a threat (Tikk & Kerttunen, 2017). However, according to the US, the application of information security must not have a bearing on the privilege of any individual to seek, acquire and transmit ideas and information through any media such as the electronic media regardless of the boundaries. Moreover, the UK does not concede to the validity of the term “information security” when employed in this context on the premise that this would legitimize further controls on freedom of expression.

Countries including Russia, China, Belarus and Brazil since the GGE in 2004 have been promoting the right of states to ensure their own information security. These states and in particular Russia and China have maintained that every country has the entitlement to control its own cyberspace in conformity with the domestic legislative prescriptions. However, the US and other like-minded states have opposed this on the premise that this could hinder the free flow of information.

Further, the US and the European countries have rejected any reference to disarmament in any of the reports whereas some states have wanted to consider the issue in connection with countering the threat of information warfare.

The Cuban, Russian and Chinese delegations have propelled for the establishment of a completely newly created set of international laws for ensuring information security in cyberspace. To put it alternatively, they have sought *lex specialis* (Tikk & Kerttunen, 2019). On the other hand, the United States and other like-minded states have been opposing the establishment of a new legal regime governing cyberspace. This concern can be interpreted in light of the United States' cyber dominance since a new regime would limit its cyber capabilities. As a result of this deadlock, states including India and Switzerland have suggested the creation of a cyber committee of the General Assembly. Similarly, Brazil has suggested the consideration over a new legal framework that could prohibit the offensive use of cyber operations and the compromising of the information security of other states.

In November 2018, the United Nations General Assembly adopted two competing resolutions in order to address cyber threats. The Russian-sponsored resolution called for the creation of an open-ending working group of the General Assembly that studies the existing UN GGE norms and identifies new cyber norms (Grigsby, 2018). On the other hand, the US-sponsored resolution called for the creation of a new group of governmental experts that deals with the applicability of international law to state actions in cyberspace and identify mechanisms to ensure states' compliance with these norms (Grigsby, 2018). Both the resolutions emerged as the victors leading to the establishment of two parallel processes including an open-ending working group for 2019/2020 and the UN Group of Governmental Experts for 2019/2021. However, the creation of the two parallel bodies has neither been able to ensure a consensual agreement on the governance of cyberspace, nor accelerated the process.

The following sections explore if and how IHL applies to cyber operations which is a highly contested subject and whether it is sufficient to regulate state behavior in the said domain until a new legal regime is constituted.

### **Applicability of International Humanitarian Law in cyberspace**

There is no provision of IHL that individually manages the conduct of hostilities or protects the sufferers of a cyber-attack; nor is there explicit evidence of normative customary international law in the aforementioned context be it in the shape of *opinio juris* or state practice. The following section will elaborate upon the possible link between international humanitarian law and attacks conducted via cyberspace.

### **Armed Attacks via Cyberspace**

According to ICRC, the International humanitarian law would apply to cyber operations that occur during an armed conflict. This makes the applicability of IHL in cases of cyberattacks occurring during peacetime rather dubious.

It is only after an attack via cyberspace rises to the extent of an armed attack that the provisions of the IHL can be activated. The question then is to what extent do the cyber-attacks constitute the use of armed force. According to the Charter of the UN, such circumstances involve the existence of troops and the employment of traditional military weapons within the boundaries of another state's territory. However, it remains silent on such forms of coercion and subversion that fail to cross the threshold of a perceived threat of armed force. However, it is possible for the attacks via cyberspace to be included within the domain of armed attacks that violate the legal principles upholding non-intervention and sovereignty. Information warfare is an expansive category of military activities including physical attacks on information systems by traditional military means, psychological operations, military deception, and electronic warfare operations such as jamming and hence can possibly fall under the IHL framework (Macros, 2009). The point of contention makes an appearance in the case of a pure information (computer network) attack as being a category of information warfare that includes the employment of electronic methods to attain access to information or otherwise to change it and hence, does not damage the physical components. Such attacks would not trigger the IHL provisions. However, such Information (computer network) attacks if directed towards causing harm to humans and property can be characterized as the threat or use of force and hence, may fall under the category of an armed attack (Macros, 2009).

### **The Issue of Attribution**

Further, even if an attack via cyberspace reaches to the extent of an armed attack, it is the speed as well as the anonymity of the cyber-attacks that complicate the distinction among actions taken by the terrorist groups, criminals or the nation states. Article 2 of the 1949 Geneva convention relating to the International Armed Conflicts provides that it applies to all instances of proclaimed war or of any other armed conflict which may happen to occur between two or more of the 'High Contracting Parties' (Rulac, 2019). Hence, this definition automatically limits this type of armed conflicts to those between states rather than the ones between states and non-state actors or criminals. Hence, before triggering the IHL provisions, the contentious issue is to determine the perpetrators of the cyber-attack. Further, the operations conducted by military forces are presumed to be under the control of national governments. However, no such presumptions govern the actors participating in cyber conflict. The laws of war require states attacking another state to identify themselves. However, in case of a cyber-attack, it is extremely hard to attribute an attack conducted by specific individuals to a government.

According to Macros (2009), in the wake of the Estonian cyber-attack, the critical issue of attribution arose given that the hackers disguised their origins by routing their actions to faraway localities. Although the Estonian officials claimed they had proof that some of the earliest salvos originated from Russian government computing centers or by the affiliated centers run by Nashi su and other similar organizations. However, determining the exact locale from where these attacks originated was exceedingly hard since a number of them originated from undetectable private computers around the globe. But given the fact that the alleged hackers according to Estonian suspicions were Russian, Estonia submitted a plea for bilateral inquiry under the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty between Russia and Estonia. Although Russia initially promised to probe into the matter, the promise was later abandoned. A month following the attack, the private sector and the US government conducted several assessments which partly substantiated the origin of cyber-attacks to certain politically motivated hackers such as the Nashi Su rather than the security agencies themselves. Nevertheless, a Russian hacker SpORaw views these efficient attacks on Estonia to have certainly been carried out with the assistance of the Russian authorities. Hence, it was not determined whether the attack was a cybercrime with Russian Nashi hackers aiming at regime change, or a cyberwarfare supervised by the Russian intelligence operatives.

Similarly, in case of the Stuxnet, the attack was only allegedly traced back to United States and Israel given the sophistications of its traits and the fact that the attack followed the explosion of Iranian gas pipelines and assassination of Iran's leading nuclear scientists (Gibney, 2016). This ultimately created an impression that a state entity was attempting to sabotage the Iranian nuclear program. However, a definitive source of attack could not be determined.

