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CRIMINOLOGY

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Farman Manzil, Opp: FATA Secretariat
Warsak Road, Peshawar, KP, Pakistan
Ph: + 92 91 520 1544
www.pakistansocietyofcriminology.com

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Pakistan Journal of Criminology

Aims and Scope

The Pakistan Journal of Criminology is an official publication of the Pakistan Society of Criminology. It aims to advance the study of criminology and criminal justice; to promote empirically-based public policy in crime management; and to encourage comparative studies of crime and criminal justice in Pakistan for having implications for Pakistan. It further aims to develop and establish an indigenous criminological scholarship on issues pertaining to Pakistan. It publishes high quality original research and articles using varied approaches, including discussion of theory, analysis of quantitative data, comparative studies, systematic evaluation of interventions, and study of institutions and political process. It will also be acknowledged as a leading academic journal specializing in the study of policing institutions and their practices, in addition to its use of evidence generated by sound social science methods to evaluate criminological ideas and policy. The journal will bring into light the gap between practice and theory through strengthening the role of indigenous research in the development of relationship between criminal justice policy and practice. Such evidence-based research will focus on any aspect of crime and the justice system and can feature local, provincial, national or international concerns vis-a-vis Pakistan. Both quantitative and qualitative studies are encouraged. The journal encourages the submission of articles, research notes, commentaries and comprehensive essays that focus on crime and broadly defined justice-related topics in Pakistani context. The journal is an interdisciplinary and an innovative idea in Pakistan. The journal is issued quarterly.

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Editorial: Application of Broken Window Theory for Crime Reduction: A Case of Karachi City

This editorial comprises of two parts: a brief introduction to the Broken Window Theory and its possible application for crime reduction in Karachi and an overview of the articles included in this issue.

I

On September 28, 2017 Geo.tv published a news report with the caption “*Knife attacks on women spread fear in Karachi.*” This report grabbed the attention of several people across Pakistan. Soon afterward a series of incidents of knife attacks happened and they went viral on social media. Among other things these incidents compel us to think of an appropriate solution to respond and prevent such attacks in the urban city of Karachi. Looking at this grim situation of Karachi and the fear of women, I recalled a reading an experiment done by a Psychologist of Stanford University named Philip Zimbardo on human nature in the year 1969. Zimbardo (1970/1969) took two similar nature cars and placed one in the Bronx, N.Y, while the other in Palo Alto, Calife. He soon removed the plates from both the cars and started observing the scenes. Zimbardo observed that people in the Bronx started stealing parts from the car right after ten minutes. People were so quick that they took all the valuables from the car within three days in the Bronx and left it as a source of entertainment. They used to punch the windows and put off the pain reducing it to a mere trash box. However, to his surprise nothing adverse happened with the car in Palo Alto. Soon Zimbardo with the help of a sledgehammer smashed a part of the car in front of other people, which got the attention of passersby. They also took the hammer and started blowing the car. Resultantly, the car was demolished within few hours. This experiment leads to the creation of Wilson & Kelling (1982) famous Broken Window Theory of crime. Wilson & Kelling (1982) believed that if a shattered window remains unrepaired, people would start breaking the remaining portion. Their assumption is that a broken window conveys the message that no one is taking care, hence breaking more, costs nothing with zero penalties. The “broken window” became a metaphor for ways behavioral norms break down in a community (Petersen, 2004). This theory asserts that people start imitating those who discredit the norms of a community, which eventually result in a macro level distress. Wilson & Kelling conjured the illustration that a broken window left unrepaired will soon prompt

the breaking of all other windows in a building (Welsh, Braga & Bruinsma, 2015).

This theory was later used by different police departments of the United States. The application of broken window model of policing has significantly decreased the crime rates. For instance, a study conducted by Corman & Mocan (2005) mentioned that the number of serious crimes dropped significantly in the United States as a result of aggressive policing at lower level. For example, property crimes dropped by 65% while violent crimes decreased by 56% in 90s (Corman & Mocan, 2005:1).

In Karachi, presence of such unrepaired broken windows is accelerating the crime rate. At the micro level, these broken windows can be found in streets in the form of pick pocketing, car theft, robberies, drug sale, mobile snatching and the latest knife attacks on women. A well-established sequence followed the occurrences of these crimes. Hence, the contemporary plight of Karachi demands the use of broken window policing. The abundance of broken windows in this city made the columnist of Los Angeles Times Magnier (2013) call "*Karachi as nation's crime capital*". This situation of insecurity led the middle-class to hire services of private guards. It is worth noting that the prevalence of these crimes gave birth to more heinous crimes in the city, which include target killing, suicide bombing, and other terrorist activities. For instance, the Samaa News (2017) reports that the money obtained through street crimes in Karachi was used for proscribed organizations. Similarly, Ayub (2015) states that billions of rupees obtained through crimes have given impetus to terrorism. Moreover, it is also a source of funding for the old gang war in Lyari.

In the past, the Karachi city police adopted different actions and policing models to curb the street crimes. The police carried out major operations with the assistance of the Rangers and other law enforcement agencies against the mafias. However, the effective use of all these operations is still questionable due to the existence of a large number of broken windows and the prevalence of high crime rate. It is therefore imperative for Karachi police to adopt a more focused model in approaching city's crimes and minimizing the likelihood of the same. In this regard, adoption of broken window policing seems the best solution for minimizing the crime. This is because of two reasons: it is proactive in nature and it places deliberate emphasis on micro settings from where originates the trivial or pity natured crimes. Moreover, it has a potential to bridge the gap between the police and the community thereby

developing a trustworthy relationship. The city police should start addressing the broken window issue and they are then likely to reap the benefits of crime reduction.

II

Now, I would like to introduce the articles published in this issue. The issue begins with Farah Zaidi's interesting essay on the use of insect evidence in criminal investigation. She asserts that forensic entomology is the utility of arthropods/insects in legal investigations. Zaidi in her essay states that forensic entomology is helpful in estimating time of death. However, the science of forensic entomology is in its initial stage in Pakistan. At the end, the author argues that in Pakistan entomological evidence is ignored as maggots on a corpse are considered disgusting and are often discarded. For the delivery of justice, insect specimens, such as maggots and flies must be considered as physical evidence just as blood stains, hairs, or any other biological material.

Rahman Ullah and Sohail Ahmad's study is qualitative in nature and evaluates the legality of arming civilians from a critical standpoint. Authors discuss the strategy of arming the people to counter the threat to militant in FATA. Furthermore, the government time and again surpasses laws at the time of unrest or war. Rahman Ullah and S. Ahmad conclude that neither the Constitution of Pakistan nor the Frontier Crimes Regulations allows the establishment of private militias.

Safdar Hussain and Niaz Muhammad's paper is about corporal punishment that has serious repercussions for children's wellbeing as far as their academic performance is concerned. Hussain and Muhammad discuss the social impact of corporal punishment on public schools' students. This quantitative study reveals that the corporal punishment results in school dropout and this way causes aggression within the students. At the end, the authors suggest to ban corporal punishment as well as sensitize the teachers so that adverse implications for schooling may be avoided.

Fida Mohammad and Muhammad Shafiq Khan's paper discusses much debated FATA reforms. Mohammad and Khan historically contextualize Frontier Crimes Regulations as well as its political economy. They argue that the genesis of FCR started in response to the rising crime rate in Peshawar valley after the British replaced *Sika Sahi*. Mohammad & Khan reveal that there are vested interests that would like to keep FATA isolated and backward. They keep on narrating that *Malakan*, FATA administration, contractors and other beneficiaries of

the status quo would like to keep business as usual because they have symbiotic mutual benefits. In short, the authors believe that in the presence of strong political agents, FCR will enjoy the special role.

Rahila Riasat *et al* have conducted a comparative study by gauging emotional intelligence and aggression among juvenile delinquents and non-delinquents. Their study explores the nature of the relationship between emotional empathy, emotional intelligence and reactive/proactive aggression. They reveal that the juvenile delinquents have a high level of proactive and reactive aggression than non-delinquents. Further to it, delinquents have less emotional empathy than non-delinquents.

Noor Sanauddin and Khalid Mahmood's study highlights an alarming issue of suicide in prisons of England and Wales. They argue that the suicidal tendency among inmates in England and Wales is increasing and it requires an urgent attention. Their library-based research reviewed the common causes and suicide patterns in the prison and evaluates contemporary strategies of preventing suicides among inmates. The article suggests that majority of inmates who killed themselves did so by hanging while the first thirty days of imprisonment and remand were highlighted as the high risk time.

There is rapid growth of incidences of sexual harassment in the metropolitan cities across Pakistan. Tahira Jabeen *et al* examine sexual harassment in relation with mobility of women in Lahore. The study concludes that staring, cat calls and body touch are the common type of harassment in Lahore while virtually no female is safe from these menaces. Jabeen *et al* emphasized on the strict role of law in curbing sexual harassment.

Shahla Tabassum and Rukhsana Hasan's article discusses the implications of spousal violence on women. They argue that spousal violence is considered as a means of controlling women in Pakistan. Tabassum & Hasan believed that there is always a threat of violence in an unhealthy relationship. The study highlighted moodiness of the husband, poverty, interference of the in-laws, infertility, and infidelity as reasons of dispute among married couples.

One of the major problems of youth in Pakistan is cyber bullying. Sumera Batool *et al* explore the effects of cyber bullying on youth in their article. The authors state that cyber bullying affects the psyche of youth, which ultimately results in negative consequences. The negative consequences may include emotional disturbance, conflicts in relationships and low academic performance. Batool *et al* further reveal

that the girls are more vulnerable and are likely to suffer more than the boys.

Muhammad Feyyaz's study as the last one to appear in this issue but indeed an important one. It undertakes systematic critique of the existing explanations of terrorism longevity, especially their constitutive variables. The article employs grounded theory approach by drawing upon multi-source qualitative data to discern factors preserving oppositional violence. The article also scrutinized the merit of theoretical assumptions and evolved from empirical context.

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Zia Ullah Akhunzada

Assistant Editor (PJC)

PhD Candidate Universiti Sains Malaysia

Use of Insect Evidence in Criminal Investigations: Developing a Framework for Strengthening of the Justice System

Farrah Zaidi*

Abstract

Forensic entomology is the utility of arthropods/ insects in legal investigations. Insects are an important component of cadavers feeding on the nutrient rich resource provided to them by nature. In doing so they are performing the important ecological service of decomposition. Blow flies are among the first insects arriving at the body and laying their eggs. The larvae that hatch out of the eggs are necrophagous i.e. they feed on flesh. The flies pupate in soil/dirt beneath the body. The development time of flies is specific for instance 9-10 days for oriental latrine fly. This time period allows the entomologists to calculate the time of death roughly corresponding with the time of egg laying. Besides estimating the time of death, forensic entomology in some cases can also determine child neglect, drug use prior to death and identifying potential assailants. In order to strengthen our justice system training workshops in the discipline should be made mandatory for the law enforcement agencies. A frame work should be developed to gradually incorporate the discipline in the legal system. For this purpose the science should be given its due share in the curricula of institutes of higher education and collaborative efforts must be taken to educate the current and future law enforcement professionals.

Key Words: Forensic entomology, blow flies, Pakistan, time of death

1. Introduction

Forensic entomology describes utility of insects and other arthropods in legal matters, especially in a court of law (Catts and Goff 1992). The science can be broadly classified into three types, i.e. urban, stored grain and medico-criminal forensic entomology.

Urban applications relate to criminal litigations in perspective of insect infestations of human habitations (Bryks 2011). Stored products entomology, involves the criminal enquiries regarding insects and insect residues in stored products (Anderson

*Farah Zaidi, Assistant Professor, Department of Zoology, University of Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan. Email: zaidi_farah@yahoo.com

2001; Gennard 2012). However the goal of medico-criminal entomology is completely different i.e. to contribute to determination of the time, cause, manner and place of a wrongful death (Campobasso and Introna 2001).

Association of insects with human cadavers is known since prehistoric times. There is contemporary evidence that the Ancient Egyptians were aware of the problems of insect when mummifying human remains (Abdel-Maksoud et al., 2011). The birth of forensic entomology however occurred, several millennia later probably in far off China (Greenberg 1991). The first case in China was of a farmer who was murdered in a rice field by a sharp object. The suspects were asked to gather and to place their sickles on the ground. One sickle attracted many blow flies, apparently because of invisible traces of blood on the blade. The owner of the sickle on seeing this confessed to the killing (McKnight 1983).

Today forensic entomology is a part of justice system in many regions of the world (Benecke 2005). Murder investigations from across the world utilize insect data to determine the time of death. Guidelines and protocols have been developed to collect and analyze insect evidence found at the scene of death (Amendt et al., 2004).

2. Estimations of time of death (Post mortem interval, PMI)

Perhaps most important application of medico-criminal forensic entomology is the estimation of Post mortem interval/ time elapsed since death (Anderson 2004). The estimation of the time of death by entomological data after 24 hrs is more accurate than the medical examiner's estimation which is based on soft tissue examination (Joseph et al., 2011). How insects can represent an accurate measure even in later stages of death when the classical forensic pathological methods fail (Benecke 2005) is due to the specific development of an insect species from egg to adult stage (figure 1) under a particular set of environmental conditions especially temperature (Mohr and Tomberlin 2015). Among insects blow flies are perhaps the most important and have been employed in majority of forensic investigations carried out globally during the past few decades (Kamal 1958, Greenberg 1991, Grassberger and Reiter 2001, Benecke and Lessig 2001, Mohr and Tomberlin 2015, Verma and Paul 2016). These flies belong to family Calliphoridae in

Order Diptera of Class Insecta. The blow flies are the initial colonizers of human bodies and spend the longest time on the cadaver (Goff 2009). The female blow flies lay eggs on carrion and other organic material (figure 1a). Their larvae are necrophagous, feeding on decaying flesh during the course of their time on the body (Rabelo et al., 2011) as shown in figure 1b. After completing the growth the larvae pupate in nearby dirt/ soil (figure 1c). Finally the adult flies emerge from the pupal cocoon completing the life cycle (figure 1d).

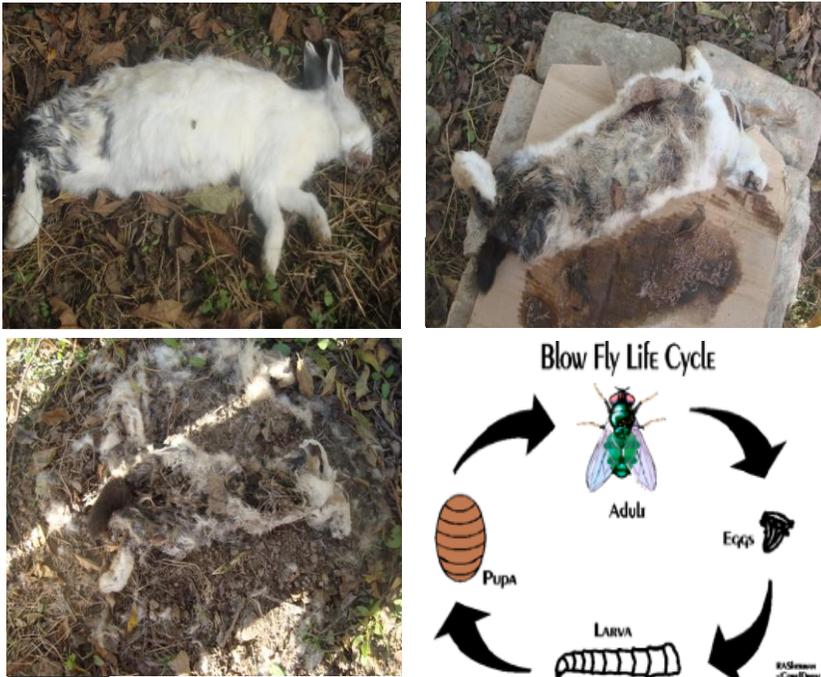


Figure 1: Life cycle of oriental latrine fly *Chrysomya megacephala* on a freshly euthanized rabbit (a) Adult female blow fly *C. megacephala* laying eggs on the fresh carcass (b) Larvae of *C. megacephala* feeding on the same (c) Pupation in surrounding soil; Source: Gul, 2014 (d) Diagrammatic representation of life cycle (Source of diagram: https://web.stanford.edu/group/parasites/ParaSites2009/AnonymousStudent_Myiasis/AnonymousStudent_Myiasis.ht)

It is the predictability of life cycle under a given set of environmental conditions that is used in death time estimations. The life spans of two blow fly species that commonly breed in dead bodies across the world are given in Table 1. The life cycle of

oriental latrine fly (*C. megacephala*) is completed in about 9-10 days at air temperatures of 25-26°C. In contrast the life cycle of common green bottle fly (*Lucilia sericata*) takes 12-15 days to be completed at 22-27 °C as shown in Table 1.

Table - 1
Comparison of development of two fly species at comparable temperature and humidity conditions

Species name	Oriental Latrine fly, <i>Chrysomya megacephala</i>				
Year of study	Region	Rearing Medium	Temperatur/ Humidity	Life span (days)	References
2014	China	Pork liver	25.6°C/75.6 %	9.38-10.22	Li et al., 2014
2011	Brazil	Beef	26 °C/75 %	9.62	Rabelo et al., 2011
Species name	Common green bottle fly, <i>Lucilia sericata</i>				
Year of study	Region	Rearing Medium	Temperatur/ Humidity	Life span	References
1958	USA	Beef	22-27.6 °C/ 50 %	12-15	Kamal, 1958
2001	Austria	Beef	25 °C/ not mentioned	12.37	Grassberger and Reiter

Modified from Verma and Paul 2016

This information is useful in determining the time of death in doubtful cases and can be applied to similar set of environmental conditions across the world. Arnaldos et al. (2005) described a case when the body of a woman was discovered in the month of January, from her home with no external wounds. Temperatures were noted and insect evidence was collected and analyzed. The entomological evidence consisted of the blue bottle fly *Calliphora vicina* a species quite common inside the houses and build up areas. Therefore it is commonly encountered in human bodies discovered exclusively from buildings, except when windows are open. In the case described here the absence of other fauna suggested that death had occurred in the house itself since no insects other than *Calliphora vicina* had gained access to the body. The time of death was estimated at 15 days prior to the discovery of body based on (1) the condition of the body: In the absence of external wounds, flies were not invited for an immediate egg laying (2) Egg laying by blue bottle fly must have occurred around the second day of death (3) the physical and environmental conditions (winter temperatures

influencing insect development) (4) and on length of time necessary for the larvae found to have fully developed at the given temperatures which could be put at about 12–13 days.

The judicial enquiry considered the entomological evidence and put the time of death at 16 days prior to discovery of the body. This study demonstrates how the time of development of an insect in a dead body at a given climatic regime can be utilized in measuring the time of death.

3. Other applications of medico-criminal forensic entomology

Today the science of forensic entomology is developing on a rapid pace and there are many avenues being investigated (Midgley 2009) apart from estimating time of death. Some of the novel applications of forensic entomology include:

3.1 Child neglect

Benecke and Lessig demonstrated a case of child neglect in 2001. The body of a child discovered had maggots of lesser house fly, *Fannia canicularis* under the diaper (anal-genital area) and maggots of blue bottle fly, *Calliphora vomitoria* in the face region. The lesser house flies, *F. canicularis* are attracted to feces and urine and adult females often lay their eggs in fecal material. The blue bottle fly in contrast is a truly necrophagous species and prefers dead bodies for egg laying. Based on the development times of the two fly species it was estimated that the anal-genital area of the child had not been cleaned for about 14 days while death occurred around 6-8 days prior to the discovery of the body. The insect evidence clearly showed that lesser house fly infested the body when the child was still alive and thus establishing child neglect prior to death.

3.2 Entomo-toxicology

The potential use of insects for detecting drugs and other toxins in decomposing tissues has been widely demonstrated in death investigations (Introna et al., 2011) especially in the absence of tissues and fluids (Goff 1994) also when the bodies are severely burned (Bugelli et al., 2017). The maggots feeding on a body of drug addict would have that drug in their gut contents.

3.3 Identification of human remains/ assailant

Lourdes et al. (2013) described a case where a badly burned body was discovered with its face and neck regions colonized by maggots. Given the condition of the body identification was not possible. On analyzing gut contents of maggots forensic scientists were able to salvage intact human DNA. DNA profiling was further used to identify the victim.

Gut content analysis of insects can also lead to the identification of potential suspects and/ or assailants. Human blood meal recovered from the gut of a mosquito can be used in identifying the genotype of that particular person. This information could place a suspect at the location of crime where the mosquito was found. Similarly, blood in a louse transferred during a sexual assault could identify the assailant (Wells and Stevens 2008).

4. Developing a framework for strengthening of Justice system

In Pakistan the field of forensic entomology is as yet nascent and in its initial phase of development. Unfortunately the literature is lagging in this important discipline with only handful of studies on identification of fauna of forensic importance (White et al. 1940, Kurahashi and Afzal 2002, Zaidi et al. 2011, Zaidi and Chen 2011). Pakistan represents a rich fauna of insect species of forensic importance (Zaidi and Chen 2011) with about 48 species of blow flies being identified (Kurahashi and Afzal 2002). Each of these species has a potential utility in criminal forensic investigations of the country.

In fact an adequate death investigation requires efforts and expertise in various disciplines with front line experts being crime scene technicians, crime scene investigators, forensic pathologists, anthropologists, forensic entomologists other medical and non-medical professionals. Unfortunately not all these disciplines are always represented (Campobasso and Introna 2001).

In Pakistan entomological evidence is ignored as maggots on a corpse are considered disgusting and are often discarded. For the delivery of justice, insect specimens, such as maggots and flies must be considered as physical evidence just as blood stains, hairs or any other biological material (Lord and Burger, 1983). In order to develop a framework for our justice system what is needed at this stage is generating awareness among professionals about emerging fields like forensic entomology. To do so, collaboration among

institutes of higher education is required. At university level various departments such as that of life sciences, forensic science and criminology must offer courses that would enhance the knowledge of future professionals in these fields. In addition a continuous input of field work and seminars on advances in, for example forensic entomology, should be compulsory, in the training of current generation of professionals in law enforcement agencies (Figure 2).

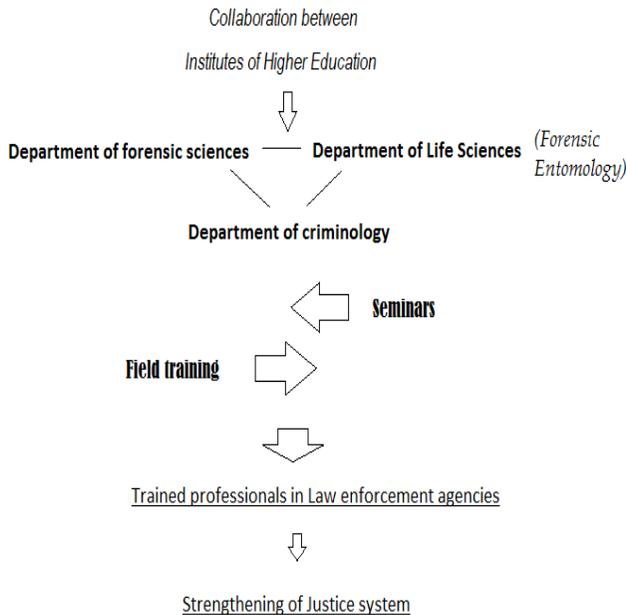


Figure 2:Frame work for strengthening the justice system based on collaboration between Institutes of higher education.

The police officials and technicians should have mandatory training in collecting insect evidence as they are the ones who first arrive at the scene of death and move the body. A protocol sheet for collection of insect evidence that is modified after Amendt et al. (2007) is provided in Table 2.

Table 2
Protocol Sheets for collection of insect evidence

Information about victim			
Age:	Sex:	Height:	Weight:
District:	Urban:	Rural:	Coordinates:
Cause of death			
Drug overdose:	Drowning:	Blunt force trauma:	Hanging: Gunshot: Burning: Other:
Stages of Decomposition			
Fresh:	Early decomp:	Advance decomp:	Skeletonization:
Potential scavengers:	Body part affected:	location of wounds:	Number of wounds:
Crime scene specifications			
<i>Outdoor</i>		<i>Indoor</i>	
Land: Forest, Field	Water: Pond, lake	House:---, Room:---	Office building:
		Barn/ stable:	Store house:
If land: sunlight or shadowed	If water: Exposed, submerged	Windows: closed/ open	Doors: closed/ open
Temperatures			
Temperature of maggot mass:	Temperature of body:	Temp between body & Interface	Air temperature
Water temperature:	Soil temperature:		
Environmental conditions			
If outdoor	Humidity:	Vegetation type:	
Windy:	Cloudy:	Sunny:	Rainy:
Insect Evidence			
Sample No.	Approx. No	Type L: P: AF: AB: Ex:	Preserved/ alive
1			Location on body
2			
3			
4			

L, larva/ maggot P, pupa AF, adult fly AB, adult beetle Ex, Exuviae

Conclusion

Forensic entomology is the science of collecting and analyzing insect evidence associated with human cadavers. Its main application is the determination of time elapsed since death under dubious circumstances. In Pakistan the study is budding at a slow pace. If incorporated into the legal system through training of current and future professionals in law enforcement agencies it can greatly strengthen and support the legal system of the country.

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LEGALITY OF ARMING PAKISTANI TRIBALS TO COMBAT MILITANTS

Rahman Ullah*
Sohail Ahmad**

Abstract

The Pakistan government extended an un-announced support to local elders in the Pakhtun-tribal belt to raise *Lashkars*/militias in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the first lashkar was formed in Salarzai area of Bajaur agency in 2008. Pakistan has mainly adopted two approaches 'the kinetic approach' and 'bottom-up approach' to counter militancy in the tribal areas. The kinetic approach involves belligerent and offensive measures to annihilate or capture members of the militant networks. While in the community-led 'bottom-up' approach government works with local clans or community and this is how the Pakistani security forces motivated the local tribal elders to raise a *Lashkar*/militias of volunteers to combat militants in the FATA. The theoretical framework for this paper is the community-led 'bottom-up' approach as the government security forces engaged the local tribesmen to fight against militants in the FATA. Apparently, the government exploited the concept of the traditional *Lashkars*/militias and persuaded, encouraged or compelled local tribal chieftain/maliks to raise Lashkars/anti-Taliban militias to guard government installations and patrol along with the security forces during search and strike operations. This paper critically evaluates the legality of arming civilians to fight against insurgents in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. The research is qualitative in nature and the researcher has extensively used the research tools of interviews, focused group discussion (FGDs), personal interactions and observation, as well as both published and unpublished documents and existing literature on the issue.

Introduction

*Rahman Ullah (PhD) is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, Islamia College, Peshawar. Email: rahmanjournalist@gmail.com

**Sohail Ahmad (PhD) is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Humanities, COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Islamabad.

In 2002 for the first time in the history of Pakistan's armed struggle against militants the government used its army in the tribal areas. This was the time when the Taliban and other militants were coming over from Afghanistan. The government launched a majority of military operations during 2002-2013 in the tribal areas viz Bajaur Sherdil Operation (2008), Momand *Brakhena*/Thunder Operation (2009), Khyber agency Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem(2008) and South Waziristan Rah-i-Nijat Operation (2009) (Abbasi, 2014). Simultaneously, as a strategy to win civilian support, the government also raised the *Lashkars*/militias in 2008 in Bajaur and 2009 in Momand agencies. These armed groups of the tribal volunteers were locally called as *AmanLashkar* (Peace Lashkar). As the government did not formally announce these *Lashkars* thus they were given different names for instance *Aman Lakhkar/Lashkar* (Peace Lashkar) *Da Taliban Khilaf Lakhkar/Lashkar* (Anti-Taliban Militias). A tribal armed group can be called as militia¹ as its volunteers are citizens and are trained by the state for military service apart from the regular armed forces. A militia refers to an unorganized military force drawn from within a civilian population and which has taken up arms (Ali, 2016).

The tribes have a long history of forming traditional *Lashkars* in order to punish wrongdoers and outlaws. For the first time the tribal people raised a Lashkar against the British who tried to enter into Mahsud area of Waziristan from Tank (i.e. now the southern district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) but faced stiff resistance by a 3000 Lashkar. Next time British attacked Wana camp in 1894/95 but were again pushed back by 2000 Mahsud (Haq et al., 2005).

These traditional Lashkars were usually formed for a short or specified period and would disperse soon after punishing the outlaws (Khattak, 2010). Such Lashkars usually supported the political administration in maintaining law and order situation. Contrary, the Anti-Taliban militias worked on a semi-autonomous basis (Khattak, 2010). Mostly, the volunteers of militias used their

¹ "The term 'militia' comes from the Latin word *miles*, meaning soldier. A civil militia group may be defined as a 'citizen army made up of free men between the ages of sixteen and sixty who [perform] occasional mandatory military service to protect their country, colony or state" (Francis, 2005).

own guns like AK-47 (Kalashnikovs), however, government also granted them some arms. The security forces also issued licenses to volunteers and elders of the militias to carry these arms. Special stickers/labels were usually seen pasted on guns/pistols were also issued to both these volunteers and chiefs of the Anti-Taliban militias (Khan, 2015). As the formation of Lashkars was not officially announced thus these armed groups don't have official name (Feroz Shah, 2015). The government raised the Anti-Taliban militias in Salarzai, Loi Mamond and Wara Mamond Tehsils of Bajaur. Among these militias, the Salarzai Lashkars played effective role against the militants. By the same token, the Anti-Taliban militias were raised in three Tehsils Baizai, Khewzai and Safi of Momand agency (Rahimullah Yusufzai, 2015). The Pakistani government also paid from Rs 10000-150000 (100-150 dollars) salaries to some of the volunteers in the tribal belt.

