

POLITICAL HORIZONS

ISSN:

VOLUME NO - 1

ISSUE NO - 2

DEC - 2023



Department of Political Science
The Islamia University of Bahawalpur Pakistan

Political Horizons

Vol 1, Issue 2, December 2023

Department of Political Science
The Islamia University of Bahawalpur

Patron-in-chief: Prof. Dr. Naveed Akhtar, Vice Chancellor, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur (IUB).

Patron: Prof. Dr. Rubina Bhatti, Dean, Faculty of Social Science, IUB.

Editorial Board:

Chief Editor: Prof. Dr. Syed Mussawar Hussain Bukhari, Chairman, Department of Political Science, IUB.

Managing Editor: Dr. Shakil Akhtar, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, IUB.

Associate Editor: Dr. Sarfraz Batool, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, IUB.

Sub Editor: Mr. Husni Mubarak, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, IUB.

Advisory Board National:

1. Prof. Dr. Syed Khwaja Alqama, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, Minhaj University Lahore.

2. Prof. Dr. Syed Shahid Hussain Bukhari, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan.

3. Prof. Dr. Shuja Ahmad Mahesar, Director, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Sindh.

4. Prof. Dr. Shafiq-ur-Rehman, Vice Chancellor, University of Balochistan Quetta.

5. Prof. Dr. Rashid Aftab, Director, Riphah Institute of Public Policy, Riphah International University, Islamabad.

Advisory Board International:

1. Dr. Shakeel Ahmad, Associate Expert: the Manual on International Law Applicable to Military Uses of Outer Space (MILAMOS) Project and Erin JC Arsenault Fellow, Institute of Air and Space Law, McGill University, Canada.

2. Dr. Khanum Sheikh, Associate Professor, Department of Gender and Women's Studies, California State University, USA.

3. Dr. Foad Izadi, Associate Professor, Faculty of World Studies, University of Tehran.

4. Dr. Zawiyah Mohd Zain, Senior Lecturer, School of Government, College of Law, Government and International Studies Univesiti Utara Malaysia.

5. Dr. Usman Aboo, Department of Public Administration, Bayero University Kano, Kenya.

Political Horizons
Vol 1, Issue 2, December 2023

Table of Contents

Sr. No.	Item Description	Author (s)	Page Numbers
1	Right-Wing Populism in India: Effects on India Pakistan Relations	Muhammad Saad Aslam	1-16
2	Implications, Challenges, and Incentives of CPEC for Regional Connectivity and Economic Development	Hassan Javed Khawaja	17-29
3	Examining the Narrative Control in Pakistani Political Discourse	Waqar Mahmood Khan & Dr. Muhammad Zahid Bilal	30-38
4	Nuclear Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Impact on Human and Environment	Zainab Murtaza, Dr. Mian Muhammad Azhar, and Dr. Khadija Murtaza	39-47
5	Cultural Embodiment of Women in Pakistani Literature: A Critical Analysis of Kishwar Naheed's Writings	Dr. Shahzad Mahmood, Yasmin Ahmad, and Shahla Irum	48-57

Right-Wing Populism in India: Effects on India Pakistan Relations

Muhammad Saad Aslam¹

Article Information		Abstract
Received:	December 20, 2023	The rise of right-wing populism in India has transformed politics and foreign relations since 2014. By seeing right-wing populism as a social construct, we can better figure out how it affects the relationship between India and Pakistan, two nuclear-armed neighbors who have a history of animosity and tensions. Using social constructivism, we argue that the rise of right-wing populism in India has transformed India's national identity. This has brought change in India's foreign policy priorities and made tensions with Pakistan worse. This study takes a qualitative approach by looking at political speeches, news stories, and policy documents to show how right-wing populism has intensified nationalist sentiments. As result, India's relationship with Pakistan has become more confrontational and less cooperative. The study also discusses the far-reaching effects of right-wing populism in India, including greater polarization and divisiveness, a politics of hate towards Muslims, an increase in nationalist sentiments, and the erosion of social and democratic norms. The article contends that the ascent of populism in India has had severe effects on human rights, academia, cultural identity, and the media. It is crucial to develop strategies to enhance regional stability and security. To improve understanding and cooperation between India and Pakistan, policymakers and other interested parties can take several approaches, such as promoting dialogue and engagement, engaging in multi-track diplomacy, enabling people-to-people contacts, highlighting common social norms, and inspiring a constructive and cooperative foreign policy. Also, the international community must actively play role in promoting regional stability and collaboration.
Revised:	December 27, 2023	
Accepted:	December 30, 2023	
Keywords		
<i>Social Constructivism</i>		
<i>Right-wing Populism</i>		
<i>Hindu Nationalism</i>		
<i>Hindutva Ideology</i>		

1 Introduction

The emergence of right-wing populism in India has been exacerbated by the proliferation of social media and improved access to information and communication technologies since 2014, when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power. This has made it easy for anti-immigrant and anti-minority feelings to spread quickly among general mass (Sharma, 2022). The cultural, political, and economic factors that shaped right-wing populism in India at the

¹ Assistant Registrar Baba Guru Nanak University, Nankana Sahib. Email: ar.acad@bgnu.edu.pk

beginning of the 20th century also affected its story. Right-wing populism is growing in India because people do not like the way things are now and want to promote a more nationalistic and conservative vision for the country's future (McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019). Right-wing populism in India is still a big part of the country's politics and culture. Thus, scholars, policymakers and the general public worry a lot about it. Right-wing populism has been defined as a political ideology that emphasizes the importance of nationalism, tradition, and the nation-state, and often includes anti-immigrant and anti-minority sentiments (Moffitt, & Tormey, 2014). In the Indian context, right-wing populism has been characterized by the rise of nationalist and anti-Pakistan sentiments, which have been fueled by the actions of right-wing populist leaders and political parties (Destradi & Plagemann, 2022).

India used to be a secular and inclusive state, but now right-wing nationalist ideas are becoming more popular. This has serious consequences for India's politics at home and its relationships with other countries. Given how tense things have been between India and Pakistan in the past, the effects of right-wing populism on relations between the two countries are especially important. In India, right-wing populism is marked by a strong sense of nationalism, feelings against immigrants, and a rejection of liberal values and norms. Hindu nationalism, which seeks to advance Hindu cultural and religious values and assert the dominance of Hindu society, is largely responsible for it. This way of thinking is often connected to anti-Pakistan, anti-Muslim, and anti-minority feelings (Falki, 2022). This phenomenon in India is largely a result of the growing disillusionment among the Indian public with the country's political and economic establishments and the widespread perception that the country's political and economic systems have failed to deliver on the promises of development and prosperity (Wojczewski, 2020).

This situation has led to serious implications for bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. Both the countries have a long and complicated history, marked by periods of conflict and tension. The relationship between India and Pakistan is further complicated by issues such as territorial disputes, cross-border terrorism, and the ongoing conflict in Kashmir. The growing populism in India has fueled aggressive rhetoric against Pakistan. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Indian government has taken several steps to show that India is stronger than Pakistan. This has included the revocation of the special status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, as well as the launch of military strikes against Pakistan. Numerous increased incidents of violence against minority communities particularly Muslims in India have taken place (Chakravartty & Roy, 2015). Pakistan has also been critical of India's treatment of its minority communities.

India and Pakistan's relationship is affected by right-wing populism in more than just the political and security realms. There are also significant economic and cultural implications. These include increased restrictions on trade and cultural exchange between the two countries. This results into deteriorating the economies of both countries, as well as hampering the development of regional cooperation and integration (Zaidi, Aslam & Ghaffar, 2017). Right-wing nationalist ideas are becoming more popular in India. The effects of right-wing populism on India-Pakistan relations are felt across a range of domains, including politics, security, economics, and culture. It is therefore important for scholars, policymakers, and the international community to better understand the dynamics of right-wing populism in India and its impacts on the relationship between India and Pakistan (Tandon, 2022).

The current literature on India-Pakistan relations has largely neglected the influence of right-wing populism, despite its growing sway in India in recent years. This research gap provides

an opportunity for further exploration of the impact of right-wing populism on India-Pakistan relations, and its potential to influence public opinion, government policy, and regional stability. So, the analysis of the literature shows how imperative it is to investigate how right-wing populism affects India-Pakistan relations since it has the potential to change how the two countries think, feel, and act toward each other. Therefore, the present study aims at examining this phenomenon thoroughly to learn more about the dynamics of this complicated and intricate bilateral relationship.

Therefore, the social constructivist approach has been chosen to investigate the phenomenon of right-wing populism in India and its consequences on bilateral ties of India and Pakistan. Social constructivist perspective resorts to the role of ideas, norms, and culture in shaping international relations and views the relationship between India and Pakistan as a social construct, rather than a given reality. The social constructivist analysis of right-wing populism and India-Pakistan relations would examine how right-wing populism has influenced the cultural, ideological, and historical contexts that shape the relationship between the two countries (Wendt, 1999). It would consider the impact of right-wing populist narratives and discourses on public opinion, government policy, and regional dynamics, and analyze how these narratives and discourses have formed the perceptions and attitudes of the two countries towards each other.

Given the persistent conflict and instability in the region, it is important to scrutinize how the rise of right-wing populism in India may further exacerbate tensions between the two countries and undermine regional cooperation and stability. The present study can help policymakers devise prudent and pragmatic strategies to deal with the populist politics in India and provide deep insight of how this complicated and important bilateral relationship works. This study used qualitative analysis using a range of secondary sources including, academic sources, media reports, official communications, speeches and press releases. By adopting a social constructivist lens, this study aims to shed light on the impact of right-wing populism on India-Pakistan relations and its repercussions for the relationship between the two countries.

2 Right Wing Populism in India

Right-wing populism in India dates back to the early 20th century, when the nation was attempting to forge a new national identity after being under the British rule. At this time, India had a strong sense of nationalism, and the need to assert India's independence and sovereignty had an effect on the country's political and cultural institutions. The Hindu nationalist movements like RSS and Hindu Mahasabha, started in India in the 1920s and 1930s, were the early manifestations of right-wing populism. Hindu nationalism was based on the idea that Hindu culture and religion were better than other cultures and religions, and it tried to spread Hindu values and traditions throughout India. The movement was characterized by a rejection of Western political and cultural values and was closely associated with anti-Muslim sentiment (Jaffrelot, 1999).

In the years after India got its independence, when the country was trying to build itself and get its economy going, the Hindu nationalist movement grew. A growing sense of disillusionment with the nation's political and economic establishments, as well as a sense of cultural and religious identity, further fueled the movement. With the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) at the end of the 20th century, right-wing populism in India became more politically organized and mobilized. The BJP is a Hindu nationalist political party that was

formed in 1980 to promote Hindu values and traditions in Indian society. The party rose to power in the late 1990s and early 2000s and has been in government on several occasions since then. Under the BJP, right-wing populism in India has taken on a more aggressive and confrontational front, with a focus on promoting Hindu cultural and ideological values and asserting the dominance of Hindu society (Flåten, 2016). The BJP has been criticized for its anti-Muslim and anti-minority sentiments and its stance on issues such as immigration and religious freedom.

3 Social Construction of Right-Wing Populism in India

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its parent organization, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) are gaining a lot of political power and influence (McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019; Sharma, 2007). The BJP and RSS back a Hindu nationalist agenda, which aims at promoting the exclusion and marginalization of minority groups, especially Muslims, in India (Ray & Sethy, 2022). India's democracy, secularism, and social cohesion are all at risk because of the rise of right-wing populism (McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019).

In this paper, social constructivism is used as a way to look at right-wing populism in India (Wendt, 1992). Social constructivism is a way of thinking about how people, language, and social conditions all play a part in making a political reality. This view says that the political world is not a given; instead made by the way people and groups interact in a certain social setting. Right-wing populism in India is a complex social phenomenon which constitutes various cultural, political, and economic elements (McSweeney, 1999). In this case, right-wing populism is a political ideology that combines elements of nationalism, anti-immigrant sentiments, and anti-minority sentiments with the goal of promoting the cultural and political dominance of a certain group. In India, this group is known as Hindu, and its political beliefs are often called Hindu nationalism or Hindutva (Varshney, Ayyangar & Swaminathan, 2021).