### **Applying International Humanitarian Law Norms to Cyberattacks**

The case of Cyber Warfare calls attention to the following three provisions of International Humanitarian law:

- (1) The distinction between combatants and non-combatants
- (2) The distinction between civilian and military infrastructure
- (3) The prohibition of a perfidious action

As for the cyber-attack, one cannot distinguish between the non-combatants and combatants given the fact that the cyber attackers do not identify themselves as combatants. According to the Hague Conventions, it is only the regular armed forces of a country who have the right to employ force against the enemy. However, the use of force needs to be in accordance with the rules of war but failing to do so would not deprive them of this status. However, according to Protocol I, Article 44, soldiers who do not identify themselves as combatants either by carrying the arms or wearing the uniform would be deprived of their combatant privilege. And this brings us to the question as to whether the Hague conventions could be applicable to the captured cyber attackers. However, given the fact that cyber attackers disguise their attacks as innocent requests for information, those accused can be prosecuted under Protocol I, Article 37 of the Geneva Conventions which prohibits an act of perfidy (treachery) under which a soldier faking a civilian status would be prosecuted (Lin, 2019).

Secondly, Protocol I, Article 51 of the Geneva Convention prohibits an indiscriminate attack- the one that is not directed against a specific military target. And some instances of cyber-attacks such as the Estonian case failed to distinguish between military and civilian objects since the targets varied from banks and government services to broadcasters and air traffic control. Hence, such

indiscriminate cyber-attacks would stand in conflict to the Article 51 of Protocol I and could be covered by the aforementioned IHL prohibition (Lin, 2019).

To sum it up, the above-mentioned norms form the basis of such underlying that should be employed with the utmost conviction to the domain of cyberspace. This clarifies that the cyber-attacks sponsored by states can trigger certain provisions of the IHL. Also, as with other methods and means of warfare, attacks involving the computer networks are deemed legal unless they do not conflict with the principles of the IHL.

Contextually, some have already recognized that in cases where the attribution for cyber-attacks has been satisfied, the attack should be addressed by the IHL framework and the cyber attackers should be held liable for war crimes (Macros, 2009). Consequently, if state launch cyber-attacks that pose large scale atrocities, they should be held accountable to war crimes by every means possible. Similarly, in case of a destructive cyber-attack aimed at destroying the group to which the victims belonged, the state should be held liable for genocide. Nonetheless, the exclusion of outer space in enumeration, the issue of an explicit determination of an armed attack in cyber space and the concern of misattribution would make the applicability of these pertinent IHL rules to any degree of cyber-attacks highly dubious.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The international community has already been undergoing situations in which cyber-attacks are being sponsored by nation-states, posing deleterious consequences for human, national and International security. It yet remains to be seen as to what extent will the Covid-19 crisis awaken the conscience of the states and pave way to a consensus on global regulatory measures in the domain of cyberspace through extensive cross-stakeholder coordination. One can only reluctantly hope that the crisis may provide a warning for states to address threats in cyberspace before it is too late. For as they say, every crisis is an opportunity in disguise. Although the aforementioned section suggests the possible applicability of IHL to attacks occurring via cyber-space, there is still a need to establish a comprehensive treaty governing cyberspace that covers the applicability of IHL along with other provisions.

A more definitive treaty should define when a computer network attack rises to the level of an armed conflict, clarify which provisions of IHL would apply to cyberattacks occurring during

armed conflicts and the ones occurring during peacetime, and provide for enforcement mechanisms. Further, it should pave the way for the establishment of a collective administrative system whereby the technological advancement of the developed nations enhances the prospects of early threat detection of malicious attacks and allows for the addressal of the critical issue of attribution through the employment of advanced Machine Learning technologies. This would ensure the shared benefit from AI in the domain of cybersecurity rather than its confinement to the technologically advanced states only. Hence, as proposed by states including China, Russia, Cuba, Belarus and Brazil, there is a need for the creation of a new legal regime governing cyberspace. This argument is further supported by the fact that given cyberspace is an International common similar to the outer space or the high seas since it is not legally owned by any single entity, it needs to be regulated by the establishment of a new legal regime. The outcome will prove conducive for the human, national and international security.

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## **KAP of Male Youth regarding Health and Hygiene in Urban Slums of Twin Cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad**

Author

**Syed Ali Salman**

### **Abstract**

Knowledge, attitudes and practices of youth regarding health are considered important for the social, political and economic stability of a country. Pakistan is experiencing the largest cohort of youth in its recent history. A large portion of the Pakistani youth live in slums where opportunities regarding health are squeezed to scratch. This study focuses on knowledge, attitudes and practices of male youth living in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad regarding health and hygiene. A quantitative survey tool has been employed to collect data from respondents while respondents were selected through convenience sampling method. Though respondents had some knowledge regarding health and hygiene but due to lack of positive attitude or lack of facilities practices do not confirm with knowledge. Multi directional approach is required to improve KAP of male youth in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

**Keywords:** knowledge, attitudes and practice, health and hygiene, youth, slums,

### **INTRODUCTION**

Pakistan currently has the largest cohort of young people in its history i.e. almost 63 percent of the population in between ages of 15 to 33 years (UNFPA, 2017). Despite all the commitments by Pakistan through international treaties and national policies, there seems a lack of efforts for youth especially in the area of health. The current study focuses on the male youth of slums in Rawalpindi and Islamabad for their knowledge, attitude and practices regarding health and hygiene. Slums are already deprived areas of cities and youth being part of the larger population in slums do not avail opportunities for quality life especially in the area of health and hygiene. The current study digs out males' health issues, the problems they face for maintaining their health in slums like absence of health services providers, economic burden, lack of knowledge etc. The current study also tries to find out the channels of information for male youth and the hurdles in the process of communication regarding health and hygiene among/around male youth either at sender's end or receiver's part.

The understanding that adolescence is a distinctive stage of life in human beings is fairly recent. Adolescence, the powerfully formative time of transition, is roughly concurrent with second decade of the life in which individuals move from childhood to adulthood and goes through major physical and psychological changes. According to WHO, the term adolescence refers to the age of 10–19 years (WHO, 2012). On the other hand, youth, according to United Nations Organization, is a phase of life which spans from 15-24 years of age (UNYSPDD, 2012) but

the age limit for Pakistan's youth as defined in National Youth Policy by Government of Pakistan is 15 - 29 years.

The phase of adolescence and youth is characterized as a stage of life where changes occur not only in body but also in their social setup/surroundings. The physical changes that come with puberty during adolescence are change of voice, muscle and body hair growth particularly in genital area, nocturnal emission in males and menstruation in females, desire for sex and ability to become father in males and mother in females (PC, 2001). These changes are more often dealt with in the area of reproductive health issues of adolescents and youth but they are related with general health and hygiene of the said group as well. According to one study in India, special need of accurate information regarding health and hygiene in this phase of life is highlighted (Acharya, 2009). Age of youth partially overlaps the time of adolescence bringing change majorly in roles and responsibilities of youth. Females are supposed to limit themselves in terms of mobility and are seen more focused in household chores. On the other hands males get more opportunities to explore the world and are concerned with public chores. Men face a number of challenges during this phase of life like education pressures, earning stress and being strong and healthy as society expects from males to be like that (Barker, 2000). These pressures seem even worse for youth living in slums where opportunities like health, education and clean environment are meeker in comparison to availability of these opportunities for youth living in other parts of urban areas.