Tribal Militias and the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR)

The Constitution of Pakistan and Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) are not applicable to the FATA. The law in force here is called the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). The British government imposed the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) in the trans-Indus territories in 1901. The British government wanted to control and administer the Northwestern frontier by proxy with the FCR, through local tribal leaders and chieftains, which were commonly known as khans and maliks. The regulation was a comprehensive law, addressing administrative, legal and judicial life in the tribal areas. The FCR was originally designed to consider social, cultural and political traditions in the region in an attempt to limit resistance and societal conflict between the British and the Pakhtun population.

The tribal areas are divided into two categories with distinct legal regimes: areas under administrative control of the federal government and areas under control of provincial governments. The tribal areas under the administrative control of the federal government are referred to as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), including seven agencies (quasi districts) like Bajaur, Mohmand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram, North and South Waziristan agencies and six frontier regions (tribal areas adjoining settled districts) like Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Lakki Marwat and Tank districts (Zardari, 2011).

The second category of tribal areas is referred to as Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). The provincial governments of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan govern these areas respectively. The difference between FATA and PATA is in their system of governance and controlling authority. The FATA is governed and managed by the federal government, with the governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and subsequently the FATA Secretariat as its agents. The FATA Secretariat, located in Peshawar in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, acts as the primary government headquarters for FATA. The PATA, alternatively, is adjacent to and administered directly by the respective provincial governments (Zardari, 2011).

In the tribal areas there is no law of the country, under the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) the absolute power after God Almighty lies with the political agent, and he is accountable to none. The tribal areas are out of the jurisdiction of the parliament and Supreme Court thus the FATA is beyond the country's laws. Self-defence is lawful act but picking up guns to fight against militants is something wrongs as this is the job of the security forces to defend the land and protect the citizens (Ayaz Wazir, 2015).

Even there is also no provision in the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) under which government can arm civilians in the tribal areas. Even after the 2011 reforms in the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) the political administration can only arrest family members or close relatives of an aggressor under the 'collective responsibility' provision (FCR, 2011). Earlier, the political administration could arrest elders of that entire tribe or sub-tribe under the 'collective responsibility.' One of the more substantive reforms included in the 2011 FCR Amendments was, prohibition against arresting an entire tribe under the collective responsibility section. Chapter 4 of the FCR discusses the penalties under section 21 thus: Blockade of hostile or unfriendly tribe. In the event of any frontier tribe, or of any section or members of such tribe, acting in a hostile or unfriendly manner towards the British Government or towards persons residing within British India, the Deputy Commissioner may, with the previous sanction of the Commissioner, by order in writing, direct-

- a) The seizure, wherever they may be found, of all or any of the members of such tribe and of all or any property belonging to them or any of them;
- b) The detention in safe custody of any person or property so seized and;
- c) The confiscation of any such property; and may, with the like sanction by public proclamation;
- d) Debar all or any member of the tribe from all access into British India; and
- e) Prohibit all or any persons within the limits of British India from all inter-course or communication of any kind whatsoever, or of any specified kind or kinds with such tribe or any section or members thereof (FCR, 2011).

Ijaz Afridi, a lawyer of the Peshawar High Court says, "If a state is at war then only in that case the government may arm the civilians and the existing situations were not serious enough when Pakistani government raised or supported militias in the FATA." However, he admits there is no article in the Constitution and no provision in the FCR that may support his stance that state can arm civilians in war (Ijaz Afridi, 2015).

Tribal Militias: Regional and International Laws

The governments often use militias in counterinsurgency for face saving. The governments might turn to militias to avoid accountability for violence and could rationally deny certain actions. Delegating violence to militias may be another tactic of the government to avoid International Pressure of conforming to human rights standard or facing internal legal action (Sabine Carey, Neil Mitchell, 2015).

The rule of law should be the possible demarcation in terrorism and counter-terrorism acts, "as terrorism is often directed against democracy and the rule of law, counter-terrorism has to be concerned with upholding and directing those values" (Ana Maria Salinas De Fraix, KatjaLh Samuel. Nigel D. White, 2012).

The lacking of a unanimous international definition of terrorism has doubted the status of the terrorist groups and freedom fighters or freedom militias, liberators or liberation movement.

The essence of the terrorism is to violate all existing national, regional and international laws while the counter-terrorist blows

should comply with these laws. However, as terrorist acts and counter-acts often form a never-ceasing upsurge of violence, thus it makes it tough to identify or determine the legal framework or moral judgement of a just cause (Ana Maria Salinas De Fraix, KatjaLh Samuel. Nigel D White, 2012).

The government formed militias in the FATA as militias could be involved in extra-judicial acts. As the government can hardly utilize the state organizations for extra judicial acts as they are bound to operate in a legal sphere. The governments can use the militia groups for the extra judicial services, peculiarly, during elections periods. Because these militia groups have no legal status, state can attribute their violence to the democratisation process, or to criminal activities (Nanjala Nyabola, 2009).

The Anti-Taliban militias in the FATA don't wear any uniform thus it doubted both their legal and Prisoners of War (POW) positions. As according to Meisels, as militias often don't wear any uniform like the regular forces it not only questions the legitimacy of the militias but can also deprive them of the right of the Prisoners of War (POW) status in case they are captured. According to the Hague Convention of 1907 to be entitled to (POW) status the fighters wear 'a fixed distinctive sign visible at a distance', must 'carry their arms openly', must 'obey chain of command', and they themselves obey the customs and laws of war. However, the law is silent about the rights and immunities of the fighters who don't follow these conditions like who don't wear insignia and secretly carry their arms? These provisions were aimed primarily to differentiate soldiers of militias (Meisels, 2007).

The Pakistani government announced support to the Anti-Taliban militias as a counterinsurgency strategy. The government aimed to win support of the tribal people against militants in the FATA. Besides, the Maulvi Nazir-headed Taliban group in South Waziristan and Hafiz Gul Bahadur-headed group in North Waziristan were called as the pro-government Taliban groups. The lacking of the international unanimous definition of terrorism has also doubted the legality of both pro-government Taliban group. According to Karma Nabulsi the 'agreement and practice' about the so-called lawless combatants was not absolutely universal. He argues that all citizens who bear arms for the nation are legitimate combatants. To him the issue of prisoner of war is also equally

controversial (Nabulsi, 1999).

The Anti-Taliban militias were following two of the three rules of the lawful combatants viz they functioned under a command and carrying arms openly. The convention relating to laws of war on land, which is known, as Hague Convention Number IV of October 18, 1907 was first codified as Article 9 of the Brussels Declaration of 1874 (The first international instrument specifying the customs of war). Article 1 of the Hague Convention enumerates that combatants comprise the organized armed forces including militias, volunteer corps and members of the resistance movements of a state or otherwise recognized party to a conflict are lawful combatants, provided that they meet certain criteria: they must be under a responsible command system; wear a fixed distinctive sign; carry arms openly; and conduct their operations in accordance with the laws of war (Roberts, 2002).

Under the international law to acquire a lawful combatant status the distinction between Anti-Taliban militias and civilians is indispensable. As in 1997, delegates from various nations drafted two protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions. One of the primary purposes of Protocol I Additional to the 1949 Geneva Conventions was to expand the categories of individuals who would be protected under any of the four original 1949 Geneva Conventions. Article 44(3) of Protocol I, for example, would significantly dilute the traditional requirement under customary law that combatants must distinguish themselves from civilians and otherwise comply with the laws of war as a condition of protection under the Geneva Conventions (Borch, 2003).

Giving combatant status to the Anti-Taliban militias can endanger civilians' lives. As on January 29, 1987, President Reagan refused to recommend Senate approval of 1997 Geneva Protocol 1 additional to the 1949 Geneva Conventions, he said that giving combatant status to certain irregular forces 'would endanger civilians among whom terrorists and other irregulars attempt to conceal themselves' (Roberts, 2002).

The Anti-Taliban militias could be resembled with the *Arbaki* in the neighbouring Afghanistan. According to Mohammad Osman Tariq, *Arbakai*- a tribal based community-policing system in the neighbouring Afghanistan mainly functions under the customary tribal code of the Pakhtuns (Pakhtunwali). Differing from militia, in

Pashto the derivation of the word 'Arbakai' are 'messengers'. However, with reference to the security system, Arbakai is used in the broader context of security enforcement and it played a positive role in parts of Afghanistan in counterinsurgency as well. A recently published report from the International Legal Foundation (ILF) about customary law in Afghanistan states that the enforcement system used to implement the final decisions of the Jirga is called Arbakai (Mohammed Osman Tariq, 2008).

Mohammad Osman Tariq argues that the Arbakai also faces problems of legitimacy in Afghanistan. The Arbakai have an established method of gaining legitimacy through their establishment and acceptance by the people. "However, Arbakai system is incompatible with several of the rules and regulations, currently practiced by the state police, even where the Arbakai are officially recognized. "Yet examples do exist where the Arbakai were recognized and approached by the state for assistance. For example, the Arbakai were asked to assist the security sector during the elections to secure polling stations. However, legality of the Arbakai in Afghanistan is a problem because customary law as a legal system for the Arbakai clash in many ways with the civil law and Islamic regulations used in the state judiciary system (Mohammed Osman Tariq, 2008).

The Constitution of Afghanistan allows citizens to form association according to the law. However, the associations or parties having military goals are not allowed. Article 35 of the Afghanistan Constitution states, "To attain moral and material goals, the citizens of Afghanistan shall have the right to form associations in accordance with provisions of the law. They shall not have military or quasi-military aims and organizations" (Constitution, 2004).

Tribal Militias From Security Experts/Lawyers' Perspective

The perception of the local population is usually considered very important for the legitimacy of an operation or a strategy. Legitimacy for certain operation and strategy initiates from the people:

Legitimacy starts with the perception by the local population that an organization is operating constitutionally, transparently and within the law. Legitimacy is the distillation of community

expectations of government institutions that produce results with integrity and transparency” (Zambri, 2014).

Seemingly, in Pakistan the security experts and lawyers hold conflicting view regarding the legality of arming civilians or raising the Anti-Taliban militias in the FATA. Those who dub the forming of anti-Taliban militias a legal act don't substantiate their argument with any country, regional and international law provision but share their personal opines based on their war, security studies and personal experiences.

To one such war study expert and author of few books Imtiaz Gul laws often remain silent during wars. Though the decision of Pakistani state to back the formation of the Anti-Taliban militias in the FATA remained a counterinsurgency strategy. Besides, Pakistani government often claims that it is in a state of war. According to security analyst and author Imtiaz Gul, it is an open-ended question, whether arming civilians is legal or illegal, but states take unusual steps to counter unusual threats and this is what Pakistan did (Imtiaz Gul, 2015).

A state can take any decision in unusual situation particularly war. If a country or a nation is at war as the Pakistan government kept saying it is at war then the government can take any decision to defend the country. Yusufzai personally believes if the threat is big then the country can arm the civilians, the government can amend the constitution or can even make new laws (Rahimullah Yusufzai, 2015). Political and security analyst Brigadier (Retired) Said Nazir has also the same personal opinion if a country declares emergency and says that it is in a state of war then every citizen has to take war (Said Nazir, 2015).

According to Feroz Shah Advocate, though law of the country doesn't allow formation of Anti-Taliban militia but perhaps it was a right strategy as it was demand of the situation (Feroz Shah, 2015).

According to Wali Khan Afridi, Lawyer of the Peshawar High Court, the tribals don't need to seek government permission for keeping arms, as the Arms Ordinance has not been extended to some of the tribal areas. That's the reason that there are industries in parts of the FATA like the semi-autonomous Dara Adamkhel near to Peshawar that manufacture different kinds of weapons (Wali Khan, 2015).

Though there is no legal provision that allows the government

to raise Lashkars. This is not a constitutional rather a domestic decision or tradition of the tribals that raise Lashkars. Government raised Lashkars in FATA as a minimum deterrence policy to combat Taliban. The tribals don't need training as they have been using the weapons for years however; this is true that militants hold much-sophisticated weapons as compared to the tribal areas. On one hand the government used Lashkars as a minimum deterrence but on the other hand it exposed them to a highly trained and well-equipped insurgents. Tribal areas where traditions are considered as tantamount to law these Lashkars have a very old and strong tradition (Wali Khan, 2015).

A lawyer Tariq Afridi of the Peshawar High Court personally believes that laws are only meant to deal with the routine issues or crimes. The unusual circumstances that the existing laws can't cope will need unusual steps. Raising or supporting of the Anti-Taliban militias in tribals areas was in fact a step above the law that took to control the unusual circumstances (Tariq Afridi, 2016).

Another lawyer of Peshawar High Court Ijaz Afridi opines that while both the Political Agent (agency head in FATA) holds the discretionary or extra-ordinary powers to form peace committees but these committees would have no constitutional or legal status (Ijaz Afridi, 2015).

Aftab Alam advocate admits that Pakistan has 0.6 million army and the population of Pakistan is 180 million if this 0.6 million is deployed to save the entire population the army will be diluted. He believes this was beyond the control of the 0.6 million army to combat the Taliban and that without the cooperation of the civil population the military operation neither in Swat and nor FATA could succeed.

Alam says: "The formation and arming Anti-Taliban militia was need of the hour, unusual circumstances need unusual decision that is mostly beyond the normal law." He says: "Necessity overcomes law" formation and arming of civil population was the necessity that overcame the law (Aftab Alam, 2015).

Like those who term the formation of the Anti-Taliban Militias a legal act without quoting any provision of the law, those who dub it an unlawful act often have personal opinion based on their extensive war and security study or referring to other law provision, article or section and try to associate them with the

illegal status of forming the Anti-Taliban militias in the tribal belt.

Among them one is a senior journalist Hasan Khan, according to him, the areas in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), where the Taliban have strong influence obviously they are parts of Pakistan, as this is responsibility of the state to guarantee security of the people, thus raising of the Lashkars here is a clear violation of the laws (Hasan Khan, 2015).

Protection of citizens and their property is the responsibility of the state, this is not the responsibility of the citizen to pick guns and protect his property, if it happens then where the state and the state institution functions remains and where they stand? When a state asks the citizen to protect himself/herself it shows that the state admitted its failure and weakness (Sher Muhammad, 2015).

In an interview, Abdul Latif Afridi, a renowned lawyer of the Peshawar High Court (PHC) told that the private militias are prohibited in both the Constitution of Pakistan and other laws of the country. In the tribal areas where there was no state as the military was not present there the tribals were raising Lashkars according to their tradition. However, after military were sent in the tribal areas raising of the Lashkars were quite unconstitutional and illegal act (Abdul Latif Afridi, 2016).

In an interview, Lt General Asad Durrani, the former Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) chief told this researcher that the military perhaps didn't think seriously about the legality of the arming civilians.

“The military don't think about the legality of the arming civilians but army recruit locals when they engage in such operations. Military used the tribal militias in FATA as a counter-insurgency strategy without thinking whether this is something legal or illegal. Military officers often think about the successful military strategies and they least bother about the legal provision or legal cover of their strategies” (Asad Durrani, 2015).

Defence and strategic analyst, Maria Sultan argues that the formation of the Anti-Taliban militias was a legal decision as the FATA system is controlled either through presidential decree, Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), tribal traditional system and Pakistan Penal Code don't exist here. The FATA is an autonomous region, and the tribal elders have the right to take internal decision

and they don't have the right for the external defence. Three principles economy, defence of the external borders and political borders these are the three areas, which the government of Pakistan has to look in it. When Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) doesn't apply on FATA then this is an autonomous area and this means the people have the right for the autonomy (Maria Sultan, 2015).

Conclusion

The militias don't have legality under Pakistan laws. However, majority of the analysts are of the opinion that government often surpasses laws at the time of unrest or war. Article 256 of the Pakistani Constitution bars formation of the private militias. Likewise, there is no room for the formation of militias in the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) applied in the FATA.

The international laws like Geneva Convention, Hague Convention and Brussels Declaration also put certain conditions to the legitimacy of the civilian combatants. These laws also put certain criteria for both legitimacy and Prisoner of War (POW) status to civilians combatants. Article 1 of the Hague Convention states that fighters including militias, volunteer corps and members of the resistance movements of a state or otherwise recognized party to a conflict are legitimate combatants, provided that they fulfill certain criteria: they must be under a responsible command system; holding a specific insignia or sign; carry arms barely; and carryout their operations as per laws of war.

Appendix

List of informants with their names and other details

Interviewee	Details	Place
Abdul Latif Afridi	Lawyer Peshawar High Court	Peshawar High Court
Aftab Alam	Lawyer	Swat
Ashraf Ali	Head of FATA Research Centre	Islamabad
Asad Durrani	Former ISI chief	Islamabad
Ayaz Wazir	Former ambassador	Islamabad
Feroz Shah	Lawyer	Damghar, Swat
Hasan Khan	Senior Journalist/Analyst	Islamabad
Ijaz Afridi	Lawyer Peshawar High Court	Peshawar
Imtiaz Gul	Security and Defence Analyst	Islamabad
Wali Khan	Lawyer Peshawar High Court	Peshawar
Maria Sultan	Security Analyst/ DG SASSI	Islamabad
Rahimullah Yusufzai	Journalist/Analyst	Peshawar

Said Nazir	Brigadier (Retired)	Islamabad
Sher Muhammad	Justice (Retired)	Hayatabad, Peshawar
Tariq Afridi	Lawyer Peshawar High Court	Peshawar

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SOCIAL IMPACT OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT ON STUDENTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED BOYES SCHOOLS IN MULTAN DISTRICT

Safdar Hussain*
Niaz Muhammad**

Abstract

The study was conducted on investigating the impacts of corporal punishment on students, with major emphasis on its nature, kinds and effects on students, with special focus on grades 9th and 10th students of the selected boys' schools in district Multan. The major objective of the study was to identify the social and other impacts of the corporal punishment on the students of the above mentioned classes. This study is first of its nature in district Multan. The total sample size taken from students, teachers and parents were 607. It was found that corporal punishment remained a hurdle in developing good teacher-student relationship, character building; increased dropout rate, discouragement of learning environment, hatred impression for teachers, impaired interest in their students study. Moreover, corporal punishment became the major cause for creating aggressive attitude, nervousness among students; it lowered their academic achievement and created psychological trauma. The study recommends the abolition of corporal punishment and strict implementation of the existing law. Teachers need to be made aware of the negative results of corporal punishment through training programs.

Keyword: Corporal punishment, social impact, students, Multan.

Introduction

Children have been playing a pivotal role in the process of development. They are confronting serious problems in the world particularly in developing countries. These problems include child abuse, child labor and corporal punishment. Among them, corporal punishment is such a serious problem that generates most of the

*Safdar Hussain, Deputy District Education Officer, Education Department, Multan, Pakistan, E-mail: wahgagee@yahoo.com

**Niaz Muhammad, Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Peshawar, E-mail: niaz@upesh.edu.pk

discomforts of a child. When we look around, Corporal Punishment has never been proactive towards the better personality development of a child; rather it has increased the negative effects on his personality. Corporal punishment is being practiced in its diverse forms in almost all parts of Pakistan, mostly in public sector schools in spite of banishment by the government which has caused a great national loss. Nevertheless, the governmental and nongovernmental organizations launched different programs in this regard but did not reach the required results. Croby (2000) observed that corporal punishment makes negative physical and psychological effects on children. Corporal punishment can be exercised through different means like pinching, cracking fingers, slapping, pushing, ear pulling and wrestling holds.

Corporal punishment involves physical punishment that includes intentional infliction of torture and perhaps retribution for doing wrong or else intended to chastising or transforming a wrong doer or to put off behaviors believed to be undesirable. Basically, this concept is meant to punish the wrongdoer with an open hand or with an implement in domestic, educational or judicial settings. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child(2006) defines corporal punishment as: *“Any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light.”*

This study is first of its nature to probe into the social, cultural, economic and psychological impacts of corporal punishment. It is expected to unearth some hidden realities at the back of the issue and that could further be utilized by the concerned quarters looking for the cogent resolution of it. punishment This study can provide an insight to the researchers and social scientists to undertake studies on similar issues from different angles and thus add to the existing body of knowledge on the subject.This study basically focuses on the effects of corporal punishment on scholl students. It is worth-underscoring that the studycontains the view points of children, teachers and parents on the issue.

Objectives of the Study

- To investigate into the nature, kinds and motives of physical punishment against students in sampled district;

- To identify multidimensional impacts of corporal punishment on the affected children, from educational, academic, social, cultural, and psychological aspects;
- To ascertain the socio-economic profile of the teachers inflicting corporal punishment on the students at the sampled schools;
- To investigate the teachers and parents' viewpoint on corporal punishment of students at schools.
- To seek the opinion of victim students on corporal punishment;

Research Questions

- What are the nature, kinds and motives of physical punishment against students in sampled district?
- What are the multidimensional impacts of corporal punishment on students in public schools?
- Are academically and economically weak teachers involved in punishing their students?
- Is corporal punishment socially supported?
- What is the opinion of victim students on corporal punishment?
- Why are the policy and relevant law silent on repeated violation over corporal punishment?

Methodology

This study was designed with the aim to identify the overall impact of corporal punishment in public schools in Pakistan, with a focus on Multan district of the Punjab province. Research method depends on the nature of research problem as well as aim, audience, resource limitations and the personal experiences of the researcher (Creswell, 2003). It means that various methods of research could be used in various studies in social sciences.

The researcher used the quantitative methodology in this study. Quantitative methodology means to collect numerical data for the purpose to explain, predict and control a phenomenon.

Tools of Data Collection

Interviews schedule and questionnaire were developed to gather data from respondents. The researcher selected interview schedule for the parents and the students and questionnaire for teachers. Students and parents were interviewed through the instrument of interview schedule as they were unable to understand the questionnaire being less or even uneducated,

whereas questionnaire was distributed among the teachers. Questions were divided into three parts. Part “A” included questions regarding demographic information such as gender, age, residential area, occupation, monthly income and education status of the respondents. Part “B” was related to questions regarding general information on corporal punishment. Suggestions for ceasing the corporal punishment in public schools were included in part “C” of the semi structured interview sheet.

Conceptual Framework of the Study

Independent Variable	Dependent Variables
Corporal Punishment	Social Impact
	Academic Impact
	Educational Impact
	Psychological Impact
	Legal Impact
	Medical Impact

Universe of the Study

The present study was confined to 9th and 10th grade students of Government High/Higher Secondary Schools for boys in three Tehsils of Multan district: Tehsil Multan, Tehsil Shuja Abad and Tehsil Jalal PurPirwala. There were total 170 schools in the sampled district with 55 schools having above 200 students in 9th and 10th Classes at each school. All such 55 schools were difficult to approach for the interview, so 03 schools from each tehsil were randomly selected for interview. The rationale behind selecting the students of secondary classes was the age factor as they were able to cognize the questions and answers accurately. The parents of the students and teachers were also interviewed in order to reach the depth of reality about the impact and consequences of corporal punishment.

Sampling/Sample Size

The total strength of 9th and 10th class students in sampled schools was 2149 and as per analogy of Sekaran (2003), a sample size of 327 was determined: and then the sampled students were selected/ interviewed under the Proportional Allocation Method. At first instance progressive sampling technique was used by

identifying out the students of 9th and 10th classes in the sampled schools and then stratified proportional allocation method was used towards determining the samples of each class from total number of enrolled students. The total number of teachers in the sampled schools was 199 and the same analogy of Sekaran (2003) was applied for selecting 140 teachers as respondents. The same number of samples was also kept for interviewing the parents of the students under the same strategy. So, the composite sample size of three stakeholders became 607.

Results

Table-1

Bivariate Analysis Based on Students Perception Regarding Social Impact of CP

Statements	Response	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Total	Statistic
CP leads to Quarrelsome behavior Emerged	Agree	206(96.3)	79(95.2)	24(80)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 13.90$ $P = 0.008$
	Disagree	6(2.8)	3(3.6)	5(16.7)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	2(0.9)	1(1.2)	1(3.3)	4(1.2)	
Due to Disrupting the class by talking or playing	Agree	204(93.6)	80(97.6)	25(92.6)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 6.488$ $P = 0.166$
	Disagree	12(5.5)	0(0.0)	2(7.4)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	2(0.9)	2(2.4)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
Due to Challenging/threatening the teachers	Agree	205(95.8)	79(97.5)	25(78.1)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 20.377$ $P = 0.000$
	disagree	6(2.8)	2(2.5)	6(18.8)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	1(3.1)	4(1.2)	
Due to Not abiding by discipline	AGREE	200(93.5)	79(97.5)	30(93.8)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 3.188$ $P = 0.527$
	Disagree	11(5.1)	2(2.5)	1(3.1)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	1(3.1)	4(1.2)	
Perceiving CP as a source of disciplined behavior	Agree	195(92.9)	86(100)	28(90.3)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 19.56$ $P = 0.000$
	Disagree	12(5.7)	0(0.0)	2(6.5)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	1(3.2)	4(1.2)	
CP badly affects child's morality	Agree	195(94.2)	89(95.7)	25(92.6)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 20.04$ $P = 0.000$
	Disagree	8(3.9)	4(4.3)	2(7.4)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	4(1.9)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
CP leads children to use of alcohol and other drugs	Response	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Total	$\chi^2 = 21.05$ $P = 0.000$
	Agree	201(95.3)	75(92.6)	33(94.3)	309(94.5)	
	Disagree	9(4.3)	4(4.9)	1(2.9)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	1(0.5)	2(2.5)	1(2.9)	4(1.2)	
CP makes children vulnerable to sexual abuse	Agree	204(93.6)	81(98.8)	24(88.9)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 19.72$ $P = 0.000$
	Disagree	13(6.0)	0(0.0)	1(3.7)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	1(0.5)	1(1.2)	2(7.4)	4(1.2)	

CP helps in character building	Agree	205(95.8)	79(97.5)	25(78.1)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 20.37$ 7 $P = 0.000$
	Disagree	6(2.8)	2(2.5)	6(18.8)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	1(3.1)	4(1.2)	

Note: Values within the parenthesis indicate percentage.

It was empirically concluded from the above table that the variables challenging the teachers, quarrelsome behavior emerged, perceiving as a source of disciplined behavior, badly affecting child's morality, leading children to use of alcohol and other drugs, CP made children vulnerable to sexual abuse, losing interest in school and dropout increases are found to be significant at 5% level of significance with corporal punishment. While disrupting the class by talking or playing and not abiding by discipline was found to be non-significant at 5% level of significance with corporal punishment. Challenging the teachers was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. However, quarrelsome behavior emerged was not found significant ($p=0.008$) with corporal punishment. Disrupting the class by talking or playing was not found significant ($p=0.148$) with corporal punishment. Not abiding by discipline was found not significant ($P = 0.527$) with corporal punishment. Perceiving as a source of disciplined behavior was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Badly affecting child's morality was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Leading children to use of alcohol and other drugs was found highly significant ($p=0.000$). CP made children vulnerable to sexual abuse was found highly significant ($p=0.000$). CP helps in character building was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Losing interest in school and dropout increases was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment.

Table-2

Bivariate Analysis Based on Students Perception Regarding Negative Educational Impact of CP

Statement	Response	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Total	
CP discourages learning environment	Agree	208(95.9)	77(93.9)	24(85.7)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 20.441$ $P = 0.000$
	Disagree	6(2.8)	4(4.9)	4(14.3)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	1(1.2)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
CP ensures regularity of children in school	Agree	206(94.9)	79(95.2)	24(88.9)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 3.368$ $P = 0.498$
	Disagree	8(3.7)	4(4.8)	2(7.4)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	1(3.7)	4(1.2)	
CP decreases	Agree	207(95.0)	77(93.9)	25(92.6)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2 = 3.850$

absenteeism	Disagree	7(3.2)	5(6.1)	2(7.4)	14(4.3)	$P=0.427$
	Don't Know	4(1.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
CP leads to Leaving school before the day ends	Agree	204(93.5)	79(97.5)	26(92.9)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=18.379$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	13(6.0)	0(0.0)	1(3.6)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	1(0.5)	2(2.5)	1(3.6)	4(1.2)	
	Total	218(100)	81(100)	28(100)	327(100)	
CP lowers the learning capability of children	Agree	205(95.8)	80(93.0)	24(88.9)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=21.041$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	6(2.8)	5(5.8)	3(11.1)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	1(1.2)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	

Note: Values within the parenthesis indicate percentage.

The above table showed that discouraging learning environment, leaving school before the day ends, lowering the learning capability of children, not interested in education were found to be significant at 5% level of significance with corporal punishment. However, CP ensures regularity of children in school, decreases absenteeism were not found significant with corporal punishment. Discouraging learning environment was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Leaving school before the day ends was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Lowering the learning capability of children was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Not interested in education was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. However, CP ensured regularity of children in school was not found significant ($p=0.0498$). However, CP ensured regularity of children in school was not found significant ($p=0.0498$). Decreasing absenteeism was not found significant ($p=0.427$) with corporal punishment.