India's history of colonialism and the fight for independence is a major factor in how right-wing populism has been built into Indian society. India's political and cultural institutions have changed a lot because of how the British ran the country when it was a colony. It has also contributed to a strong sense of nationalism and a desire to assert India's independence and sovereignty (Jalal, 2014). This nationalism has often been shown through a focus on Hindu cultural and religious values supporting the growth of Hindu nationalist movements and organizations (Shahzad, Falki, & Bill, 2021).

Another important factor is India's inequitable economic growth. This gives rise to societal imbalance and economic and political inequality within the country. People are becoming less happy with the political and economic systems as the technological revolution is thriving in the country. This has helped right-wing populist movements to thrive due to the fact that they have taken advantage of people's disappointment and tried to steer it in a more nationalistic and conservative direction. The existing jumpy relations between India and Pakistan are a product of longstanding grievances and changing dynamics in Indian policy (Jaffer, 2018). On the other hand, the Congress' rule capitalized on secular identity unlike the BJP tenure which largely focused on Hindutva identity and close association with Sangh Parivar i.e., RSS (Azam, 2022).

Also, the boom of social media and easier access to information and communication technologies has made it easier for right-wing populism to escalate in India (Chakravarty & Roy, 2015). These technologies have made it easy for anti-immigrant and anti-minority

feelings to spread quickly and engaged people to be interested in populist discourse and politics. In this scenario, leaders and groups of right-wing populism have been able to use social media to reach and organize large groups of people and disseminate their political ideas and messages (Govil & Baishya, 2018).

India's cultural and religious identity is also a big part of how right-wing populism is built up in society. India is a country with many different kinds of people and a complicated mix of religions and cultures. Hinduism, which is India's most popular religion, has a huge impact on the country's cultural and political institutions and has often been used to show that Hindu culture and values are the most important in India. Hindu nationalism has grown in India because people want to show that Hinduism is the best religion and culture and spread Hindu values and traditions in Indian society (Van der Veer, 1994).

Lastly, the political situation in India also plays a key role in intensifying right-wing populism. The country has a long history of political instability and divisions, and its political system has always been vulnerable. Right-wing populist movements are expanding because people are dissatisfied with the political establishment and demand change. In this situation, right-wing populist leaders have been able to use people's anger to spread their political ideas and messages to a large group of people who are interested in politics (Kinnvall, 2019).

When it comes to the political reality of right-wing populism in India, the media, political discourse, and social conditions have all played a major role. The media has been very important in spreading the message of right-wing populism and building a story around it (Kaviraj, 1986; Kaviraj, 2010). Political talk has also been an important factor, since right-wing populist leaders and parties use language and symbols and traditional media that resonate with their supporters and help to solidify their political identity and populist regime (Krämer, 2017).

Right-wing populism is getting worse in India due to globalization and the economic liberalization policies of the 1990s, among other things. The policies of economic liberalization made inequality worse, and a large part of the population felt left behind and left out. It has been argued that popular resentment is observed toward neoliberal policies grounded on the rights of minorities, poor and the migrants. It has also led to the creation of communities vulnerable to the racist slogans of the populist leaders (Putzel, 2020).

Right-wing populism has grown because people feel frustrated and left out and want to reclaim their sense of power and identity (Kumral, 2022). In India, right-wing populism has also had a big effect on the country's social and political life. The BJP and RSS's push for a Hindu nationalist agenda has made communal tensions worse. Minority groups, especially Muslims, are being discriminated against and left out (Jaffrelot, 2021). Concerns have been raised about the erosion of India's secular democracy, which is based on the idea that all citizens should be treated the same, no matter what their religion or culture is. This is because minority groups are being left out. The rise of right-wing populism has had effects on India's social and political life, as well as on its relationships with other countries. The Hindu nationalist agenda of the BJP and its focus on India's cultural superiority have made relations with other countries, especially Pakistan, worse. The party's strict stance on security and border issues has made the relationship between the two countries more hostile and tense (Jaffrelot, 2004).

Consequently, the rise of right-wing populism in India is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon. A variety of political, economic and social factors influence it (Norris, 2020). Through the lens of social constructivism, it is possible to understand how the media, political discourse, and societal conditions have played a crucial role in constructing the political reality of right-wing populism in India. The rise of right-wing populism in India has had significant impacts on the country's social and political landscape, and it is important to critically examine the social construction of right-wing populism in India and its implications for the country's future (Wojczewski, 2020). It is also important to recognize that the rise of right-wing populism in India is not unique but part of a wider global trend. The growing popularity of right-wing populist movements in countries such as the United States, Europe, and Brazil highlights the need for a deeper understanding of the social and political factors that contribute to the rise of right-wing populism (Haynes, 2020).

So, if India wants to deal with the problems that right-wing populism brings, it needs to do a critical and nuanced analysis of the phenomenon. This requires an understanding of the historical, economic, and social factors that led to the rise of right-wing populism as well as an examination of how right-wing populism affects society and politics. By looking at how right-wing populism has been built up in India, we can learn more about the phenomenon and come up with ways to deal with its negative effects on society and democracy. The majoritarian communal politics crystallized around issues i.e., cow protection, rewriting of textbooks to align the literature with Hindutva ideology, forceful conversions among Muslims and Christians. Under the premiership of Modi, hate speech and communal violence against marginal segments have been proliferated (Flåten, 2016). Furthermore, the revocation of the special constitutional status in Kashmir would completely change the makeup of Muslim-majority population in Kashmir and manifests India's internal colonialism (Nilsen & Nilsen, 2021). The future of right-wing populism in India is still unclear and will depend a lot on how society, the economy, and the government change. But it is clear that the rise of right-wing populism in India is a major threat to the political stability and social harmony of the country. Thereby, its impacts will be felt for many years to come (Nielsen & Nilsen, 2021). To address this challenge, it will be indispensable to engage in a more honest, direct and candid discussion about the root causes of right-wing populism and explore ways to fortify greater social and political harmony and stability in India.

One of the key drivers of right-wing populism in India has been the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a Hindu nationalist political party that has been in power since 2014. Under Modi's regime, India has adopted belligerent posture towards Pakistan (Fakhar & Javed, 2021). This is especially true in the wake of terrorist attacks that have been blamed on militant groups based in Pakistan. For example, many people thought that the 2019 Balakot airstrikes, in which the Indian Air Force bombed a suspected militant training camp in Pakistan, were a response to a terrorist attack in India. Many people thought this attack was an attempt by the BJP government to divert attention from problems at home and rally its political base (Yusuf, 2019).

In India, the story of right-wing populism has also been told through anti-Muslim feelings and the implementation of policies that are unfair to Muslims. The Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), which the Indian government passed in December 2019, is one such policy. The CAA gives non-Muslim immigrants from nearby countries a way to become citizens. However, it has been heavily criticized for being unfair to Muslims and for being part of a larger Hindu nationalist agenda. Consequently, it has adversely impacted the already frail India-Pakistan relations, as Pakistan has condemned the bigoted nature of the Act and found

it to be in violation of international human rights norms (Nagarwal, 2022; Safdar & Mushtaq, 2019).

4 Impacts of Right-wing Populism

The impacts of right-wing populism on India-Pakistan relations can also be seen in the way that the two countries have interacted in international forums such as the United Nations. Under the BJP government, India has taken a more confrontational stance toward Pakistan in these forums, using anti-Pakistan rhetoric to rally its political base and assert its position as a regional power. This has made it harder for India and Pakistan to work together on regional and global issues and has caused India-Pakistan relations to get worse.

The impacts of right-wing populism in India have been far-reaching and profound. Some of the most significant impacts include:

4.1 Polarization and Divisiveness

The growing right-wing populism in India has contributed to increased polarization and divisiveness in the country. This has amplified hostile and toxic political discourse and making it difficult for people of different backgrounds and perspectives to engage in constructive dialogue and cooperation. India's political parties have always used ethnic strife in their speeches, further spreading violence and intolerance between communities. Hindu nationalists have always made life hard for India's minorities, human rights groups, and civil society. Under the leadership of the BJP, the Hindutva ideology has gained a lot of power. In this atmosphere, Hindu low-caste communities face several obstacles. For instance, acts like killing cows are usually blamed on Muslims and Dalits (Thapar, 2000).

4.2 Politics of Hatred towards Marginalized Segments

After Modi became the premiere, the BJP pushed bigotry and discriminatory treatment towards minorities especially Muslims (Hafeez, 2015). Identity politics led by Hindutva are employed in order to suppress the identity of Muslims. Muslims have been killed and treated badly because they had ruled Hindus in the past which also had ruined the Hindu culture. Moreover, the right-wing leaders in India have always viewed the Muslims with abhorrence due to the reason that Muslims led to split India into two countries (Jalal, 2014). Moreover, the rhetoric against Muslims and Pakistan was a big part of the 2019 elections. It helped Narendra Modi get more votes and made it clear what the BJP wanted to do. Minority communities in India's political arena have been marginalized after the BJP's 2014 triumph. Since India's inception, the Muslim community has lacked adequate legislative representation. During the 2019 elections, none of the BJP's members of parliament were Muslim (Maiorano, 2019).

4.3 Right-wing Politics

Right-wing populism has largely impacted the Indian politics. Several parties are courting Hindu nationalist votes after the BJP's triumph. India's political parties increasingly prioritize election wins. Congress leader Rahul Gandhi visited Hindu temples to win over Hindus, while minorities like Muslims are disregarded in India. It has been reported that all political parties fear endorsing individual liberty and opposing the BJP and Hindu Nationalists'

noxious agenda. Hindu voters struggled in the 2020 Delhi legislative assembly elections (Repucci, 2020). For instance, Arvind Kejriwal's moderate Hindu nationalist Aam Admi Party got most seats. The BJP attacked all its opponents with Hindutva rhetoric. Populist politics prevented the Indian National Congress and other major parties from opposing the BJP's anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan policies. Although opposing Pakistan, the INC has upheld secular and democratic ideas at home. The INC's leadership problem and Congress's lack of minority benefits made Muslims wary of the party. During the 2019 general elections, it supported anti-Pakistan policies to gain political support (Saleem, 2021).

4.4 Upsurge in Nationalist Sentiments

The rise of right-wing populism in India has been characterized by the growth of nationalist and anti-Muslim sentiments, fueled by the actions of right-wing populist leaders and political parties. Modi's Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and the National Register of Citizens (NRC) are anti-Muslims and aim to deprive Muslims of their fundamental rights in India by making them second-class citizens or non-citizens. Thus the repeal of Article 370 and the introduction of Citizenship Amendment Act manifest the nationalist sentiments (Nagarwal, 2022). Thus it is anticipated that nationalism driven by the Hindutva ideology is likely to nurture in India under the BJP administration. Religious chauvinism towards minorities is increasing in India under the current regime (Safdar & Mushtaq, 2019).

4.5 Degrading Social and Democratic Norms

The phenomenon of right-wing populism has also had damaging impacts on human rights and democratic culture in India. This includes restrictions on freedom of expression and association and assaults on civil society organizations and human rights defenders. Instead of secularism, plurality, and representative democracy, the BJP upholds Hindutva to rule India. Anti-Muslim actions, especially those targeting Muslims, may make it difficult for the state to maintain national harmony and democracy. India will increasingly split due to the BJP's regressive policies and right-wing populism, which have already raised tensions in the subcontinent (Siddiqui, 2016). Furthermore, the rise of right-wing populism in India has had negative impacts on education and cultural heritage in the country. This involves massive efforts to promote Hindu nationalist ideology in schools and universities. Furthermore, it also includes politically-backed attacks on religious minorities. Not only this, but it has also adversely impacted the media and information landscape in the country. The wave of right-wing populism is ruining the culture and true spirit of free media in India. Censorship and restrictions on media are exercised. Furthermore, increased efforts are made to promote Hindu nationalist propaganda and disinformation. For instance, since the Pulwama attack, the journalism has returned to jingoism. The jingoistic narrative predominantly took over the public discourse in India which further led to heighten tensions across the border. News anchors kept on beating about the war drums under the garb of nationalistic rhetoric (Prabhu, 2017).