Slums are results of rapid urbanization in Pakistan. Though the phenomenon of urbanization is decades old in Pakistan but it has expedited in the last couple of decades enormously. In 1998, 32% of the Pakistan's population was urbanized (PCO, 1998) which is expected to be 36% in 2015 (www.cia.gov, 2012). It is very interesting to note that the expanding urbanization is not only the phenomenon of developed countries. In fact, this increase in urbanization can be observed at a higher rate in developing countries than developed countries. Almost majority of this ill patterned growth would be seen in city slums of poor portions of the globe. More importantly this escalation of slums is estimated at rate upon which people in these slums would not be able to get even basic services/infrastructure to maintain a good standard of life which ultimately affects the health standard of the residents (Allison, 2007). It is also significant to note that Pakistan has the fastest rate of urbanization in South Asia (UNPF, 2007).

Such a massive urban growth in any resource scarce developing country does not come alone but with various peripheral tribulations. Development of slums as a result of rapid urban growth is common in developing countries. Unhealthy living environment and health/hygiene hazards are two of the major issues among many others in slums' life for everyone or for most. Both of these problems in a slum's life are interconnected as unhealthy living environment leads to health hazards for residents of the areas. Slum is an area which lacks one or more of the following for the households living the area: access to improved potable water, access to improved sanitation, security of tenure, durability of housing and sufficient living area (UNICEF, 2012). Stark disparities in health between rich and poor have drawn attention to the social determinants of health or the ways in which people's health is affected not only by the medical care and support systems available to prevent and manage illness, but also by the

economic, social and political circumstances in which they are born and live. Rapid urbanization and increasing density of people in small and poorly constructed areas like slum make it easier for communicable diseases to spread and non-communicable diseases and other health problems can also be seen in upward trend. Children, adolescents and youth from these communities are particularly vulnerable because of the stresses of their living conditions and also their poor knowledge and risky practices regarding such diseases (WHO/UN-HABITAT, 2010).

There are 26.6 million people living in slums in Pakistan and 48% urban population of Pakistan is slum dwellers.<sup>1</sup> Pakistan lags far behind in the provision of safe drinking water and sanitation facilities. The access to safe and improved water to 93 percent of population by 2015 is the tenth MDG target adapted by Pakistan. Although over the time Pakistan has improved the supply of drinkable water to its population but has still a long way to go in reaching MDG target of 93 percent, with given current trends, it may prove to be an insurmountable challenge. Inadequate quantity and quality of potable water and poor sanitation facilities and practices are associated with a host of illnesses such as diarrhea, typhoid, intestinal worms and hepatitis (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2010).

Rawalpindi is the fourth most populous city of Pakistan and is further growing at a faster rate than many other populous cities in Pakistan in terms of urbanization. Urbanization in Rawalpindi and Islamabad since long has produced many slum areas. There are 17 registered slums in Rawalpindi and Islamabad i.e. eleven of these in Islamabad and six in Rawalpindi. Most of these slums are situated near the bank of Nullah Lai in Rawalpindi while they are dispersed in various sectors in Islamabad (WMO, 2004). Five slums in the city of Rawalpindi and five in the capital Islamabad were selected for the current study. Slums in Rawalpindi are scattered over a large geographical span in contrast to Islamabad where slums are clustered in relatively closer vicinity. Following five ghettos in city of Rawalpindi were selected conveniently to conduct the current study: i) Jhag'gyan Bhoosa Godam in Ratta Amral, ii) Mohalla Mareer Hassan, Saddar, iii) Ghareebabad, Chaklala Scheme III, iv) Wagon Colony situated along the Railway track near Railway Service Station Rawalpindi and v) Ram Baagh, Asghar Mall Scheme. On the other hands ghettos in Islamabad are mainly concentrated in G and F sectors. Slums in the sectors of G-8/1, G-7/2, G-7/1, F-7/4 and F-6/2 were selected for the study.

Slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad are overcrowded and unplanned. They lack adequate housing/living space, basic facilities like drinkable water, proper sanitation and sewerage and drainage system. Majority of the dwellers use Nullah Lai for disposing of solid waste from their houses. There are severe water, sanitation and environmental issues contributing to the unhealthy and unsafe environment of slums. These water and environmental issues have effects on the health of communities as well. Most of the dwellers of the slums have to struggle to get water for them. General health status of communities especially children and women is not up to the mark and many diseases are common in the area. Private health services are available

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.homeless-international.org>

outside slum areas. However these services may not be accessible to the low income groups of the slums. Most of the households have constructed the latrines on self-help basis and with the support of different NGOs as well but their utility is very low because of choked or inappropriate sewerage measures (AHKRC, 2008).

Pakistan as signatory of international treaties like Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Convention of the Rights of Child (CRC), and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is bound as a state to take steps towards a healthy and safe living environment to all the children, adolescents and youth of the country (WB, 2005). Government of Pakistan in its National Youth policy 2006 also committed to take measures to enhance the overall health status of the youth (GoP, 2006).

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Youth is a demographic concept which has biological and social aspects. It is an age group which links childhood with adulthood. Besides spatio-temporal differentials, youth differ in terms of the socio-cultural, political and economic structures of the countries they reside in. Youth is also the life span when sexuality is discovered, exposing young people to the risk of pregnancy, child bearing and sexually transmitted diseases. Youth is a significant stage in life, an important part of individual growth and a factor in national development. (Acharya, 2009).

Adolescents between the ages of 10 and 19 years are generally thought to be healthy. Nevertheless, every five minutes 16 adolescents die, primarily as a result of accidents, suicide, violence, pregnancy-related complications, and communicable diseases. Young people face the challenge of adopting healthy behaviours as they move towards adulthood, given that approximately 7 out of 10 premature deaths among adults are associated with behaviours initiated during adolescence (WHO, 2006).

A baseline study of slums of Islamabad reported that health and hygiene conditions of the communities are quite pathetic; there is no public health facility available and thus no immunization services. People who are aware of importance of vaccinations seek it on their own from public facilities that are very far away from community. There are private clinics in the communities set up by a doctors charging in the range of 150-250 rupees for consultation. Generally, this range of fee is not affordable by people. Skin diseases are very visible among children, playing in streets and on garbage heaps. The study also reveals that stepping in labour in early age, adolescent and youth of this area are very vulnerable to abuse. They work in Shrine surroundings till very late at night which also put them on risk. There is no mechanism of seeking information related to health and physical changes in course of life. The only source of information is their peers and friends. There is no system of sanitation and drains are open. The drinking water sources are heavily polluted being very unhygienic. Garbage heaps can be seen lying in the streets. (Plan Pakistan, 2009).

In another study on slums it is revealed that the place where we live can have a significant influence on whether or not we are likely to be healthy, educated, employed, safe, or impoverished. The survey shows that people who live in slums face serious threats to their

well-being. Poor living conditions also contribute to a host of diseases and infections, such as diarrhea, acute respiratory infections, malaria and HIV and AIDS (UN-Habitat, 2006).