Table – 3
Bivariate Analysis Based on Students Perception Regarding Academic Impact of Corporal Punishment

Statement	Response	Agree	DisaAgree	Don't Know	Total	
CP promotes low grades in exams	Agree	206(94.9)	78(94.0)	25(92.6)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=1.244$ $P=0.871$
	Disagree	8(3.7)	4(4.8)	2(7.4)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	1(1.2)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
Physical punishment helps child perform better in class	Agree	168(95.5)	86(90.5)	55(98.2)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=6.769$ $P=0.149$
	Disagree	5(2.8)	8(8.4)	1(1.8)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.7)	1(1.1)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
Physical punishment corrects child's behavior in class	Agree	173(95.1)	101(92.7)	35(97.2)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=2.635$ $P=0.621$
	Disagree	6(3.3)	7(6.4)	1(2.8)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.6)	1(0.9)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
Physical punishment is a successful way to	Agree	207(93.7)	78(97.5)	24(92.3)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=8.467$
	Disagree	13(5.9)	0(0.0)	1(3.8)	14(4.3)	

control the class	Don't Know	1(0.5)	2(2.5)	1(3.8)	4(1.2)	$P=0.076$
	Total	221(100)	80(100)	26(100)	327(100)	
Physical punishment compels child to maintain teachers' respect	Agree	204(93.6)	81(98.8)	24(88.9)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=14.724$ $P=0.005$
	Disagree	13(6.0)	0(0.0)	1(3.7)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	1(0.5)	1(1.2)	2(7.4)	4(1.2)	
	Total	218(100)	82(100)	27(100)	327(100)	
CP makes the children more study oriented	Agree	207(96.3)	74(89.2)	28(96.6)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=7.840$ $P=0.098$
	Disagree	7(3.3)	6(7.2)	1(3.4)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	1(0.5)	3(3.6)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	

Note: Values within the parenthesis indicate percentage.

The above table showed that the variables remaining hurdle in the way of establishing good teacher student relation, contributing towards problems of dropout, increasing absenteeism, promoting low grades were found to be significant at 5% level of significance with corporal punishment, however promoting low grades in exams, making the children more study oriented, physical punishment helped child perform better in class, correcting child's behavior in class, successful way to control the class were not found significant at 5% level of significance with corporal punishment. Remaining hurdle in the way of establishing good teacher student relation was found highly significant ($P=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Contributing towards problems of dropout was found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Increasing absenteeism was found significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Promoting low grades in exams was found not significant ($p=0.079$) with corporal punishment. Making the children more study oriented was found not significant ($p=0.078$) with corporal punishment. Physical punishment helped child perform better in class was also not found significant ($p=0.149$) with corporal punishment. Correcting child's behavior in class was not found significant ($p=0.621$) with corporal punishment. Successful way to control the class was not found significant ($p=0.076$) with corporal punishment.

Table – 4
Bivariate Analysis Based on Students Perception Regarding
Psychological Impact of CP

Statement	Response	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Total	$\chi^2=22.651$
CP remains hurdle in	Agree	205(94)	78(96.3)	26(92.9)	309(94.5)	

the way of establishing good teacher student relation	Disagree	9(4.1)	3(3.7)	2(7.1)	14(4.3)	$P=0.000$
	Don't Know	4(1.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
Depression in the students developed	Agree	206(94.1)	78(96.3)	25(92.6)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=20.054$ $=0.000$
	Disagree	9(4.1)	3(3.7)	2(7.4)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	4(1.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
	Total	219(100)	81(100)	27(100)	327(100)	
Lowers self esteem in the student	Agree	206(94.9)	78(95.1)	25(89.3)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=19.181$ $P=0.005$
	Disagree	8(3.7)	4(4.9)	2(7.1)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	1(3.6)	4(1.2)	
Student develops aggressive behavior	Agree	206(94.9)	78(94.0)	25(92.6)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=21.244$ $P=0.005$
	Disagree	8(3.7)	4(4.8)	2(7.4)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	1(1.2)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
CP brings fear and anxiety	Agree	205(95.8)	79(97.5)	25(78.1)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=20.377$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	6(2.8)	2(2.5)	6(18.8)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	1(3.1)	4(1.2)	
Trust defiance	Agree	170(93.4)	110(96.5)	29(93.5)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=2.087$ $P=0.720$
	Disagree	9(4.9)	3(2.6)	2(6.5)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	3(1.6)	1(0.9)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
CP promotes nervousness	Agree	203(94.4)	80(95.2)	26(92.9)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=20.912$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	11(5.1)	1(1.2)	2(7.1)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	1(0.5)	3(3.6)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
Students behavior aggressive behavior	Agree	109(96.5)	158(93.5)	42(93.3)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=20.561$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	4(3.5)	7(4.1)	3(6.7)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	0(0.0)	4(2.4)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	
CP Promotes deviant behavior	Agree	167(96.5)	89(92.7)	53(91.4)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=19.682$ $P=0.005$
	Disagree	4(2.3)	6(6.2)	4(6.9)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	2(1.2)	1(1.0)	1(1.7)	4(1.2)	
CP is a hurdle for children in self expression	Agree	290(96.7)	15(68.2)	4(80.0)	309(94.5)	$\chi^2=27.730$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	6(2.0)	7(31.8)	1(20.0)	14(4.3)	
	Don't Know	4(1.3)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	4(1.2)	

Note: Values within the parenthesis indicate percentage.

The above mentioned table described the association of corporal punishment with psychological impacts on student. The results showed that the variables Corporal punishment was emerging as a tool of violent behavior among children, CP was hurdle for children in self expression, CP decreased deviant behavior, corporal punishment promoted deviant behavior, Leading to family tension/disintegration, declining feelings of sympathy, suicidal feelings increases, promoting nervousness, bringing fear and anxiety, deficiency in confidence development, talking behind the teacher's, depression in the students development, lowering self esteem in the student, student

developed aggressive behavior were found significant with corporal punishment while, forgetting books or any of the class materials, student started disobeying teachers order, beating unrelated to student, trust defiance in student, damaging IQ of student, scratching on wall were not found significant with corporal punishment. The above mentioned table described the association of corporal punishment with psychological impacts on student. Corporal punishment was emerging as a tool of violent behavior among children was found highly significant ($p=0.000$). Moreover, CP was a hurdle for children in self expression was found highly significant ($p=0.000$). Furthermore, CP decreased deviant behavior was found highly significant ($p=0.00$). In addition, corporal punishment promoted deviant behavior was found significant ($p=0.05$). Leading to family tension/disintegration was also found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Declining feelings of sympathy was found significant ($p=0.00$) with corporal punishment. Suicidal feelings increases was found significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Promoting nervousness was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with corporal punishment. Bringing fear and anxiety was found significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Deficiency in confidence development was found significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Talking behind the teacher's was also found significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Depression in the students development found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Lowering self esteem in the student was found significant ($p=0.005$) with corporal punishment. Student developed aggressive behavior was found significant ($p=0.005$) with corporal punishment. However, Forgetting books or any of the class materials was not found significant ($p=0.079$) with corporal punishment. Student started disobeying teachers order was not found significant ($P=0.079$) with corporal punishment. Moreover, beating unrelated to student was not found significant ($P=0.182$) with corporal punishment. Trust defiance in student was found not significant

($P=0.720$) with corporal punishment. Damaging IQ of student was not found significant ($P=0.562$) with corporal punishment. Scratching on wall was also not found significant ($P=0.024$) with corporal punishment.

Table-5
Bivariate Analysis Based on Students Perception Regarding Medical Impact of Corporal Punishment

Statements	Response	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Total	Statistic
Have you got a severe punishment in school?	Agree	149(48.2)	101(32.7)	59(19.1)	309(100)	$\chi^2=61.846$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	0(0)	0(0)	14(100)	14(100)	
	Don't Know	0(0)	0(0)	4(100)	4(100)	
Have you ever been getting medical treatment due to CP?	Agree	94(30.4)	171(55.3)	44(14.2)	309(100)	$\chi^2=81.417$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	0(0)	0(0)	14(100)	14(100)	
	Don't Know	0(0)	0(0)	4(100)	4(100)	
Have you ever been admitted in hospital after getting CP?	Agree	25(8.1)	284(91.9)	0(0)	309(100)	$\chi^2=1.577$ $P=0.455$
	Disagree	0(0)	14(100)	0(0)	14(100)	
	Don't Know	0(0)	4(100)	0(0)	4(100)	
Do you think that severe CP damages your overall learning capacity?	Agree	169(54.7)	116(37.5)	24(7.8)	309(100)	$\chi^2=77.314$ $P=0.000$
	Disagree	0(0)	5(35.7)	9(64.3)	14(100)	
	Don't Know	0(0)	0(0)	4(100)	4(100)	

The above mention table described the association of corporal punishment regarding medical impact on student. Getting severe CP, getting medical treatment, damaging mental ability overall, overall damaging learning capacity, damaging physical health and not providing medical facility after getting CP were found highly significant ($p=0.000$) with corporal punishment. Furthermore admitting in hospital after CP was found not significant ($p=0.455$).

Discussions

Majority of the sampled students (63%) belonged to the age group of 14 to 15years and 56.5% of the respondents were studying in 9th Class. Majority respondents (47.4%) told that corporal punishment started at secondary level. Similarly in their study (Giles & Starus, 1997) concluded that corporal punishment is a deliberate infliction of pain to control or correct a child who commits an offense. It normally takes place at secondary level. Majority 64.2 percent of the respondents told that they got

punishment due to disciplined behavior. Kennedy (1995) mentioned that corporal punishment must be used for the purpose of obedience. Majority 28.4% of the respondents told that CP badly affected child morality. The study of Straus & Gimpel (1992) is in line to this finding of the current study. They have also reported that corporal punishment makes a child vulnerable to shameful and abnormal behavior. Majority of respondents (63.3 %) told that CP led to children to use alcohol and other drugs. Study findings of Strauss and Gimple (1992) are in consonance with the results of the current study. Majority 66.7 percent of the respondents told that CP made children vulnerable to *sexual abuse*. Dopper & Bingus (2008) are of the view that the corporal punishment creates the cycle of child abuse. Majority 66.4percent of the respondents told that CP was not the way to make the students regular in school. The study of United State Development of Education opposes such methods that produce fear in the minds of children that they feel difficulty in expressing themselves in the class room. But it is important to maintain good relation between students and teachers on the base of ethics and care (U.S. Department of Education, 1993). Majority 66.7 percent of the respondents told that CP increased leaving school before the day ends. The study findings of Zigler and Hall (1989) are in line with the current study findings. They declared that use of physical punishment in the schools is an ambiguous matter. It is futile activity not only in teaching but also discipline process. Majority 65.4 percent of the respondents told that CP lowered the learning capability of students. The study finding of (Gravan, 1991) are in line with this current study in which he concluded that if the child is punished in very early age his conscious memory may be lost. Majority 91.4 percent of the respondents told that CP was a major source of dropout. In the findings of (SPARC, 2005) confirms that in Pakistan every year almost 35000 students leave their schools due to corporal punishment. Majority 53.8 percent of the respondents disagreed that CP helped child's performance be better in class. The findings of

this study do not support the conclusion of (Middleton, 2008) wherein he has found out that corporal punishment is used for improving academic excellence of students. Majority 55.7 percent of the respondents told that Physical punishment did not correct student's behavior in class. This is a contradiction to the study findings of (Dodson, 1970) whereby he has seen spanking as a source of behaviors correction. Majority 67.6 percent of the respondents told that CP was not a successful way to control the class. It does not support the study of Middletown (2008) who quoted educational theories as saying that without threat of infliction of CP, a student cannot come on true track. Majority 65.7 percent of the respondents told that CP did not make the students study oriented. Majority 66.7 percent of the respondents told that CP remained hurdle in the way of establishing teacher student good relation. It does not support the study of Wisch Hover (2011) who quoted that teachers are required to educate the children and also to maintain a good relation with their students. The use of CP will not let them do so and they will lose their trust the students. Majority 67.0 percent of the respondents told that CP led students to depression in students. Majority 66.4 percent of the respondents told that CP developed aggressive behavior in students. Majority 65.7 percent of the respondents told that CP promoted nervousness in students. Majority 58.7 percent of the respondents responded that CP led students to suicidal feelings. Majority 66.7 percent of the respondents told that CP declined feelings of sympathy. Majority 51.7 percent of the respondents told that CP led to family tension. Majority 52.9 percent of the respondents agreed that CP promoted deviant behavior. Majority 91.7 percent of the respondents agreed that CP was a hurdle for children in self expression. Majority 45 percent respondents told that they received severe punishment in school by teachers. Majority 51.9 percent of respondents disagreed about getting medical treatment after CP. Majority 92.4 percent of respondents were not admitted for treatment in hospital after receiving corporal punishment. Majority 51.9 percent respondents

reported that severe punishment damaged overall learning capacity. Majority 55 percent respondent did not have any scars on their body due to corporal punishment. Majority 51.9 percent respondents believed that corporal punishment damaged physical health. Majority 67.2 percent respondents told that they had not received any kind of medical treatment from school after receiving punishment. It was concluded that CP in all forms was observed as a discouraging force for secondary education. The study reflected that the negative effects of CP mainly included dropout, tense relation between students and teachers damaged learning environment, students' aggressive behavior, children indulgence in intoxicative drugs and other criminal activities, immorality, absenteeism from classes, poor academic performance and threatening behavior towards teachers etc. Apart from these effects psychological worries, sense of loss of self esteem and loss of confidence also crippled mental capabilities of the studying students. In the nutshell, corporal punishment was observed as detrimental act to the growth of education and no concrete legal steps prescribed in the ordinance regarding the banishment on CP by the GOP were seen in letter and spirit.

Recommendations/Suggestions

Teachers of all levels i.e. from primary to secondary classes must be made aware of the negative bearings of CP through seminars, workshops, interactive discussions and other thought provoking programs, so as they could voluntarily stop the practice of CP.

Parent Teacher Councils (PTCs) are morally under obligation to play their role in establishing the working relationship between teachers and students, and move forward to readress all other emerging issues at the schools. Regular meetings of the parent teacher councils are a need of the day and positive steps should be taken towards ensuring the holding of meetings on regular basis.

It is suggested that sociologists may be engaged for identifying the loopholes in the Education Department at each district for the

purpose to address all problems/ issues arising out of human behavior. CP is practiced not only because of poor academic performance by students, but teachers professional inefficiency, sex-appealing behavior, disgruntled/humiliating behavior and family related tension are also the pushing forces behind CP by the teachers.

Legislation regarding ban on corporal punishment should be implemented immediately. The teacher involved in the use of physical punishment must be punished according to law "The Prohibition of the Corporal Punishment Act 2013"

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FATA REFORMS IN INSTITUTIONAL INERTIA

Fida Mohammad*

Muhammad Shafiq Khan**

Abstract

This paper historically contextualizes Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) as well as analyzes its political economy. The FCR was the product of specific historical circumstances when Sika Shahi was replaced by the British East India Company operating from Punjab in 1849 and extended its rule to the Pashtun belt. Today's KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), formerly known as North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) were called North-Western districts of Punjab by the British East India Company. This study will also examine the strength of institutional inertia of FATA administration and its role in preventing reforming the FCR.

Key Words: FATA, FCR, NWFP, Reforms, Corruption, East India Company, Pakistan.

The British rule was precarious in the Pashtun belt and to suppress the anti-British unrest in the region draconian laws were enforced, e.g., 'Murderous Outrages Act' (MOA) in 1867. The MOA was followed by "the 'Criminal Tribes Act' from 1871, designed 'to provide for the registration, surveillance and control of certain tribes" (Nichols, 2013, P. x). The first FCR was enacted in 1872, revised in 1886-87 and that transmuted into the FCR of 1901 after the creation of NWFP in 1901. This paper anatomizes history and resilience of the FCR after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. This Black Law lingers on in the bureaucratic episteme of Pakistan despite many attempts to reform it. We argue that FATA Administration is the principal beneficiary of the FCR and therefore with minor cosmetic changes the substance remains the same.

*Fida Moammad, Professor, Department of Sociology/Criminal Justice, Major, State University of New York, Oneonta, NY 13820, USA, Ph: 607-436-2166, Email: fida.mohammad@oneonta.edu

** Muhammad Shafiq Khan, Major (Rtd.) Pakistan Army.

According to Nichols the FCR created bureaucratic authoritarianism where:

Deputy Commissioners held ultimate authority in multiple roles as political executive, revenue collector, and magistrate. The need to assert political control transcended any absolute notions of judicial access or due process of law for any charge, trial, conviction, or appeal. Deputy Commissioners could bypass expensive or ambiguous judicial requirements and rules of evidence and send both civil and criminal cases to officially appointed councils of elders, *jirgas*. The *jirgas* would determine facts, judge culpability, and report decisions to the British official responsible for awarding punishments. There was no right of appeal to any higher colonial court (Nichols, 2013, P. xiv).

The Genesis of the FCR started in response to rising crime rate in Peshawar valley after the British replaced Sika Shahi in 1848 (Nichols, 2013). "The law that enabled such a swift execution of justice, in this case, was Act XXIII of 1867, more popularly known as the 'Murderous Outrages Act' (MOA)" (Condos, 2016, p. 2). This brutal law did not offer any fair due process. In this law, the ruthless colonial executive power masqueraded in the new legalistic discourse (Condos, 2016). Anybody convicted under this law for murder of European or their employees were;

"Liable to death or transportation for life, with all their property being forfeited to the state. No juries were allowed for these cases. Instead, the accused were tried by a tribunal consisting of a Commissioner and two other executive officers with full magisterial powers. Sentences were to be carried out immediately, with no need for review and no appeals whatsoever being granted. . . . Offenders tried under the MOA were almost invariably executed, usually within a day or two of their arrest and trial (Condos, 2016, p. 2).

According to Condos in the time span, 1851 to 1867 about 703 homicides were reported in the district of Peshawar. This high level of violence was ascribed to the Pashtun character and their socialization into violence (2016). The Punjab Government took particular steps for the administration of justice by enacting the Punjab Frontier Crimes Regulation in 1872. This new legal

instrument gave tremendous power to Deputy Commissioners of a Frontier districts (Lal Baha, 1978). Formulation of Punjab Frontier Crimes Regulation in 1872 started in 1871 when the British created an artificial distinction of good Pashtuns of settled districts whose land was surveyed for tax purposes and wild Pashtuns living today's FATA regions. There was no innate difference between the people of two regions except taxation (Ullah, 2015).

This colonial legality, inscribed on the body of Pashtuns, was meant to secure their control remained unchanged after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. This historicized document assumed status of an ahistorical facticity designed for immutable FATA denizens who are frozen in time. I argue the genesis of FCR was triggered by specific historical circumstance and was seen by the British as a stop-gap solution till a meaningful solution was found. Resurgent Bismarck's Germany and Japan, World War I, Bolshevik Revolution 1917 and World War II never let colonial administration to the fine-tuning and calibration of the nitty-gritty of the FCR. Curzon and Howell,

recognized nearly a century ago, the administrative system (the FCR) was mere patchwork, and had negative long-term consequences for the legitimacy of local leaders. The system's fundamental flaw was that by co-opting the traditional tribal leadership they undermined the social dynamics that were essential to its legitimacy and effectiveness. The tribal system, corrupted by the activities of the political agents, became less and less workable, until eventually, tribal maliks became hereditary rights holders which was antithetical to the ideals of the Pakhtunwali (Sammon, 2008, p. 57).

We believe that bureaucratic inertia has a predictable propensity of an organizations to preserve the "established procedures and modes, even if they are counterproductive and/or diametrically opposed to established organizational goals" (Wikipedia November 14, 2017). In FATA administration inertia (bias towards the *status quo*) is functional and "can be optimal from an *ex ante* (based on anticipated changes) point of view" (Boyer, & Robert, 2006, p. 343).

This brutal and outdated Regulation prevented social changes and development in the FATA and has kept the region backward

socially, economically and most importantly in area of education. British were very selective in conferring status of malik because malik was an instrument of Political Agent for indirect administration. It is important to mention that malik or elder is not a tribal chief in Pashtun society rather he has to use his persuasive power to convince his fellow Pashtuns; his status is just “only a *primus inter pares* (a first among equals). He is venerated but cannot give orders to anyone outside his immediate family” (Johnson & Mason, 2008, p. 62).

Sammon believes that the number of maliks rapidly increased in Pakistan with corresponding variation of their influence. The system totally relied on the whim of political agents who saw events and people through the prism of the tribal system. Most of the maliks thrived in Pakistani FATA while FATA remained economically backward (2008). Sammon further writes:

Like their British predecessors, successive Pakistani governments effectively ignored the region because their leaders, even Pakhtuns like President Ayub Khan, continued to view the region as distinct from the rest of Pakistan. The maliks’ legitimacy continued to erode as they became more wealthy and self-interested and averse to reforms that would threaten their power. A virulent form of political Islam eventually grew to fill the void (2008, p. 58).

Hopkins echoed same opinion about the postcolonial FATA of Pakistan:

In addition to the FCR’s imperial life, it has had a lasting postcolonial afterlife. In modified form, it remains in force today in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan along the Afghan border, composed of the former tribal agencies of the Raj. These areas continue to be run by political agents charged with roughly similar duties and powers as their British predecessors (2015, p. 385).

One lawyer aptly said, “61 years since independence, FATA’s people are judged by a system that permits “no wakeel (lawyer), no daleel (argument), and no appeal” (Haider, 2009, p. 7).

Since there is no substantive electoral system therefore FATA administration is not confronted by a meaningful popular opposition and hence faces legitimation crisis. We argue that the

structure of the juridico-political institutions is determined by the need to repair the legitimation deficit, and to foreclose and preempt all those possibilities which might undercut the authoritative value of the official account. Because judicial discourse is shaped by the political desires of the ruling classes, all those questions that threaten to problematize the pre-givens of the official discourse must be smothered by the legal arm of the political power (Burton and Carlen 1979). Habermas correctly says, "legality can create legitimation when, and only when, grounds can be produced to show that certain formal procedures fulfil certain material claims to justice under certain institutional boundary conditions" (1976: 99). Burton and Carlen nicely argue:

Official discourse on law & order legitimation deficits and seeks discursively (by digressing) to redeem them by denial of their material geneses. Such denial establishes an absence in the discourse. This absence, the Other (tribesman), is the silence of a world constituted by social relations the reality of which cannot be appropriated by a mode of normative argument which speaks to and from its own self-image via an idealised conception of justice) (1979, p. 138).

Ground realities in FATA have inverse manifestation to the official espoused idealised conception of justice. Yes, there are vested interests that would like to keep FATA isolated and backward. Malakan, FATA administration, contractors and other beneficiaries of the status quo would like to keep business as usual because they have mutually beneficial symbiotic relations. Rewaj is presented as a free tribal way of life, embodiment of Pashtunwali. Rewaj camouflages FCR as if it is an immutable divine or natural law. The FATA reforms are meant for the continuation of FCR by another mean. FATA is a cash cow that feeds many mouths and is sustained by a heterogeneous alliance of bureaucracy, maliks, contractors and MNAs and Senators. These different actors have a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship for the preservation of the status quo in the new reformed incarnation of the FCR. Wartenberg nicely explains,

situated power does not reside exclusively in a single site or institution of society. The situated conception of power shows that social power is a heterogeneous presence that spreads

across an entire field of agents and practices, although its exercise depends upon the decision of the dominant agents. Such heterogeneity is constituted by a complex coordination among agents located in diverse sites and institutions, all whose presence in a social alignment is necessary to constitute a situated power relationship (Wartenberg 1992, pp. 90-1).

In other words, diverse groups could come together for a hegemonic alliance if it suits their interests. The FCR is a facilitative-power that is situated in FATA administrations where divergent interests intersect and complement one another. This is also consistent with post-structuralist understanding of FATA government that it is made of disparate multiple agencies that are dispersed over its administrative space (Nasr, 2016).

The FATA administrative structure is inherited from the British and was expected to increase interaction with the tribal belt in post-1947 period for national integration. But instead of improved interaction with the tribesmen at the popular level, the administrative engagement decreased as most of FATA offices are located in settled regions (Mazhar, 2010). Haque correctly described this predicament:

After independence, instead of introducing fundamental change in postcolonial bureaucracy, the scope and power of such bureaucracy was expanded further as it assumed the role of enhancing socioeconomic development and undertook massive development activities. The power of bureaucracy has expanded further due to its modernization, technical expertise, coercive authority, and control over information and resources. As a result, bureaucracy is so overwhelmingly powerful that it is difficult to ensure bureaucratic accountability by the relatively weak and powerless political institutions such as parliament, political parties, and interest groups (1997, p.8).

The FCR strength is in its vagueness and opacity wording in both its 1887 and 1901 forms and that in turn created (Hopkins, 2015) room for multiple interpretations depending on the desire of FATA administration especially in allocation of economic resources. In this type of economic arrangement instead of market forces government bureaucracy regulate who gets what and the whole resource allocation process has become politicized. Because of

enormous regulatory power, political administration creates monopoly over allocation and opportunities for profit (Mbaku 1996).

“As a result, bureaucrats try to capture rents by extorting bribes from entrepreneurs who request them. Where government regulation imposes significant costs on a business, the entrepreneur can minimize those costs by paying bribes to members of the enforcement community” (Mbaku 1996, P. 107).

Corruption in South Asian context could be defined as an unfair allocation of public resources for personal gain. “The most common forms of corruption at the individual level include bribery, fraud, nepotism, undue influence and misuse of public funds and utilities to name a few” (Jabeen, 2006, p. 17). Corruption in the context of FATA administration is issuing of permits for the chosen ones. Permits is regulatory instrument that creates rent for scarce resources and political agent is the gatekeeper of those scarce resources here “competition for preferential treatment is such that the gatekeeper benefits from the influence seeking expenses/activities in the way of a costless income transfer from the beneficiary to the gatekeeper” (Aidt, 2016, p. 146).

The reason is that such regulation creates rents through artificial scarcity. As a consequence, potential producers in the industry is willing to pay a bribe to obtain a license. . .This, by itself, involvea social loss. Yet, the public official has a private incentive to do this because he can extract some or all of the rent from the would-be producers who are willing to offer a bribe to be “assigned” the scarcity rent (Aidt, 2016, p. 147-8).

Rent creation make FATA administration as a stake holder and would like the business as usual. Reforms could be detrimental to the lucrative business of rent.

The other paradox in the system is an overdeveloped bureaucracy in a backward society. Colonial administrations needed an overdeveloped bureaucratic machine for exploitation of raw materials, benefiting from cheap labor and collection of taxes in secure environment(Haque,1997a). “Thus, bureaucratic advancement and economic backwardness went hand in hand. This colonial formation of an advanced bureaucracy and a backward

economy continued in most developing countries” (Haque, 1997a, p. 439). In true democratic societies public officials stick to their role as a public servant and “maintains its public identity, reinforces its legitimacy, sets its ethical standards, determines its roles and duties and distinguishes it from business management in the private sector (Haque, 1999, p. 309). In Pakistan bureaucratic paradigm is based on personal self-interest when it comes to allocation of resources.

Yes, there are vested interests that would like to keep FATA isolated and backward. Malakan (plural of malik), FATA administration, contractors and other beneficiaries of the status quo would like to keep business as usual. FATA administration has developed a commonly advantageous relationship with Malakan to the detriment of FATA inhabitants. Curzon the founder of FCR was aware of its ad hoc nature but FATA bureaucracy still talks about its benefits because it suppresses dissent and punished people without due process; also, it is functional to the rotten system. Three year tenure for administration was meant to prevent officials from cultivating corrupt relationships but almost in last forty years same people go from one agency to the other and comeback to the same place again and again.

Brigadier (ret'd.) Mahmud Shah who headed the FATA Secretariat said: “FATA is heaven for bureaucracy and hell for people. In an interview, similarly spoke of the presence of “mafias” in the bureaucracy that hamstrung his reform agenda” (Haider, 2009, p. 15). Backwardness in socio-economic and politico-cultural spheres cannot be separated elitist attitude and extensive power in the hands of Political Agents and his bureaucracy (Haque, 1997a). “These interest groups resist change and undermine the capacity of the state to adapt to changes in the environment (Zantvoort, 2017, p. 712).” According to Fukuyama, entrenched elites do everything in counterattacking institutional restructuring. Because of a strong *esprit de corps* these administrative elites are better organized than ordinary people and are in position to maintain a ‘dysfunctional political equilibrium’ in a sinister way (in Zantvoort, 2017).

Lawson is correct in his critique of bureaucracy:

In this line of thinking, bureaucracy is the primary cause of countless problems. Many of these problems cannot be solved because the bureaucracy cannot be changed. Just as the sun

rises daily in the East and sets in the West, bureaucracy's constraints and problems are predictable, inevitable, and impervious to change (2009, p. 1).

In conclusion we should not forget that the FCR operated through Malakans and after war in terrorism Mullah has replaced Malik. Some Malakans are killed by Mullahs and others living in settled districts in their homes or in camps as Internal Displaced People (IDP). We are resurrecting a moribund system where one of the arch stones is almost completely gone. We have seen many committees for FATA reforms we tend to believe that FCR will be reincarnated in some in new arrangement. As long as Political Agent runs the show, FCR will always have a special role. This depressing scenario is nicely depicted by Rosa as "Frenetic standstill," 'a situation where nothing remains the same but nothing essentially changes.' According to this thesis, we have an accelerated social life straitjacketed (in Zantvoort, 2017) in the rigid institutional logic of FATA Administration.