4.6 Relations with Pakistan

The BJP's Hindu nationalist stance in India has strong connection in forming estranged relationships with neighboring countries, particularly Pakistan. This has hindered efforts to improve economic and political cooperation in the region. This has rendered it difficult for both states to address common challenges and threats in the region. Therefore, the rise of

right-wing populism in India has had a significant impact on India-Pakistan relations, contributing to a more hostile and confrontational relationship between the two countries. The aggressive foreign policy stance of the BJP government, combined with anti-Muslim sentiment and discriminatory policies, has created a challenging environment for regional stability and cooperation. It is important for policymakers and stakeholders to monitor the development of this trend and work towards promoting greater understanding and cooperation between India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister Modi has signed trade agreements with the Muslim countries like Qatar, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries (Hall, 2016). This reflects the pragmatic approach of the populist government to strengthen its ties in all directions. However, in the case of Pakistan ideational factors come into play. Normalization of ties with Pakistan does not align with the politics of Hindutva.

4.7 Escalating Tensions in the Region

Hindutva ideology and right-wing populist policies are a big problem for Pakistan, Muslims, and the stability of the region as a whole. The forceful Hindu nationalist turn has enflamed tensions within India, which has further soured the relationship with Pakistan. Modi's rigid approach towards Pakistan irks the India-Pakistan relations. This can be seen in the form of intensified border clashes, virulent anti-Muslim rhetoric, and a growing sense of distrust between the two nations. Even a minor miscalculation on the part of India can endanger the peace and stability of the South Asia. However, the bilateral tensions can be resolved by having dialogue and sincere will to work together (Khan & Cheema, 2017). The repercussions of Pakistan's right-wing Hindutva-dominated neighbors could be catastrophic for Pakistan and the region, especially given that both countries are nuclear powers.

4.8 Challenges to Existing Institutions

Populism in India also challenges existing norms and institutions that have long been a part of the bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan. This can result in the weakening of existing frameworks for cooperation, such as regional organizations and the rise of new and more hostile norms. It is unfortunate that the regional institute like SAARC has been so far ineffective in realization of its objectives and promises. For instance, the deadliest cyclone in Bangladesh was not effectively managed by the SAARC Food Security Reserve. Its progress has been stalled due to the impending regional conflicts. The reasons for hindered progress of SAARC in South Asia are several; nonetheless, India-Pakistan enmity and confrontational politics of right-wing politicians in India are crucial to make this institution ineffective. Regional cooperation and economic connectivity are still far-fetched dreams in the South Asian region (Rafiq, 2018).

4.9 Centralized and Individualized Decision-making

Under Modi, foreign policy drafting has also been transformed. In essence, Modi's centralization of policymaking, which has been widely recognized as a defining aspect of his stint as Gujarat's chief minister, continues to be one of his most notable traits and stands in stark contrast to his predecessors (Kaltwasser, Taggart, Espejo, & Ostiguy, 2017). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is bypassed by Modi's National Security Advisor (NSA). Although Vajpayee, a former Prime Minister, founded the NSA and helped consolidate power in the PM's office, Jaswant Singh, his Minister of External Affairs, remained

important. The MEA has had to deal with learning about the Prime Minister's foreign trips after the fact since Modi took office. Significant trips are often made without consulting the MEA and declared through alternative channels, and Modi has made it a habit to personally welcome visiting dignitaries, which is time-consuming but reflects his unique leadership style (Haidar, 2016). However, India shows how personalization can strengthen populist government control. Nehruvian ideas have shaped international relations since 1947 (Hall, 2016). They have been changed due to Modi's populist foreign policy narrative, which is more about rhetoric than policy (Wojczewski, 2018). Clearly, the disintegration of the MEA, a respected body with historically powerful individuals determining foreign policy, supports the idea of centralized and individualized policymaking.

4.10 Alternative Communication Channels

The Modi administration's use of social media and distaste for, if not outright censoring, traditional media like newspapers and TV may be its most intriguing aspects. Modi has been unusually keen to exploit modern technologies, from his Twitter account to his 3D holographic election pictures. This has transformed his leadership image, making him appear more modern and tech-savvy than his predecessors and his opponents (Pal & Media, 2015). Modi's government has taken a hostile stance towards media and has been taking steps to curb the freedom of press. After calling journalists "news merchants," a cabinet member coined "presstitutes" (Swain, 2017). His campaign used 3D holographic visuals and digital networking instead of traditional media. Modi hasn't given a news conference since becoming India's prime minister, instead ranting on radio about his latest projects. Modi often discusses Pakistan on social media and at rallies, defying diplomatic norms. It was crucial to his image as a populist leader who engages with the public rather than making policies behind closed doors.

4.11 Undermining Regional Cooperation and Stability

The right-wing politics in India may have detrimental implications for regional integration and peaceful coexistence in South Asia. It is owing to the fact that populist politicians adhere to radical and aggressive policies and postures. Therefore, the populist leaders in India have been flexing their muscles by showing conventional force and an aggressive posture towards Pakistan. The surge of right-wing populism in India and its impacts on India-Pakistan relations have the potential to undermine regional cooperation and stability. This can be seen in the form of decreasing cross-border trade, declining cultural exchange, and a meager willingness to engage in diplomatic efforts to resolve disputes and promote stability in the region (Plagemann, & Destradi, 2019).

4.12 Economic and Political Instability

The burgeoning right-wing populism in India has adversely impacted the economic and political stability of the country. Consequently, it hampered the investment and economic growth of the country. This has also led to an unpredictable and precarious political environment. On the economic front no major breakthrough has been made. Frequent suspension of trade has been observed during the past decades due to cross-border tensions. For instance, the trade between India and Pakistan was estimated to be meagre USD 2.6 billion in 2015-16 (Ijaz, 2016). It has been suggested that the trade ties between India and

Pakistan have ben turbulent owing to political and security contentions. However, the potential for trade between the two countries is greater than what is presently traded. The reasons for low trade volume between the two countries is due to bureaucratic, managerial and transportation problems (Zaidi, Aslam & Ghaffar, 2017).

4.13 Impact on Public Opinion

Right-wing populism may also influence public opinion in India, as right-wing populist narratives and discourses may shape the attitudes and perceptions of the Indian public towards Pakistan. There has been a growing sentiment among the Indian public that Pakistan is a major security threat and India must take a more aggressive stance towards its neighbor. The media and political figures have fueled this sentiment by using anti-Pakistan rhetoric to energize their support base (Jaffrelot, 2015). This shift in public opinion has made it more difficult for the two countries to engage in meaningful dialogue. The lack of trust between the two sides and the limited channels of communication between them has made the situation even worse. This has created a vicious cycle of hostility and mistrust that has been difficult to break.

5 Improving Pakistan-India Relations

In light of these events, it is important for policymakers and other interested parties to work toward making India and Pakistan understand each other better and work together more. This could involve several different approaches, including:

5.1 Encouraging Dialogue and Engagement between the Two Sides

It involves providing greater support for official and unofficial channels of communication as well as promoting greater interaction between India and Pakistan at the cultural, academic, and societal levels. It involves supporting civil society initiatives that aim to promote greater understanding and cooperation between the two countries, as well as, initiatives aimed at addressing the root causes of the conflict between them (Bornstein et al., 2015).

5.2 Engagement in Multi-track Diplomacy

Sustainable peace can be achieved by engaging in multi-track diplomacy. Multi-track diplomacy highlights the role that civil society can play in addressing the prolonged conflicts between the two countries. Multiple stakeholders must put forth their efforts and take part to create lasting security since each actor has special knowledge and abilities to offer. Lawmakers, top generals, ambassadors, experts in conflict management, academics, corporate executives, women's rights groups, writers, and social activists are just a few examples of these actors (Sewak, 2005). Multiple stakeholders can play an important role in promoting healthy relations and underscoring the necessity of cooperation, collaboration, and interaction between the two states. Multi-track diplomacy is created as an alternative approach to resolving conflict in response to the constraints of Track-I diplomacy and the rationalist approach (Böhmelt, 2010; Tere, 2014).

5.3 People-to-people Contacts

People-to-people exchange refers to interactions between citizens of two nations at multiple levels with no involvement from or direction from the government. These relationships could be made by professional organizations like bar councils, business chambers and unions, industrialist associations, academic institutions, performers, musicians, film celebrities, athletes, etc. These social interactions influence the formation of opinions and the fostering of relationships. Even the unrestricted interchange of literature, periodicals, newspapers, and television shows would fall under this category. The constructivist's perspective reinforces that states perceive and comprehend one another based on socially constructed ideas and conceptions, and only free interactions among people can help change these perceptions. Before the situation worsens to the point where even communication between people on either side of the border is difficult, people-to-people contacts are a channel that has to be explored. However, people to people contacts on both sides are constrained due to the demanding visa/enry policies (Padder, 2012). Religious tourism could be an effective channel of engagement between the citizens of the two states. Kartarpur Corridor was such an initiative by Pakistan to increase people-to-people engagement (Yousaf, 2021).

5.4 Highlighting Common Social Norms

The academic textbooks used in elementary and secondary schools play a significant role in shaping social norms and identity. Governments in both India and Pakistan influence the curricula and production of history textbooks for both elementary school and higher education. The updated curriculum introduced by the BJP government is based on Hindu nationalism and aimed at transmitting Hindutva views (Flåten, L. T. (2016); Guichard, 2010). We may better comprehend the socially constructed character of the relations between the two states if we can explain these new norms and how they are ingrained in academic activities. Muslims in the Indian curriculum and cinema are represented as fundamentalists (Roy, 2018). Thus, to stabilize the situation, positive social norms need to be inculcated in the minds of young generations in both countries.

5.5 Encouraging a Constructive and Cooperative Foreign Policy

This could involve encouraging the Indian government to take a more constructive and cooperative stance towards Pakistan and engage in a meaningful dialogue with its neighbor. It also requires encouraging the international community to play a more active role in promoting regional stability and cooperation. Not only this, but earnest efforts are also much needed to address the political, social, and security challenges that both countries face. However, the international community remains silent on the issues related to India and Pakistan such as the gross violation of human rights in Kashmir by India. Global powers can play constructive role in the troubled region of South Asia if they want to (Bhandari, 2006).

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the rise of right-wing populism in India has had a big effect on India-Pakistan relations. It has made the relationship between the two countries more hostile and tense. Even though the situation is difficult, there is a chance to work toward better understanding and cooperation between India and Pakistan and to deal with the problems that have led to the conflict between the two countries. By working together, policymakers and other interested

parties can help promote stability and security in the region and help South Asia become more peaceful and cooperative. So, to deal with the effects of right-wing populism on India-Pakistan relations in an effective way, it is important to understand the bigger picture in which these events are happening. The rise of right-wing populism in India is part of a global trend, with similar developments taking place in many other countries around the world. It is said that this trend is often marked by a rejection of globalization, a focus on nationalism and "identity politics," and a lack of trust in traditional political and economic institutions (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017).

In the Indian context, the rise of right-wing populism is also linked to broader economic and social changes taking place in the country. India is going through a time of fast economic growth and modernization, but these changes have also led to more inequality, more poverty, and a drop in the quality of life for many people. This has made many parts of the Indian population unhappy and frustrated, which right-wing populist politicians have used to their advantage (Jaffrelet, 2021). Right-wing populism in India is also connected to the country's history, culture, and political situation. India has a long and complex history of conflict and cooperation with Pakistan, and this history has shaped the way that people on both sides view each other and the relationship between the two countries. So, the rise of right-wing populism in India has been shaped by the country's history, culture, and the specific political and economic changes that are happening there. To deal with this effect effectively, it's important to take a broad, multi-disciplinary approach that takes into account the bigger picture in which these changes are happening. This could involve supporting research and analysis, promoting greater civil society engagement, and supporting efforts to promote regional stability and cooperation.