In a survey on the slums of various countries, the slums of Rawalpindi were taken as case study. The survey showed that families commonly have six or more members, with about 40% of women having four or more children. Living conditions in the slum areas of Rawalpindi are poor; however, the majority of homes have electricity (95.6%) and many have a running tap water supply (67.2%). Those families without running water in their homes have to collect water from a community supply. Most homes have toilets (94.5%), with only a small proportion of people forced to use the outdoors. Of those with toilets, just over three quarters have a flushing type and the remainders have a local type. Just under half of the percentage (49%) of the people surveyed, live within 1 km of a government health facility. These slums comprise about 17% of the total population of Rawalpindi city. The areas vary from those that are characterized by small and narrow streets, to those directly exposed to the Nullah Lai, which are prone to flooding in the wet season. The study indicates that marked health inequalities exist in the urban areas of Rawalpindi. In particular, attention needs to be paid to the provision of high quality health care, safe drinking-water, garbage collection and disposal and other basic amenities of life. It is important to note that many of the problems experienced by slum residents do not exist in the more prosperous areas of the city (WHO, 2010).

Only few studies have examined health risks for adolescents, in part because adolescence is often considered a healthy time of life. A recent review provides the first analysis of causes of death among youths aged 10–24 years, based on the 2004 Global Burden of Disease data. In low- and middle-income countries, all-causes mortality was 2.4 times higher in youths aged 20–24 than in adolescents aged 15–19. Mortality rates thus escalated from adolescence to young adulthood with the rise of reproductive health problems, road traffic accidents or mental illness. But conditions affecting younger children may continue to threaten adolescents. For youths in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia, tuberculosis and lower respiratory tract infections actually led to more deaths than HIV. Gender-related differences may be significant, with young males usually at greater risk of premature death than their female counterparts (Coffey et al, 2009).

A research on a slum of Lahore revealed that only health facility provided to the slum dwellers is a private free dispensary which provides medicines at PKR 15 per head. This dispensary provides them with medicines for simple health problems like fever, cough, cold etc. which helps them survive. But if any of them is suffering from fatal diseases like cancer, hepatitis, tuberculosis etc. then there is no hope for them (Ali and Ali, 2011).

The review of literature remains limited in terms of availability of studies regarding knowledge and attitudes of male youth of slums in relation to health. Major focus of studies previously done seems to be on practices of people including youth and physical environment of slums in connection of health.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **The locale of study**

The research was conducted in selected slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad cities. Islamabad is the capital of country but a recently established city in comparison to Rawalpindi which has thousands of years old history. Though both cities are different from each other in many aspects, yet both are similar regarding the presence of slums in them like all big cities do. Current study took into account only those communities which are recognized as slum by the Capital Development Authority (CDA) in Islamabad and Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) in Rawalpindi. Islamabad has concentration of slums right in the center though a few exist on the margins of the city as well. The slums in the sectors of G-8/1, G-7/1, G-7/2, F-7/4 and F-6/2 were selected conveniently to conduct the research in Islamabad. The slums in Rawalpindi are scattered in a wider geographical span. Although these slums were situated at the boundaries of Rawalpindi city in the past but they are in the center of the city right now. Out of the six slums in Rawalpindi city as recognized by TMA, five slums are selected on the basis of convenience for the current study. The location of these slums has been identified by using Google maps facility.

### **Sampling**

The respondents for the study were males of 15 – 24 years of age living in selected slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. A total of 60 respondents from slums of each city were selected through convenient sampling technique i.e. twelve respondents from each slum. Hence the total respondents were 120. Key informants in the community helped researcher to get access to the respondents. Researcher selected respondents through non-random convenient sampling technique as there were no data available regarding male youth of slums in Rawalpindi and Islamabad to be used as sampling frame.

### **Key Informants**

Usually young people are hesitant to have discussion with a stranger, like the researcher was for them. Moreover, selection of 120 respondents from the study area was a difficult job too. Both these problems led the researcher to find some key informants/gate keepers who could introduce him to the respondents. This was also necessary to develop a conducive environment between researcher and respondents to have spontaneous responses from the respondents of lower age groups.

### **Structured Interviews**

Structured interviews were conducted with the sampled respondents. The structured interview tool was divided in six sections; a) background/demographical information about respondents, b) type of dwelling of the respondents, c) knowledge, attitude and practices regarding general health, d) knowledge, attitude and practices regarding water and sanitation, e) health seeking behavior f) problems faced by male youth in physical environment of slum. Though the structured interview tool was developed in English but the questions were put forward either in Urdu or Punjabi for the ease of respondents. An effort was made that the meaning should not be changed while translating the questions in local languages.

**Data Analysis**

Data collected for the study were analyzed through computer software SPSS. The frequency tables and cross tabulation were employed for the analysis. Qualitative data has been analyzed through categorizing it under major themes. Under each major theme i.e. KAP regarding general health, KAP regarding water and sanitation, health seeking behavior and problems faced by male youth in slums to maintain their health data have been collected through open ended questions.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

**Background Characteristics of the Respondents**

The following table shows the distribution of respondents according to their age. Majority of respondents fall in the age brackets of 15 – 18 years i.e. 48.3 percent. While 23.3% and 28.3% respondents fell in the age brackets of 19 – 21 years and 22 – 24 years respectively.

**Distribution of Respondents according to their Age**

Age Ranges	Frequency	Percent
15 -- 18	58	48.3
19 -- 21	28	23.3
22 -- 24	34	28.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Over thirty-five percent of the respondents had educational level of primary (5<sup>th</sup> grade). 15% of the respondents had an educational level of below primary or Illiteracy while forty percent of the respondents had achieved education of middle to matriculation. Only about seven percent of the respondents had education up to level of F.A./F.Sc. or above.

**Distribution of Respondents according to their Education level**

Education Level of Respondents	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	5	4.2
Below Primary	12	10.0
Primary	44	36.7
Middle	27	22.5
Matriculation	22	18.3
FA/FSc	7	5.8
BA/BSc	2	1.7
Master or Above	1	.8

<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>
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Over fifty-five percent of the respondents in communities under study receive monthly pocket money/income up to Rupees. 3000/-. Thirty percent of the respondents receive/earn Rupees 3001 – 6000/- per month. About six percent of the respondents get an amount in the range of Rupees. 6001 – 9000/- per month as pocket money or salary while eight percent respondents had a range of PKR 9001 and above per month as their pocket money/income.

#### **Distribution of Respondents according to their monthly Pocket Money/Income**

<b>Monthly Pocket Money/Income of Respondents (PKR)</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
0 -- 3000	67	55.8
3001 -- 6000	36	30.0
6001 -- 9000	7	5.8
9001 & above	10	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### **General Health**

The section focuses on the knowledge, attitudes and practices of male youth in slums, their sources of information and hurdles in flow of information with reference to general health.