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EMPATHY AS A MEDIATOR OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND AGGRESSION AMONG JUVENILE DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS

Rahila Riasat, Rabia Khawar, Saba Ghayas, Ambarin Fatima, Saima Saeed*

Abstract

The study explored the differences and inter-relationship of empathy, emotional intelligence and reactive proactive aggression among juvenile delinquents and non-delinquents. Juvenile delinquents ($n = 186$) from Borstal Jail, Faisalabad and Jaranwala and a matched control group ($n = 186$) was drawn from general population. Emotional Empathy Questionnaire (Ashraf, 2004), Reactive Proactive Aggression Questionnaire (Raine et al., 2006) and Emotional Intelligence Scale Youth version (Bar On, 2006) were used. As assumed, lower levels of empathy and poor emotional intelligence both significantly predicted higher levels of reactive and proactive aggression. Additionally, emotional intelligence proved to be a significant predictor of emotional empathy. Emotional empathy partially mediated the relationship between emotional intelligence and aggression in the total sample. Results of *t*-test showed that delinquents had significantly poorer emotional intelligence, lower levels of empathy and higher levels of both reactive-proactive aggressions than non-delinquent group. The findings are discussed for the role of emotional competence in aggression and delinquency.

Key Words: Empathy, Emotional Intelligence, Reactive Aggression, Proactive Aggression, Juvenile Delinquents, Emotional Competence.

Introduction

Unfortunately, children and adolescents have been numerously found to be involved in criminal activities. Since an act cannot be considered as crime unless it is done on purpose, therefore motive is very important in condemning a juvenile. Juvenile Delinquency is an antisocial demonstration done by an individual or individuals

*Rahila Riasat, Rabia Khawar and Saima Saeed, Department of Applied Psychology, GC University, Faisalabad.

Saba Ghayas and Ambarin Fatima, Deptt of Psychology, University of Sargodha.
Email: rabiakhawar@gcuf.edu.pk

underneath the age of 18 years (Berger, 2000). The lowest minimum age for juvenile court jurisdiction is 7 years in most of the US states and rest of the world except for North Carolina where this age is 6 years (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Juvenile delinquency is a complicated communal issue that notably impacts all members as well as processes of a social structure. Delinquency refers to the behavioral practices which are incongruent with the shared acts and/or moral principles of the central social group. These actions are fundamentally against the social norms and particularly they disrupt customary criminal codes and laws. Juvenile delinquency includes two types of behaviors, status and delinquent offenses. Status offenses are the activities that are considered inapt or harmful for both children and adolescents, thus inadmissible owing to the age of the delinquent. These kinds of activities, if performed by adults, are not considered illegitimate. This is thought to be the beginning of crime in a state. Juvenile delinquency consolidates not only broad-spectrum illegal actions but behavior that is prohibited for minors, such as running away from home and school (Bartollas & Schmalleger, 2014).

Delinquency displays an assortment of styles of behavior or types of conduct. A variety of types of juvenile delinquency are reported by researchers. Moffitt (1993) in his developmental taxonomy of juvenile offending has distinguished between life-course-persistent offenders and age specific offenders. The former involve in criminal activities and display antisocial/aggressive conduct in adolescence (or even childhood) and carried out this throughout life on into adulthood. Age specific offenders, start offending and end throughout their age of adolescence and denoted as the adolescence-limited offender. Moffitt and Caspi (2001) also described the differences between overt and covert delinquency.

Juvenile delinquency has become a tremendous burden on Pakistani society which has extremely serious dangers rendered for wellbeing, social and ethical development of youngsters and ultimately the society. What makes the condition more serious is that out of 165 million Pakistani population, nearly 49% are under the age of 18 years whereas 22 % are adolescent (10-18 years). According to the report of Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child (SPARC) 2012, there were 1500 to 2000 juveniles imprisoned in Pakistan excluding under trial minors (Rafique,

2017). Existing investigation of this challenging but vital concern presents a wide range of theories about delinquency and its prognosticators further focusing on a variety of plans and policies to deal with overall delinquency. The agreement among researchers, experts and practitioners keeps up that juvenile delinquency is a multidimensional problem with various contributory dynamics (Jones, 2014).

Scot and Steinberg (2010) have discussed the role of psychological knowledge in juvenile justice in order to understand the complex and distinctive state of cognitive and emotional development during adolescence. In their book, *Rethinking Juvenile Justice*, authors have emphasized the interrelationship between law and developmental sciences. One of the significant outcomes from extensive criminological research is that behavior problems, especially stable aggressive behavior in early childhood predict criminal offense in adolescence (Lober & Hay, 1997). From psychological perspective of behavioral problems in youngsters, both aggression and delinquency are regarded as externalizing behaviors (Achenbach, 1991).

Aggression, a common component of delinquent behavior, is considered to be an intentional act to harm others and is straightforwardly connected with the feelings (Baron & Richardson, 1993). Delinquency as a legal term may or may not include aggressive behavior. Since motivational aspect is an integral part of aggression and delinquency, the present study includes two subtypes of aggression based on the underlying motivation i: reactive aggression and proactive aggression (Dodge & Coie, 1987). Reactive aggressive practices are spontaneous and hasty, and are normally a reaction to sentiments of displeasure, apprehension, or a need to strike back against somebody (Connor, 2002). Proactive aggression contrasts from reactive aggression in its expectation of solitary practices. For young men, proactive aggression amid pre-puberty predicts delinquency and brutality amid mid-immaturity, and criminal conduct in adulthood (Vitaro, Brendgen, & Tremblay, 2002). Proactive aggression practices are arranged activities that have some rationale other than hurting somebody. Studies have also found that nature and types of aggression could be influenced by social and emotional competence.

Youngsters involved in conduct problems in early childhood may have a disposition of less fear that might make them more likely to participate in risky behaviors or could also disturb the development of guilt and empathy (Frick & Morris, 2004). Both reactive and proactive aggressor may have different types of emotional incompetence. Reactive forms of aggression have been most linked with emotion deregulation (Hubbard et al., 2002) whereas proactive aggression has been primarily linked with lack of empathy (Kimonis, Frick, Fazekas, Loney, 2006). Some other researches however could not demonstrate a particular relationship between empathy and nature of aggression (Mayberry & Espelage, 2007). It has been rather difficult to draw conclusions about the involvement of empathy dysfunction in pathologic aggressive individuals.

The term empathy refers to the sensitivity towards others feelings and also the understanding of others' mental state (Bellet, Michael & Maloney 1991). Empathy has been linked to several aspects of criminology for example the enactment of strict penalties for repeat delinquents, antisocial conduct, feelings of legitimacy toward the law, and approach toward the death penalty (Posick, Rocque & Rafter, 2014). Gumora, and Arsenio (2007) demonstrated that youngsters who are inadequate in social and emotional capability may not able to empathize with others. Juvenile exploration has concentrated more on behavioral direction instead of feeling control particularly, and understanding the part of emotional change and direction are basic for advancing avoidance action programs went for lessening juvenile aggression and offending (Frick & Morris, 2004). Discrepancies in empathy are required to be linked with competitive and criminal acts, as an instance, delinquency, closer to others (Robinson, Roberts, Strayer, & Koopman, 2007). The examination to date has demonstrated that youths with more elevated amounts of attribute compassion behave all the more prosaically and show unselfish conduct while teenagers with lower levels of empathy have been appeared to be more aggressive (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006). Affective empathy has been discovered to be negatively correlated with delinquency by Pakistani researchers as well (Ashraf, Khalid & Ahmed, 2014).

Empathy is just one aspect of affective competence. A more broader concept is Emotional intelligence (EI), being involved in

perception, practice, comprehension, controlling and regulating of emotions, could be related to aggressive behavior and can thus be a valuable tool in predicting deviant behavior (Petrides, Fredrickson & Furnham, 2004). Empirical research has established a significant association of EI with social function and an inverse one with conflicts in social relationships. It has also been suggested that people with high EI levels are more likely to regulate their emotions and thus become less impetuous. Conversely, people with low EI levels tend to be involved in risky behaviors. A systematic review by Garcia-Sencho, Salguero and Fernández-Berrocal (2014) found that individuals with greater EI were less aggressive. They also find it difficult to understand the situation from other's perspective and therefore, found to be less empathetic (Henley & Long, 1999).

Adolescents with delinquent conduct regularly battle with troublesome individual and emotional issues. Johnston (2003) studied the association between juvenile emotional intelligence and aggression. The youngsters who scored low on the variable of EI were liable to include in socially unsuitable ways like unlawful drug use (Trinidad & Johnson, 2002), at a more serious danger for psychiatric issues (Zeman, Shipman & Suveg, 2002) and involved in violent activities (Winter, Clift & Dutton, 2004). Several studies have documented the relationship between poor emotional intelligence and juvenile delinquency (Silsby 2012).

Lacking affective competence may predispose an individual to aggressive behavior finally leading to the delinquency. It is likely that adolescents with inadequate trait EI display more proactive aggression owing to their failure of behavioral inhibition and deficiencies of empathy. Understanding the association among these variables would provide better framework for the therapists dealing with juvenile delinquents. Improving interpersonal compassion and understanding would minimize the chances to act or react aggressively in a provoking situation. Thus the outcomes of the current study would offer inferences for psychological intervention, where emotional empathy could both be a tool and a goal. That is why the study would also identify the mediating role of empathy in association between emotional intelligence and aggression.

Although many researchers have investigated the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency in Pakistan (Ali & Malik, 2014; Ashraf, Khalid & Ahmed, 2014; Rafail & Haque, 1999; Rizvi & Najam, 2015;

Saleem, Ahmed, Hanan & Haroon, 2013), yet none of them have extensively examined the interplay of affective competencies among both offenders and non-offenders. Moreover, aggressive mechanism in terms of motivational aspects of aggression (such as reactive/proactive) have never been addressed as most of researchers had been focusing on general aggression and its subtypes like, physical, verbal etc. Keeping the dearth of Pakistani studies in view, the present study was designed not only to discover the connection between poor emotional competence (empathy and emotional intelligence) and aggressive behavior but also compare these variables across offenders and matched control group of non-offenders.

Method

Participants

A sample of 372 individuals participated in the study having an age range of 8 to 18 years ($M=15.63$, $SD=1.53$). Juvenile Delinquents ($n = 186$) from Borstal Jail, Faisalabad and Jaranwala and a control group of 186 individuals ($M=15.63$, $SD=1.53$) ($n=186$) matched for age, gender, education and socioeconomic status were drawn from general population of children and adolescents. The Superintendent jail provided the list of all available prisoners in Borstal jail. Of these 16.4 % were convicted while 33.5% were under trial.

Instruments

Demographic Data Sheet

Demographic data sheet was used to obtain subjective facts from the participant, such as, name, education, residency, number of siblings, family system, family size, mother education, father education, their occupation, monthly income, nature of crime, account of crime etc.

Emotional Empathy Scale (Ashraf, 2004)

Emotional Empathy Questionnaire was developed by (Ashraf, 2004). It consists of 26-items and measures the propensity to feel the (positive and negative) emotive experiences of others. It assesses individual variances in the trait of emotional empathy. The reliability coefficient for the scale is 0.85.

Reactive Proactive Aggression Questionnaire (Raine, et al., 2006)

Reactive Proactive Aggression Questionnaire was developed by Raine, et al., (2006) which is translated into Urdu by Khawar et al, (2015). The questionnaire has 23 items, with two subscales: reactive aggression and proactive aggression. Each item is rated on 3 point scale i.e. 0 (never), 1 (sometimes), or 2 (often) for frequency of occurrence. The reliability of the Urdu version was also greater than .80 for both the subscales and the RPAQ total.

Emotional Intelligence Scale Youth Version (Baron & Parker, 2000)

Emotional Intelligence Scale Youth version was translated into Urdu by Malik and Shujja (2013). It has 60 items and used a 4 point likert scale. It has 6 subscales namely positive impression, intrapersonal, interpersonal, stress management, adaptability and general mood. Positive Impression and general mood subscales are excluded from the composite score on EI. Original version had a coefficient of .82 (Bar-On, 2006). The translated version has been recently used in a study by Iftikhar and Malik (2016). Reliability coefficient of the Urdu version was 0.97. The paper includes overall emotional intelligence in terms of total score on the measure.

Procedure

Permission was sought from the Superintendent of Borstal Jail Faisalabad and Jaranwala, who provided the list of all convicted and under trial delinquents in the jail. After that, an informed consent was obtained from the participants to fulfill the ethical requirements of the scientific research. Emotional Empathy Questionnaire, Reactive Proactive Aggression Questionnaire, Emotional Intelligence Scale Youth version were administered to the participants in two sessions. Non delinquents were selected from general population. From urban and rural areas data were collected from shopkeepers, workers, laborers and factory workers. All the measures were administered to them in the same manner. Only those non-delinquents were included who provided the consent for the study. Almost twenty percent of them discontinued during the study and thus it proved to be time consuming. No compensation was offered to the participants. All of them were assured of the confidentiality of the data. They were thanked after data collection.

Results

The relationship of empathy, emotional intelligence and both kinds of aggression (reactive and proactive) was computed using Pearson Product Moment Correlation. Later, regression analysis identified the potential predictors of both reactive and proactive aggression. Based on these results, mediation analysis was carried out. Mean differences between delinquent and non-delinquent groups were observed using *t*-test for independent samples.

Table 1
Inter-Correlations among Study Variables (N=372)

	Reactive Aggression	Emotional Empathy	Emotional Intelligence
Proactive Aggression	.85**	-.34**	-.49**
Reactive Aggression	-	-.35**	-.47**
Emotional Empathy		-	.31**

Table 1 showed that Proactive Aggression was positively associated with Reactive Aggression ($r = .85, p < .001$). There was a significant inverse relationship between Proactive Aggression and Emotional Empathy ($r = -.34, p < .001$). There was a significant inverse relationship between Proactive Aggression and Emotional Intelligence ($r = -.49, p < .001$). There was also a significant negative relationship between Reactive Aggression and Emotional Empathy ($r = -.35, p < .001$). Reactive Aggression was negatively linked to Emotional Intelligence ($r = -.47, p < .001$). Emotional Empathy was positively correlated with Emotional Intelligence ($r = .31, p < .001$).

Table 2
Regression Analysis showing Emotional Empathy as a Predictor of Reactive/Proactive Aggression (N=372)

Predicted	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
1. Reactive Aggression	-.07	.01	-.35	-7.22	.001
2. Proactive Aggression	-.08	.01	-.34	-6.96	.001

1. $R^2 = .123; \Delta R^2 = .121. (F = 52.11, p < .001)$.
2. $R^2 = .116; \Delta R^2 = .113. (F = 48.47, p < .001)$

Table 2 showed that lower levels of Emotional Empathy significantly predicted higher score on Reactive Aggression accounting for 12% variance. Moreover, poorer Emotional Empathy also significantly predicted greater levels of Proactive Aggression accounting for 11% variance.

Table 3

Regression Analysis for Emotional Intelligence as a Predictor of Reactive/Proactive Aggression (N= 372)

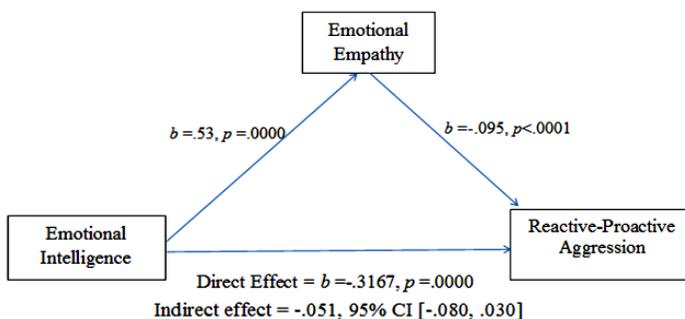
Predicted	β	SE	β	t	p
1. Reactive Aggression	-.171	.016	-.474	-10.36	.001
2. Proactive Aggression	-.197	.018	-.491	-10.85	.001

1. $R^2 = .223$; $\Delta R^2 = .225$. ($F = 107.28$, $p < .001$)

2. $R^2 = .241$; $\Delta R^2 = .239$. ($F = 117.71$, $p < .001$)

Table 3 showed that poor Emotional Intelligence significantly predicted experience of Reactive and Proactive Aggression accounting for 22 and 23% of variance respectively. Considering the above mentioned relationships and predictors of both reactive and proactive aggression, possible mediating role of empathy in association between emotional intelligence and overall aggression was evaluated using mediation analysis through process in SPSS.

Figure 1
Mediating Role of Empathy in Relationship between Emotional Intelligence and Aggression



Mediation analysis was conducted with process in SPSS. There was a significant indirect effect of emotional intelligence on reactive proactive aggression through empathy $\beta = .51$, $BC_aCI [-.080, -.030]$. Indirect effect being about 7.7% of the maximum value that it could have been, $k^2 = .077$, BC_a 95% CI $[.047, .115]$ which reflected fairly small but meaningful mediation effect. When emotional empathy is not in the model, emotional intelligence significantly predicted aggression, $\beta = .32$, $t = 6.15$, $p < .001$. R^2 value tells that the model explained 30% variance in reactive and proactive aggression in the presence of emotional empathy which was 25% in its absence. The

effect of IV i.e. the overall significance of the model, although did not drastically changed which reflected partial mediation.

Table 4
Comparison of Emotional Empathy and Aggression among Juvenile Delinquents and Non-Delinquents (N=372)

Variables	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
				<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>	
Proactive Aggression	23.09	370	.001	9.01	10.67	2.39
Reactive Aggression	24.39	370	.001	8.31	9.77	2.53
Emotional Empathy	-6.76	370	.001	-23.83	-13.09	0.70
Emotional Intelligence	-7.23	370	.001	-14.31	-8.18	0.74

Juvenile Delinquents showed significantly higher level of Proactive, $t(370) = 23.09, p < .001$ and Reactive, $t(370) = 24.39, p < .001$ Aggression in Juvenile Delinquents as compare to Non-delinquents. Delinquents also had lower scores on Emotional Empathy, $t(370) = -6.76, p < .001$ as compared to Non-Delinquents. Non Delinquents showed significantly better Emotional Intelligence as compared to Delinquents, $t(370) = -7.227, p < .001$. These differences are evident in figure 2.

Figure 2
Mean Score of Reactive/Proactive Aggression, Emotional Empathy and Emotional Intelligence across Juvenile Delinquents and Non-Delinquents (n = 186).

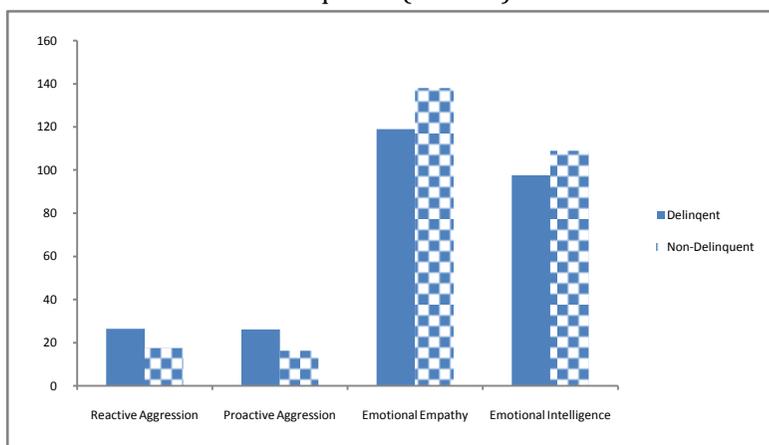


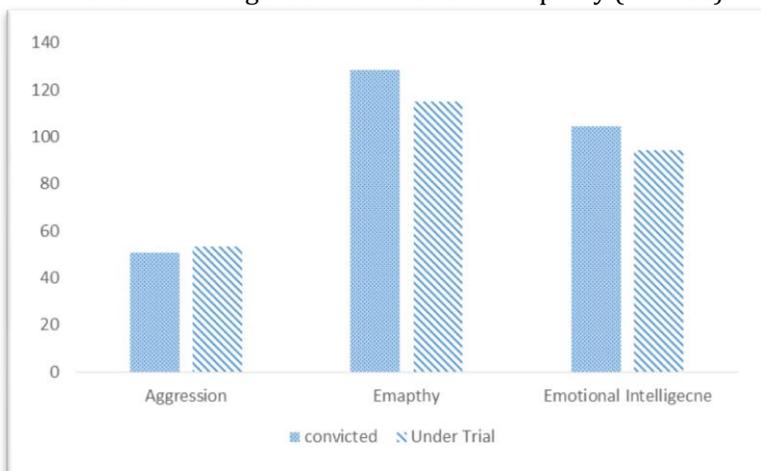
Table 5
Comparison of Empathy, Aggression and Emotional Intelligence among Convicted and Under Trial Delinquents (n = 186)

Variables	<i>t</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
				<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>	
Aggression	-2.285	184	.023	-5.08080	-.37258	0.36
Emotional Empathy	3.392	184	.001	5.67723	21.45825	0.53
Emotional Intelligence	4.449	184	.001	5.62913	14.59933	0.67

Convicted and under trial delinquents showed significant differences in Aggression, $t(184) = 23.09$, $p < .05$, Emotional Empathy, $t(184) = 3.392$, $p < .001$, and Emotional Intelligence, $t(184) = 4.449$, $p < .001$. Nature of these differences is illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 2

Convicted and Under Trial Delinquents Mean Score on Aggression, Emotional Intelligence and Emotional Empathy (n = 186).



Discussion

The study explored the nature of relationship between emotional empathy, emotional intelligence and reactive/ proactive aggression. Both types of aggression were inversely correlated with empathy. Regression results demonstrated that lower levels of

empathy significantly contributed to both reactive and proactive aggression in the total sample. Overall aggression has been negatively correlated with empathy in many studies (Burke, 2001); yet assessment of aggression varied to considerable extent in researches and therefore requires detailed account of the nature of aggression in relation to empathy. Studying reactive and proactive dimensions provide insight to the callous /unemotional form and the temperamental aspect of aggression. Some studies have found significant association between dispositional empathy and proactive aggression but again this link could be discussed in term of the nature of empathy itself e.g. cognitive/affective (Euler, Steinlin & Stadler, 2017; Hoffman, 2000).

Poor levels of emotional intelligence accounted for higher levels of both reactive and proactive aggression as assumed in the present study. Research on social information processing approach of aggression (Dodge, Lochman, Harmish, Bates, Pettit, 1997) also evaluates emotional aspects of proactive and reactive aggression as they tend to differ with respect to emotion regulation (Lober & Stouthamer-Lober, 1998). Some studies have found that emotional incompetence is associated more with reactive aggression, however, both kinds of aggression may co-occur (Brendgen, Vitaro, Tremblay & Lavoie, 2003), therefore poor emotional intelligence as a predictor of both types of aggression is not unlikely.

Additionally, as expected, emotional empathy was significantly associated with emotional intelligence. Empathy is embedded in almost all models of EI (Goleman, 2002; Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2000) thus is an important component of emotional intelligence. The mediating role of empathy in relationship between emotional intelligence and aggression was evaluated. The results supported the partial mediation. Other researchers have studied empathy as moderated between EI and direct/indirect aggression (Ivanovic, 2008).

As hypothesized, significant differences were found between juvenile delinquents and non-delinquents in both reactive and proactive aggression. Juvenile delinquents were more aggressive both reactively and proactively. Existing studies also support the present finding as particular type of aggression have been linked to development of delinquency (Moffit, 1993; Vitaro, Bendgen & Baker, 2006). Although previous studies have reported more differences

on proactive aggression (Raine et al, 2006), however, both kind of aggression was greater in delinquent sample in the present study.

Delinquents and non-delinquents also significantly differed in their level of emotional empathy. Consistent with the previous findings (Kaplan & Arbuthnot, 1985; Ashraf, Khalid & Ahmad, 2014) delinquent sample reported lesser empathy than non-delinquent sample. Emotional empathy typically relates with socially adaptive conduct (Eisenberg, Egsun & Giunta, 2010), hence it is not unlikely to observe poorer empathy among adolescents; however, now it further contributes to aggressive behavior is an important question addressed.

Third hypothesis represents better Emotional Intelligence in non-delinquents as compared to delinquents. Analysis of *t*-test reveals that there is a significant difference in delinquents and non-delinquents on Emotional Intelligence. Delinquents lose their emotional decision power due to their directly reaction on the response of others behavior. Non Delinquents kept the ability to take action at the response of others behavior. On the other hand, Non Delinquents kept ability to problem solving, understand the others behavior etc. Results support the study through findings as non-delinquents are more intelligent as compare to delinquents. Delinquents also showed lesser adaptability, poorer stress management and more negative mood as compared to non-delinquents. However, both groups exhibited similar levels of interpersonal and intrapersonal skills. Criminal behavior has been linked with lower levels of emotional intelligence by several researches (Sharma, Prakash, Sengar, Chandh & Singh, 2015). This happens due to inability to moderate and negative emotions and thus beings impulsive in reactions.

Mean differences on emotional intelligence, empathy and aggression were also found across convicted and under trail juvenile delinquents. Results of *t*-test indicated that delinquents under trail were more aggressive than convicted delinquents. They were also less empathic and showed poorer emotional intelligence as compare to convicted juveniles. Research has also demonstrated that findings on nature and level of aggressive behaviors and evidence for empathetic concerns among incarcerated youth in somewhat inconsistency (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2004). Further

research with larger sample sizes and other correlates may explain these differences.

Approaches toward juvenile offending have transformed a great deal since the '90s. The notion of punishing young delinquents essentially replaced efforts to reform them. Laws and strategies based on developmental and psychological spectrum would make it likely for juvenile offenders to nurture as responsible adults, rather than professional criminals, and would reduce the existent burden on the legal and penal systems.

Limitations and Suggestions

Although study has provided the significant contribution to the field of forensic psychology, but limitations were also found.

The following are some limitations of the current study.

1. The present study was designed as a correlational research; however we used matched control group. Many intervening variables still could have affected the results.
2. The sample size was limited due to short time period. The nature of sample was difficult to find and matching process of age, education and socio-economic status was also very demanding. The sample was selected from Faisalabad and Jaranwala only.
3. Only male delinquents were included in the study.

Following are some suggestions.

1. Sample size should be increased in future study by including juvenile jails from other districts of Punjab.
2. Comparison should be done between male and female delinquents.
3. Separate analysis of individual personality variables with reference to different psychological conditions can be done.
4. Due to the prospective role of empathy in delinquency, forthcoming inquiries could aim on designing intervention strategies for employing in general system of education, so as to encourage emotional empathy in youth.

Conclusions

Our ability to understand others feelings, moral management of emotions are crucial for avoiding conflicts in social relationships. Being a key feature of emotional intelligence, empathy can play an important in preventing or developing violent behaviors.

Intervention with delinquent groups should focus on strategies like perceiving, using, understanding and managing emotions for better psychological adjustment after getting released from the prison.

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SUICIDE IN PRISONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES: ARE THE CURRENT PREVENTION STRATEGIES WORKING?

Noor Sanauddin*
Khalid Mahmood**

Abstract

Suicides in prisons in England and Wales have alarmingly increased in the recent years. This is a matter of national concern and requires immediate actions from the relevant authority. This article is an attempt to address the issue by reviewing official statistics and reports to find out the trajectory of suicide cases and to find out the possible factors responsible for increased suicides in prison. By reviewing the available statistics, relevant researches on suicide, and the current suicide prevention strategies, the article suggests the possible reasons for the failure of the government in preventing suicides. The article also points out reforms in the prison system which could help in preventing suicides in prisons.

Keywords: Suicide, prison, justice, mental disorder, England and Wales.

Introduction

In 2016, a total of 119 inmates committed suicide in prisons in England and Wales. This was the highest number of deaths in prisons ever recorded in England and Wales. At present, the prison population in England and Wales is over 85000 (Ministry of Justice, 2017). Media, Prison Reform Trust, The Howard League for Penal Reform, Inquests, and other such groups have highlighted this issue and asked the government to take action to avoid these unnecessary deaths, which are partly due to the cuts in the number of trained prison staff and overcrowding of prisons (The Howard League for Panel Reform, 2017). These deaths affect families, friends, doctors, nurses, and community at large. This is a matter of national concern and needs a criminological research to find out the causes of people's decisions to take their own lives.

*Noor Sanauddin, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Peshawar. noor.sanauddin@uop.edu.pk

**Khalid Mahmood, Ex-student, University of Glasgow.
kmahmood10@hotmail.com

Prison as an institution is responsible for the safety of the inmates. Any death in prisons will be seen as the failure of prison and justice system. This article aims to find out the possible causes of suicide in prisons and the effectiveness of the current strategies to prevent these suicides in England and Wales. This article is based on review of secondary data collected from the Office of National Statistics, Ministry of Justice, and Home Office Bulletins and Reports. It discusses the relevant research studies on suicide in prisons and evaluates the past and current prevention strategies to eliminate suicide in prisons.

Fact and Figures of Suicide in Prisons in England and Wales in 2016

This section presents the facts and figures of suicide in England and Wales during the year 2016 in order to identify the key areas where the problem may have been worse and therefore to analyze the causes and possible policy responses to this. The article compares suicide figures in prison and in the general population, as well as compares current data with the previous year's suicides. The deaths of male, female and juveniles will be examined and methods of suicide will be looked into and point out the people at more risk of suicide. This will help us understand the groups most at risk of suicide in prison.

Total number of the inmates' deaths in prisons in England and Wales was 354 in the year 2016 of which 119 were suicides. This was the highest suicide rate among prisoners so far (BBC, 2017, The Guardian 2016, Ministry of Justice, 2017). The most common method of suicide was by hanging (90%). The majority of the self-inflicted deaths were of white males. Fourteen inmates who committed suicides were in the age group of 14 to 24.