References

- Azam, A. (2022). Indian Foreign Policy towards Pakistan during Modi Era: Assessing the Role of Ideology-Hindu Nationalism. *BTTN Journal*, 1(1), 17-35.
- Bhandari, M. C. (2006). *Solving Kashmir*. Lancer Publishers.
- Böhmelet, T. (2010). The effectiveness of tracks of diplomacy strategies in third-party interventions. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(2), 167-178.
- Bornstein, M., Johnson, R. G., Mohtadi, S., Park, S., Weiss, B., Desai, V., & Khan, S. (2015). *Civil societies: Empowering peace constituencies in India & Pakistan*. Columbia SIPA: School of International and Public Affairs.
- Chakravartty, P., & Roy, S. (2015). Mr. Modi goes to Delhi: Mediated populism and the 2014 Indian elections. *Television & New Media*, 16(4), 311-322.
- Destradi, S. & Plagemann, J. (2022). *Ideology and Indian Foreign Policy*. In *The Routledge Handbook of Ideology and International Relations* (pp. 299-312). Routledge.
- Fakhar, M. F. & Javed, Z. (2021). Military over Diplomacy-Motivations, Impacts and Responses for the Aggressive Posture of India. *Journal of Security & Strategic Analyses*, 7(2), 23-42.
- Falki, S. M. (2022). The Strands of Religious Populism and Otherization of Muslims in India. *Journal of Indian Studies*, 8(2), 227-240.
- Flåten, L. T. (2016). *Hindu nationalism, history and identity in India: Narrating a Hindu past under the BJP*. Taylor & Francis.
- Govil, N. & Baishya, A. K. (2018). The bully in the pulpit: Autocracy, digital social media, and right-wing populist technoculture. *Communication Culture & Critique*, 11(1), 67-84.

- Guichard, S. (2010). *The Construction of History and Nationalism in India: Textbooks, controversies and politics* (Vol. 17). Routledge. New York.
- Hafeez, M. (2015). The Anatomy of the Modi Phenomenon—How Should Pakistan Deal With It? *Strategic Studies*, 35(4), 61-79.
- Haidar, S. (2016, May 13). South Block in the Shade. Hindu. Retrieved June 15, 2017, from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/south-block-in-the-shade/article8591271.ece>
- Hall, I. (2016). Multialignment and Indian foreign policy under Narendra Modi. *The Round Table*, 105(3), 271-286.
- Haynes, J. (2020). Right-wing populism and religion in Europe and the USA. *Religions*, 11(10), 490.
- Ijaz, A. (2016). Pakistan-India Relations under Prime Minister Modi's Government (2014-16). *Studies*, 31(1), 187-205.
- Jaffer, N. (2018). Troubled india-pakistan relations and major stumbling blocks in the peace process. Institute of regional studies, *Islamabad*, 36(1), 46-88.
- Jaffrelot, C. (1999). *The Hindu nationalist movement and Indian politics: 1925 to the 1990s: strategies of identity-building, implantation and mobilisation (with special reference to Central India)*. Penguin Books India.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2004). *Composite culture is not multi-culturalism: A study of the Indian Constitution Assembly debates. In India and the politics of developing countries: Essays in Memory of Myron Weiner* (pp. 126). Sage publications. New Delhi.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2015). What 'Gujarat model'?—Growth without development—And with socio-political polarisation. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 38(4), 820-838.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2021). *Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the rise of ethnic democracy*. Princeton University Press.
- Jalal, A. (2014). *The struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim homeland and global politics*. Harvard University Press.
- Kaltwasser, C. R., Taggart, P. A., Espejo, P. O. & Ostiguy, P. (Eds.). (2017). *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press.
- Kaviraj, S. (1986). Indira Gandhi and Indian Politics. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21(38)1697-1708.
- Kaviraj, S. (2010). *The Trajectory of the Indian States: Politics and Ideas*. Oxford University Press. New Delhi.
- Khan, K. & Cheema, P. I. (2017). Modi's Kashmir Policy. *Strategic Studies*, 37(3), 1-21.
- Kinnvall, C. (2019). Populism, ontological insecurity and Hindutva: Modi and the masculinization of Indian politics. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 32(3), 283-302.
- Krämer, B. (2017). Populist online practices: The function of the Internet in right-wing populism. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(9), 1293-1309.
- Kumral, Ş. (2022). Globalization, crisis and right-wing populists in the Global South: The cases of India and Turkey. *Globalizations*, 1-30. doi:10.1080/14747731.2021.2025294
- Maiorano, D. (2019). The 2019 Indian Elections and the Ruralization of the BJP. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 7(2), 176-190.
- Mcdonnell, D. & Cabrera, L. (2019). The right-wing populism of India's Bharatiya Janata Party (and why comparativists should care). *Democratization*, 26(3), 484-501.
- Mcsweeney, B. & Mcsweeney, W. (1999). *Security, Identity and Interests: Sociology of International Relations* (No. 69). Cambridge University Press.

- Moffitt, B. & Tormey, S. (2014). Rethinking populism: Politics, mediatisation and political style. *Political Studies*, 62(2), 381-397.
- Mudde, C. & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). *Populism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Nagarwal, N. (2022). The Citizenship Amendment Act 2019: An Insight through Constitutional and Secularism Perspective. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 57(8), 1562-1576.
- Nielsen, K. B., & Nilsen, A. G. (2021). *Hindu nationalist statecraft and Modi's authoritarian populism*. In S. Taneja, N. S. Jeppesen, & K. G. Larsen (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Autocratization in South Asia* (pp. 92-100). Routledge.
- Norris, P. (2020). Measuring populism worldwide. *Party Politics*, 26(6), 697-717.
- Padder, S. (2012). The composite dialogue between India and Pakistan: Structure, process and agency. *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, (65), 1-19.
- Pal, J. (2015). Banalities turned viral: Narendra Modi and the political tweet. *Television & New Media*, 16(4), 378-387.
- Plagemann, J. & Destradi, S. (2019). Populism and foreign policy: The case of India. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 15(2), 283-301.
- Prabhu, M. (2017). Is free speech under threat in Modi's India? Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/8/3/is-free-speech-under-threat-in-modis-india>
- Putzel, J. (2020). The 'populist' right challenge to neoliberalism: Social policy between a rock and a hard place. *Development and Change*, 51(2), 418-441.
- Rafiq, G. (2018). Revitalizing SAARC: Challenges and Prospects. *Journal of Security & Strategic Analyses*, 4(1), 39-68.
- Ray, P. K. & Sethy, P. (2022). *Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar. In Reappraising Modern Indian Thought: Themes and Thinkers* (pp. 251-276). Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore.
- Repucci, S. (2020). A leaderless struggle for democracy. Freedom House. BBC News. (2002, February 27). Scores killed in India train attack. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1843591.stm
- Roy, B. (2018). Visual Grandeur, Imagined Glory: Identity Politics and Hindu Nationalism in Bajirao Mastani and Padmaavat. *Journal of Religion & Film*, 22(3), 1-33.
- Safdar, A. & Mushtaq, S. (2019). Hindu Nationalism: A Punitive Political Ideology of the Modern State of India. *Journal of Indian Studies*, 5(1), 61-75.
- Saleem, R. M. A. (2021). Hinduism, Hindutva and Hindu populism in India: An analysis of party manifestos of Indian rightwing parties. *Religions*, 12 (10), 803.
- Sewak, M. (2005). *Multi-Track Diplomacy between India and Pakistan: A Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Security* (p. 1368). New Delhi: Manohar.
- Shahzad, A., Falki, S. M. & Bilal, A. S. (2021). Transformation of Indian nationalism and 'Otherization' of Muslims in India. *Margalla Papers*, 25(1), 48-58.
- Sharma, J. (2007). *Terrifying vision: MS Golwalkar, the RSS, and India*. Penguin Books India.
- Sharma, N. (2022). Populism and social media use: comparing the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's strategic use of Twitter during the 2014 and the 2019 election campaigns. *Media Asia*, 50(2) 181-203.
- Siddiqui, K. (2016). A critical study of 'Hindu Nationalism' in India. *Journal of Business and Economic Policy*, 3(2), 9-28.

- Swain, A. (2017, June 6). Why Narendra Modi Hates the English News Media and What It Means for India's Democracy. Daily O. [Http://www.dailyo.in/politics/press-freedom-modi-bjp-ndtv-prannoy-roy-raid/story/1/17648.html](http://www.dailyo.in/politics/press-freedom-modi-bjp-ndtv-prannoy-roy-raid/story/1/17648.html)
- Tandon, D. (2022). Right-wing Authoritarianism in India and its Impact on Tribal communities (Doctoral dissertation).
- Tere, N. S. (2014). Bridging Barriers: Media and Citizen Diplomacy in India-Pakistan Relations. *Editorial Board*, 32(2), 104-126.
- Thapar, R. (2000). Hindutva and history. *Frontline*, 17(19), 15-16.
- Van der Veer, P. (1994). *Religious nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. University of California Press.
- Varshney, A., Ayyangar, S., & Swaminathan, S. (2021). Populism and Hindu nationalism in India. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 56(2), 197-222.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391-425.
- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics* (Vol. 67). Cambridge University Press.
- Wojczewski, T. (2018). *India's foreign policy discourse and its conceptions of world order: the quest for power and identity*. Routledge.
- Wojczewski, T. (2020). Populism, Hindu nationalism, and foreign policy in India: the politics of representing "the People." *International Studies Review*, 22(3), 396-422.
- Yousaf, S. (2021). Tourism and reconciliation in an enduring rivalry: The case of Kartarpur Corridor on India-Pakistan border. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 39, 100833.
- Yusuf, M. W. (2019). The Pulwama Crisis. *Arms Control Today*, 49(4), 6-11.
- Zaidi, S., Aslam, S. & Ghaffar, F. (2017). *Misperceptions about India-Pakistan trade beyond politics*. United States Institute of Peace. Washington DC.

Implications, Challenges, and Incentives of CPEC for Regional Connectivity and Economic Development

Hassan Javed Khawaja¹

Article Information	Abstract
Received: December 17, 2023 Revised: December 24, 2023 Accepted: December 30, 2023	CPEC is a multifarious project, connecting two atomic powers of Asia with railways and roadways. Bringing two in-every-way different and diversified nations closer. Much has already been written, scrutinized, and said with minute details about project but no one knows the project in its entirety. The ongoing project has yet to take final shape. The culmination of CPEC will clear the mist surrounding it. Some say CPEC is debt trap by China while others claim that it is purely a business deal between two states. Mainstream media in Pakistan projects almost the shadowy picture. Chinese media says that the project is aimed to tie the everlasting knot of fraternity between two great nations. China has personal interests in this project so does Pakistan. This study aims to unravel the mystery surrounding the project and find out what the project really is, its implications, challenges and prospects for economic development and regional connectivity. Particularly it is explored that how and to what extent will this project impact Pakistan? This is a qualitative study with secondary data resources that aims to depict the CPEC in a broader picture.
Keywords <i>Pakistan-China Relations</i> <i>Debt Trap</i> <i>Gwadar</i> <i>CPEC</i> <i>Belt and Road Initiative</i> <i>Economic Development</i>	

1 Introduction

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is Chinese intention of connecting with the world through roads, railways and maritime silk route with mainland China (Griffiths, 2017). It will connect three continents and more than half of the world population (Jinchen, 2016). Around \$30 trillion market will directly come under the sway of China after the completion of BRI (Lockhart, 2017). CPEC is the pilot project of BRI. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a conglomeration of diverse projects. It contains different projects spanning from energy infrastructure, building railroads, dams and motorways (Bhattacharjee, May 2015). It was signed and agreed upon by the then Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping on April 22, 2015. (Ashfaq, 2016). At its commencement, the venture cost was \$46 billion. It was the largest ever foreign direct investment in Pakistan (Dr. Mansoor Ali, 2016). The total Chinese investment under the umbrella of CPEC raised up to \$72 billion in 2016 (Ashfaq, 2016; Nation, 2016).

BRI has three routes; southern, northern and central (Gilani, 2017). The southern route of BRI is called CPEC and has the strategic importance for both China and Pakistan. Through this route China wants to reach Gwadar by Kashghar, Khunjerab and Gilgit-Baltistan

¹ Email: khawajamohammadulhassan@gmail.com

(Ahmad, 2016). This is the briefest and most secure route because there sits a nuclear power on its way which has the sixth-largest² population and likewise sixth³ largest active army (Quddus, 2015). Pakistan has proven to be a natural ally and guardian of Chinese interests by default (Nation, 2017).

Ultimately CPEC is aimed to link Kashghar (North-Western China) with Gwadar (Nation, 2016). BRI is aimed to link China and Central Asia with Pakistan to provide the shortest route to the landlocked countries in Central Asia and Western China (Shahbazov, 2017). This route is termed as the modern-day silk-route⁴ by Chinese (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2011). It will not only give China the shortest access-way to the West, but it will also give boom to the countries situated around the passageway of BRI (Business Recorder, 2016).