#### **Health as per definition of male youth in slums**

The respondents from the area under study differed in their view towards health. Significant number of male members thought that a male would have a good health when he would have an appearance like body builder. A male like him would be able to do his works quickly and actively. Good health is also thought to have a relationship with good looks i.e. a good looking man must have a good health according to substantial number of respondents. Opposite sex is also attracted towards a healthy and good looking male. Good health was also related with economic status of a person. Male youth is convinced that as good health requires good quality and quantity of food including meat and fruits which are expensive food items and only rich people can afford them. They shared that mostly people in slums do not have good incomes and young people specifically do not, so there are meek chances for them to have good health overall. Respondents were also concerned about the cleanliness of an individual and his environment. They shared that environment and cleanliness in surrounding are important factors among many others with regards to health of a person. People living in an environment where one cannot avoid catching germs and filthiness cannot keep one's own-self healthy.



### General problems regarding health in the area

According to opinion of respondents there were many common problems in the slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Most highlighted problem was filthy environment with piles of solid waste all around the living area. Moreover, open and semi open sewerage system or in some cases no sewerage system at all have been major challenges for the dwellers of slums. Lacking or unavailability of potable water also generates further problems like many diseases. Commonly found diseases in population of slums according to the views of male youth were diarrhea among children, skin problems among all segments of population, fever, flu and tuberculosis (TB) etc. They also thought the incidence of hepatitis B and C is also very high especially in old age people but due to unavailability of testing services they were unsure. The incidence of Malaria is quite frequent as mosquitoes are in plenty in these slums being near to Nullah Lai. Absence of quality health service centers in slums or nearby areas worsen the problem. Respondents though identified some health service providers in the area but they also suspected their education and training for being health service providers.



Two young males trying to manage solid waste and chocked sewerage line in slum of G-7/2

### Requirements for maintaining health

Respondents shared various opinions regarding requirements for maintaining good health. Most of the respondents rated good quality and quantity of food as one of the most important requirements for maintaining good health. They also talked about stress and tension free life for people to have good health. Many participants on the other hand, expressed the needs of cleanliness in environment, availability of play grounds for sports and healthy leisure time activities for youth.

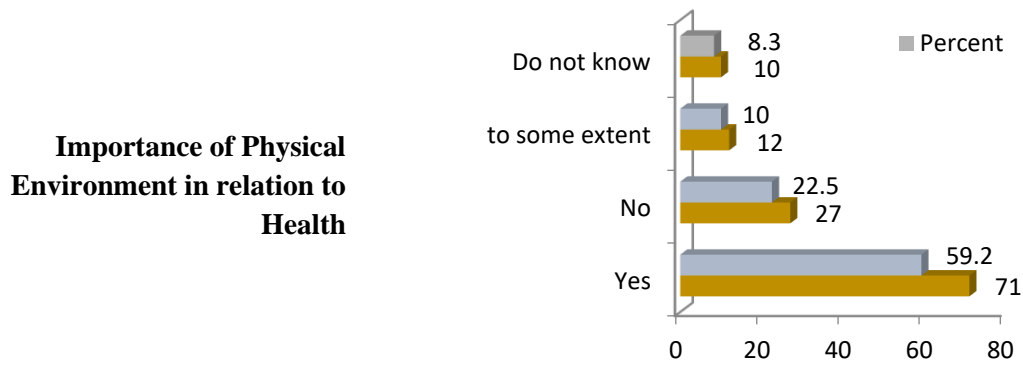


Slum of Marir Hassan, Sadar, Rwp, right next to Nullah Lai

Slum of Sector F-6/1, Islamabad situating on both side of Nullah Lai

The following graph shows that about sixty percent of the respondents thought their physical environment important in relation to maintaining their health. But a notable percentage of

respondents i.e. more than thirty percent were either of the view that physical environment is not important in connection to maintaining health or has importance to only some extent. About ten percent of the respondents had no idea about relationship of physical environment and maintaining health.

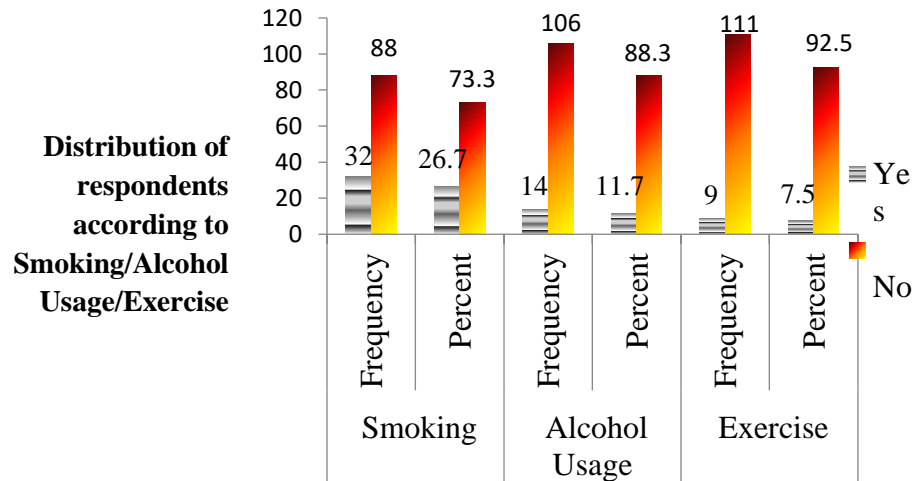


Respondents were inquired with reference to their level of knowledge regarding three components of health i.e. bodily health, mental health and environmental health. 57% respondents had scratch level of knowledge regarding components of health. On the other hand, forty percent of the respondents had low level of knowledge regarding components of health. Only less than three percent of the respondents knew about more than one component of health.

**Distribution of respondents according to their knowledge level of components of health**

Knowledge level regarding components of health	Frequency	Percent
Scratch level of knowledge	69	57.5
Low level of knowledge	38	40
Medium level of knowledge	3	2.5
High level of knowledge	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100</b>

The graph shows that majority of respondents i.e. 88% take 3 meals in a day. On the other hand, picture 4.5 describes the behavior of respondents in terms of smoking, alcohol usage and taking exercise. Almost twenty-seven percent of the respondents smoke while alcohol usage is found just over eleven percent among male youth of slums. It is important to note that while discussing with communities’ important personalities, it was also found that alcohol usage is on the higher side among males of Christian slum communities which are mostly situated in Islamabad. Exercise schedule is drastically low among male youth of slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Only seven and a half percent male youth take any sort of exercise in their daily routine.



Fifty-four percent of the respondents shared that they receive information about health and hygiene from their family members (parents and siblings). Second most important source of information regarding health and hygiene for male youth of slums is peers and friends while fourteen percent of the respondents receive information regarding health and hygiene through electronic media (TV and radio). Six percent respondents seek information on health and hygiene from sources like books, newspapers and magazines.