Table 1

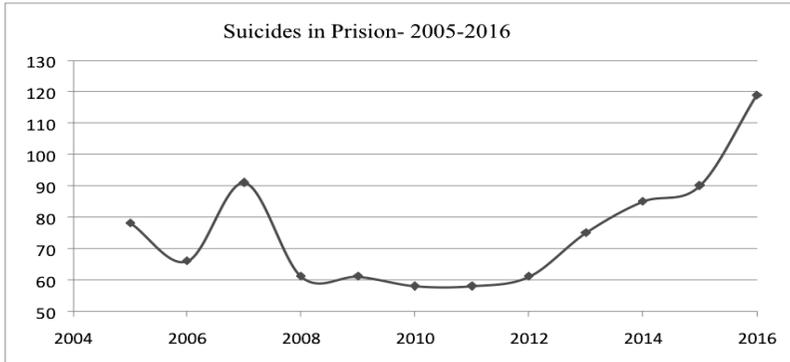
Total Deaths per Year in Prisons in England and Wales - 2005-2016

Causes of Death	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Self-inflicted	78	66	91	61	61	58	58	61	76	89	90	119
Natural Causes	89	83	89	99	104	126	122	123	131	145	147	196
Homicide	3	0	1	3	0	1	2	0	4	3	8	3
Other	5	4	4	3	4	13	10	8	4	6	12	36
Total Death	175	153	185	166	169	198	192	192	215	243	257	354

(Source: Ministry of Justice, 2017)

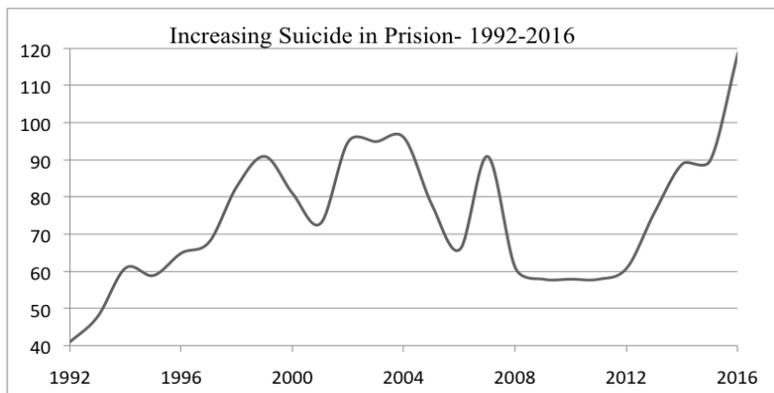
The ups and downs of suicides in prison can be seen in figure 1 which shows that suicide rate is increasing in the recent years.

Fig. 1
Trend of Suicides (Self-inflicted Deaths) in Prison from 2005 till 2016



There has been a significant increase in the number of prisoners in England and Wales since 2004. In 2010 and 2011, suicide in prisons was lower than the previous years though the prison population was higher than 2014. In each year 2010 and 2011, there were 58 self-inflicted deaths in prisons and in each year prison population was 84,725 and 86000, respectively (Ministry of Justice, 2017). In 2012 prisons population went up to 86,737 and number of suicide was 61. Meanwhile in the years 2013 and 2014 the number of inmates had dropped to 84,331 and 84250 but the numbers of inmates' suicide went up to 75 and 84 each year respectively. The total prison population in 2016 was just over 8500, which is not a significant increase over the previous year. However, the number of suicides jumped from 90 to 119 which shows a significant increase in the ratio of suicides per 1000 prison population. The following figure further demonstrates the increasing rate of suicide per year since 1992.

Figure 2
The Rise in Suicides among Prisoners in England and Wales from 1992 to 2016



(Source: Ministry of Justice, 2017)

Timing of Deaths

In 2013, there were 49 suicides within the first 30 days of imprisonment while there were 39 suicides in 2014 in this period (Ministry of Justice, 2017). These trends in the timing of prisoner suicide support the research showing that the risk of suicide is highest at early stages of sentence or whilst on remand (Dooley, 1994). In the year 2014, one third of the inmates who took their own lives were in prisons for more than 1 year. The number of the prisoners who committed suicide whilst transferring prisons during 2014 was 16, and these numbers were 17 during 2013. In 2013, 11 prisoners took their own lives within two days of their arrival in prison or transfer from one prison to other. In 2016, altogether 9 inmates committed suicide within 2 days of their arrival in prison.

During 2013, 47 inmates who committed suicide were sentenced. This number rose to 61 in 2014, which stood equal to 7 in 10. Remand prisoner deaths in 2014 were 20 which rose to 22 in 2015 and 24 in 2016. Prisoners who took their own lives who were awaiting sentencing in 2014 were 6 and 3 in 2013. This figure rose to 9 in 2016. The timing of suicide during 2016 is in consistency with previous trends of suicide.

Prior research on prison suicides gives us a historical picture of trends. Towl and Crighton (1998) suggest that the suicide cases recorded by Prison Service Suicide Awareness Unit from the 5th of February 1988 to the 5th of November 1995 provided an analysis that out of the total sample of 377 self-inflicted deaths in this period, 369 were men and 08 were women. The average age of the group who committed suicide in this whole period was 29 years and 6 months. Shaw et. al. (2004) note in their study that 32% suicide occurred within seven days of reception into prison of which 11% killed themselves within the first 24 hours. Dooley (1994) notes that during the years of 1972- 1987 there were 300 deaths over this entire period of 15 years. This averages about 20 suicides per year. He suggests that trends of suicide during this period have been remaining the same as previous trends of suicide. More than a quarter of the prisoners who committed suicide killed themselves within a month of initial arrival and 50% within three months. Remand prisoners who died with self-inflicted deaths were 50% of the total prison deaths. He finds that most of the deaths were recorded in the months of July and September and suggested the reason that as the days get longer and hotter, inmates find the living conditions unfavorable. He further noted that most of the suicides occurred on Saturdays.

Table 2
Gradual Increase in Annual Rate of Prison Suicide

Period Covered	Annual Rate of Prison Suicide
1958-1971 (Topp, 1979)	12
1972-1987 (Dooley, 1994)	20
1988-1995 (Towl & Crighton, 1998)	54
1996-2016 (MoJ, 2017)	79

The table 2 above indicates that there were gradual increases in the suicide numbers. This might be due to the increase in prison population, more reported cases of suicides, pressure from media, and voluntary organizations to increase awareness about prison conditions and to highlight the issue of suicides in prisons.

Gender

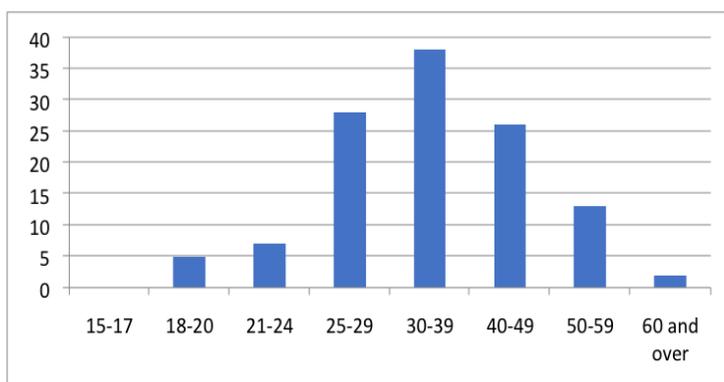
More men commit suicide compared to women in prison (Office of National Statistics, 2015). The majority of the prisons population is always of the men. The statistics of the prisons suicide explain that the despite a huge difference of the percentage of population,

the ratio with their prison population average per 1000 between men and women is not much different. Ministry of Justice's data (2017) on self-inflicted deaths in prison during the period of 2001 and 2010 shows that the ratio of men and women deaths per 1000 in prisons has not been significantly different. However, after 2001 the women suicide ratio in prisons declined. The overall death ratio was 1.10, but men's death ratio was 1.07 and women's death ratio was 1.60 (Office of National Statistics, 2015). In 2013 men's deaths were recorded 71 and women's 4; the total number of men's death was 81 and women's 3 in 2014. In 2016, 107 male and 12 female prisoner committed suicides (Ministry of Justice, 2017). According to the Office of National Statistics (2015) the trend of suicide amongst male and female has changed. From 1981 to 2011 the rate of suicide amongst men has gone upward and rate of women suicide has declined.

Age Group

During the year 2016 the major age group with self-inflicted deaths was between 30 to 39 years and a total number of 38 deaths were recorded within this group. This figure has doubled since 2015 in which 19 prisoners in the mentioned age group had committed suicides. The following figure displays the distribution of prisoner suicide on the basis of age group of the prisoners.

Figure 3
Suicide in Prison in England and Wales 2016, by Age Groups.



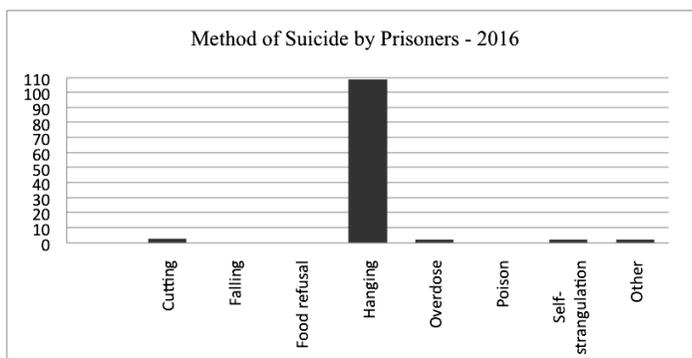
Sentence Type

In 2016, most of the prisoners (i.e., 85) who committed suicides were sentenced more than 4 years. Another 24 person committed suicide while they were waiting for trial. According to the Ministry of Justice (2017a), the number with this group is highest of century. The number of inmates with life sentence who committed suicide was 14 while 8 people who took their lives were on Indeterminate Sentence for Public Protection. The previous studies (e.g. Topp, 1979; Dooley, 1990; Liebling, 1992) and Home Office Statistics (1999) indicate that the people on remands and prisoners with the longer term sentences are always at a high risk of suicide.

Methods of Suicide

In 2016, 109 inmates took their own lives by hanging which is equal to 9 out of 10 (90%) deaths. This method has a consistency with previous years. In 2016 most common item for ligatures was the bedding. 89 prisoners took their lives by using bedding as the ligature item. There were 29 increased number of death by this method compared to the 2014. Dooley (1994) finds that 90% of the prisoners who killed themselves during the period of 1972 to1987 used hanging as a method of suicide. Shaw et. al. (2004) suggest in their study that during 1999-2000 a total of 92% people took their own lives by strangulation. The method of strangulation and suffocation and hanging has been also a common method of suicide amongst the general public during the period of 2002 and 2016.

Figure 4
Method of Suicides in Prison in England and Wales- 2016



Contemporary Research on Suicide in England and Wales

Since 1970s, a number of research studies have been carried out on suicide in prisons in the United Kingdom. Research by Topp (1979) is based on the official data of suicides in prisons in England and Wales from 1880 to 1971. He found the prisoner's psychiatric disorder as a main contributor to their self-inflicted deaths. He pointed that 59% could have been doing this for attention seeking and anticipated for help to save them, 50% died of sudden impulse and 43.3% tried to kill themselves at day time believing that the staff will be present and may come forward to save them. Topp suggests that this was an indication that these people were actually trying to show some kind of *attention seeking behavior* and unfortunately ended in a dangerous situation which took their lives. His study was on the basis of archives and it did not give the full picture of the circumstances of the suicides but it did provide a foundation for the future researchers to look at the medical issues of the prisoners, and helped authorities to plan for the strategies to avoid any future attempts of suicides by prisoners.

Dooley (1990) used the prison archives from 1972 to 1987 to explain suicide in prisons in England and Wales. He analyzed the available suicide notes of prisoners and divided the motivations of suicide in four different categories and suggested that the prison environment, pressures from outside, guilt of the offence, and illness could be the factors for the prisoner's behaviors to commit suicide. His observations were that out of his sample of 295, one third (i.e. 97) had psychiatric problems. 30% had a previous hospital admissions, 29% had alcohol abuse relating problems, 23% drug abuse, and 23% had received a psychotropic medicine in the month of suicide. He also noted the 43% had history of self-injurious behavior and a further 22% had tried to injure themselves in custody. This research has provided some more grounds to enhance the knowledge of prisoners' suicidal behavior and to adopt some measures while considering the possible responses to these behaviors.

Liebling (1992) worked on the hypothesis that 'if suicide is an extreme end of the people's self-injurious behaviors'. In contrast to previous studies, she took a different approach and interviewed 100 people from four different institutions of young offenders. She conducted semi structured interviews with staff members as well in

addition to analyzing the prisoner's medical records. She found that most of the people under study had drug misuse and alcohol related problems before coming to the institutions and noted that the self-injury problem existed before coming into the prisons. She also found that offenders were feeling that the environment of the institution was not good for them. There were some problems with sharing rooms, educational and physical activities and difficulties to cope the circumstances within the prison system. Liebling (1992) did not consider the self-injuries as a primarily psychiatric problem and suggested that prisoners do not primarily require a psychiatric response. Instead she suggested a multi-disciplinary approach to tackle this problem.

Bogue and Power (1995) conducted a study in Scottish prisons covering the period from 1976 to 1993 and found that prisoners on longer sentences, charged with violent and sexual offences and those who were feeling ashamed or guilty were at more risk of suicide. They also noted that psychiatric disorder and previous self-injury behavior had a link with suicide. Towl and Crighton (1998) found in their study that longer period of sentence carries bigger risk of suicide.

Policy, Practice and Prevention Strategies

This section briefly analyses the policies and strategies to prevent suicide in prisons to understand why the result of the current prevention strategies is not promising.

The government of UK has outlined suicide prevention strategies from time to time to tackle the issue of suicide in custodies. In the 1970s, prevention strategies in prisons started with the instructions named as Circular Instruction (CI 39/73). Its purpose was to make staff aware of the factors which could lead to prisoner's suicide. This was an attempt to make sure that there is a communication between staff, prisoners and other agencies. It stressed on the time period of custody as a risk factors i.e. soon after reception, or remand, before sentence, soon after sentence or before release. Medical officer was required to make sure that people at risks are moved to hospitals and only back to prisons when those risks were removed. Some other factors were also deemed as risk factors for suicide i.e. seriousness of crime, first offence, behavioral nature, mental health, history of self-harm attempts, and addiction

to drug or alcohol (McHugh and Snow, 2000). In 1987, a new Circulation Instruction (CI 3/1987) was issued which included staff awareness; all the procedures from reception and referrals; medical assessment and the new formation of SPMGs (Suicide Prevention Management Groups). This was a multidimensional approach which not only looked at the prisoners but at all the prison regime. The new strategies outlined that management implements the coordinated policies to prevent suicide; staff to take more responsibility; early risk assessments are adapted; prisoners with high risk should be referred to medical officers; and that all concerning people understand the prevention strategies. The procedure was further improved in 1987 with a new Circulation Instruction (CI 20/1989) which gave more detailed instructions for the safety of the prisoners.

Home Office Chief Inspectors of Prisons (1990) acknowledged that the present policies to prevent suicides have failed and suggested that to tackle this issue with the involvement of prisoners, staff, families, and visitors. In 1994 Suicide Awareness Support Unit (SASU) was created. The purpose of this unit was to help prison management to work efficiently to combat suicide problem and to train staff to understand prisoner's primary needs. Safety of inmates and others was given priority. But somehow the new strategies could not bring the suicide rate down and prison suicide in 1998 and 1999 was at highest level than ever before. In 1999, the number of suicides in prison reached a total number of 91. The figure was 83 in 1998, 69 in 1997, 65 in 1996 and 59 in each year 1995 and 1994.

Media and voluntary organizations have also highlighted the issue of suicide in prisons. The Guardian (2017) pointed at the rising rate of suicides in prisons and urged the government to tackle this problem. The Howard League for Penal Reform (2017) criticized the government for the cutting of trained staff in prison and overcrowding the prisons. Howard League for Penal Reform and Centre for Mental Health with the help of Monument Trust have initiated a program to work in the prisons to end the problem of suicide in prisons. Inquiries carried out by independent judicial officers (called 'Inquests') on suicide cases in UK have also highlighted the ineffectiveness of the prevailing prevention strategies of the government (Prison Reform Trust, 2014).

Voluntary organizations such as Samaritans and Listeners have been working in prisons in UK. The Samaritans train prisoners who are interested to help others in the prisons to support and help the people who are depressed or at the risk of suicide. They listen to people's stories and encourage them to be positive. The listeners help inmates to overcome their suicidal thoughts by listening to their depressing stories and encourage them for thinking positively.

Conclusions

This article has reviewed the common causes and patterns of suicide in prisons and the effectiveness of the current strategies to prevent the rising number of suicides in prison in England and Wales. It was noted that 90% inmates who killed themselves did so by hanging. First thirty days of imprisonment and remand were highlighted as the time period of high risk for suicide. Age group 30 to 39 was recognized as the group at risk in prisons compared to 45-59 in general public who committed suicide. The findings of this research suggest that the situational and long term factors (internal and external) are the main contributors in prison suicide. Situational factors include prison environment i.e. negligence and lack of trained staff, the conditions of prisons cells, and the availability of the means of suicide which are contributing factors in suicide. The long term factors include the mental health conditions, the family backgrounds and addiction with drug and alcohol problems of the inmates. The environment of prison should be made safer and friendly for the inmates. Any inmate with mental health issues and at risk of suicide should be removed into a safer place without any delay and kept there till risk factors are reduced. To eliminate the risk of suicide a comprehensive policy with the combined efforts made by Prison Service, National Health Services (NHS), Social Services, schools and other concerning departments and communities will be needed.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN MOBILITY AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT: EMPIRICAL STUDY OF METROPOLITAN CITY OF LAHORE

Tahira Jabeen*
Munazza Sunbal**
Neelofer Taj***

Abstract

This article is based on a research conducted to see the relationship of sexual harassment with mobility of females, going out daily, in Lahore Metropolitan. Forms, causes, effects and strategies (individual/mass level) to handle the problem were studied using mixed methods including structured schedule, in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions. While using purposive sampling technique, 600 females were grouped into three categories of: students, working women and housewives to get their opinion about extent of the problem and suggestions to tackle the problem of sexual harassment in the absence of legal definition (including legal response) of street sexual harassment in Pakistan. Data, thus collected, were analyzed using descriptive as well as inferential statistical (averages, correlations, ANOVA). To solve the problem, all study participants demanded a more serious role of law enforcement agencies.

Keywords: Sexual harassment, Females, Mobility, Male domination.

1.Introduction

This paper discusses the results of a study into the relationship between mobility and sexual harassment of women while they go about their everyday lives, the consequent effect on women's mobility, their future aspirations, the need for a cultural shift in terms of women's perceived and real status and place in society, and

*Tahira Jabeen, Assistant Professor, University of the Punjab.
tahira.dsw@pu.edu.pk

**Munazza Sunbal, Lecturer, Department of Social Work, Lahore College for Women University Lahore. munazzasunbal@gmail.com

***Neelofer Taj, Master in Social Work from University of the Punjab.
nelotaj@yahoo.com

the resulting need for a consideration of the safety of female's person and her worth and dignity as a citizen of Pakistan.

The publication of this paper is timely against the backdrop of the Harvey Weinstein case and the resulting '#MeToo' social media campaign (The Washington Post, 2017) to highlight the fact that the harassment of women is common, and yet, it is largely ignored throughout the world. The significance of this paper is increased as little has been published in Pakistan about street harassment of women, which is directly linked to their mobility, constraining which is detrimental to their already lower socioeconomic status in the society. This relationship is highlighted as earlier as in Pakistan's National Report on the Fourth World Conference On Women held in Beijing in September 1995, which highlighted the fact that women in Pakistan are hampered in taking a major role in economic development due to their restricted mobility. Sexual harassment outside the house is a major reason for this restricted mobility of females. However, not much has been done, especially by the state, to resolve this serious issue.

Street harassment may represent the most common and frequent type of sexual harassment encountered by women whereas sexual harassment includes unwanted sexual actions in the public places, particularly on roads, on public transport and at work places. (Joseph, et al., 2006) Women suffer the emotional repercussions of victimization; fear, humiliation, feelings of powerlessness, and rage, thus, affecting the psychological health of the individual. (Naveed, et al. 2010) As highlighted earlier, it also restricts women's mobility and negatively impacts the socioeconomic status of women, and therefore, this harassment prevents the sufferers from attaining their equitable place in the society. (Sigal, 2006).

Sexual harassment of women has a strong cultural dimension as well, especially since it relates to gender roles, that is, public spaces being appropriated by and for men, and women belonging to, therefore, should be confined to the private sphere. This cultural dimension is highly significant, and is often misrepresented, in the context of Pakistan being an Islamic Republic where women are understood as and expected to be symbol of honour and modesty. Allah promises in the Holy Quran forgiveness and vast reward to men and women who protect their modesty (33:35) and orders the

believing men to lower their gaze and be modest. (33: 59) The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) said to avoid sitting on the roads. (Abu – Dawood).

In the same vein, the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) provides that there is no discrimination on the basis of sex and all citizens will be protected equally. In addition, according to the Pakistan Penal Code, any kind of harassment is a crime which has punishment with imprisonment up to three years or fine up to five lacs or with both. (Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010) In Pakistan, female breadwinner families are increasing; with handling domestic tasks, they are facing many other restraints. (Ticoli & Satterthwaite, 2013) Safe traveling can improve the quality of their life. (Thynell, 2016) This paper is an effort to contribute to this end.

2. Literature Review

In countries with gender discrimination, women face sexual harassment during travel. (Graglia, 2013) Researches have been done in other countries on sexual harassment during mobility but not in Pakistan. As World Development Report, 2012 on gender and mobility reveals that transport sector has been gender-blind, it is further revealed that compared to men, women are more reliant on the public transport and women's capacity to combat poverty is highly limited by their restricted mobility.

Women's safety and different transport means were studied in Southampton in 1986. Insecurity level was found high, especially when waiting for transport in isolated places, for walking at night, in parks and underpasses. (Lynch & Atkins, 1988) The results of a survey in the Sanjay Camp, Delhi indicated that sexual harassment during mobility is worsened due to the poor lights on the streets and subways. (Anand & Tiwari, 2006) Results of a research conducted on the students of Shiraz University, Iran revealed that suffering sexual harassment is very much correlated with the presence in public places, how the people are socialized and women are dressed up. (Lahsaeizadeh & Yousefinejad, 2012).

iHollaback (2012) reported rates of sexual harassment in public spaces in 2012 in Poland, Croatia and Turkey as 85%, 99% and 93% respectively. In the US in 2014 a 2,000-person national survey found that 65% of all women had experienced street harassment. Among all women, 23% had been sexually touched, 20% had been

followed, and 9% had been forced to do something sexual (Kearl, 2014).

Sexual harassment during travel generates fear in women and this fear changes travel behavior in a negative way. (Hsu, 2011) A research was conducted to assess the harassment in public transport in Karachi. About 31% of students, 23% of working women and 20% of housewives reduced the use of public transport and started using taxis and rickshaws. Nearly 40% of students avoid travelling after dark and about 45% have started to wear the hijab. (Asian Development Bank, 2014) Harassment of women in public spaces including streets and in various means of transport has serious consequences for women. As Bowman (1993) declared that harassment is a harm and this harm deeply effects the females' full participation in public affairs.

3. Material and Methods

Female population within the age group of 15 to 35 years who daily go out, in metropolitan Lahore, were the universe of the study. As it was a heterogeneous universe so to cover all the sub groups, it was divided into further groups: 1) Students; 2) Working women; 3) Housewives.

These three sub groups include public transport users, drivers of personal vehicles and those who travel on foot.

3.1 Study Design

The study was of preliminary importance. No data, facts and figures or basic information was available before hand, therefore, to acquire basic numerical data and to develop an in-depth understanding of the experiences of the respondents, mixed method/s research was adopted.

3.1.1 Quantitative Method

Five hypotheses were developed which were tested by collecting data on a structured questionnaire.

Hypotheses

- Younger females would have more aggressive reaction towards/against sexual harassment.
- Greater frequency of sexual harassment will restrict the mobility of women.

- Those women who use public transport will experience/face more sexual harassment.
- Qualified females would have more knowledge of their legal rights regarding sexual harassment.
- Younger females will experience more sexual harassment.

3.1.2 Qualitative Method

Two commonly known qualitative methods were used:

- In-depth interviews (with unique cases)
- Focus Group Discussions (with each sub-group of sample)

3.2 Sampling

Purposive sampling technique was used. As the sampling frame was not known, data was collected till the saturation point, making the sampling size 600.

3.3 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed manually and through SPSS software. Percentages and averages were calculated. Correlations were applied to check the relationship of different variables. Regression analysis was run to find out the predictors. Analysis of variance was computed to compare means of three different groups of females according to their status.

4. Study Findings

4.1 Quantitative Findings

Out of 600 respondents, majority (65%) were between ages of 15 to 25 years with mean of 24. Half of them (50%) were students with equal proportion of house wives and working women. Majority of the respondents (50%) used public transport and 23% moved on foot. Only 15% used personal transport.

Table 1
Opinions and Experiences of Harassment

Frequency of going out daily	f (%)
Once	325 (54)
Twice	187 (32)
Thrice or more	88 (14)
Facing incident/s of harassment in a day	
Once	146 (24)
Twice	244 (41)
Thrice or more	210 (35)
Type of harassment by conductors and drivers of public transport	
Touching	149 (25)
Fixing view mirror	247 (41)
Delay tactics	73 (12)

Meaningful songs	112 (19)
Considering harassment as a crime	
Yes	586 (98)
No	14 (2)
Awareness about legal rights	
Don't know any thing	389 (65)
No such provisions in constitution	52 (09)
Have some legal rights	105 (17)
Provisions to punish the offender	54 (09)
Respondents ever used their legal rights	
Yes	21 (04)
No	579 (96)
Causes of harassment	
Male domination	183 (30)
Sex is taboo	94 (16)
Poor law & order situation	160 (27)
Ignorance of religious values by females	163 (27)
Role of Media	
Misguiding the female towards glamour	261 (43)
Arousing the male emotions	216 (36)
Portraying the female dilemma	77 (13)
Presenting the solution of the situation	46 (8)
Solution of incident/s of harassment	
Face the situation	188 (31)
Change the route	148 (25)
Change the frequency of going out	128 (21)
Stay at home	136 (23)
Respondent's anticipation about the reaction of their family, on sharing an incident of harassment	
Feel helpless	60 (10)
Reaction against offender	151 (25)
Encourage respondent	234 (39)
Unfavorable to respondent	155 (26)
The effect of sexual harassment on work	
Normal	250 (42)
Transfer tension	109 (18)
Over work	55 (9)
Can't work	186 (31)

Mostly (54%) respondents go out once a day and they face incident of harassment at least twice (41%). Majority of the respondents (41%) told that drivers of public transport fix the view mirror on females to disturb them and 25% said that drivers and conductors touch or try to touch the female travelers. Though considering harassment a crime (98%), majority of respondents (96%) never availed legal rights. Mostly (65%) were not even aware of their legal rights. Respondents explained male domination (30%) and ineffective law (27%) as major causes of harassment. Majority of respondents considered role of media negative as misguiding females (43%) and arousing male emotions (36%). 31% told that they face the situation, 25% changed their route, 21% changed the frequency of going out and a sizeable population of 23% decided to

stay at home. 39% respondents thought that they would be encouraged by their family, 26% anticipated to get unfavourable response, another 25% told that their family would take action against offender. 42% respondents felt normal whenever they come across any such situation, however, 31% could not work whole day.

Table 2
Relationship between age and harassment

Frequency of being harassed Age in years	Always f(%)	Often f(%)	Rare f(%)	Never f(%)	Total
15-20	416 (69)	129 (21)	46 (8)	09 (2)	600
20-25	266 (44)	262 (44)	68 (11)	04 (1)	600
25-30	101 (17)	197 (33)	280 (47)	22 (3)	600
30-35	66 (11)	92 (15)	329 (55)	113 (19)	600
Distribution of age of males who harass females					
Young	310 (52)	151 (25)	126 (21)	13 (2)	600
Middle aged	157 (26)	218 (36)	196 (33)	29 (5)	600
Aged	106 (18)	102 (17)	246 (41)	146 (24)	600

Mostly females between ages of 15 to 20 years (69%) are always harassed while mostly perpetrators are young boys (52%).

Table 3
Types and places of harassment

Forms of Harassment	Always f(%)	Often f(%)	Rare f(%)	Never f(%)	Total
Stare	276 (46)	171 (28)	104 (17)	49 (9)	600
Touch	53 (9)	86 (14)	186 (31)	275 (46)	600
Cat calls	124 (20)	202 (34)	184 (31)	90 (15)	600
Chase	45 (7)	118 (20)	208 (35)	229 (38)	600
Meaningful songs	98 (16)	198 (33)	177 (30)	127 (21)	600
Sexual gestures	87 (15)	162 (28)	163 (28)	196 (33)	600
Place where the females are harassed more					
Female crowded	124 (21)	97 (16)	191 (32)	188 (31)	600
Male crowded	301 (50)	178 (30)	82 (14)	39 (6)	600
Over crowded	310 (52)	184 (31)	79 (13)	27 (4)	600
Deserted	360 (60)	148 (25)	78 (13)	14 (2)	600
Problems faced by female drivers					
Horn behind	53 (32)	60 (36)	36 (21)	18 (11)	167
Over taking	30 (18)	63 (38)	61 (36)	13 (8)	167
Blocking the way	26 (16)	39 (23)	75 (45)	27 (16)	167
Types of harassment by riders for pedestrian					
Closely/swiftly pass	152 (25)	202 (34)	170 (28)	76 (13)	600
Sudden horn	95 (15)	203 (34)	175 (29)	127 (22)	600
Break up abruptly/closely	80 (13)	146 (24)	199 (33)	175 (30)	600
Pose to start	43 (7)	96 (16)	145 (24)	316 (53)	600
Relationship of harassment with the get up of females					
Covered face	185 (31)	141 (23)	193 (32)	81 (14)	600
Open face	131 (22)	234 (39)	211 (35)	24 (4)	600
Bare headed	266 (44)	195 (33)	119 (20)	20 (3)	600
Covered head	88 (15)	178 (30)	290 (48)	44 (7)	600
Exposing outlay	453 (75)	87 (15)	41 (7)	19 (3)	600
Non-exposing outlay	49 (8)	144 (24)	299 (50)	108 (18)	600
With make up	327 (54)	194 (32)	75 (13)	4 (1)	600
Without make up	46 (7)	149 (25)	321 (54)	84 (14)	600

As far as forms of harassment are concerned, 46% were always harassed through staring, 34% often received cat calls and 33% were often harassed through meaningful songs. Mostly respondents revealed that females are always harassed at deserted (60%) and overcrowded (52) places. Out of 600 females, 167 used to drive themselves. Out of 167 respondents, 32% always faced the problem of unnecessary horn behind, when they drive and 38% often faced undue overtaking. 34% respondents said that riders often very swiftly pass by them, and another 34% often faced sudden horn which scared them during walk. Respondents revealed that females are always harassed with exposing outlays (75%), with make-up (54%), with bare head and with covered face (31%).