CPEC will add to the geostrategic importance of Pakistan and will make it a hub of major economic activity in the region (Ramay, 2018). There are many Chinese companies in Pakistan that are state owned. They are investing almost in every field ranging from mining, oil refineries, gem industry, seafood to the local handicrafts (Jamal, 2017). Chinese have proven to be the modern-day Gog Magog.⁵ This route will cut the costs of transportation. Chinese traffic will move on it with agility and security. Chinese edibles will be available for longer time in the and engulfing markets due to quick transportation (Al-Bawaba, 2015). There is a widespread speculation in the neighboring countries of Pakistan (India, Iran, and Afghanistan) that China wants to partner with Pakistan in its grand economic ventures. Furthermore, it is planning to transfer its textile and other such industries to Pakistan. In doing so, it wants to make developments in the domains of aerospace, nanotechnology, and defense industries, and artificial intelligence with intense national focus (Javaid U. , 2016).

This qualitative study based on secondary sources, at first, aims to take an overview of CPEC projects and connectivity routes. Second, this analyses the regional and international implications of this flagship project. Third, this takes into account significant challenges to the success of the economic corridor. Fourth, particular incentives in terms of economic and connectivity benefits which motivate the two countries to push hard for the success of this landmark bilateral agreement are discussed.

2 Overview of Projects

In February 2018, CPEC's total worth was approximately \$72 billion (CPEC-Energy Priority Projects, 2017). Pakistan's GDP was \$283.7 billion so, the CPEC amounted to 25.37 percent of total annual gross domestic product of Pakistan (Bank, 2017). The Economic Corridor has been divided into four main areas namely:

1. Development of Gwadar International Port;
2. Energy projects (it is crucial for China's industrial setup in Pakistan);
3. Roads and Railways network, and;
4. Industrial Cooperation.

² <https://www.census.gov/popclock/print.php?component=counter>

³ <http://www.businessinsider.com/these-are-the-worlds-20-strongest-militaries-ranked-2016-4>

⁴ Silk-Route was an old route on which China exclusively exported the world its Silk which was found only in China from 2nd century BC to 14th Century AD.

<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/silk-route.asp>

⁵Giants in the Hebrew, Biblical and Muslim traditions that will appear on earth before apocalypse and will devour everything alive on earth including humans.

The project is further divided into three phases; early harvest projects which are short-term (2015-2020), mid-term projects (2015-2025) and long-term projects (2015 to 2030) (Tribune, 2017). Currently the project is aimed to work on two-terms; short and the mid (Arif, 2016). The development of Gwadar, overcoming energy shortage and development of infrastructure is the focal point of this project (Dawn, 2017). Once these phases are completed, trucks loaded with Chinese goods will be passing through Pakistan on low scale initially (Kayani, 2013).

The early harvest projects under the banner of CPEC would add 10,400 megawatts of electricity to the National Grid of Pakistan (TOI, 2017). Karachi Circular Railway is part of CPEC which will circumnavigate Karachi (Dawn, 2017). Karachi Peshawar Motorway is also part of the CPEC which passes through or by major cities in Punjab like Rahim Yar Khan, Multan, Faisalabad and Lahore. In Sindh it will pass by Sukkur, Ghotki and Hyderabad (CPEC.gov.pk, 2017). There is a web of motorways under this project which will go through all the provinces of Pakistan connecting Quetta, with Peshawar and Karachi with Lahore linking all of them with Kashghar and Gwadar (Nation, 2017).

Gwadar International Airport is also the part of CPEC along with an oil refinery, a technical institute to supply the manpower needed for the project and an oil reservoir to supply uninterrupted fuel to the traffic along the route (Khan, 2014).

3 Significant Routes

This corridor stretches from Gilgit-Baltistan running through the hilly areas passing through plains of Punjab, hills of KPK, Rivers of Sindh, passing betwixt the sand dunes of Balochistan and will ultimately end up at the sea port, connecting all the major cities of Pakistan to Kashghar and Gawaadar (Rana, 2015).

Initially it was planned that the Corridor will be built on the already constructed roads by upgrading them but after the serious agitation and belligerence by the political parties, government devised a plan to construct new roads and divide the route into three lines. Now the Corridor has central route, eastern route and western route. It was necessary to eliminate grievances of the parties. The routes will usher development in the areas they pass through and will solidify much needed fraternity and harmony in provinces (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2011).

The eastern route extends from Gawaadar to Makran Coastal highway going to Karachi. From Hyderabad it turns to Sukkur passing through Rahim Yar Khan, Multan, Faisalabad, Pindi Bhattian and will merge into M2 (Lahore-Islamabad Motorway) from Islamabad it will turn towards Muzaffarabad (Kashmir) and then it will enter Gilgit and will merge all the way to Chinese Motorway in Xinjiang.

Haripur, Abbottabad, Mansehra and especially the Hazara division are also in the planning phase to be linked with this route. Diamer, Torkham Border, Wagha border are also planned to be linked with the eastern route. Mountainous area of Karakoram will also be linked with CPEC. This is the longest and the most strategic route which will pass through and will be linked with all the provinces and major cities of Pakistan. The motorway in Eastern route is called KLM (Karachi Lahore Motorway). M4 is the part from Pindi Bhattian to Multan which is divided into five sections. Of which, all five have been completed sections have been completed; from Pindi Bhattian to Faisalabad fifty-three-kilometer section; Faisalabad to

Gojra fifty-eight-kilometer; and from Khanewal to Multan a fifty-six-kilometer section finally Multan to Rahim Yar Khan and Rahim Yar Khan to Sukkur.

A dual train track is also being built on this route which is named ML1 (Main Line one). It stretches from Karachi to Peshawar. From Peshawar it will be linked to Kashghar passing through Gilgit-Baltistan (Javaid U. , 2016). ML2 (main line two) will connect eastern, central and western routes and will facilitate shipments of goods. This route starts from Gwadar and passes through the southern districts of Balochistan. With link roads from Iran, Afghanistan and KPK it will pass by Dera Ismaail Khan a district in KPK (Khyber PakhtoonKhawah). This route will give Iran and Afghanistan an easy access to Gwadar and China. Special economic zones (SEZ) are being built around this route keeping in mind the Iranian and Afghani Market. It ends at Islamabad merging into eastern route (Zeb, May 2012) (Hassan, 2016).

Western route was not planned initially. After the demands made by the governments of KPK and Balochistan it was added into CPEC bucket. Work on it was suspended for almost six months because the government said it did not have enough men and equipment to build the route. FWO (frontier works organization, owned by Pak Army) came forward and took the responsibility to go in the terror-stricken areas. Civil contractors had security risks. The work currently on this area has completed. The central route starts from Islamabad connecting with Eastern route .It passes through Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab and enters Balochistan connecting with motorway eight (M8). It ends at Gwadar.

4 Economic Implications for China and Pakistan

The term global village could never have been perceived more rightly than the present international scenario to meet ever-increasing demands and needs of the rapidly growing population. Inexorable is the need of connecting the world through the web of roads and railroads. Connecting China with rest of the world will not only thoroughly help China but it will interconnect Asia on European pattern (Landesbank, 2017). Europe rightly fears that the Chinese Yuan will have a sway over the Asian, African and European markets instead of Euro and US Dollar (Ferdinand, 2016). Business deals will be made in Chinese currency only, and dependency on US dollar will lose the credibility in all these situations (Ferdinand, 2016).

Indian Ocean has become a focal point for UAE and India alike. They seem to be clandestinely partnering due to their collective inclination westwards (Siyech, 2017). This is a most intriguing scenario; UAE dislikes Iran. Iran is inevitable for India and the prior seems to be the only overland option for the latter to reach Central Asia (Pak-Observer, 2017; Soleri, 2016). Regional politics has taken a new shape right after the commencement of this project. India has made some new allies in the region, and it also partnered with Iran in Chabahar (Times of India, 2018).

CPEC is not only an exemplary strategic cooperation of two nations rather it is a business model, a new formula of diplomacy, interdependency, mutual trust and respect (Murtaza, 2016) with bilateral trade, decades old cooperation, having an aura of fraternity, congeniality and diversity. All of this is apparent through their historic relations (AFP, 2013). China has emerged as a strong ally of Pakistan in almost every field and measure (Rosen, 2016). The largest share of imported goods in Pakistan is from China (Mahmood A. , 2014). Projects under the umbrella of CPEC were being carried out in a full swing for swift completion

because many regional and international powers had grievances over CPEC (Zhang & Shi, 2016). The project is running on its slowest pace now to please USA (News, 2019).

Economy is the backbone of any entity, institution, country or an organization. In case of Pakistan, CPEC is not merely a business deal rather it is a matter of life and death for Pakistan (Pak-Today, 2016). The country has witnessed turmoil, natural disaster, political instability and the region where it is situated has been war ridden for decades (Javaid A. , 2018). If its economy is not strengthened then it might suffer prolonged instability, and prosperity might be a far-flung idea in this case (Qian, 2016). This is the sole reason that it is called economic-corridor and not strategic or any other corridor (Economist, 2015). Once the projects under this venture are completed the corridor will cater as a primary route for Chinese goods (Tribune, 2015). The route will shorten the distance and reduce a proportionate amount of time and cost which will surely encourage the producers to export more goods out of China briskly (Mushtaq, 2017). The ingress and egress of goods through Pakistan will not only make Pakistan more prominent but they will also serve as a role model for landlocked countries in Asia and Africa to conjoin (Menon, 2016). Thousands of Chinese ships entering seaports of Pakistan will save the millions of dollars of fuel (Zaffar, 2016). The investment that China is making in Pakistan for road building will pay off in almost two years (Siddiqui, 2017). More than seven thousand miles or around twelve thousand kilometers of distance will be shortened by this economic corridor (Rafiq, 2017). West fears that the CPEC is the Chinese answer to their hegemony and dollar dominated world (Rana, 2020). While Pakistan seeks an opportunity to for creating a balance and not putting all its eggs in the Western basket (Ferdinand, 2016).

5 Significance of CPEC

Gwadar is a natural deep-sea port gifted by nature to Pakistan. Once developed, the port will bring unfathomable advantages and economic perks to Pakistan (Munir, 2017). This port is the sole reason that China has vowed to invest such a gigantic amount of money in Pakistan (TOI, 2016). Chinese companies crave for their share in such a port (Monnoo, 2017). The development of Gwadar port will give Pakistan an economic autonomy as well as, a boost to local seafood business (Weihua, 2017). Chinese firms have made various agreements with Gwadar authorities to set-up diving schools and shipyards in the area (Gul, 2017). Although the projects just started off recently in the port area, Herald-Dawn reported that the property prices have soared to three hundred percent and local business is thriving speedily (Ahmed M., 2017). Ferry service is also being considered by Chinese and they showed interest to invest in the business because they see great potential in the area (Tribune, 2017).

Gwadar is located at the eastern side of Strait of Hormuz, a very strategic place and a choke point of Gulf-Of-Persia it opens its gates into the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean (Fazil, 2016). World's seventy percent oil trade that is carried by the sea is passed through this strait (MAREX, 2014). Sooner this channel will be trafficked with Chinese goods. Keeping all this in mind, China intends to build a stronghold for monopoly here (Bender, 2015). Comparing to this, the Strait of Malacca can be choked any time to tame China by India and USA (Ranjan, 2015).

India has major grievances regarding the development of Gwadar Deep-Port (Janjua, 2015). It says that China does not only want to expand its business, it also wants to have an upper hand in the area by harnessing the most advantageous sea-port (Siddique, 2014). All Indian brawls did not pay the toll because its fear is rejected by all those who have stakes in the silk-

route (APP, 2017). On the other hand, a strong and thriving Pakistan is not acceptable to India by any mean and way. India fears that it will facilitate Kashmiri freedom movement (Pant, 2012). It is a strategic significance of CPEC.

India's growing population has increasing needs and those needs can only be met by uninterrupted supply of oil which is imported from Arabian Gulf (Campbell, 2016). India also fears that once the Strait of Hormuz comes under the sway of CPEC maritime traffic, the Arabian countries will lean towards Pakistan and China for huge sales in oil. Central Asia alone can take the big chunk of oil products that pass through this strait (Ranjan, 2015).