#### Distribution of respondents according to source of information on health and hygiene

Source of Information about Health and Hygiene	Frequency	Percent
Family Members (Parents/Siblings)	65	54.2
Peers	27	22.5
Books/Newspapers/Magazines	7	5.8
Media (Tv/Radio)	17	14.2
others	4	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### Blocks/hurdles in the process of communication regarding Health and Hygiene

Majority of participants rated poverty as hurdle in the flow of information regarding health and hygiene in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. They thought that due to poverty they lack the income and resources which keep them busy in livelihood activities more than anything else. So they hardly get time to think of other non-productive activities. Many of the respondents were of the view that people do not have interest in spreading or getting the information about health and hygiene because they think whatever information they already have is enough for them. They highlighted the unavailability of any health service and information center as one of the important blocks for communication regarding health and hygiene in slums. Low literacy rate among majority of population especially mothers causes wrong information to flow down to next generation to generation. An attitude of not verifying the information and following whatever they listen from any source, also causes the right knowledge holding back.

Respondents shared that overall social attitude of discouragement of seeking knowledge in slums also holds the male youth back from getting knowledge about health and hygiene.

### Water and Sanitation

Fifty-seven percent of the respondents thought that male youth of slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad do not have information about water and sanitation issues. Almost 27% of the respondents were of the view that male youth has information regarding water and sanitation but not enough.

#### Distribution of Respondents according to their opinion about knowledge of male youth in slums on water and sanitation issues

Knowledge among youth in slum on water & sanitation issues	Frequency	Percent
Yes a lot	19	15.8
No	69	57.5
not much	32	26.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Toilets are available in homes of hundred percent respondents so no cases of defecation in open have been observed in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Almost seventy-seven percent respondents shared that toilet in homes are deprived of flush facility.

#### Distribution of Respondents according to availability of toilets at homes

Availability of Toilet in Home	Frequency	Percent
Yes	120	100.0

#### Distribution of Respondents according to type of toilets at homes

Type of toilet in home	Frequency	Percent
Seat Installed with no flush facility	92	76.7
Seat Installed with flush facility	28	23.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

When asked about the use of soap while washing hands, hundred percent shared that they wash hands with soap. Although 74% of the respondents were aware of two important occasions of washing hands with soap i.e. after defecation and before taking a meal but significant percentage of respondents i.e. twenty percent considered washing hands with soap important, only after defecation.

**Distribution of respondents regarding washing hands with soap**

Use of soap while washing hands	Frequency	Percent
Yes	120	100.0

**Distribution of respondents regarding their opinion about important occasions of washing hands with soap**

Occasions of washing hands with Soap	Frequency	Percent
After Defecation	24	20.0
After Defecation + Before Meal	88	73.3
Do not know	8	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

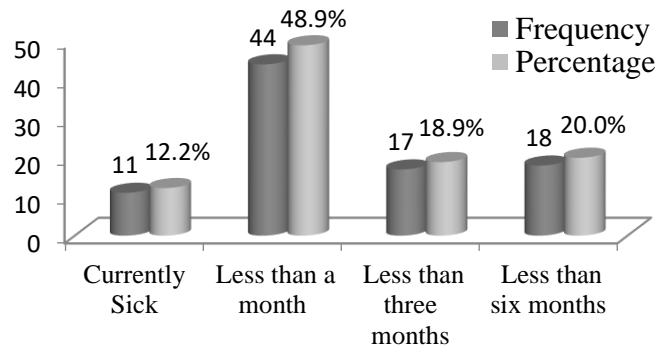
**Blocks/Hurdles for the process of communication regarding Water and Sanitation**

Respondents shared a number of blocks/hurdles in the flow of information regarding water and sanitation issues in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Most significant block/hurdle according to male youth of slums was ignorance of government departments towards the issues of water and sanitation in their areas. Due to lack of initiative at government departments' part people in slums also have become numb towards these issues. Moreover, people feel shame while talking on these issues. Low literacy among majority of population also hampers them paying attention to the issue. Off course, anything which is not important for people is not a popular topic for them. Sense of ownership of issues is also missing among masses of slums regarding water and sanitation issues, which also keep them away getting information about these tribulations.

Respondents also conversed that although there are individuals in their communities who have concerns over these issues but their number is really low. When they want to raise these issues in front of others, people avoid to get into matter putting forward their low socio-economic status. Low income and lack of resources deter most of the inhabitants to think on issues other than most important ones or survival. People do not get time to talk about water and sanitation as they are mostly busy in earning and livelihood activities.

Following graph depicts that out of the ninety respondents who were ailing, over sixty percent respondents were either sick currently or had fallen ill in last one month. All respondents who face illness in last one year fell ill in less than six months' period at the time of study.

Distribution of respondents according to their illness regarding span of time period



The most commonly found illness among male youth of slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad is fever which caught almost seventy percent of respondents. Other commonly found disease among male youth of slums is flu which infected over sixteen percent of the respondents. About thirteen percent respondents were affected by other diseases which included skin problems, digestive system illnesses, chest infection and tuberculosis etc.

#### Distribution of respondents according to kind of illness they caught

Kind of illness	Frequency	Percent
Fever	62	68.9
cough	1	1.1
Flu	15	16.7
others	12	13.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100</b>

80% of the respondents did seek treatment of their illness. Most popular treatment method among respondents remained Allopathic followed by Homeopathic and *Yonani Tibb/Hikmat*. Respondents mainly shared the reasons of cost effectiveness or being in approach for selection of health services provider. Respondents generally did not seem concerned of quality of medication and competency of health services provider.

#### Distribution of Respondents according to their behavior of seeking treatment

Intention of getting treatment by respondents	Frequency	Percent
Yes	73	81.1
No	17	18.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### Distribution of respondents regarding their choice for treatment

Type of treatment	Frequency	Percent
Allopathic	48	65.8
Homeopathic	13	17.8
Hikmat/Yonani Tib	12	16.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>

More than fifty percent of the respondents accessed health service provider on foot as in most of the cases health service facility is situated within the community. These facilities are small private clinics of allopathic doctors, homeopathic doctors and *Hakeems*. Other most used mode of accessing health services providing facility is public transport when respondents accessed government health service facility for example Central Military Hospital (CMH) in Rawalpindi or Poly Clinic Hospital in ICT. Almost eighteen percent of respondents also use their own transport to access health facility to seek treatment.

#### **Distribution of respondents according to their choice for mode of transportation to access health services facility**

Mode of accessing Health Facility	Frequency	Percent
On Foot	39	53.4
Public transport	20	27.4
Cab/Rickshaw	1	1.4
Personal Transport	13	17.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100</b>

#### **Problems faced by male youth in physical environment of slum**

Male youth of slums face numerous problems in physical environment of their areas. They mentioned that the life of people in slums is never tension free. People in slums face a number of tensions on daily basis as well as lifelong stresses occupy permanent places in their lives. Daily basis problems for young males in slums are like fetching water from far off source, lack of arrangements and resources to better deal with harshness of weather, lack of cleanliness in area, absence of good water and sanitation facility etc. Long term stressors for male youth of slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad are poor socio-economic status, lack of educational opportunities, lack of health facilities and lack of livelihood possibilities especially high paid jobs etc. They told that minimizing these stresses and tensions is one of the requirements for good health.