Table 4
Reactions Regarding Harassment

Feeling of the respondents when they are harassed	Always f(%)	Often f(%)	Rare f(%)	Never f(%)	Total
Happiness	28 (5)	24 (4)	62 (10)	486 (81)	600
Normal	162 (27)	156 (26)	122 (20)	160 (27)	600
Depressed	181 (30)	153 (25)	160 (27)	106 (18)	600
Frightened	133 (22)	114 (19)	155 (26)	198 (33)	600
Reaction on facing an incident of harassment					
Slap the offender	16 (3)	24 (4)	87 (14)	473 (79)	600
Faced the incident	137 (23)	90 (15)	125 (21)	248 (41)	600
Call for help	19 (3)	17 (3)	37 (6)	527 (88)	600
Felt helpless	135 (22)	97 (16)	107 (18)	261 (44)	600
Frequency Responses of People who witness any act of harassment					
Unconcerned	188 (31)	148 (25)	128 (21)	136 (23)	600
Blame females	45 (8)	64 (11)	79 (13)	412 (68)	600
Discourage male	83 (14)	135 (22)	149 (25)	233 (39)	600
Enjoy it	258 (43)	161 (27)	92 (15)	89 (15)	600

All of the respondents had unpleasant feeling regarding harassment. Mostly never called for help (88%) and felt helpless (22%). While mostly people who witness such incident, enjoy (43%) the harassment of females or become unconcerned (31%). They never discouraged (39%) males.

Table 5
Suggestions for the safe mobility of females

Suggestions	f(%)
Separate conveyance for females	227 (27)
Strict legislation/law and order	216 (25)
Parent's role	86 (10)
Self-development of females	186 (22)
Positive role of media/Mass education	135 (16)
Total	850 (100)

27% suggestions came in favor of separate transport for females and 25% were in favor of strict legislation against harassment and maintenance of overall law and order situation.

4.2 Qualitative Findings

In the words of a 35 years old journalist, "Now a days no female is safe whether she is a 6 years old girl or an old lady of 60." She is quite pessimist about the solution of the problem, as she says, "even if you want to send your girls to educate them, arrange a personal vehicle for them otherwise let them stay at home, uneducated but at least safe." A 24 years old Master student, has become neurotic due to some bitter incident of harassment as she talks about an unsuccessful attempt of suicide.

All three groups were in simple consensus that sexual harassment outside the house does exist and is on increase which restricts their mobility. During the discussions, it was observed that students get affected from severe frustration. House-wives not only become nervous at the spot, they also get worried about safety of their daughters and character building of young boys. Working women generally had courage to face such incidents.

5. Conclusion

This paper has presented the findings from a study of the relationship between everyday harassment women have to contend with when they are going to and from work/school/college/university, the markets or leisure activities. In the nut shell, the study concluded that there are so many ways, including staring, cat calls, touching and so forth, to harass females when they are out and without any male company. During analysis, five hypotheses were tested and results are as follows:

1. The analysis shows that the response or reaction of younger females is more offensive. As a negative relationship is found between age and slap ($N=600$, $r = -.100^*$). ($N=600$, $-.299^{**}$) was found between age and facing the situation of harassment which means more the age of respondents, lower is the tendency of facing the situation or vice versa. So the **first hypothesis**, "Younger females would have more aggressive reaction towards/against sexual harassment" is approved.
2. **Second hypothesis**, "greater frequency of sexual harassment will restrict the mobility of women" been approved as results

reflected a +ve relationship between frequency of harassment and restricted mobility of women (N=600, $r=.142^{**}$).

3. **Third hypothesis**, “those women who use public transport will experience /face more sexual harassment has been approved because results reflected a significance +ve relationship between mode of transportation and frequency of harassment (N=600, $r+.130^{**}$).
4. **Fourth hypothesis**, “qualified females would have more knowledge of their legal rights regarding sexual harassment” is rejected as more qualified females have less knowledge about prevalence of any legal rights against harassment. Qualification of respondents has a -ve relationship (N=600, $r=-.112^{**}$).
5. Age of respondents has -ve relationship (N=600, $r=-.099^{*}$) with frequency of harassment that means younger females have to face more harassment than aged women. So **fifth hypothesis** “younger females will experience more sexual harassment” has been approved.

Further, quantitative data when analyzed with qualitative data, helped arrive at certain conclusions that:

- No female is safe from sexual harassment irrespective of their age, get up and status.
- Causes of sexual harassment are poor law and order situation, improper socialization and male domination.
- Females know that harassment is a crime but majority don't call for help. They observe 'tolerate and ignore' policy, change their routes, minimize the frequency of going out or decide to stay at home.
- Females are pessimist about role of police and law enforcement agencies. Results show that sexual harassment is one of the most under reported offences.
- Harassment affects females badly as they feel nervous, frightened, depressed, frustrated and even neurotic.
- Almost all respondents demanded a separate transport system for females and overall maintenance of law and order situation.

6. Recommendations

1. There should be separate transport system for females on all routes by the government, it may be provided from social policy

- package of the country or from funds for women development or gender development programs such as GRAP.
2. There should be separate and equal compartment for females in all types of public vehicles and on bus stops.
 3. At school/ college/ office time, there should be a special transport service for females.
 4. Strict legislation is need of the time i.e. laws covering all forms of sexual harassment, and heavy penalties should be imposed on offenders. This also includes revising existing anti-harassment law to include street harassment.
 5. There should be police officer/s including female officers on bus stops with necessary equipment (mobile, bike etc.) and authority to check and respond to such incidents.
 6. A cultural shift is needed, and therefore, there should be a mass campaign through media to train/educate women as to how to avoid/handle harassment, and to teach boys/ males to respect females.
 7. Status of females in Islam should be highlighted in our syllabus.
 8. The concerned government departments, NGOs, women rights activists and social advocacy groups should work to strengthen females' self-image, their awareness regarding their status and legal rights, and train and equip women with technology, e.g., mobile phone camera and apps, to respond to street harassment.
 9. The concerned government departments and NGOs should train women to support each other and record such incidents and share with law enforcement to get fines and penalties imposed.
 10. There should be more constructive/recreational facilities for men available in the country so that they could not deviate to such kind of negative activities.

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VIOLENCE IN MARITAL DISPUTES: A MEAN TO CONTROL WOMEN IN URBAN AREAS OF PAKISTAN

Shahla Tabassum*
Rukhsana Hasan**

Abstract

This study explores the implications of marital disputes on women. Radical Feminist theory remains the core theoretical lens to see violence as consequence of disputes to control women in marital relationship. For the present study, the sample size was selected by using two stage sampling procedure. The sample size was calculated 400 married women through systematic random sampling technique but only 318 married women participated. The tool used was self-structured close ended questionnaire for cross sectional survey of sampled population. It was found that, 98% women experience disputes during their marital life indicating marital conflict an acceptable social occurrence. The results further indicate that counterargument in disputes may result in violence, both verbal and physical. Radical feminist believed that challenging men's authority is perceived as a threat to their masculinity, thus men resort to violence in order to maintain their dominance.

Keywords: Women, Marital disputes, Violence, Control.

Introduction

The paper examines the complexity of violence in marital dispute and the way extent of violence is used to control women. In all kinds of relationships, even healthy ones, people face issues, differences and conflicts. People's behavior and actions during such arguments or conflicts distinguishes healthy relationships from unhealthy ones. In a healthy relationship there is no fear of physical or verbal abuse, therefore individuals discuss and attempt to resolve the issue. However, in an unhealthy relationship there is

*Shahla Tabassum, Assistant Professor, Department of Gender Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi. shahlasuhail@hotmail.com

**Rukhsana Hasan, Assistant Professor, Department of Gender Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi. rukhsana1960@yahoo.ca

always a threat of violence and usually there are personal insults accompanied with yelling and abusive language. A recently published report in Daily English newspaper 'Dawn' by Faiza Illayas on November 6th 2016, has documented that every second women in Pakistan experience domestic violence of some form. The report has further indicated, "...prevalence of domestic abuse in Pakistan ranges from 21% to 50% and generally women suffer violence over conflict with husbands and in-laws, and mostly during the period of financial crisis." The previous literature on the current subject matter reveals that intimate partner violence/spousal abuse, is the most common form of domestic violence in many societies of the world, and is defined as any form of abuse that takes place in a relationship between adults (Hajnasiri, Gheshlagh, Sayehmiri, Moafi & Farajzadeh, 2016). In separate researches, Zakar et al (2013) and Nasrullah et al (2009), have also documented high percentage of domestic violence in Pakistan. According to the 2010 report of Aurat foundation there were 608 reported cases of domestic violence in Pakistan in 2009 (<http://www.af.org.pk/>). The UN Women (2017) report has also acknowledged that intimate partner abuse has been a major public-health issue affecting more than 2 million women worldwide, and one in three women have encountered physical or sexual abuse — generally by a spouse/partner. As per the statistics published in 2012, 1 among every 2 women, worldwide, has been killed by their partners/families. Domestic violence comes in many forms and varies across spectrum and cuts across class categories (Collins, 2009). According to Population Reports (1999), physical abuse by spouses against wives is from 10% to 50%.

Since, 1980s, domestic/marital violence, is considered to be the world's most serious social issue, cross cutting ethnic, cultural, social, and geographical frontiers and generally endorsed in all societies (Hajnasiri et al., 2016; Moasheri, Miri, Abolhasannejad, Hedayati, & Zangoie, 2012; Tavassoli & Monirifar, 2009), through legal ratification of subjugation of women. As documented by

Bodaghabadi (2007), domestic/marital violence encompasses verbal, sexual, physical, and economic abuse along with divorce and threats of divorce. Scholars have ascribed the occurrence and prevalence of spousal violence to a combination of private and communal aspects, along with wider social behavior.

While discussing the forms and extent of marital violence very few studies have documented the role conflicts/disputes have played in the context of marital abuse. Cox & Demmitt (2013) has documented, that family members believe that conflict happens when what one family member wants is at odd with what one or more family members want. A domestic dispute is any disagreement, especially between husband and wife, on a single issue, or on multiple issues, during their marital relationship, which may or may not include violence. It has also been documented in various researches that disputes/conflicts, between couples, are normal social realities that are essential for a healthy marital life (Asadi, Moghaddam, Hashemian & Akaberi 2013; Mahapatra, 2012; Yount & Li L 2010; Ostenson & Zhang, 2014). Issues related to money, domestic affairs, interpersonal behavior, personal liking and disliking, family matters, food habits, tastes, styles and communication patterns can lead to disputes (Olson & DeFrain, 1994). Apart from these, behavior of husbands, poor communication skills (David. 2014, Dildar, Sitwat & Yasin 2013; D'Souza, Karkada, Somayaji, & Venkatesaperumal, 2013; Samani. 2008), incompatible needs, lack of collaboration in the family, issues related to children and other family members ((Dildar, Sitwat & Yasin, 2013), son preference and rejection of female child, (D'Souza et al., 2013) and family background (Samani, 2008) can also be the causes of marital conflicts.

In Pakistani society, marital disputes are acceptable social reality among married people (Abbott et al., 2006). Generally, in the societies, like Pakistan, disputes are considered constructive in the marital relationship for the development of the couple's harmonious relationship. Gender based socialization, that assist

men to dominate women, and trained women to be docile and to be used as sex objects (Ollenburger & Moore, 1992), also plays an important role in creating marital disputes among couples. Researches have documented that economic responsibility and financial issues are major reasons of marital disputes which in turn may lead to violence in the relationship, according to Bourgois (1996) violence against women becomes a social norm in situations where men can no longer control or economically support their families. Furthermore, Jewkes (2002) has documented a close relationship between spousal conflict, poverty, power and manhood. Elaborating the concept, she cited Gelles (1974), also supported by the findings of Dobash & Dobash, (2011) and Dildar, Sitwat, & Yasin (2013), who believed that generally men living in poverty, because of their inability to fulfill their responsibility of bread winner, are unable to live up to the criteria of “successful” men, hence, in case of disputes, had to resort to violence. Similarly, in many societies, wife is responsible to look after the domestic chores (Abbott, et al., 2006) and if she fails to fulfill her responsibilities due to any reason, including women involvement in the paid economic activity, marital dispute may occur (Christine & Leonard, 1992).

In situations where the disputes begin to verbalize within the family and friends (Shaw & Lee, 2014) the pressure is on the women to adapt to the precarious situation. Hence, encouraging men to depend on the use of force to maintain control (Renzetti et al., 2001), it has already been documented by Brownmiller (1975), in her book “Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape”, that violence is one vehicle for attaining male dominance. Formation of power hierarchies within the family creates a patriarchal structure that may increase the risk of violence against women. This risk of violence exists and keep increasing with in the patriarchal family structure as it reinforce the relationships in which males are accorded higher statuses than females (Anderson, 1997), thus men consider it their right to control women by using different strategies

of violence, what Johnson (1995) refer to "patriarchal terrorism" in his work on intimate partner violence. Keeping this scenario in mind, the study investigate the extent of marital disputes that leads towards violence and how that violence is used as a strategy to control women.

Theoretical Framework

This research uses sociocultural model and radical feminist theory to evaluate patriarchal ideologies that are learned through socialization, and cultural doctrines which have led to the heightened risk of abuse in marital relationships. According to one sociocultural perspective marital violence is a socialized behavior where people are trained to use violence (Stets & Straus, 1990; Straus, 2008) and to conduct violent actions condoned by the family and society (Gelles & Straus, 1988).

Another sociocultural perspective view marital abuse as a form of violence by men to induce fear and to enforce a patriarchal social order in different institutions of society, especially in the family. Scholars have acknowledged that abusive behavior has political support that legitimate male control and domination across multiple levels of society (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Walker, 1979; Pence, 1983; Bograd, 1988). As documented by Archer (2006), in cross cultural analysis, the rate of violence against female partners is higher in societies with greater gender inequality and strong sexist attitudes, indicating that violence is not natural, rather an outcome of patriarchal socialization and gender inequality. It has also been documented that men are overwhelmingly the perpetrators of such crimes and that women are just the sufferers (Mackay, 2015). Radical feminism defines male violence against women as a symptom of patriarchy where such violence is both cause and a consequence of male domination and female subordination. According to Radical feminist theory violence against women is a form of societal control, thus even when targeted violence occurs it affects generally all women. Violence not only restrict women's freedom, liberty and personhood but it also control women's lives, well-being, and self-respect (Mackay, 2015). It explains that the fear of male violence is used to force women to depend on family and male partners. The theory also contests the portrayal of men as protectors of women as it is documented that

women are more at risk from known men at home than someone unknown from outside. Hence, it can be concluded that male violence has nothing to do with nature but it is socially constructed. Males are expected to be aggressive, and exploitative; thus creating a patriarchal system that condones exploitation of women' (Jeffreys et al., 1985).

Methodology

Objectives

- To investigate the causes and frequency of marital disputes among married couples.
- To explore the nature and extent of violence in case of marital disputes.

Material and Method

Survey research method was used to collect the information. A self-designed close ended questionnaire was employed to explore the causes of marital disputes, and extent of violence in cases of marital disputes. The instrument was validated through content, face and criterion validity. Two stage sampling technique was adopted for data collection. Two cities, Lahore and Rawalpindi were selected and from each city two union councils were chosen that were densely populated. Based on the information of local maps, streets and houses were selected to obtain the sample. The criteria used for sample selection was having at least one year marital experience and currently living with their husband. Informed consent was also obtained as well as confidentiality of the respondents was also ensured. There were 4000 houses of four union councils and through systematic random sampling technique 400 married women met the criteria but only 318 married women volunteered to participate in this study. Initially, all the women had given their consent to participate in the study but 82 women changed their decision after going through the questionnaire. At that stage of the research it was difficult to add on other 82 respondents as replacement. The tool was pre-tested and then used for the study. Interviews were conducted within the women's homes by female interviewers in either Urdu or Punjabi language depending upon the language they were fluent in.

Results

In any society, economic characteristics of group members play an important role in developing behavioral pattern. Therefore, it is imperative to explain the economic conditions of the respondents.

Table 1
Monthly family income

Income	Frequency	%
Less than Rs. 20,000/-	149	47
Rs. 20,001- 50,000/-	104	32
Rs. 50,001-80,000/-	41	13
Above Rs. 80,000/-	24	08
Total	318	100

The table 1 specifies that almost 80% of the respondents had total family income of Rs. 50,000/- or less, indicating that majority of the respondents belong to lower income group.

Table 2
Experience Disputes

	Frequency	%
Yes	314	98
No	04	02
Total	318	100

The table #.2 shows that 98% women in their marital life time experience disputes for number of reasons.

Table 3
Frequency of Marital Disputes

MD	Frequency	%
Daily	43	14
Once in a week	54	17
Twice in a week	47	15
Once in a month	86	27
Twice in month	50	16
Every six month or more	34	11
Total	314	100

The table # 3 indicates that the percentage of respondents experiencing disputes is 14, 17, 15, 27, 16 and 11 on daily, weekly, twice a week, once in a month, twice in a month and every sixth month or more, respectively.

Table 4
Reasons of Marital Disputes

Sr. #	Reasons of MD	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Lack of money	177	56	141	44
2	Infertility	47	15	271	85
3	House not cleaned	95	30	223	70
4	Meal not prepared	130	41	188	59
5	Due to behavior of children	151	47	167	53
6	Jealousy	78	25	240	75
7	Loose temper	187	59	131	41
8	Moodiness/irritability	161	51	157	49
9	Irritating behavior	149	47	169	53
10	Infidelity	70	22	248	78
11	Absence from home	109	34	209	66
12	Came late at home	204	64	114	36
13	Due to in-laws	163	51	155	49

The table 4 indicates the reasons of marital disputes, which are, financial issues, (56%), infertility (15%), house not being cleaned properly (30%), meal not prepared on time (41%), behavior of children/family members (47%), Jealousy (25%), husbands' loose temper (59%), the moodiness/irritability of the husband (51%), irritating habits, (47%), infidelity (22%), absence of husbands from home (30%), husbands' late arrival at home (64%), and because of too much involvement of in-laws (51%).

Table 5
Subjected to Abuse

	Type of Abuse	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Verbal abuse*	190	60	128	40
2	Physical abuse**	94	30	224	70

* $\chi^2 (1) = 12.088, P < .001$ ** $\chi^2 (1) = 53.145, P < .000$

The table 5 reveals association between nature of abuse and whether women faced abuse or not. The results indicate significant differences of verbal and physical abuse faced by women during marital disputes.

Table 6
Nature of Threats During Marital Disputes

Sr. #	Nature of Threats	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Remarry	65	20	253	80
2	Separation	54	17	264	83
3	Divorce	57	18	261	82
4	Take away children	40	13	278	87
5	Withhold money	47	15	271	85
6	Threaten to commit suicide	24	8	294	92

The table 6 reveals the threats used by the male partner during disputes to control women. The results show that 20% respondents were vulnerable to the threats of remarry, 18% were threatened with divorce, while threats of separation were faced by 17% of the respondents, 15% have to face the threats of withholding money, 13% were intimidated with the threats to take away their children.

Table 7
Nature of Physical Abuse During Marital Disputes

Sr. #	Physical Abuse	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Throw something	86	27	232	73
3	Pushing	87	27	231	73
4	Slapping	94	30	224	70
5	Grabbing	62	19	256	81
6	Twist of arm	63	20	255	80
7	Use of leg	54	17	264	83

The table 7 is about different forms of physical abuse perpetrated during the disputes with the partner. The 30% respondents were subjected to slapping, 27% faced pushing and tossing of something at them, respectively. The rest 20%, 19% and 17% of the respondents had to face twisting of arm, grabbing and kicking by their husbands, respectively.

Discussion

The main objectives of this study were to investigate the causes of marital disputes and to explore the nature and extent of violence in case of marital disputes. It has been discussed that the violence in marital disputes enables men to control women. The participants in

the study belonged to lower income group, (working class) of Lahore and Rawalpindi, having Rs. 50,000/- or less in the form of total family income from all sources. The results showed that 98% of respondents experience disputes in their marital relationship, because it is considered as a normal occurrence in society and this is supported with field observation under study that one of the woman said dispute is, "*Too too maan maan*" skirmishes. Another woman commented that "*mun mari ty hoee jandy aye*", "minor skirmishes do occur in the relationship". An old woman observed that "*dwo pandey hawoon gay, ohoey thee karkaan gay*", i.e., "where there are two utensils they will make noise", implying that when people live together, they will have difference of opinion or argument. Another respondent discussing the importance of dispute said, "*Adee nal tee piar da pata chalada aye*", i.e., "these disputes indicates the love the couple have for each other". Several other studies have also supported these results that considered marital disputes a natural and normal behavior in the society (Asadi, Moghaddam, Hashemian & Akaberi 2013; Mahapatra, 2012; Yount & Li L 2010; Ostenson & Zhang, 2014, Anderson, 1997) indicating that disputes are common social realities and are valuable for a healthy marital life. Olson and DeFrain (1994) explained that conflict is not only acceptable but highly desirable if it is constructive for meaningful relationship, while Abbott et al. (2005) was of the view that although marital disputes are considered to be a part of a normal behavior, yet marital disputes are more acceptable for men than for women.

The frequency of the disputes was different as it was highest on monthly basis and the rest was divided almost equally on daily, weekly, and fortnightly basis. The major reasons for marital disputes, cited by the respondents, was loose temper, the moodiness & irritating behavior of the husband, and finance related issues, these reasons are also supported by the previous researches (David. 2014, Dildar, Sitwat & Yasin 2013; D'Souza, Karkada, Somayaji, & Venkatesaperumal, 2013; Samani. 2008) as well as by Olson and DeFrain (1994) who have highlighted four reasons of conflict in marital relationship, i.e., money, family issues, communication styles and personal tastes. The study by Jewkes (2002) has also documented that there is a close relationship between marital conflict, poverty, power and manhood. Results

strengthened the claim by Gelles (1974) that due to poverty men were unable to live up to their ideas of "successful" manhood, thus leading to conflict and violence against women.

The results of the study have also indicated that different forms of psychological violence were used by the husbands during marital disputes, like threats of divorce, remarriage, separation, economic pressures like withholding money because of their control over financial resources as majority of the respondents were economically dependent on them. Leone et al. (2004) who have documented that in some cases women do not experience physical violence in their relationship but they are more prone to psychological distress, and economic violence. This is also supported by the work of Johnson (1995) who argued that various forms of threats, economic subordination, isolation and other control tactics during marital disputes have resulted in different forms of violence, which according to him is the product of the patriarchal tradition of a man's right to control his woman.

As discussed above, based on the responses of the participants, psychological and verbal abuse, including accusations of infidelity, was a common occurrence. These were the tactics husbands use to stop them from counter argument. This is supported by Radical feminist theory that states male dominance in marital relationship maintain authority through the subjugation of women and violence is one means for achieving it (Brownmiller, 1975). It is further argued that the oppression of women is a sex-based class phenomenon. Renzetti et al., (2001) have also discussed the relationship between the ideology of violence and masculinity and mentioned that men are more prone to depend on the use of power to retain control over women. Radical feminist believed that male dominance is structured into the institution of family/marriage, as it reproduces and reinforce asymmetrical power relations in the society. Also supported by Abbott et al. (2005) that families embody power relationships that generally result in conflict, abuse and unequal distribution of work and resources. Conway-Turner & Cherrine (1998) believed that marital relationship prescribed women with roles that consolidate women's subordinate position thus creating conditions for female oppression within the family. It is the ideology of male dominance, which legitimizes the use of force

in relationship, and where women themselves reconfirmed male authority/power.

The causes of conflicts leading to domestic violence are complex; however, in order to understand the relationship between marital conflicts and domestic violence, Jewkes (2002) has specified two important factors, i.e, unequal situation of women in a particular relationship and normative use of abuse in case of dispute. In many societies, especially where women lack the social and economic ability to leave the relationship and return to their family or live alone, have severely curtailed their ability to act against an abuser. Normative nature of violence, reinforced during childhood experiences, increases the likelihood of male perpetration and women's acceptance of abuse.

Conclusion

Disputes are a common occurrence in the marital relationship and it is an acceptable reality but to what extent these dispute transform into domestic violence was the issue to be explored in the research. It has been documented that various forms of violence are used to control women. The study has specified various reasons for marital disputes ranging from moodiness of the husband, poverty, interference of the in-laws, infertility, infidelity and not performing household chores while extent and frequency of violence varies based on the reason of dispute. The disputes may trigger and become violent if women counter argue with the husband. Generally, when the husband is unable to control the situation, he resorts to violent tactics, either verbal or physical, to exert his power. Results have indicated that along with verbal abuse and threats, different coercive tactics are also utilized to control women, which in some cases, culminate into physical violence. If reasons of conflict are analyzed, then it becomes clear that conflicts about transgressions of gender norms and failure to fulfill cultural stereotypes of good womanhood are among the most important variables for violence in case of marital relationship. During and after disputes generally, the pressure is on women to resolve the issue and keep the relationship intact. The structure of the society keeps reinforcing the submission of women. It is vital to create awareness about the complex web of patriarchy that benefit the system, especially the few who control the system. The system can

be reformed if a clear understanding is developed about the complexity of patriarchy and its effect on both men and women. Cross-cultural research suggests that societies with stronger ideologies of male dominance have more cases of marital violence. Violence against women is thus seen not just as an expression of male powerfulness and dominance over women, but also as being rooted in male vulnerability arising from social expectations of manhood that are unattainable because of several factors. It can be concluded that male violence is a socially constructed phenomenon where males are expected to be aggressive, and exploitative, thus creating a patriarchal system that condones exploitation of women. Radical feminist theory states that violence against women is a form of societal control. The study supports the stance of radical feminist theory that violence is a form of social control enforced to subjugate women so that the patriarchal authority can remain unchallenged.

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BULLYING IN SOCIAL MEDIA: AN EFFECT STUDY OF CYBER BULLYING ON THE YOUTH

Sumera Batool*

Rabia Yousaf**

Feroza Batool***

Abstract

This research study seeks to investigate the bullying in social media and its effects on youth to extract the factors that have influence on their state of mind, academic performance. The survey research under the umbrella of Online Disinhibition Effect approach revealed that the youngsters, both girls and boys, in Pakistan get involved as well as become a target via cyber bullying. Moreover, the study concluded that cyber bullying affects the psyche of youth that result in negative consequences on academic performance, emotional disturbance and gaps in relationship. The results showed that there is also a significant gender difference and girls are more likely to be sufferers and more affected via cyber bullying as compared to boys.

Keywords: Social Media, Cyber bullying, Effects, Youth.

Introduction

Bullying in social media is a heterogeneous and multifaceted phenomenon that instantly distresses the millions of people every year. "Bullying" refers to aggressive goal-oriented activity that creates problems for another person, who cannot certainly protect herself or himself, within the framework of power imbalance (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Smith & Sharp, 1994; Olweus, 1999; Rigby, 2002; Ringrose, 2008; Volk, Dane, & Marini, 2014). Traditionally, bullying happens in physical, verbal and relational forms (Smith, Madsen, & Moody, 1999; Archer & Coyne, 2005; Nylund et al., 2007)

*Sumera Batool, Assistant Professor, Deptt. of Mass Communication, Lahore College for Women University. sumerabatoolnaqvi@yahoo.com

**Rabia Yousaf, M.Phil Fellow, Deptt. of Mass Communication, Lahore College for Women University. rabiayousaf2014@gmail.com

***Feroza Batool, PhD Scholar, Deptt. of Gender Studies, University of the Punjab, feroza_batool@yahoo.com

but, in recent times, online too, labelled as cyber bullying (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009; Vandebosch & Cleemput, 2009; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009; Fredstrom, Adams, & Gilman, 2011) in which the aggression transpires through electronic means or information and communication technological devices (Slonje & Smith, 2008). The online victimization in latter case is often called as “cyber bullying” (Levy et al., 2012). There are many ways of cyber bullying including, but not limited to, sending SMS via mobile or internet, commenting disparaging on a social media, showcasing disgusting pictures, or threatening.