India has developed Iranian sea port Chabahar. The traffic which will carry goods to and from this port will be Iranian liability (TOI, 2017). Afghanistan compared to India, Pakistan and Iran is a very small economy with trivial needs has been lured by India to join the Chabahar Port venture as a response to CPEC (IndianExpress, 2017). On the contrary the Gwadar port can serve as a secure and shortest route for Arab countries. Russia, China and Central Asia will also be facilitated. With Iran many Arab countries have sectarian differences. Through Afghanistan and Iraq, it is impossible because those two countries are war ridden. Arabs are having growing tensions with Turkey as well after the Khashoggi's murder. Pakistan is the sole viable solution for Arab, Africa and Middle East (Ahmed W. , 2018).

The economic corridor will, for the first time, connect all the provinces and federally administered tribal areas along with autonomous regions such as Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir with Islamabad through motorways, railways and airways (Nation, 2017). A perspective of CPEC for Pakistan is that it will ease the access to diversified cultural entities and different ethnicities within Pakistan to share their culture with the whole country. An implication here further indicates that jobs will be created and tourism in the northern areas of Pakistan will increase (Shi Zhiqin, 2016). Harmony and peace will be guaranteed through this Corridor in Pakistan. This will reshape the socio-political scenario and remodel the whole social fabric in Pakistan bringing people and surrounding nations closer (Suleri, 2010).

5.1 India's Take on CPEC

Indian Media portrays CPEC as an ultimate threat to itself. It eyes CPEC as a speed-breaker in its way becoming regional power (Asifa Jahangir, 2016, p. 9). The country is cornered geographically by China and Pakistan (Ms. Ayza Shoukat, 2017). It also feels itself insecure surrounded by enemy states (Khan I. F., 2016, p. 234). It has fought wars with China and Pakistan in the past. Both the latter have to face trouble by the former from time to time (Sachdeva, 2006, p. 274). It is sternly against the idea of the stability of Pakistan and China's growing influence in the region (Khan Z. A., 2015, p. 81). This situation was the ideal for USA as it itself sees China as a threat to its hegemonic international role (Stéphane Callens, 2017, p. 125).

USA latently decided to align with India in regional politics and started pressurizing Pakistan with gestures and frowns (Mohan, 2016, p. 91). This regional integration is persuading new global and regional alignments by far making new upfront allies and foes (Gojree, April 2015, p. 8).

5.2 Afghanistan's Perspective

Afghanistan, a buffer state between global powers, cannot be left out in the whole scenario (Roselle, 2016). USA is already present in the country and asked India to join in (Evans, December 2012). The situation was ideal for both to check Sino-Russian advancement towards warm waters to halt Pakistan's emergence as a peaceful, welfare and stable state. USA and India tempted Afghan NDS (National Directorate of Security, primary intelligence agency of Afghanistan) to believe that Pakistan is not a reliable neighbour. The agency helps anti-Pakistan Afghan elements against it (Union, February 2017, p. 19). This helped them to make a troika and join hands against Pakistan. CPEC has displayed the vulnerable angle of the security situation in Pakistan (Rafique, August 2017, p. 3). In the past there were hostilities only on the Indian side of the border, after the announcement of CPEC, Pakistan has to maintain peace and security on two fronts (Javaid, 2017, p. 9). She has to ensure security and peace to Chinese convoys running through the northern areas of Pakistan and to repel any potential threat of any nature. Pakistan has raised a special security division (SSD) and deployed it along the routes of CPEC (Maini, Winter 2016, p. 12).

5.3 Iran's Stance

Iran's situation does not seem much worrisome for Pakistan (Javed, January 2017, p. 257). India cannot lend and extend a favouring hand to Iran for a longer time. USA has political differences of severe nature with Iran (Vats, November 2016, p. 14). Iran itself cannot trust India in a long run because whatever favour India extends to Iran it is based on the enmity of Pakistan, not their mutual socio-economic interests. Israel, a major and trustworthy ally of USA would not like Iran to be facilitated by USA and India (Amir, 15 December 2016, p. 9). This scenario seems promising and ideal for Sino-Pak cooperation on the one hand but worrisome for the quadrille of Afghanistan, India, Israel and USA on the other hand (Kroenig, Jan/Feb. 2012, p. 81).

6 Challenges to the Success of CPEC

There is a mammoth of challenges to building an economic corridor. There are financial Challenges at home of which most of them have been dealt with due to enough funding by China; starting infrastructure projects simultaneously in all the provinces. There are security challenges as well that are posing constant threat to the ongoing projects. External threats are from the neighboring and enemy countries whether in the vicinity or across the seas. Once this agglomeration is in the phase of completion the end result would be the soaring motion of Pakistan's self-dependency in many fields. Country Pakistan is debt ridden to World Bank, IMF and other international money lending institutions. There is a scarcity of local vocational training which is direly needed to complete the project efficiently and proficiently. Administrative inefficiency is another backlog that is acutely harmful for the ongoing projects (Ashfaq, 2016).

There are factions that according to the major political parties of the country play in the hands of enemy of the state. Some Baloch factions have been witnessed in the past damaging the infrastructure that was even fruit-bearing for them; blowing gas pipelines, looting the tourists, kidnapping and beheading them for ransom and so on. Strategically, CPEC is a game changer not only that it is going to make Balochistan the center of attention globally and more than that, regionally. Most of the maritime economic activity of region will be shifted to Gawadar (Ms. Ayza Shoukat, 2017).

There are reports that RAW (research and analysis wing), an Indian spy-agency has allocated five hundred million US dollars to sabotage the project. There is a special office that is supervised by AjitDoval, (former Indian spy who has spied for India in Pakistan) he gives weekly briefing about the progress of CPEC to the Indian prime minister. The frequent attacks of terrorism in after the inauguration of the project in Pakistan were the repercussions of CPEC (Ashfaq, 2016; Bhattacharjee, May 2015).

Being an antagonist neighbor, India does not miss a chance to hurl allegations at Pakistan. The matter of major concern for India is building eight submarines by China at the cost of five \$billion. CHASNUPP (Chashma nuclear power plant) five plants are being erected by China at Chashma in Mianwali District in Punjab (Bhattacharjee, May 2015).

To encounter the foreign propaganda, government of Pakistan has taken steps to assure the nation that CPEC is equally and entirely for the whole Pakistan. All the provinces will have equal share in infrastructure developments and jobs. The routes will pass through every major city and the nearby or faraway cities will be linked through link-roads with the motorways (Ahmar, 2016). There is still some instability in Balochistan that is the reason that bomb blasts took place from time to time in the recent past in this area.

6.1 Security of the Project

Security measures were the primary concern regarding this mega-project, both China and Pakistan were very heedful at the venture of it. The think tanks of both the countries analyzed every possible and potential threat from every dimension and direction. This was the reason that Pakistan Army took the responsibility of safeguarding the personnel and installments under the umbrella of CPEC. The then COAS (chief of army staff) General Rahil Shareef raised a division called SSD (special security division). This division composes of nine thousand military personnel comprising nine battalions; thousand personnel in each battalion. Six thousand additional civil armed forces personnel joining the SSD will aggregate the number to fifteen thousand personnel. This division is under the command of a two-star general (Major General). HQ of the SSD is in Chilas (a small town beside silk route and now the route of CPEC in Gilgit-Baltistaan). The SSD will guard the CPEC from both internal and external threats alike (Bhattacharjee, May 2015).

SSD dexterously keeps the track-records of the following terrorist organizations and keeps checks on their activities to avoid any potential threats by them or their subsidiaries. ETIM (East Turkistan Islamic Movement) a terrorist organization, has many subsidiaries such as TIP (Turkistan Islamic Party) or TIM (Turkistan Islamic Movement). Mainly this organization operates in Xinjiang China but now it has started operations in Afghanistan as well, especially in the areas of Gilgit-Baltistan. Reports say that this radical group of extremists is very close to Daesh (ISIS) Salafi terrorists in its radicalism and fundamentalism (Javaid A. , 2017). This is an anti-China group. China is making a gigantic investment in Pakistan and SSD is well aware of this group's targets. Chinese and their installments are the potential targets. Daesh (Ad-Daulatul Islam fil Iraq wash Shaam) or ISIS, an acronym which means Islamic State of Iraq and Syria is another major threat to CPEC as well. Pakistan cannot afford any negligence. SSD is aware of fact that ETIM and ISIS share radical ideas and can join hands anytime to assist each-other on Pakistani soil. This is the reason that a border management at Durand-line is in full swing and Pak-Army has secured the Afghan border with barbed-wire, fence, ditches and check-posts stopping any incursion from Taliban,

ISIS, ETIM and other indigenous terrorist groups. Although BLA (Baloch Liberation Army) is an anti-state faction but it has been majorly dealt with by Pak-Army(Cohen, Curtis, & Graham, 2008; Esteban, 2016).

6.2 International Opposition

Pakistan and China have ventured on a juncture where countermeasures are imminent by the rival states. The major adversary in this regard with the collaboration of India, Iran and Afghanistan emerged as Chabahar port. Only a hundred nautical miles from Gwadar, India has vowed to counter the threat posed by Gwadar by investing eighty-five million us dollars in this port and connecting Afghanistan to it. It further intends to connect with Central Asia and Russia (there are fissures in Indo-Russian relations due to India's inclinations towards USA (Malik, n.d.)). India intends to impede Pakistani cargo passing through Strait-of-Hormuz. In order to counter any probable such hindrance, China plans to erect a naval base in Gwadar for the maritime protection of its cargo. If China builds a naval base in the region it will be a paradigm shift which will make many countries in the region to think falling in the laps of China from USA (Hassan, 2016).

There are many sanctions on Iran that forbid India from making the Chabahar a reality while on the other hand the CPEC is in its full swing and the success is nearing day by day. There are many complexities in the developments of Chabahar. India has made alliances with Israel, USA and Iran (Indo-Iran relations are on a standstill after Iran's remarks on Kashmir lockdown). There is a history of enmity with both (India and Pakistan) of them since the freedom and inception of both. India cannot afford to displease USA and Israel, on the cost of Iranian collaboration and Pakistani enmity. Then there is Afghanistan suffering from instability and terrorism. The country is ridden with foreign invaders and international terrorist organizations. No country will afford to lose cargo trailers on daily basis to terrorists. Besides, there is better opportunity with joining CPEC; connecting with the market of three billion people, why will Iran not join CPEC (Hassan, 2016).

6.3 Bureaucratic Impediments

There is a different pattern of doing official things in Pakistan comparing to China, the whole set of affairs is differently managed. In China, the projects of public interest are dealt with utmost care and priority and there is a thorough check and balance. It is a country with an oldest system and language in the universe that dates back to millenniums. Though they have transitioned from a monarchy into communism in twentieth century but their official language and culture never changed as it did in the united Hindustan. The culture and systems varied here from Arabs, Turks, Persians to Europeans and now indigenous. The amalgamations of all these cultures and systems can be found in Pakistan. Keeping this in mind the government of Pakistan is keenly and diligently working on the whole operation CPEC. CPEC authority, chaired by Gen. Asim Saleem Bajwa, is handling operations day and night (Rana, 2020).

China complained initially that the development equipment lies idly in Port Qasim. FBR intentionally does not issue NOCs and clearance certificates. Bribery, corruption and lack of swiftness was rampant that could delay the project. Former Prime Minister of Pakistan (Nawaz Sharif) asked the establishment to cooperate with China. Because this is the only

Chance that could drag Pakistan out from extreme poverty and make it able to compete with the relatively advanced countries.

Russia was watching the global shift as an opportunity and flexing muscles to join anytime soon the Sino-Pak-Russian trio. Presence of Russia at the nook of Central Asia and China in the East might not be a good omen for India. Also, relatively difficult for it to partner with Central Asian countries (Adnan & Fatima, 2016). Whether it will be Russians or Chinese both will be given access to warm waters by Pakistan without any hesitation or difficulty. After the completion and culmination of the CPEC fervor the stigma of “failing-state” and “terror-mongers” will be erased from Pakistan. Poverty, inequality, joblessness, terrorism, illiteracy, health-issues, poor-education, lawlessness and many more social and cultural vices will be wiped out. Because all these sectors demand flourishing economy and brimming treasury of the state with equal distribution and allocation of resources without any discrimination or prejudice (Ijaz Khan, 2016).