Absence of clean environment in slums is a big hassle as everyone has to face it while living in the area. Unpaved streets become muddy and filthy during rain. Bad sewerage system in

slums make rainy season more troublesome for the residents as rainy water gathers in streets and walking on foot becomes almost impossible. Appalling solid waste management in the area adds into predicament as solid waste in streets chocks whatever available sewerage system and life of people becomes even more miserable. Waste water carrying human feces stands in pathways and causing foul smell in all over the surroundings.

According to respondents, piles of the solid waste could be observed in communities, mostly in the center of living areas of communities or empty places on the margins of slums. As most of the slums in Rawalpindi and Islamabad are situated on the bank of “Nullah Lai”, people in the area have continuous danger of exposing to waste water filled with all kind of filth. Children play in open area on the bank of “Nullah Lai” which is not only the playground for them but also dumping place for most of the slum communities. Open unpaved sewerage system carries the waste water and excreta of human to “Nullah Lai” running right through the communities. Drinking water supply is trusted by most of the people in these slums but source has never been tested for its quality in most of the slums under study. Such an environment bears a lot of demerits in terms of health for the residents of the area. Common diseases in slums areas are fever, digestive track complications, skin illnesses and asthma etc. in summers mosquitoes reproduce in plenty in these communities being at the bank of “Nullah Lai”, creating peril of Malaria. Respondents shared that the situation worsens in summer nights during night long load shedding off electricity and they have to spent night outside home.

In communities where Christians were in majority, a substantial number of young people are involved in using drugs like Charras and Alcohol but not many admitted using such items in later part of interview. According to many respondents, easy availability of such inebriants for young people in the area is a causing a great loss for young people.

Unavailability of proper play grounds, lack of plantation and trees in the area, no health service providers or poor quality of health service providers and shortage of resources also engender obstacles for male youth in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad to maintain their health.

### **Cross Comparisons**

Cross-tabulation of age and perception of health condition shows the cross comparison of age and health condition of respondents in last 12 months. Majority of respondents had a mediocre health condition in last 12 months. Most of the respondents were found in the age bracket of 15 – 18 years and mostly they thought themselves i.e. almost 44%, in not good not bad health condition during last 12 months. 38% respondents in the age bracket of 22 – 24 years were also of the view that they had mediocre health condition in last 12 months. It seems through the cross comparison that as male youth of the slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad move into older age cohorts they mostly considered themselves in mediocre health conditions.

### **Cross-tabulation of Age & perception of Health Condition of Respondents in last 12 months**

Age Ranges	Health Condition of Respondents in Last 12 months
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		<b>Not Good Not Bad Condition</b>	<b>Good Health Condition</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>15 -- 18</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	32	26	<b>58</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	43.8%	55.3%	<b>48.3%</b>
<b>19 -- 21</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	13	15	<b>28</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	17.8%	31.9%	<b>23.3%</b>
<b>22 -- 24</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	28	6	<b>34</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	38.4%	12.8%	<b>28.3%</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>73</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>120</b>

It is evident from the following table that majority of respondents of all ages consider themselves in poor health conditions in comparison to male youth of belonging to areas outside slums. Most respondents considering themselves in poor health condition fall in the age bracket of 15 – 18 years. Although none of the respondents considered themselves in good health conditions while comparing to health conditions of youth of other others area but it seems that the feeling of inferiority regarding health conditions is a common phenomenon in all ages though it declines as the male youth members grows older.

**Cross-tabulation of Age Ranges and Comparison of health of male youth in slums with health of male youth outside slums**

<b>Age Ranges</b>		<b>Comparison of health of male youth in slums with health of male youth outside slums</b>			<b>Total</b>
		<b>Poor Health Conditions</b>	<b>Not Good Not Bad Health Condition</b>	<b>Good Health Condition</b>	
<b>15 -- 18</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	39	19	0	58
	<b>Percentage</b>	60.0%	40.4%	.0%	48.3%
<b>19 -- 21</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	14	14	0	28
	<b>Percentage</b>	21.5%	29.8%	.0%	23.3%
<b>22 -- 24</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	12	14	8	34
	<b>Percentage</b>	18.5%	29.8%	100.0%	28.3%
<b>Total</b>		<b>65</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>120</b>

A cross comparison of Health condition of respondents in last one month and number of persons living in dwelling is presented. Majority i.e. over hundred respondents thought their

health either in mediocre condition of or less. Over eighty percent of the respondents had 6-11 persons living in their homes. Most of the respondents living with a range of 6 – 8 persons in their homes had a mediocre health condition. On the other hand, number of respondents in poor health conditions increases with the increase in number of people in their dwellings.

**Cross-tabulation of Number of Persons living in home and health condition of respondents in Last one month**

Number of Persons living in home		Health Condition of Respondents in Last 1 month			Total
		Poor Health Condition	Not Good Not Bad Health Condition	Good Health Condition	
3 -- 5	Frequency	6	7	0	13
	Percentage	33.3%	8.4%	.0%	10.8%
6 -- 8	Frequency	5	54	11	70
	Percentage	27.8%	65.1%	57.9%	58.3%
9 -- 11	Frequency	7	22	8	37
	Percentage	38.9%	26.5%	42.1%	30.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>120</b>

Cross-tabulation of sources of information on health and hygiene and age ranges of respondent shows that the strongest sources of information on health and hygiene for all age phases of male youth in slums is family. Second most important source of information on health and hygiene for male youth slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad comes out to be friends/peers. It appears that the strength of family as source of information weakens in later stages of youth but a reciprocal trend is obvious with regards to friends/peer as source of information regarding health and hygiene.

**Cross-tabulation of Source of Information about Health and Hygiene and Age Ranges of respondents**

Source of Information about Health and Hygiene		Age Ranges			Total
		15 -- 18	19 -- 21	22 -- 24	
Family Members (Parents/Siblings)	Frequency	40	10	15	65
	Percentage	69.0%	35.7%	44.1%	54.2%
Peers	Frequency	6	7	14	27
	Percentage	10.3%	25.0%	41.2%	22.5%
	Frequency	0	7	0	7

<b>Books/ Newspapers/ Magazines</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	.0%	25.0%	.0%	<b>5.8%</b>
<b>Media (Tv/Radio)</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	12	2	3	<b>17</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	20.7%	7.1%	8.8%	<b>14.2%</b>
<b>others</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	0	2	2	<b>4</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	.0%	7.1%	5.9%	<b>3.3%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>120</b>

In the following the cross-tabulation of sources of information on water and sanitation and age ranges of respondents is given. It is manifested in the table that family is most significant source of information on water and sanitation issues for male youth of all ages i.e. 15 – 24 years. Peers/ friends follow in significance for male youth of slums as source of information. Media and books/newspapers/magazines also play some role in building up their information on the issues related to water and sanitation. A negative relationship between age of respondents and family as source of information on water and sanitation issues is observed while a positive relationship between peers/friends as source of information about issues of water and sanitation and age of respondents is found.