The advancement in communication technologies has nurtured the cyber bullying with perturbation of internet, cell phones, and computers. Youngsters are very highly to be engaged in these technologies and victim of bullying. “Digital generation” is frequently used for reporting young generation (Buckingham, 2013). This idea of digital generation, by Tapscott (1998), claimed that technology is reason behind change in the thinking. Conversely, Buckingham (2013) disapproves the discrimination based on technology and reported that social media is an aid to extend the face-to-face communication by means of gossiping, flirting, showing off, quarrelling and to mention a few. However, Papacharissi (2014) claimed that online technologies are reason of breaching the boundaries of private and public life. The self-confidence can be threatened by online streaming and disseminated to audience as source of amusement reason being “young people have always attentive to self-presentation, friendships have always been made, displayed and broken” (Livingstone, 2008). On an average, offline peer stakes offer both winning and losing, hence it is very likely that peer interaction sometime evolve the bullying online which usually take place offline. Advent of communication made daily life relations close and sometime exposing relational hostility (Weinstein & Selman, 2014).

Low and Espelage (2013) conducted a study in USA and reported that around 10 - 33% of youth aged between 11-19 years reported being victim of cyber bullying and 15% of youth reported themselves as accused of cyber bullying. On the same line, Li (2006) investigated cyber bullying in junior high school in Canada and reported that about 25% of students are victims of cyber bullying. In conjunction to that, Hemphill and Heerde (2014) carried out

study in Australia and concluded that 5.1% of young people are accused of cyber bullying, 5% reported as being bullied online, and 9.5% reported both cyber bullying perpetration and being bullied. It is often observed that bullying has severe negative effects on person's life and makes it highly difficult to survive for the rest of life. These effects are very widely observed in the adolescents' emotional and psychological health concerns. One of the prominent and noticeable effect is absence from school very often and lower academic grades than counterparts (Ladd, Kochenderfer, and Coleman, 1997; Schwartz et al., 2005; Juvonen and Gross, 2008). The utmost and dangerous consequence of cyber bullying is suicide (Bauman, Toomey, & Walker, 2013). In this way, effects of cyber bullying in empirical terms is similar to face-to-face bullying. The cyber bullying cause degradation to personality trait such as lowered self-esteem, emotional alienation, poor academic attendance, poor learning outcomes, and diminish the capacity to form relationships (Englander, Mills, & McCoy, 2009; Hutzell & Payne, 2012; Kowalski & Limber, 2013). Further, Currie, Kelly, and Pomerantz (2007) pointed that there are gender difference in social interactions of male and female at school level and handled by peers. The effects of bullying and their expressions are tackled differently both genders (Ringrose, 2008). Therefore, it is imperative to analyze the effect of cyber bullying on the different gender (Kofoed & Ringrose, 2012). Males usually bully by means of physicality while women females tend to adopt more hidden and biased ways to assert bullies (Hutzell & Payne, 2012).

An extensive review of past studies was carried out to investigate the effects of cyberbullying on youth and how the earlier researchers conducted their study, what sort of health disorders were presented, how bullying in social media is associated with gender and how they presented that youngsters with depression are more susceptible to emotional stress than the counterparts. The summary of all these questions is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Summaries of literature related to cyber bullying and its effects on youth using cross sectional design

Research Findings	Authors
Nature of Bullying	
Cyber bullying can be recognized by bullying traces (the involvement of bullies or the material send/posted	Jun-Ming, Sung Jun, Zhu & Bellmore, 2012

on the internet or through text messages)	
Student can bully i.e. text message, email and phone call	Slonje & Smith, 2008
Emotional and Psychological Disturbance	
Increased suicidal ideation and depression	Bonanno & Hymel, 2013
Increased stress, social difficulties, depression and anxiety	Campbell, 2005
Decreased psychosocial health and sense of belonging to school	Wong et al., 2015
Increased negative emotions	Hinduja & Patchin, 2011
Increased aggression and rule-breaking behavior	Ybarra & Mitchell, 2007
Increased aggression, illegal behavior and suicidality	Schneck & Fremouw, 2013
Gender Differences	
Girls are more often victims	<u>Wang, Ionnotti, & Nansel, 2009</u>
Girls cyber bully more than boys	<u>Slonje et al., 2013</u>
Boys cyber bully significantly more than girls	<u>Erdur-Baker, 2010</u>
No significant gender differences for internet aggressors or victims.	Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004
Boys are more involved in bullying than girls	<u>Li, 2006</u>
Academic Performance	
Visible linkage between the excessive use of social media and in lowering the academic performance	Cloud, 2013

Previous researches have only examined the cyber bullying effects on school going children but no such research study was found that describe the effects of cyber bullying on youth in Pakistan. That's why the researchers have chosen this topic to examine the gender differences, academic performance and emotional or psychological disturbances in the victimized youth. The study also extends to the investigation of gaps in social relationships of youth due to cyber bullying that had not been considered in previous researches. Hence the present research study is mainly a four-fold analysis of the issue.

Objectives of the Study

The present research study involves to:

- investigate whether cyber bullying have any emotional impact on youth.
- find out whether the academic performance of youth is being affected by cyber bullying.
- know which gender is more involved and more affected by bullying in social media.
- explore whether bullying in social media have any effect on the social relationship.

Research Questions

The research questions of the present research study are:

1. Whether bullying in social media is creating any psychological disturbances among its users?
2. Whether cyber bullying is having influences on the learning capacities of youth?
3. Does the bullying in social media is associated with gender?
4. Does the cyber bullying create gaps in social relationships?

Theoretical Framework

Online Disinhibition Effect (Suler, 2004) being new theoretical perspective, has been used in the present research study and it defines the reason of different behavior of people for acting differently from face-to-face conversation. For instance, often people are seen to share personal information about themselves online which they are hesitant to do so normally. Conversely, many people behave more rude, cruel and cynical while online. The anonymous effect in online disinhibition could be one of the factors. Use of fake username does not reveal originality of person which leads to transferability of personality trait in online conversation. In addition, invisibility of identity helps person to say anything without facing any consequence of their action. The aggressor is also not required to present any facial expression, emotions or body gesture which may cause burden of guilt. In addition, the relationship created online, present false sense of closeness and security. Such relationships are misunderstood and yield false sense of safety and wrong feeling which usually person does not feel in real life.

Research Method

Participants/Respondents

The population was comprised of youth of Lahore and 255 respondents were selected by snowball sampling technique through the identification of an initial subject who provided contacts with other subjects who had ever faced cyber bullying.

Measurement Tool

The questionnaire was self-designed while considering the prior literature for getting better picture of sample. A total of 18 questions was obtained from studies and articles considered in the literature review (Li, 2006). Further 16 questions were mainly designed for contributing towards answering critical research

questions. It was assured to the respondents that their participation in the survey would be voluntary, confidential, anonymous and they may leave out any question which they cannot answer comfortably (Sachdeva, 2009). After initial demographic questions, general questions were asked that how much the respondents were using social networking sites (5-point scales: never; rarely; sometime; often; always), and which site they used mostly. Afterwards the questions related to the effects of cyberbullying were asked and which gender is more involved and effected by it. The operational definitions of study's variables are presented in table 2.

Table 2
Operational Definitions

Variables	Operational Definitions
Demographic Predictors	Youth refers to the individuals of 15 to 24 years old.
Youth	Gender characterized as "Male" or "Female".
Gender	
Cyber Activities	Communication or personal activities using any form of technological device (the Internet or social networking websites), such as online risk behaviors, frequent Internet use, hours spent online, and e-mailing/texting.
Cyber bullying	
Effects	Emotional effects refer to disturbance, anxiety, aggression, stress or depression due to the cyber bullying.
Emotional Effects	
Academic Performance	Academic performance denotes to an educational status of youth that is being affected by the cyber bullying.
Gaps in Social Relationship	Social relationship gap refers to the disturbance between the bonding of two close friends or family due to cyber bullying.

Findings and Results

According to the survey, findings of emotional impact of cyber bullying on youth shows that 34.9% respondents never get angry while receiving the instant messages in their accounts, 20.0% respondents rarely, 25.5% sometime get angry, 10.2% respondents often and 9.4% always get angry while receiving the instant messages in their accounts. While 48.6% respondents always feel insecure when someone misuses their pictures, 17.6% respondents never, 11.8% respondents rarely, 13.3% respondents sometime and 8.6% often feel insecure. Feeling of irritation is another factor which raised when someone steals other's personal information and

phone number. In this regard, 12.9% respondents never feel annoying when someone steals their information and phone numbers, 11.0% respondents rarely, 18.0% respondents sometime, 11.4% respondents often and 46.7% respondents always feel annoying. According to the findings, 24.3% respondents never get depressed, 13.7% respondents rarely, 28.2% respondents sometime, 9 % respondents often and 24.7% respondents always get depressed when someone gives threats to them. While 20.8% respondents never, 14.9% respondents rarely and sometime while 9.4% often and 40.0% respondents always feel afraid or frightened when someone misuses their pictures. Nasty messages and threats that are given via social networking sites create a feeling of depression among youth. 17.3% respondents never get depressed, 18.0% respondents rarely, 21.2% respondents sometime, 18.4% respondents often and 25.1% respondents always get depressed due to threats that had given by someone via social networking sites. According to the survey findings, 19.2% respondents never, 15.7% respondents rarely, 23.1% respondents sometime, 14.55% often and 27.5% always feel anxious when they were go out of house. Some people send porn videos to sexually harass the youth for the purpose to gratify their own needs and it is an easier way to harass them because of the innocent mind set. Findings show that 22.7% respondents never feel tensed, 12.5% respondents rarely, 13.3% respondents sometime, 10.6% respondents often and 40.8% respondents always feel tensed when someone sexually harassed them on social networking sites (See Table 3).

Table 3
Findings of emotional impact of cyber bullying on youth

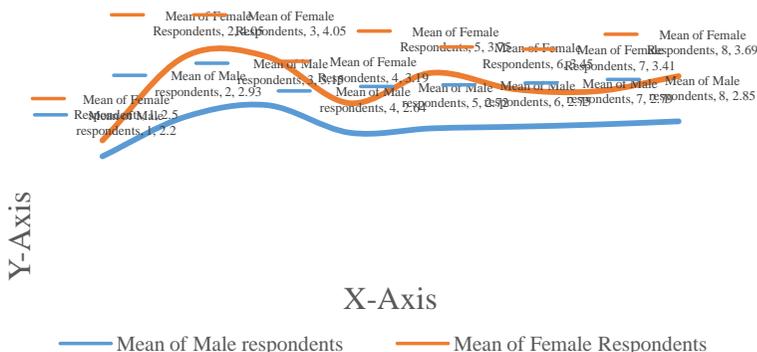
	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)	Mean of Male Respondents	Mean of Female Respondents
Feeling of angriness while receiving the instant messages in account			2.20	2.5
Never				
Rarely	89	34.9		
Sometime	51	20.0		
Often	65	25.5		
Always	26	10.2		
	24	9.4		

Feeling insecure when someone misuses your pictures			2.93	4.05
Never	45	17.6		
Rarely	30	11.8		
Sometime	34	13.3		
Often	22	8.6		
Always	124	48.6		
Feeling of annoy when someone steals personal information or phone no.			3.15	4.05
Never	33	12.9		
Rarely	28	11.0		
Sometime	46	18.0		
Often	29	11.4		
Always	119	46.7		
The threats that someone gives made depress			2.64	3.19
Never	10	3.92		
Rarely	25	9.80		
Sometime	72	28.23		
Often	23	9.01		
Always	125	49.01		
Feeling of afraid or frightened when someone misuses picture			2.72	3.75
Never	53	20.8		
Rarely	38	14.9		
Sometime	38	14.9		
Often	24	9.4		
Always	102	40		
Nasty Messages Creates Depression	44	17.3	2.75	3.45
Never	46	18.0		
Rarely	54	21.2		
Sometime	47	18.4		
Often	64	25.1		
Always				
Rumors creates feeling of anxious while to go out of house			2.79	3.41
Never	49	19.2		
Rarely	40	15.7		
Sometime	59	23.1		
Often	37	14.5		
Always	70	27.5		

Sexually harassment via social networking sites creates feeling of tension			2.85	3.69
Never	58	22.7		
Rarely	32	12.5		
Sometime	34	13.3		
Often	27	10.6		
Always	104	40.8		
			22.03	24.06
			Average: 2.75	Average: 3.00

Majority of the female’s respondents responded that cyber bullying affects emotionally and academically while majority of male respondents were rarely affected by emotionally and academically cyber bullying. (See Figure 1 and 2).

Figure 1
Mean of male and female respondents who are emotionally affected by cyber bullying via social networking sites



Social networking sites provide discussion groups which are beneficial for the youth to get knowledge and increase their

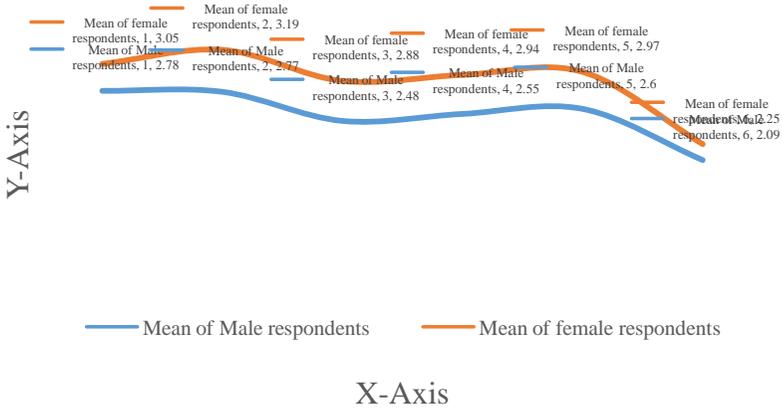
informational level. But beside this, people negatively use these sites for gratify their needs which directly affect the victim's mind. When the victim becomes mentally upset their academic performance affects. According to the survey, findings of effects of cyber bullying on academic performance of youth show that 19.6% respondents never lost their concentration on their studies due to immoral messages receive via social networking sites, while 17.3% respondents rarely, 30.2% respondents sometime, 15.3% respondents often and 17.6% always lost their concentration. While 16.1% respondents never, 18.0% respondents rarely, 32.2% sometime, 15.7% respondents often and 18.0% always feel that stress low down their motivational level. According to the findings, 25.9% respondents never feel that threats make their grades bad, while 18.4% respondents rarely, 27.8% respondents sometime, 14.1% respondents often and 13.7% respondents feel that cyberbullying effects on their grades badly and they lost their interests in studies. While 21.6% respondents never, 18.8% respondents sometime, 27.8% respondents sometime, 19.6% respondents often and 12.2% respondents always feel that depression obstructs them to participate in class. Whereas 25.1% respondents never, 19.2% respondents rarely, 25.9% respondent sometime, 12.2% respondents often and 17.6% respondents always lose their interests in studies when someone threatens them. According to the survey findings, 45.9% respondents never missed their test when someone harassed them electronically, while 15.7% respondents rarely, 20.0% respondents sometime, 11.4% respondents often, 7.1% always miss their test due to electronically harassment (See Table 4).

Table 4
Findings of effects of cyber bullying on academic performance of youth

	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Mean of Male Respondents	Mean of Female Respondents
The immoral messages disturbed to concentrate in studies			2.78	3.05
Never	50	19.6		
Rarely	44	17.3		
Sometime	77	30.2		
Often	39	15.3		
Always	45	17.6		
Stress low down the motivational level			2.77	3.19
Never	41	16.1		
Rarely	46	18.0		
Sometime	82	32.2		
Often	40	15.7		
Always	46	18.0		
Threats Make the Grade Bad			2.48	2.88
Never	66	25.9		
Rarely	47	18.4		
Sometime	71	27.8		
Often	36	14.1		
Always	35	13.7		
Threatens Lose Interest in Studies			2.55	2.94
Never	64	25.1		
Rarely	49	19.2		
Sometime	66	25.9		
Often	31	12.2		
Always	45	17.6		
Depression Obstructs to Participation in Class			2.60	2.97
Never	55	21.6		
Rarely	48	18.8		
Sometime	71	27.8		
Often	50	19.6		
Always	31	12.2		
Electronically harassment lead toward miss the test			2.09	2.25
Never	117	45.9		
Rarely	40	15.7		
Sometime	51	20.0		
Often	29	11.4		
Always	18	7.1		
			15.27	17.28
			Average: 2.54	Average: 2.88

Figure 2

Mean of male and female respondents who are academically affected by cyber bullying via social networking sites



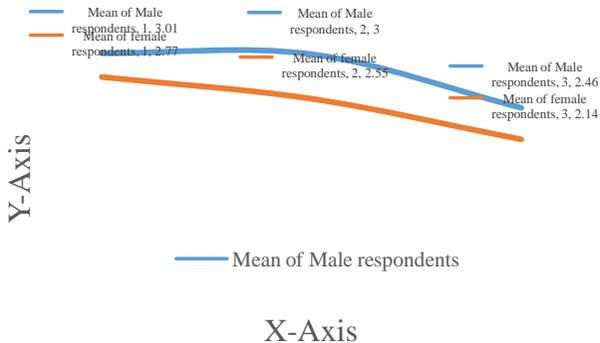
Bullying the youth via social networking sites also creates a relationship gap. They became isolated due to the rumors spread on the social networking sites. The findings of effects of cyber bullying on the social relationships indicate that 16.5% respondents strongly agree that rumors about them on social networking site isolated them from friends, 30.6% respondents agree, 16.9% respondents show the neutral response, 22.0% disagree and 14.1% strongly disagree about the above-mentioned factor. While 16.1% respondents strongly agree that the gossip about them on social networking sites creates gaps in their social gathering, 34.1% respondents agree, 19.2% respondents show the neutral response, 21.25% disagree and 9.4% respondents strongly disagree. According to the survey findings, 16.1% respondents strongly agree that they find hard to trust on their friend after knowing that he/she harasses them, 34.1% respondents agree, 19.2% respondents show the neutral response, 21.2% respondents disagree and 9.4% respondents strongly disagree (See Table 5).

Table 5
Findings of effects of cyber bullying on the social relationships

	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Mean of Male Respondents	Mean of Female Respondents
Rumors on social networking site isolated from friends			3.01	2.77
Strongly agree	42	16.5		
Agree	78	30.6		
Neutral	43	16.9		
Disagree	56	22.0		
Strongly disagree	36	14.1		
Gossip on social networking sites creates gaps in social gathering			3.00	2.55
Strongly agree	41	16.1		
Agree	87	34.1		
Neutral	49	19.2		
Disagree	54	21.2		
Strongly disagree	24	9.4		
You find hard to trust your friend after knowing that he/she harasses you?			2.46	2.14
Strongly agree				
Agree	87	34.1		
Neutral	73	28.6		
Disagree	49	19.2		
Strongly disagree	31	12.2		
	15	5.9		
			8.47	7.46
			Average: 2.82	Average: 2.48

Majority female agreed that cyber bullying damages their relation while male respondents remained neutral (See Figure 3).

Figure 3
Mean of male and female respondents who faced gaps in relationship due to cyber bullying via social networking sites



Hypothesis Testing

H₁ Bullying in social media create emotional disturbances among youth.

Table 6
Correlations between stealing the pictures via social networking sites and feeling insecure

		Did you ever steal pictures of other via social networking sites	Do you feel insecure when someone misuses your pictures?
Did you ever steal pictures of other via social networking sites	Pearson Correlation	1	-.181**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.004
	N	255	255
Do you feel insecure when someone misuses your pictures?	Pearson Correlation	-.181**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	
	N	255	255

The correlation coefficient (r) ranges between -1 to 1 i.e. $-1 \leq r \leq +1$ and it measures the degree of linear association between the two variables. A value closer to -1 shows a strong negative association between the variables and closer to +1 shows strong positive association. Values closer to zero shows a weak association or bond between the variables. As the coefficient of correlation between stealing pictures and feeling insecure is -0.181 it shows that the two variables have very low association.

H₂ Bullying in social media negatively affects the academic learning of youth.

Table 7
Correlations between getting bad grades due to depression of threats

		The threats that someone gives you made you depress?	Do you feel that threats make your grade bad?
The threats that someone gives you made you depress?	Pearson Correlation	1	.332**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	255	255
Do you feel that threats make your grade bad?	Pearson Correlation	.332**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	255	255

Results of the Correlation test in Table 7 showed that there is a weak positive association between the two variables. That means that depression from threats has effects on grades.

H₃Bullying in social media creates gaps in social relationship

Table 8
Correlations between rumors spread via social networking sites and isolation of youth

		Rumors about you make you feel anxious when you go out of house?	Do you feel that rumors about you on social networking site isolated you from friends?
Rumors about you make you feel anxious when you go out of house?	Pearson Correlation	1	-.091
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.147
	N	255	255
Do you feel that rumors about you on social networking site isolated you from friends?	Pearson Correlation	-.091	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.147	
	N	255	255

Results of the Correlation test in Table 8 exposed that there is a weak negative bond between the two variables that means the rumors spread via social networking sites isolate the person from their friends.

Discussion and Analysis

The findings of present study revealed the increased emotional and psychological effects of cyber bullying among youth. In the present age, huge number of youth is engaged to social networking sites for different reasons. The outcomes of present research study are in consistent with the previous researches (Steys, 2004; Campbell, 2005; Li, 2006) that more than the half of the total sample use the social networking sites and they consider the social networking sites as important part of their life. With the advancement in the social networking sites, youth is using these sites for the various purposes e.g. gaining the knowledge, for entertainment and communication etc. In the past few years new media technology expanded vastly. Now a day social networking sites are a medium through which people assure their status. Before that it was difficult for the people to build their status and recognize

themselves on social networking sites but in the current era, youngsters can easily make their own social identity. Majority of the respondents to the total sample agree that social networking sites reassure their status and to make new friends. There is both negative and positive use of sites as people give threats, misuse the information of others, and create rumors on the social networking which ultimately affect the individuals. The negatively use of social networking sites among the youngsters create problems of cyber bullying, which ultimately affect the psychology of the youth such as emotional and academic disturbance as well as also create social relationship gaps and the results of these mentioned factors support the previous researches (Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster,2003; Bauman,2010; Kowalski, Limber,& Agatston,2012).

The findings showed that misuse of personal material and threats create feeling of insecurity, depression, irritation and tension among youngsters. Social networking sites provide discussion forums which are beneficial for youth to acquire and enhance their knowledge and level of information. Besides this, people use these sites for gratifying their needs which directly affect the victims' academic performance. Findings of the present research study are inconsistent with the previous researches (Postmes, Spears, & Lea, 1998; Balding, 2004) and explored that many of the respondents lose their concentration in studies due to immoral messages on social networking sites which disturb them mentally. Findings related to social relationship gaps due to cyberbullying support the previous researches (Noret, & Rivers, 2006; Smith, Pepler, & Rigby, 2004) and indicate that majority of the respondents isolate with their friends due to the rumors about them on social networking sites. Majority of the respondent agree that it's hard to trust on their friends when they came to know about the person who harassed them; was their friend. There was also significant gender difference, more inconsistent with Smith *et al.* (2006) in UK than with Li (2006) in Canada. Though, the researchers found that girls were more likely to be sufferers and more affected by cyber bullying as compared to boys.

Conclusion

Internet as electronic media has no geographical boundaries and allows users to connect to the world. The recent increasing trends of social networking sites have changed the globe with the

fastest and updated interaction. The users are being benefited and being harmed at the same time. The study focused the trends of cyber bullying and its effects. The bullying in social media affects the users emotionally, academically and socially. The users of social networking sites are facing the issues of stealing the pictures, threats, rumors, nasty messages and sexual harassment. Gender is also an important and considerable variable here as it was explored that male were highly involve in bullying, while the rate of involvement of females in bullying were seemed minimum. Cyber bullying had greater emotional and academic effects on females as compared to men. The study also concluded that bullying had bad consequences on the social relation and result in isolation of the individuals.

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TERRORISM LONGEVITY LITERATURE AND TERRORISM PERSISTENCE IN PAKISTAN: EXPLORING THE THEORY AND REALITY DISCONNECT

Muhammad Feyyaz*

Abstract

Extant terrorism studies can be characterized, among other discrepancies, by the absence of systematic study of terrorism persistence more specifically the conceptual validity of prevailing longevity arguments in explaining empirical reality. This article helps to fill the gap. It does so by subjecting existing theories coalesced from a diverse set of relevant literature to a structured critique, and then pitches the salient inferences to a plausibility probe through a case study of terrorism landscape in Pakistan. Several gaps transpire in current research warranting revisit of major assumptions to harmonize theory with real time dynamics of clandestine non-state violence. More importantly, the study engenders unique insights which can benefit future study of terrorism prolongation in identical settings.

Key Words: Terrorism persistence, Pakistan, longevity arguments, variables, competition, political economy

Introduction

Indeed, terrorism has declined globally. It however persists and has actually intensified in certain new regions i.e., the US and Western Europe (Global Terrorism Index, 2016, pp.2-3). Accordingly, among other areas, the interest can be witnessed in the emerging literature to study causes underlying decline of the phenomenon. Ironically, the more compelling problem accompanying this recession i.e., metastasis of terrorism, has not received compatible scholarly attention despite its serious implications for countering terrorism. The observation does not presuppose that the longevity of atrocious violence has not been investigated, but it primarily confines to a few variable specific

*Muhammad Feyyaz, Assistant Professor, School of Governance and Society, University of Management and Technology, Lahore.
faizy68@googlemail.com

endeavours, for instance group longevity or how terrorism works or ends. The contributions by this corpus of knowledge notwithstanding, two major problems nonetheless mar empirical value of this scholarship; a) methodological skewness i.e., either the analytical canvas of these studies is too broad or they are entirely variable specific, and b) in terms of substance, the writings are exceedingly theoretical (see e.g., Biberman & Zahid, 2016 ; Rapoport, 2016 ; Popovic, 2015 ; Phillips, 2013 ; Porta, 2013, pp. 235-62 ; Alonso, 2011 ; Jones & Libicki, 2008 ; Cronin, 2006; Bloom, 2005, pp. 95-96). In practice therefore, the field of terrorism studies continues to suffer from the absence of focused study of terrorism persistence as a key variable more specifically the authenticity of conceptual validity of prevailing longevity arguments in explaining the empirical reality. This article helps to fill the gap.

Primarily, it tests knowledge claims of available theories coalesced from a diverse set of relevant literature through a structured (eclectic) critique and their objective appraisal in a practical setting - Pakistan. The selection of this country as a frame of reference seems fitting because of the unceasing spate of political violence, which it is argued owes to the primacy of different set of variables than those underpinning existing explanations of terrorism longevity, thereby warranting their revisit. The discussion thus identifies new variables, hypotheses and casual mechanisms to improve understanding about why terrorism persists in one context and not in others, which can be selectively generalized.

The main discussion proceeds in three sections. First section undertakes systematic critique of the existing explanations of terrorism longevity especially their constitutive variables. Next section highlights the security landscape of Pakistan with 9/11 as the entry point to locate which specific variables shaped and have sustained terrorism in this country. Prior to conclusion, the last section synthesizes the insights and attempts to scrutinize comparative merit of theoretical assumptions and variables evolved from empirical context. This analysis implicitly indicates future trajectory of terrorism in Pakistan.

Methodologically, the article employs a grounded theory approach by drawing upon multi source qualitative data to discern factors persevering oppositional violence, wherein the case study method provides a plausibility probe to demonstrate viability of

main argument of this paper i.e., the debility of longevity research in illuminating real time dynamics of non-state violence and thus the need to bridge the gap.

Terrorism in this paper is defined as violent political communication by clandestine non-state actors to instill fear or shape social and political behaviour and power relations of / concerned targeted audience including governments aimed at political change (Porta, 2013, p.7; English, 2016, p.10). The longevity literature simply implies scholarly renditions engaging explicitly or otherwise in studying structures or factors encouraging protraction of terrorist violence.

Terrorism Longevity Literature

This literature can be mainly gleaned from two subfields - historical theories of longevity and perpetrator groups' life cycles (or survivability) which is the main site of longevity variables encompassed in groups' studies.

Historical Theories

The historical theories - a shared terrain of continuity of terrorism - comprise three interrelated theoretical innovations - wave theory, inspiration hypothesis and strains (viruses) framework.

David Rapoport's wave construct identifies four broadly consecutive waves of terrorism - anarchist, anti-colonial, new left and religious (Rapoport, 2004, pp.46-73). Another unique explanation of terrorism constancy - *Inspiration* (italicized) - has been propounded by Mark Sedgwick (2007), that emanates from 'globally visible and apparently successful uses of terrorism and similar violent strategies,' epitomized by the independence of Italy. An extension of identical work, the strains theory, developed by Tom Parker and Nick Sitter (2016) rivets around the virulent effect of "contagion." It argues the consistent co-existence of four Strains - Nationalism, Socialism, Religious Extremism and Social Exclusion - since 1850. These strains, according to the authors, not only accommodate the continuity of terrorist activity over the *longue dure'e*, but also the cross-contagion (or infection) between terrorist groups.

While revealing, these iterations are vexed by some major inconsistencies. For instance, they apply blanket characterization of

terrorism to all historical violence. The known authorities in the field, Paul Wilkinson (1974, pp.39, 75), Walter Laqueur (2002) and Alex Schmid (2011, pp.5, 20-21), quite to the opposite, construe wars of national liberation inherently non-terroristic joined by other experts who show restraint in such generalizations (Chaliand & Blin, 2007, 27; Mockaitis, 2007, p.23; Hoffman, 2006, p.16). Besides, the protraction of terrorism averred in historical theories is challenged by the absence of terrorist activity between 1920 and 1945 since the 'anticolonial' organizations were predominantly active after 1945 and not after 1920,' (Mockaitis, 2007, p.38). Certainly, political violence prevailed in Germany (Nazi SA- Brown shirts), Russia (Red terrorism) and China (Maoist insurgency) between 1920-1945. This however cannot be conflated with terrorism by underground organizations.