The massive influx of Chinese visitors, students, investors and efflux of Pakistani rank and file to China will eventually change the whole socio-cultural fabric of the two countries. The waiver of visa formality does not seem surprising in this scenario and it is highly possible in near future as the situation is developing.

7 Inevitability of CPEC

Regional connectivity is inevitable for consolidation and integration of countries, whether they are contiguous or not (Neil M Coe, 2004, p. 470). It prompts economic growth, strategic cooperation, tourism and social interaction between variety of ethnicities and religio-lingual factions of society (Milner, 1992, p. 472). Regional integration helps to boost the economy and makes life’s outlook liberal and modest (Rosenblum, 1989, p. 23). Countries align with the most favourable and friendly allies that help each other to repel any foreign, direct or indirect threat. Help each other in every possible manner (Zeb, 2006, p. 54). RTAs have helped many countries to forge new ties and cooperation. They (Regional Trade Agreement) are reciprocal and formal agreements between two or more states to facilitate signatories’ trade (Butt, 2015, p. 27). With the development of rail, road, port and communication infrastructures there is need to equally develop the institutional, legal, logistical and financial infrastructure as committed and required. (Mubarak, 2016, p.107).

CPEC has emerged as a driving force to connect Pakistan with Central Asia and China. It has potential to allure all the regional trade-traffic towards port of Gawadar (Mai, 2005, p. 3). Global and regional powers have grievances for China and Pakistan’s connectivity through railways and motorways due to many reasons (Marwat S. A., December 2016, p. 109). West sees emergence of China as a threat to its economic, industrial and scientific domination (Ms. Ayza Shoukat, 2017). If China divides or diverts its trade-traffic towards Pakistan then both will enjoy shared economic interests. If succeeded the project has the potential to revolutionize the industry in Pakistan. Pakistan will have the knowledge and experience and access to all Chinese tech and space industry. Because Chinese would have higher stakes in Pakistan, Pakistan will be in a better position to negotiate better transfer of technology. Both countries have decades old bilateral relations. (Marwat S. A., July – December 2016, p. 108). Economic cooperation is and has always been an inevitable necessity for survival of nations (Ferchen, May 2014, p. 12). Economic cooperation does not mean the exchange of money. It also means exchange of material and usable goods unto which sustenance is based (Ferchen, May 2014, p. 12). Pakistan and China emerged to join hands for their respective economic

good (Javed, January 2017). The economic value of one aspect of this venture has been analysed in the following paragraphs.

BOI (Board of Investment) held a meeting in Islamabad assessing the potential income of CPEC after its completion (Rizvi, 2017). The probable estimate was a staggering sum of money; \$4,908,600,000 dollars per annum (Rizvi, 2017). They analysed the current flow of Chinese cargo by sea to Africa in view of UN reports regarding import and export of China (Rizvi, 2017). Toll fee for a cargo truck in China is one US dollar per 10 kilometres (Correspondent, 2017). In Africa a cargo truck is charged one hundred US dollars for every one thousand-kilometre distance or simply put it, ten cents for one-kilometre distance (Adrees, 2017). This simple math formula suggests that one cargo truck travelling from Chinese border to the port area of Gwadar port of Pakistan covering 2727 kilometre would add around two hundred and seventy-two dollars and seventy cents into Pakistani revenue if the cargo trucks are charged with the same international toll fee (Adrees, 2017). There is not any speculative or empirical data suggesting the number of Chinese trucks that are likely to pass through Pakistan.

8 CONCLUSION

The acronym CPEC implies that Pakistan is a corridor for merely China. Pakistan should open its doors to everyone. The project should be named PAC (Pakistan Asian Corridor). Pakistan should call upon all the South Asian, Central Asian and Middle Eastern countries to join the project and invest in Pakistan. It should convince them that this investment will bring benefits to all. It will be conducive to consolidate Afghanistan and bring peace in the region. Pakistan should ask Gulf states to build oil and gas pipelines in Pakistan to supply these goods to China and rest of the Asian countries. This will satiate the energy demands in Pakistan. Pakistan is the most diversified land having the potential to become a South Asian power hub and she is only inches away from this title. For this, Pakistan will have to open its doors to all the regional and global countries.

Almost all the visible perspectives and imminent implications of CPEC have been covered in this article. The project has been the centre of debate in global media for a considerable time. The success of the project depends on the security of Pakistan. The economy of Pakistan is likely to boost under the project. In order to get maximum economic advantage out of the project Pakistan should invite other neighbouring countries along with central Asian and Gulf states. India is the major exporter in the region and an emerging market. Pakistan should extend a cooperating hand to it and lend it an access to the central Asia. CPEC is vital for the economy of Pakistan. For the security and sustainability of the project, Pakistan should extend solid invitation to India. Economic superiority and survival are the mega-concern of states. This project can provide secure route and safe transportation to its neighbours and other Asian states.

Many Gulf states do not produce major products that they consume. Pakistan should invite them to invest in Pakistan because the latter has both the capacity and expertise. In order to keep the functioning and execution of this CPEC project transparent, a consensus should be developed among national political stakeholders to ensure its uninterrupted smooth running in the best interest of Pakistan's security, prosperity, progress and perception uplift.

Pakistan can be the South Asian and GCC countries industrial production hub after the successful culmination of the CPEC. This in return will boost Pakistan's economy and revolutionize the socio-economic fabric of the country.

In all the data available on the project. The picture of CPEC that appears in this work is the summary of the available data. The project must take culminating and final shape. Many projects are yet to be completed. But the data suggests that the culmination of the project will be promising for all that neighbours and cooperating states.

References

- Anad, N. (2017, April 02). *India's exports may cross \$300 billion in FY17, says FIEO*. Retrieved from The Hindu: <http://www.thehindu.com/business/Industry/indias-exports-may-cross-300-billion-in-fy17-says-fieo/article17763473.ece>
- Atheer. (2018, April 11). *Brief History of the Relationship between Oman and Baluchistan*. Retrieved from Atheer: <http://www.atheer.com/en/7162/brief-history-of-the-relationship-between-oman-and-baluchistan/>
- CNBC. (2017, November 10). *Here are the world's top 10 oil producers*. Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/11/10/here-are-the-worlds-top-10-oil-producers.html>
- Dawn. (2009, October 17). *Geography: The borders of Pakistan*. Retrieved from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/884966>
- Dr. Mansoor Ali, D. F. (2016). CPEC, SEZ (Special Economic Zones) and Entrepreneurial Development Prospects in Pakistan. *Journal of Economic Theory*, 20-37.
- Ferdinand, P. (2016). Westward ho, the China dream and 'one belt, one road': Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping. *Journal of International Affairs*, 941-958.
- Finances Online. (2016, January 19). *Top 10 Oil Producing Countries In The World: Where's The Greatest Petroleum Dominion?* Retrieved from Finances Online: <https://financesonline.com/top-10-oil-producing-countries-in-the-world-where-the-greatest-petroleum-dominion/>
- Global Security. (2015, November 11). *The Soviet Invasion - 1979-1989*. Retrieved from Global Security: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/afghanistan-1979.htm>
- Jaspal, D. Z. (2017, March 16). *Challenges to CPEC*. Retrieved from Pakistan Observer: <https://pakobserver.net/challenges-to-cpec/>
- Katoch, P. (2017, June 20). *Chabahar Port: Why future of India-Iran project hinges on outcome of Narendra Modi-Donald Trump meet*. Retrieved from First Post: <https://www.firstpost.com/india/chabahar-port-why-future-of-india-iran-project-hinges-on-outcome-of-narendra-modi-donald-trump-meet-3722647.html>
- Mubarak, H (2016). 'China Pakistan Economic Corridor: Prospects and Challenges' (Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis), Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan.
- News, T. (2019, September 19). *Top Story*. Retrieved from The News International: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/528615-cpec-shelved>
- Rana, S. (2020, February 12). *Business*. Retrieved from The Epress Tribune: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2154880/2-appointment-cpec-authority-ceo-blocked/>
- Raza, S. (2016, August 29). *Oman transport: Pakistan plans ferry service from Karachi to Muscat*. Retrieved from Times of Oman: <http://timesofoman.com/article/91366>
- Shafei Moiz Hali, D. T. (2016). One Belt and One Road: Impact on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 147-164.

- Soleri, D. A. (2016). Belt Road Initiative: view from across the border Belt Road Initiative. *SDPI (Sustainable Development Policy Institute)*, 3-9.
- Zurutzuga, K. (2011, November 05). *Inside Iran's most secretive region*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2011/05/inside-irans-most-secretive-region/>

Examining the Narrative Control in Pakistani Political Discourse

Waqar Mahmood Khan¹ & Dr. Muhammad Zahid Bilal²

Article Information	Abstract
Received: December 18, 2023 Revised: December 27, 2023 Accepted: December 30, 2023	Power shifts that are carefully planned have plagued Pakistani politics for many years. These schemes, which are frequently concealed by selective prosecutions, manipulated public opinion, and media manipulation, cast serious doubt on the validity of the nation's democratic system. This research explores the complex interplay between public consent and elite manipulation, examining the ways in which political players and the media use narratives to manipulate public opinion and eventually affect election results. With a focus on in-depth interviews with political analysts, journalists, and regular people, the research takes a qualitative approach and is based on agenda-setting theory and the hypodermic needle model of communication. Through examining the processes of story development, media cooperation, and public vulnerability, the research clarifies the intricate relationship between manipulative elites and fake consent. The results highlight the weakness of Pakistani democracy and imply that free and fair elections run by an impartial body may be necessary to terminate the cycle of coerced consent and provide people the freedom to actually exercise their right to vote.
Keywords	
<i>Hyper Reality</i> <i>Agenda-setting Theory</i> <i>Hypodermic Needle Model</i> <i>Democratic Processes</i> <i>Power Dynamics in Pakistani Politics</i>	

1 Introduction

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is Chinese intention of connecting with the world through roads, railways and maritime silk route with mainland China (Griffiths, 2017). Pakistan's political horizon is characterized by an ongoing sequence of organized power transitions, which breeds unpredictability and instability. In this complex web of governance, it is assumed by many that governments are frequently toppled by devious means that circumvent popular will, drawing harsh criticism from a wide range of stakeholders. Courts, media, and the public all fiercely oppose these changes in power, seeing them as unjust and anti-democratic. As the cycle comes to an end, new leaders show themselves to be the favorites, only to be deposed by the same evil schemes that brought down their predecessors. To shed light on the complicated power dynamics, public opinion, and media manipulation that affect Pakistani politics, this study intends to explore the complexity inherent in this phenomenon.

Examining this repeating cycle makes it crucial to comprehend the function that public opinion plays in Pakistani politics. Popular emotion, which is heightened by media outlets and political scheming, frequently serves as a trigger for the toppling of regimes in power.

¹ Lecturer in English, University of Okara, Pakistan. Email: waqarmahmoodkhan786@gmail.com

² Head of Department, DMCS, University of Okara, Pakistan.

This research aims to disentangle the complex processes by which different players mold, impact, and employ public opinion to manipulate political shifts. It also seeks to disentangle how media narratives influence public perception and discourse on political events, shedding light on the mutually beneficial link between media manipulation and sentiment modification. This study aims to provide important insights into the relationship between public opinion, media manipulation, and the overall trajectory of Pakistani politics by examining these processes.

Power dynamics in Pakistani politics are an important component of this study. The goal of the research is to examine the complex dynamics of power dynamics and how they affect political transitions. It aims to reveal the complex web of alliances, rivalries, and vested interests that mold the decision-making processes and eventually affect political outcomes through a thorough examination. This research attempts to provide a thorough knowledge of the fundamental processes that sustain the recurrent cycles of planned power transfers by examining the intricate details of power battles. By doing this, it aims to clarify the complex interactions between influence and deception that characterize Pakistan's political system.

2 Research Problem

A recurrent pattern of orchestrated power transitions, characterized by selective litigation, slanted media coverage, and public manipulation, bedevils Pakistan's political landscape. This study explores the causes of this cycle, how it affects democratic processes, and possible ways to achieve true citizen-driven democratic governance.

3 Research Objectives

- To comprehend the ways in which Pakistan's political elites engineer power transitions and shape public opinion through the use of the media and legal institutions.
- To examine how the hypodermic needle model of communication and agenda-setting theory influence public opinion and justify manufactured consent.
- To evaluate how this cycle affects the durability of democracy and public confidence in political institutions.
- To investigate various means of ending the cycle, such as the function of free and fair elections led by an impartial authority.