**Cross-tabulation of Source of information about Water & Sanitation and Age Ranges of respondents**

<b>Source of information about water and sanitation issues</b>		<b>Age Ranges</b>			<b>Total</b>
		<b>15 -- 18</b>	<b>19 -- 21</b>	<b>22 -- 24</b>	
<b>Family Members (Parents/Siblings)</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	32	12	13	<b>57</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	55.2%	42.9%	38.2%	<b>47.5%</b>
<b>Peers</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	18	8	14	<b>40</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	31.0%	28.6%	41.2%	<b>33.3%</b>
<b>Books/Newspapers/Magazines</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	8	6	3	<b>17</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	13.8%	21.4%	8.8%	<b>14.2%</b>
<b>Media (TV/Radio)</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	0	2	4	<b>6</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	.0%	7.1%	11.8%	<b>5.0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>120</b>

## CONCLUSION

Main findings of the study are that the slums in Rawalpindi and Islamabad are mostly deprived of clean physical environment. The slums are situated at the bank of Nullah Lai which is flowing through both of the cities putting residents of slums at great health danger. According to views of respondents, the general health related problems in slums are filthy environment with dumps of solid waste, open and semi open drainage system, poor supply of drinkable water, mixing of drinking supply and sewerage water etc. commonly found diseases in the areas are diarrhea among children, skin problems, digestive track problems and TB etc.

Over 70 percent of the youth participating in the study were found having education to a level of matriculation or less. A noticeable percentage of respondents live in houses of 1 to 2 rooms while balance of the respondents enjoys a capacity of 4 rooms in their houses. Most of the Male youth generally lack knowledge regarding health and hygiene and their practices like delay in taking bath, using unhygienic water for drinking, not taking exercise etc. also lead them to their bad health. Water is supplied in most of the houses but still many of respondents have to fetch water from taps available in streets.

Toilets are available in homes and almost all respondents wash hands with soap after defecation. Majority of youth in slums fell ill in last 12 months and they also thought that they had bad health in comparison to male youth living outside slums. Majority of respondents seek medical services from nearest doctor available. Respondents chose the doctor not because of his/her quality services but due to low prices and their availability in the vicinity. Majority of the respondents also believed that their bad health is caused by the filthy environment around them.

According to respondents, poverty is one of the major issues stopping the communication process on health and hygiene. Male youth in slums is expected to get involve in livelihood activities from their early age due to lack of resources so they get little chances of sharing information on other issues. Unavailability of quality health services in slums also becomes a stopper for communication process on health and hygiene. Lack of attention at government end on issues of health and sanitation also halts the process of communication and deprives people of slums to attain right information. People especially male youth do not own issues of water and sanitation so it also keeps them away from talking on the issues. Low number of people realizing the importance of such issues also put them on the back seat and issues do not catch the attention of people to converse on.

Male youth also realize that tensions and stresses in their lives, for instance fetching water from far off sources, lack of resources and arrangements to deal with callous weather, pressure of livelihood from very early age also play very important role in their lives regarding their health.

## Recommendations

1. Male youth is found concerned regarding issues of health and hygiene in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. It is suggested that ample effort needs to be done to raise awareness on these issues. A comprehensive need assessment especially designed for different groups of males, females, adults or children is recommended to work with them in future.

2. Awareness raising activity should include information enhancing on health and hygiene as well as sensitization towards the issue water and sanitation.
3. Male youth mentioned that they face a lot of tensions and stress in their lives due to lack of opportunities for them in various walks of life. Although those opportunities are needed to provide to male youth to cope with their stress but that is not possible in the short term. An instant solution may be to conduct a complete stress management training program for youth of slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.
4. According to respondents in most of the slums water supply source has never been tested. Mixing of sewerage water with water supply lines is also a usual observation of respondents in slums. It is suggested to install water filtration plants for neighboring slums for instance G-7/1 and G-7/2. Places where such installations are not possible, in those areas government departments or NGOs should conduct comprehensive training programs to teach people cheap but effective water filtration methods.
5. Contemporarily, majority of people are aware of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) working on social issues. People in most area accept NGOs as agents of change and as replacement of government agencies in many social matters. Solid waste management and sanitation is one of them, NGOs could be involved in awareness raising and training activities on said issues for male youth of slums.
6. NGOs may also be involved in mobilizing the community to solve their health and hygiene and water and sanitation issues on self-help basis. International donor agencies like United Nations, World Bank and many other international NGOs are keenly interested in improving the environment of slums in developing as well as under developed countries. Such agencies may be engaged for financial support.
7. Empty places in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad are generally used as dumping place of solid waste generated by the community as well as the play grounds for male youth of the areas in most of the cases. This exposes boys to germs and ultimately leads to diseases of various types for example digestive tract illnesses or skin problems. It is proposed to establish a solid waste management system in slums which may vacant these empty places develop proper play grounds for boys of slums which are in easy access of them. This will not only minimize their exposure to germs but also will help in developing healthy attitude towards taking exercise.
8. Low literacy rate is a big hurdle in the flow of accurate information for majority of male youth in slums. Education opportunities should be provided to youth of slums in Rawalpindi and Islamabad on affordable cost for the parents. Adult learning centers should be started for male youth who have crossed the age limit of child.

9. Government should include basic knowledge on health and hygiene and water and sanitation in education curricula with practical at all levels. Topics may cover personal hygiene, stress management, sensitization regarding environmental health, cost effective water purification methods and precautionary measures from commonly found diseases etc.
10. Nullah Lai has been a great threat to health of dwellers of slums in Rawalpindi and Islamabad as it offers perfect conditions for development of many health pathologies. In the long term future government should arrange other places where these dwellers can move for better environment and improved living conditions.
11. A complete and comprehensive scan of diseases of male youth of slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad must be done so that exact scenario regarding health may come to surface and future planning may be done accordingly.
12. Media can play a very important role. Male youth are mainly interested in radio and TV programs like sports and entertainment. Such programs can be hooked with programs on health and hygiene and water and sanitation to raise awareness on these issues.
13. Slums should be provided proper health services in their access both geographically as well as economically. Government departments should start clinics or dispensaries in slums to meet the needs of slums' residents. NGOs may also be involved in such activities too.
14. Drugs/inebriants are easily and heavily available in these areas as shared by the respondents during interviews. Law enforcement agencies should proactively take measures to control drugs availability in slums of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Also rehabilitations centers should be started in or near slums so that those who are addicted to drugs become able to live a normal life after treatment. The treatment in these centers should not be expensive at all and should be government funded for those who cannot afford it at all.

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