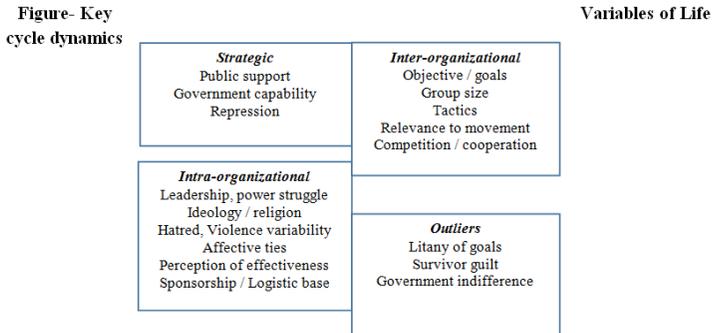
Another important albeit more philosophical objection is that historicity is not possible for an ontologically unstable concept like terrorism (Erlenbusch, 2014). Moreover, the contagion or inspiration hypothesis (and also the wave concept) ignores the fact of existence of terrorism only in a cultural and historical context (Chaliand & Blin, 2007, p.6). In fact more often diffusion (physical movement of terrorists across borders) or spillover effect of conflicted neighborhood likely contribute to the spread of political violence than the contagion (Chaliand & Blin, 2007, p.6).

Life Cycle Dynamics of Terrorist Organizations

Groups' life cycle dynamics revolve around certain key variables of varied significance, which can be obtained from a range of group studies through a careful delimitation of their multilevel intersections and functional utility (Figure) (Phillips, 2016, 2015, 2013, 2011 ; Fortna, 2015; Becker, 2015; Young & Dugan, 2014; Steinsson, 2014; Porta, 2013, pp.235-262; Krause, 2013; Abrahms, 2012 ; Carter, 2012; Alonso, 2011; Blomberg, Engel & Sawyer, 2010; Kydd & Walter, 2006; Bloom, pp.95-96 ; Post, 2005). A few outliers further augment this listing, for instance, since a group will never achieve litany of the stated political [strategic] goals, it will inescapably continue [terrorism] indefinitely (Steinsson, 2014; Abrahms, 2008). "Survivor guilt" (emphasis added) also pushes the members of group to continue with terrorism even after political settlement as mark of loyalty with those who died for the cause

(Franks, 2016, pp.37-38, 42). The government’s indifference toward conflict resolution is also recognized possible cause to prolong terrorism (Fortna, 2015).

Figure
Key Variables of Life cycle dynamics



Strategic and inter-organizational milieu

Public support bears strategic implications for survival of terrorist organizations. There is however discernable incompatibility between the essence of literature on this aspect and the ground reality. In fact, some scholars contest the need for public support since terror organizations are essentially clandestine (Sambanis, 2008).

In the first place, notion of public support is generally applied loosely as if it were monolithic in constitution. This is counter intuitive because the discourse of terrorism is not standardized even within societies most impacted by terrorism (i.e., Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria and Iraq) (Feyyaz, 2016b), where sympathetic fringes coexist within several ‘distinct publics’ of different persuasions. The groups’ strategies to compete i.e., outbidding, reflect similar representational affinities to achieve multiple purpose e.g., intrafield (competitors within same movement directed against opposing sectarian or ethnic communities) and the interfield outbidding (rivals targeting members of a different race, ethnicity, religion, or nation) (Phillips, 2015; Bloom, 2005, p.79).

Second, though terrorists pretend to act on behalf of a wider popular constituency, their aims or methods do not always have the

approval of that constituency (Crenshaw, 1981). This necessarily implies need for regulation of violence by conspiratorial groups to respond to the public sensitivities (Sharvit et al, 2015; Becker, 2015). It also compels insurgents to constantly reassess and redraw goals and tactics in response to changes within the group and the larger political and social environment (Jones & Libicki, 2008). For instance, there was such outrage by Irish community over the Omagh bombing, that the group - Real Irish Republican Army - declared a cease-fire along with claiming that its killing of civilians was in-advertent (Becker, 2015). Same behaviour can be noticed in interfaith conflicts e.g., Israel versus Palestinian vigilantes and Hezbollah and even among some otherwise more outrageous ethno-national insurgents - LTTE. These examples make infinite objectives hypothesis least persuasive. Yet, there are perpetrations that do not neatly fit into these stereotypes - brash terrorism by Daesh, Boko Haram, GIA (Islamic Jihad Group), Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Sendero Luminoso, and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) or millennial (mostly sectarian) groupings. Some of these cases also challenge arguments that large sized groups are less likely to target civilians which may be valid for population induced rebellions (Wood, 2010), but not entirely for terrorist organizations. Additionally, the group size becomes immaterial due to other factors - availability of safe havens away from target country and protection by new sponsors.

The scope of grassroots content also varies according to the degree of immunity of the affected population from government repression e.g., for transnational jihadi and violent sectarian organizations. The case of former is distinct from others; they espouse interfield (or interfaith) interests (Bloom, 2005, p.79); are perceived just in cause by fellow citizens (Schmid, 2014, p.29), have no violent rival, are larger and are more or less supported by the host state e.g., Hezbollah, Hamas, LeT (Lashkar-e-Taiba), Hizbul Mujahedeen, or even LTTE (before assassinating Rajiv Gandhi). Their source of provisions (recruitment, economy, motivation) mainly resides in popular roots (hence is perineal), compared to politically motivated groups who rely on criminal activity (or "gangsterization") for sustenance (CCISS, 2007). Since typical terrorist organizations use indiscriminate violence against own people, they are generally fluid to avoid government clamp down

and at times may be imposed major displacement specifically in unregulated border regions. Insurgencies in Northeast India and African conflicts are replete with such precedence. One important conceptual implication of territorial inflection is that conception of effectiveness of terrorist acts will presumably change. The long term goals of political change may be relegated for short time survival stakes, by mere continuation of operations in target country on behest of or to appease gained sources of support—mostly hostile neighbouring states. Sectarian groups who share doctrinal denomination with parts of population however have enabling environment in host country (Fair, 2015). Accordingly, the impact of (excesses in) counter terrorism in terms of backlash as well as recruitment mobilization and erosion of public support owing to sanguinary by terrorists does not occur uniformly which some researchers propose to be the case (Becker, 2015; Faria & Arce, 2012; Arce & Sandler, 2009). Arguably, cooperation (or alliances) between groups can materialize within more capable and in more autocratic states (Porta, 2013, pp.235-62; Phillips, 2013). But to say that alliances between groups universally take place under repressive conditions or can always produce favourable outcomes for groups' survival is suspect. India's heightened counter insurgency in Kashmir during the 2000s illustrates failure of alliances (Kasturi, 2012).

Comparatively, role of public support in spoiler situations which is a radical category of competition among rival groups, is negligent. The scale of terrorism increases during these situations, since spoiling results in outcomes quite controversial to those advanced by group scholarship (e.g., see Phillips, 2015) which asserts that moderate groups may give up violence if not subjected to spoiling by extreme opponents. Rationally speaking, groups involved in a peace process should not commit violence for some time (months or even year) to maintain good will. Practically, this does not suggest aversion to violence. Instead the respite could be used for extended planning cycles, reconsolidation efforts, avoiding taxing counterterrorism campaigns by the state, and the patience, as a group bides its time until a more advantageous opportunity presents itself (Price, 2012). Altogether, the group may never refrain from terror acts while being part of peace process such as the Tamil Tigers etc, if it is to demonstrate its viability to the

competitors or to influence peace discussions (Shinoda, 2011; Pape, 2005, p.139). The moot is, in most cases peace overtures by terrorists are disingenuous because they constantly face countervailing incentives in terms of how much and when to use, vary or cease violence (Becker, 2015).

Alternatively, groups might splinter due to dissension over participation in peace processes or leadership feuds. It – splintering - does not signal end of terrorism as argued by Khusrav Gaibulloev and Todd Sandler (2014). The members remain committed to terrorism but choose to continue fighting for other groups, might start a new group (e.g, GIA morphed into AQIM, more examples will follow) or go where the capital lies (Zaidi, 2014; Jones and Libicki, 2008, p.13). This iteration refutes overemphasis by some writers on affective ties, solidarity and identity with a particular group (Porta, 2013, p.261). Instead, the same attribute can be particularly helpful for the renegades as well as new groups to attract recruits.

Groups' Internal Dynamics

A dominant leader lies at the psychological root of terrorism. It is debatable whether his departure will lead to death of organization, make it further atrocious due to problem of succession or cause dilution in hatred among followers. The fact is as Jenna Jordan (2014) concludes that larger, older, and religious organizations are highly resilient to leadership targeting due to bureaucratized structure and social context. Vibrancy of major militant and resistance movements further proves this point - Hamas, Al-Qaida, Hezbollah, Boko Haram, PKK etc. Besides the idea of correlation of inspirational leadership with ‘hatred bred in bones,’ which vitalizes endurance of terrorism is contentious. Among most non-state armed groups, hatred for ‘outgroup’ is a function of civilizational, ethnic or cultural expression, and for this reason does not subside with the liquidation of leadership (Gunning & Jackson, 2011; Feyyaz, 2014). The archaic institution of revenge animated by groups hailing from tribal or traditional background is one case in point (Feyyaz, 2016a). A regime thus encourages succession of terrorism [in normative societies] when it creates martyrs to be avenged (Crenshaw, 1981).

The role of religion in nurturing value based terrorist organizations abound several studies. A closer inspection into the

leaders' profile, and those of the groups many of whom principally seek political control as well as socioeconomic demands, betrays this somewhat universal banality (Tellidis, 2016, pp.139-40; Goodwin, 2016, pp.129-30; Sageman, 2008, p.51). Moreover, the religion or even ideology alone comprise insufficient reasons to explain propensity for, or temporal span of terror (Yayla & Speckhard, 2016).

One of the more important questions relating to internal dynamics is the arguable linkage of longevity issue with survivor guilt, and presumptive belief among some researchers about the efficacy of perception of success among terrorists drawn from false analogies of past successful guerrilla campaigns (Abrahms & Lula, 2012). Civil war and veterans' literature cites examples of survivor guilt; the incidence of embracing retributive violence are however hard to locate (Ross, 2010; Bourgois, 2001). Similarly, analogy hypothesis overlooks other real time variations e.g., interpretation of terrorism effectiveness from the groups' perspective, the factual successes accruing from overreaction and yielding by the governments to terrorists' coercion (e.g., US presidential hostage policy directive), a never-ending supply of recruits due to rendition, torture, abuses by vast majority of countries, drone war, terrorism tolerant social groups and states' dualism in dealing with militant groups (Fair, 2015; Krause, 2013; Horowitz & Cammarano, 2013). The latter assumes importance due to possible fracture of shared preferences (e.g., policy, ideology, motive, interest) between sponsor (state) and the agent. Terror organization experience defection (turning against sponsor) if the principal backtracks from stated policy more so when alternative sources of support to hitherto prostrate militants also become available or the agent embraces financial incentives divergent from the principals' goals (Popovic, 2015 ; Byman and Kreps, 2010). These constructions are simplistic which neither detail on impact of defection on length of terrorism in particular involving multiple defectors, and whether fracture will certainly cause mutual confrontation over policy changes.

The Anatomy of Reality

September 11 attacks changed the whole world, Pakistan perhaps more profoundly than others. The immediate outcomes of

Musharraf's decision to align with Washington had a tumultuous fallout, far disparate than conventionally understood.

First was the breaking out of Frankenstein terrorism. Angered by General Pervez Musharraf's U turn policy, JeM - Jaish-e-Mohammad (and also HuM (Harkat ul-Mujahedeen)) who had close ties with Al Qaeda and Taliban, fragmented and by October 2001, its hawk elements were set on a collision course with the military regime (Popovic, 2015). The commotion exacerbated when he later moved to curtail militants' cross-border activities in Kashmir causing a number of factions to initiate a series of bombings across Pakistan targeting minorities and security forces including attempts on life of Musharraf (Popovic, 2015). A new group Jamaat-al-Furqan came into being within ranks of JeM; the prostate 313 brigade became antagonist and a few renegades from JeM laid the groundwork for founding militancy in Swat.² JeM's links to Al Qaeda also significantly motivated its rank-and-file to turn guns against Pakistan. Besides, the breakaway faction from HuM, HUJI (Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami), LeT (some individuals) and LeJ (Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, 1996) spawned a new anti-state breed of Punjabi Taliban (Tankel, 2016a). A unique feature of the whole scenario was that LeT did not defect (Popovic, 2015).

Concomitantly, talibanization of tribal population and adjoining settled districts spread by coercion than the appeal of religion, precipitated by pre-existing Jihad-violence discourse shaped by Afghan Jihad of 1980s (Fiaz, 2012). Soon after American invasion of Afghanistan, the ultra-right JUI (Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam) declared Jihad against the US forces, and the anti-American sentiments and hatred against the military regime intensified (Cloughley, 2008, pp.164-66, 182-84). Subsequently (October 2002), a new political front formed by pro-Taliban Mullah led political coalition - Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) – took control of the two provinces bordering Afghanistan – Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan - which gave new lease on life to dormant sectarian groups such as SSP (Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, 1986) and LeJ as well as the transnational jihadis (Harkat groups - (HUJI)/ HuM/Al-Ansar)) (ICG, 2016, 2008; Tankel, 2016a &b).

² Interview with Mr. Akhtar Ali Shah, Additional Inspector General Police, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 26 May 2016, Mardan.

These developments expose multiple conflicts in theoretical dictates – first, passionate bonds could not prevent intra-group fragmentation or splintering which devolved around political considerations; secondly, despite policy shifts by the Pakistani government principal-agent equation produced only marginal fracture, and lastly alliances among various terrorist organizations and sympathetic political actors accrued less due to religion than political ideology – anti American populism. Admittedly, more terror groups came into being later, terrorism increased and germinated sources of its furtherance.

During mid-2000s three hapless events plunged the country into further chaos - the assassination of Nawab Akbar Bugti (a famous Baloch tribal elder), a drone attack on madrassa belonging to TNSM in Bajuar agency of FATA both occurring during 2006, and the botched operation by Army against the administration of Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) in Islamabad during July 2007.

The death of Bugti in military action as part of wider counter terrorism efforts reignited 5th Baloch insurgency by drawing their historical discontent into a new organized wave of ethnic terror. Close to a dozen armed groups representing a wide range of aspirations and loyalties emerged within a short time. The exceptional thread that weaved them together was feeling of hatred and revenge reflected in the systematic ethnic cleansing of non-Baloch settlers and targeting of the state symbols (Zurutuza, 2010, 2015; Murphy and Tamana, 2010, pp.52, 60-61); Khan, 2009). The common cause also led secular Baloch groups to align with Al-Qaeda supported millennial (sectarian) groups - LeJ and Iranian Jundullah (Iqbal, 2015, pp.84-85; Gunuratna & Iqbal, p.222).

The most petrifying consequence of the mayhem was the swift unification of Pashtun groups of all hues in December 2007 under the umbrella of TTP (Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan) (Abbas, 2008). Not least that Lal Masjid operation also effected the shift of large numbers of jihadists with overlapping ideological and ethnic identities against the Pakistani state and into the hands of al-Qaeda-style militant groups including TTP (Tankel, 2016b; “Pakistan must,” 2013). The triggering determinant of this terrorist campaign, as in the Baloch case, was revenge (or badal in Pashtu), supplemented by a call for Jihad by Lal Masjid’s clerics and the escalating military operation in Swat (“Pakistan must,” 2013). The

planned massacre of 145 school children and their teachers in Peshawar on 16 December 2014, was apparently a highpoint of this motivation. Latent in this transformation was also the increasingly interconnected loci of revolutionary and sectarian groups (Tankel, 2016b). The Inspiration assertion does not fully explain these localized phenomena.

The post 9/11 phase manifested in significant other ways to endure terrorism.

The government drew nine peace deals during the 2000s with the TTP, conceding ground almost on all demands (Khattak, 2012; Tajik, 2013). It sounds surreal that neither the inclusion of shari'a was ever demanded by militants, nor the mediated settlement could prevent Pakistan's relapse into terrorism within weeks of the agreed truces despite intervention by highly influential mediators (Khattak, 2012; Tajik, 2013). The terrorism therefore remained unrelenting and dramatically surged by increasingly emboldened pro-Taliban militants after Pakistan's failed military operations and the aborted peace agreements (Tankel, 2016b). The general public remained skeptical about the government's ability to deal with the growth of violence (Masood, 2012).

Interestingly, the contagion ensued as a result of successful terrorist activity but was incongruent compared to that professed in historical literature. For instance, one was the religious vigilantism, i.e., imposition of self-styled shari'a in neighborhood by clergy and students of Lal Masjid and Jamia Hafsa Madrassa in Islamabad (White, 2007). Similarly, FATA registered exponential growth of terror cells, franchises and small scale organizations since 2004. At one point, there were over 100 local and foreign terrorist groups reported present or operating from FATA (Rana, 2009, 2010). This development was brewing since January 2006 when several independent (mainly sectarian) terror groups emerged in different parts of tribal areas, splintering flared up among Kashmir-based Jihadi groups and new alliances came into being evoked by military operations in Swat (Tankel, 2016 a&b; Feyyaz, 2016a). The explosive deluge in FATA by Al-Qaeda, other foreign militants, Haqqanis and Afghan refugees through diffusion and not contagion, was an important contributor to transform the local conditions.

There were other changes from the longevity perspective in the terrorist landscape during this period in the face of intensifying

military campaign. In the first place, TTP was subsumed into violent leadership disputes among its Mehsud siblings (Khan & Walsh, 2014 ; “Taliban infighting,” 2014 ; Shah & Masood, 2009). It experienced significant fragmentation into four major (Jamaat-ul-Ahrar (JA), Tehrik-i-Taliban South Waziristan, Abdullah Mehsud group, Punjabi Taliban) and some minor factions (Hangu chapter, Jamait Ahle Hadith Orakzai, [Ahrar-ul-Hind](#), Ansar ul Mujahideen), in addition to defections of key commanders to form Khorsan chapter of Daesh (Zahab, 2016, pp.124-125; “Pakistan Taliban,” 2014; Hasan, 2009). Curiously, none of the major and minors groups were weakened from infighting and splintering, they instead remained cohesive. The prodigy lay in the archipelagic nature of TTP, gravitated around tribal lineage from the outset, which had prevented it from fully becoming a coherent and disciplined group (Zahab, 2016, pp.124-125; Yusufzai, 2008). The retention of tribal identity among hardcore (Pashtun led) terrorist organization or even those forming formative core of Daesh fundamentally differed from Punjabi dominated Jihadi and sectarian groups which broke on the basis of political underpinnings. The Punjabis nonetheless symbolically maintained ethnic distinction while operating as part of TTP or Al-Qaeda (Tankel, 2016a).

Likewise, scores of deadly (spoiling) terror acts were committed across Pakistan during the negotiation period between TTP and the government in 2014 (Zahab, 2016, p. 129; Roggio, 2014; “Six soldiers,” 2014). TTP itself killed 13 police commandos in Karachi while engaging in talks without burden of good will being created (Sherazi, 2014). There were a few characteristic instances of outbidding in this milieu. Two attacks by Umar Mansoor (then budding rebel within TTP) on Peshawar School and Bacha Khan University in Charsadda on 20 January, 2016 are categorized cases of desperate outbidding by experts. The irony is former was ostensibly owned and the latter condemned by TTP (Ahmed, 2016; “BKU attack,” 2016). This quandary is not explicated by literature. Conceivably, however, the latter appeared a probable case of political outbidding to preserve affiliation base and to also publically isolate Mansoor for consolidation of leadership by Fazalullah to address power struggle within TTP. Yet again, political outbidding may not always manifest in non-violent means. The attack by JA on session court in district Charsadda on 7 March

2016 claimed as retribution for hanging of Mumtaz Qadri (who murdered Governor Taseer during 2011 on pretext of blasphemy), was a novelty in intrafield outbidding to win over ideologically hostile Barelvis (the largest Sunni sect in Pakistan) into its camp ("Taliban bomb," 2016). Contrary to conventional assumption that outbidding inter alia, aims at 'fence sitters,' (Fortna, 2015) Barelvis being ardent adherents of Sufism, could be hardly if ever, persuaded by Deobandi violent groups.

Identically, out of 442 fidayeen attacks undertaken by various Taliban groups in collusion with Al- Qaida and LeJ between 2004 and 2016, those targeting of Shias, Qadianis, Pashtuns and Punjabis or other religious minorities were motivated by millennialism than simple outbidding. Indeed, it is true that many of these were carried out to avenge assassination of TTP leadership besides encouraged by successes and outbidding (Biberman & Zahid, 2016 ; Feyyaz, 2016a).

One of the destabilizing dimension of Pakistan's joining war on terror during the initial eight years (2001-2008), was the emergence of a pattern of categorization by security agencies of non-state entities based on a blanket criteria of the utility offered and threats posed to the state (Tankel, 2016b). The Kashmiri groups ((LeT, JeM, HzM (Hizbul Mujahideen)) who were regarded as freedom fighters due to historical centrality of Kashmir issue and some of the good (Pakistani) Taliban were treated in the former category, whereas Al-Qaeda, TTP and its affiliates, now JA and sectarian organizations were declared as the enemy of the state (Ahmed, 2012; Siddiqi, 2011; Haqqani, pp.304-05). Afghan Taliban are not considered among any of this division, but Pakistani establishment has hesitated to abandon them (Paul, 2014, p.67; Markey, 2014, p.4). All of this distinction has been at the expense of or indifference to domestic stability (Yusuf, 2016). It is difficult to find a reasonable clarification of this contradictory securitizing agenda; a possible rationalization lies in conflicting definition of national security by Pakistani civil and military leadership in addition to typical geopolitical realities of South Asia (Fayyaz, 2010, p.302). The terrorism longevity arguments are wholly quiet on these contextual peculiarities.

Importantly, in tandem with violence, the terrorism - crime nexus thrived with the influx of Taliban and Al -Qaida (Fair,

Howenstein & Thier, 2006). The economy of violence, which had existed in Pak-Afghan border belt since the 1980s, evolved into an institutionalized political economy in all areas under influence of the Taliban (Acharya, Bukhari & Sulaiman, 2009; Schetter, 2004). The criminals were in fact the first to bandwagon the talibanization drive in Pakistan (Yusuf, 2011). The TTP criminal associations and operations were later extended to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh and Punjab provinces, with Karachi turning into most lucrative hub of extortions and black money (Acharya, Bukhari & Sulaiman, 2009; Ayub, 2015). All this while, recruitment by militant networks relied less on ideology than on the promise of money (ICG, 2013; Bari, 2009). In fact, peace deals also became a lucrative source for revenue collection by the Taliban (Feyyaz, 2016a). Punjabi Taliban were no less in practicing criminal tendencies and could be bought by highest bidders, the like of Asmatullah Muwaiya who fell under the state's patronage after breaking away from TTP during 2012 (Zahab, 2016, 130; Rehman, 2014a&b; Zaidi, 2014). Comparatively LeT and JeM have lived comfortably by drawing enormous donations from diverse private, government and foreign sources to include Saudi and Gulf states, Wahabi clerics and Pakistani diaspora (Bhattacharya, 2014). The religious festivals and natural disasters act additional source of funding spike for them.

Consequent to military operation - Operations Zarb-e-Azab - in Waziristana in 2014, which considerably reduced capability of TTP and some of its affiliates, these groups have found sanctuaries in eastern border provinces of Afghanistan along with willing sponsors - India and Afghan intelligence networks - to commit terrorism inside Pakistan (Karnad, 2017). Regardless of their current size, it is the patronage which is now sustaining TTP's recently up scaled terrorist activity in various parts of Pakistan.

Theory and Reality: Comparative Merit

The above discussion underwrites notable disparity between the longevity literature and undercurrents of contextual reality. In fact, the indigenous variables emerging from the analysis and the reasons as well as mechanisms materializing them can hardly be found in the prevailing literature - convoluted threat, repression / revenge, terrorism success, groups' idiosyncrasies, and political economy of terrorism. The role of religion does not come out

strongly in developing terrorism in Pakistan, rather it has aggravated than singly triggering antagonistic violence.

Given the multiplicity of threat prevailing in Pakistan – sectarian, jihadi, non-sectarian religious and secular – it is needless to underscore that terrorism cannot be explained in a unitary framework. It is instead marked by multiple competing settings and dynamics. Both the historical theories as well as group studies tend to construct terrorism rather more linearly. Another crucial aspect belied by above analysis is that historicity of terrorism is possible within a specific time and space scope, rather as a consistent phenomenon spread over centuries.

The role of repression in provoking backlash has been endorsed in the literature. The primacy of element of badal (and not survivor guilt) characterized by prevailing norms has found far less attention in prolonging terrorism. It is instructive to note that despite successive decapitation of TTP's earlier leaders which slowed pitch of violence, but did not abate it. In fact, the Bugti's assassination spawned a fresh genre of militant organizations. The retribution cycle has been further infused with more alarming layers to existing repressive regime – militarized justice system, capital punishments, extra judicial police encounters - which 'feeds and fuels the very violence it is meant to curtail,' (ICG, 2016; "Lashkar-i-Jhangvi," 2015 ; HRCP, 2017). Consequently, if all other dynamics are discounted, Establishment's exclusive reliance on military instruments to counter violent extremists is sufficient to keep the retributive cycle going. Badal in meaningful ways also drives groups to ally. Besides, the alliances in Pakistani context as the discussion suggests have not occurred due to repression, but owing to other more political contemplations which have benefited terrorists to synchronize their operations.

The study also clearly brings out the contributory role of success of terrorism in its prolongation in Pakistan. The longevity discourse does not account for this variable which essentially results from local conditions - the realpolitik (impulsive peace deals, insurgent friendly political actors, presence and support to proxies and Afghan groups), the intersected character of violence and lately, the altered perception of effectiveness of violence among transborder groups. The latter in particular has been produced by availability of safe havens and sponsorship of Pakistani terrorists by

unfriendly Afghanistan which has not only measurably enhanced space for terrorism, but more detrimentally, in furnishing an evolved meaning of terrorism effectiveness among TTP and its cadres – accomplishment of assigned tasks – to placate the Principals. The syndrome sufficiently explains why Pakistan repeatedly relapses into terrorism and why terrorists succeed in eliciting concessions from the state. Besides, whereas the role of LeT to stay loyal to Pakistani state repudiates straightjacketed principal-agent theories, it is not guaranteed these agents will remain abidingly subservient to the state especially so when organizational cooperation by means of collaboration exists between all militant groups (Moghadam, 2017, p. 4). The implication is persistence of terrorism in Pakistan. Together, these factors evoke an ominous specter for peace in Pakistan.

More significantly, the study engenders terrorist organizations' idiosyncratic profile and behaviour. The groups' age is one such critical issue that can be inferred from the discussion. Over a dozen major and numerous smaller groups and their leadership are still fully unhurt. Besides, many deadly attacks during 2015-17 have been carried out by splinters / defectors. These organizations more specifically JA, Punjabi militants, various siblings of TTP in FATA and Karachi, are at their early age, which makes them most dangerous as they compete for grassroots and criminal niches as well as new clients (Phillips, 2011). It is possibly here that Inspiration encourages them for furthering their agendas, and hence prolonging terrorism in the country. Their idiosyncratic behaviour e.g., uncharacteristic outbidding, rampant violence against civilians and frequent splintering based on tribal or ethnic affiliation, injects further uncertainty into the whole security calculus. Southern Punjab (and now also Balochistan) which boasts variety of militant organizations along with enabling recruitment environment, adds to the fluid and explosive mosaic (ICG, 2016). Concomitantly, urban Pakistan has become increasingly more crucial for Daesh especially the middle class and recruits from other groups (Zahid & Khan, 2016; Barr, 2016).

Finally, the emergent spate of terrorist activity explicitly heralds renewed level and reach of insurgents' resourcefulness which suggests booming swath of political economy of terrorists. More can

be gleaned from the existence of prolific funding opportunities afforded by a plethora of donor networks in Pakistan (ICG, 2016).

Conclusion

In sum, the article engenders few important findings. First, while the existing literature is indeed helpful in many measures, its explanatory prowess is notably limited because most extant research stays short of studying the phenomenon holistically. Further, contextualization of violent phenomenon is ineluctable (historicity) to understand characteristics generating its persistence to bridge the gap between theory and empirical reality. More probe is thus warranted entailing settings identical to Pakistan. Importantly, the prevailing academic gaps can be addressed by realigning research agenda with longitudinal methodologies in context specific framework. By recourse to identified variables, this case study provides some input for theorizing terrorism persistence and comparative probe in that direction.

Finally, the article unambiguously establishes ominous ubiquity of fertile reservoir of violence in Pakistan. The decline in violence during 2015-2016 was at best a lull imposed by military operations on a single group - TTP, while others likely exercised elective restraint to preserve and realign. Resurgence of violence witnessed since early February 2017 was hence predictable. If the country seriously intends to effectively arrest trajectory of terrorism perpetuation, that is possible by (i) recasting its reliance from a maximalist national security matrix to a blend of hard and soft power counter terrorism model (to wean away amenable mindsets) along with an inclusive stand against terrorism, (ii) institutionalized research investment to improve understanding about the inside-out of terror organizations, (iii) leaving the Kashmir freedom struggle to indigenous people, and (iv) resolution of Afghan imbroglio and repatriation of Afghans as an immediate foreign policy priority. Otherwise, the claims vying for end of terrorism will remain meaningless and will keep surprising Pakistanis as those experienced during 2017.

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