4 Literature Review

4.1 Agenda-Setting Theory

Research by McCombs and Shaw (1972) as well as other researchers indicates that the media has the power to alter the relevance of problems and prioritize them on the public agenda. This paradigm is used to investigate how public perception of specific political parties and individuals in Pakistan is shaped by media coverage.

4.2 The Hypodermic Needle Model

This communication model, which Lasswell (1927) promoted, assumes that information is directly transferred from media to audience, suggesting powerful persuasive effects. This

study investigates if this model may be used to comprehend how media-driven narratives affect Pakistani public opinion.

Research on Pakistani politics by Cohen (2004) and Khan (2012) looks at how Pakistan's democratic processes are affected by military establishments and elite political scheming. Building on previous research, this paper examines the roles played by these elements in the cyclical pattern of power transfers.

This amounts to a complex game of public domain manipulation in Pakistan, where media outlets develop and promote narratives that elevate some political actors while demeaning others. As Hasan (2015) argues, Pakistani media often serves as a spokesperson for vested interests, promoting sensationalized storylines that match with the agendas of major political factions. As Gilani (2012) points out, this skewed coverage distorts public opinion by emphasizing the failings of the current administration while ignoring those of possible successors. This inaccurate representation fosters public disenchantment and eventually opens the door for planned removals.

With its idea of direct information transfer from media to audience, Lasswell's (1927) hypodermic needle model provides another important lens through which to look at the impact of produced narratives in Pakistani politics. Although the model's oversimplified presumptions have been refuted (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), its central idea—that media can have a persuasive effect—remains true. Political players in Pakistan use media outlets to spread narratives that have been deliberately developed with the intention of swaying public opinion.

These narratives frequently use societal weaknesses that already exist, such as divisions between different ethnic or religious groups, as Jalal (2014) highlights, in order to discredit political opponents and support their own legitimacy. Media outlets infused with the objectives of political elites effectively weaponize these narratives, influencing public perception and influencing electoral outcomes through a combination of fear-mongering, disinformation, and selective framing (Zaman, 2018).

Beyond the military, strong political families and commercial interests also have a major role in shaping media environments and legislative frameworks, which reinforces the pattern of manufactured consent (Ali, 2010).

5 Research Methodology

Using a qualitative methodology, this study sought to provide deeper understanding of the intricate dynamics of Pakistani politics. Semi-structured interviews were carried out by the researchers with a heterogeneous group of people who fall into three different categories: citizens, political analysts, and journalists. In order to guarantee a thorough comprehension, fifteen people, five political analysts, and five journalists were selected as interview subjects due to their varied perspectives and political acumen.

Themes like public opinion, political manipulation, media impact, and possible routes to true democratic governance were the focus of the researchers' interviews. The researchers allowed participants to freely express their opinions while still ensuring some uniformity throughout interviews by using a semi-structured technique. This methodology facilitated the collection and analysis of extensive, complex data.

A methodical strategy called thematic coding was used to assess the interview material. Finding recurring themes and patterns in the interview transcripts was part of this process. The researchers were able to obtain a thorough grasp of the many viewpoints and experiences that the interviewees shared by identifying important themes. The analytical method also sought to investigate any discrepancies or opposing points of view among the participants in order to present a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.

Overall, this qualitative research approach enabled a thorough examination of the methods by which political players influence public opinion, the role of media in crafting narratives, and the effects of this manufactured consent for democratic stability. Through the utilization of thematic coding and a wide range of respondent engagement, the results of this study enhance our comprehension of Pakistani politics and their influence on the democratic process.

In summary, using a qualitative methodology, this study conducted in-depth interviews with three major categories of people: journalists (five), political analysts (five), and citizens (15). The interviewees were chosen on the basis of their political competence and range of viewpoints. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with themes including public opinion, political manipulation, media impact, and possible ways to achieve true democratic governance. Thematic coding was used in the data analysis process to find recurrent themes and differences in the transcripts of the interviews.

6 Data Analysis

Several important themes emerged from the analysis. Interviewees emphasized the pervasiveness of biased media coverage, which frequently favors certain political organizations while condemning others. This is known as media manipulation. This kind of deception was used to shape public opinion and give political activities legitimacy.

6.1 Political Elites and Manufactured Consent

Through selective legal prosecutions, media manipulation, and public disenchantment with incumbent administrations, political players were found to be the architects of power transitions. This undermined true democratic choice by starting a loop of manufactured consent.

The general public acknowledged the cyclical nature of Pakistani politics and voiced a desire for free and fair elections to be held by an independent authority, even in the face of widespread manipulation.

The results of the data analysis demonstrated how pervasive media manipulation is in Pakistani politics and how it affects public perception. The media's skewed representation of political groups not only shapes public opinion but also gives some political actions an air of legitimacy. The study also sheds light on the purposeful efforts of political actors to manipulate shifts in power through media manipulation, calculated legal measures, and popular disillusionment. This undermined the legitimacy of democratic choice by continuing a loop of manufactured consent. Significantly, the results emphasized the public's demand for transparent electoral procedures, emphasizing the vital necessity of impartial supervision to guarantee Pakistan's democratic traditions remain genuine.

The frequency of skewed media coverage, which benefits some political organizations while criticizing others—a practice known as media manipulation—was one of the main themes brought up by the interviewees. It was determined that this manipulation was a tactic used to sway public perception and give political actions legitimacy. The study also showed how political elites orchestrated power shifts by manipulating the media, selectively pursuing court cases, and exploiting public dissatisfaction with ruling governments. This created a vicious circle of manufactured consent that undermined true democratic decision-making. Notably, despite the pervasive manipulation seen in the political environment, the results also emphasized the public's desires for free and fair elections overseen by an impartial body.

The data analysis from qualitative research techniques presents an unsettling image of Pakistani politics that is closely linked to media manipulation and its devious influence on public opinion and power structures. Concerns expressed by interviewees about skewed media coverage that elevates some political entities while demonizing others expose a world where "manufactured consent" is commonplace or a meticulously crafted reality created by political elites in order to manipulate public opinion and justify their goals.

The study also analyses how this multi-level manipulating apparatus functions. First, the media itself functions as a biased filter, influencing how the general public perceives, comprehends, and eventually reacts to political events. This is generally due to ownership structures or political affinities. In addition to favoring selected groups, this biased image gives legitimacy to their acts, regardless of their actual nature.

Secondly, the distorted media landscape is deliberately used by political actors to manipulate changes in power. Selective legal actions that focus on opponents while ignoring supporters serve to reinforce the desired narrative. Dissatisfaction with the current administration, which is frequently purposefully heightened by media manipulation, adds another weapon to this scenario. Political elites take advantage of public frustration and present themselves as the solution in order to manipulate a desired change in the balance of power.

Current study also highlight optimism amid the manipulation that includes the public's desire for real democracy. Their steadfast demand for free and fair elections supervised by an impartial body, in spite of the endemic prejudice, says volumes about their determination to recover their democratic agency. This ongoing demand for justice and openness serves as a counterbalance to the manipulative forces in place and presents one possible path out of the created cycle and into a more representative democratic system.

Ultimately, the data analysis provides an insight into the destructive influence of media manipulation on Pakistani politics. It reveals a system in which the deliberate interaction of a biased media, crafty elites, and manufactured discontent orchestrates power shifts rather than the genuine will of the people. The public's resolute demand for democratic integrity and openness, however, provides hope for the future. To shed light on the steps required for Pakistan to regain true democratic agency, more investigation into the causes and effects of this manipulation is essential.

In addition to the above analysis, recent statements of prominent Pakistani politicians/party heads have also been highlighted and aligned with the current research study to broaden and further justify the scope of the study:

1. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari: His foresight of Nawaz Sharif's possible "mujhy kyun bulaya" narrative demonstrates a calculated move. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari hopes to deflect attention from Sharif's ouster and onto the process of selecting leaders for the next February 2023 election by foreshadowing this victimization narrative. The PPP's battle for political domination and its opposition to the PML-N narrative are reflected in this attempt to recast the story. (Bilawal seeks full inquiry into 'serious' cipher issue - Newspaper - DAWN.COM)

2. Imran Khan: The title "ladla" that former Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif and former Caretaker Interior Minister Sarfraz Bugti gave him says it all. It poses major concerns regarding the impartiality of the courts in addition to implying preferential treatment inside the legal system. This story supports Khan's populist "anti-establishment" rhetoric by corroborating his claims of an elite "conspiracy" against his administration. ('Ladla' Imran Khan getting unimaginable facilities in jail, says Bugti (thenews.com.pk))

3. "Ladla" and "Electoral Engineering": Bhutto-Zardari's subtly expressed remarks about a politician Nawaz Sharif being "laaya" and "hataya" (meaning "brought" and "removed") are consistent with the larger worries about outside interference in election results. This assertion might support accusations that the "establishment" favors certain parties, casting doubt on the democracy's impartiality and openness.

4. Nawaz Sharif made a sophisticated argument based on Pakistani political dynamics when he said that his rivals in politics were manipulating the system to benefit Imran Khan. The Label "Ladla": Referring to Khan as the "ladla" suggests partiality and privileged treatment within the system of power. Supporters of Sharif, who think he was unfairly attacked in contrast to Khan, can relate to this story. It can support claims that Khan earlier had the support of the establishment, which raises questions about judicial prejudice and election tampering. According to Sharif, he is the victim of a "shameful game" that a strong elite is playing. Using this victimization story, he hopes to win people around and justify his criticism of Imran Khan. He presents himself as unfairly suffering while Pakistan bears the brunt of the fallout. (<https://humnews.pk/pakistan/why-pakistan-punished-to-bring-ladla-to-power-nawaz-sharif/>)

6.2 Consequences for Narrative Control

Bhutto-Zardari, Imran Khan, Sarfraz Bugti and both Sharif's utterances reveal a bitter struggle for public opinion and agenda-setting. Each political party tries to shape the story around its own and its opponents' acts so as to augment public support and justify their political motives. Public opinion is shaped by this ongoing battle for narrative dominance, which eventually affects the electoral environment.

7 Suggestions

7.1 Free and Fair Elections

The autonomy to choose one's own representatives is the foundation stone of any true democracy. To achieve impartial, transparent, and credible elections, Pakistan needs an independent Election commission that is not influenced by any political or hidden players. While such an independent panel is being created, monitoring and expertise might be sought from impartial international agencies.

7.2 Judicial Reforms

The legal system must be unbiased, neutral and free from political interference or meddling by hidden players. By implementing reforms like accountability systems and transparent selection procedures, our political landscape can strengthen judicial freedom and prevent the use of the legal system as a political tool against rival politicians.

7.3 Media Independence

It is integral to have an independent and vigilant media in order to question fabricated or constructed narratives and hold the strong parties responsible. Encouraging media independence through legal protection, enhancing ownership diversity, and increasing journalistic standards is vital to ensuring that the public gets impartial information and is able of making well-informed decisions.

7.4 Regional Collaboration and International Supervision

Pakistan may learn from other democracies that have succeeded over hindrances like electoral interferences and political engineering.

7.5 Civic Engagement and Public Awareness

Overcoming the loop of manipulation requires strengthening and empowering the masses with information and critical thinking skills. Easy access to information, media-literacy initiatives, and civic education programs can allow citizens to identify slanted narratives and hold their leaders accountable.

7.6 Strong Democratic Institutions

Sturdy institutions extend beyond the executive, legislative, and judicial branches are essential to a healthy democracy. Encouraging media coverage, active citizen engagement, and independent civil society organizations are critical for ensuring the checks and balances required for a robust democracy and for holding those in positions of power responsible.

7.7 Handling the Underlying Socioeconomic Issues

Lack of opportunity in the economy, poverty, and inequality are typically the feeding grounds for the cycle of manufactured consent. By addressing these problems with social safety nets, economic development programs, and healthcare and education spending, we can empower people and lessen their vulnerability to political influence.

7.8 Youth Inclusion and Intergenerational Discussion

Young people's passion, vibrant nature and enthusiasm combined with seasoned politicians' knowledge and experience may be a powerful force for good. More responsive and efficient government can result from developing intergenerational communication, promoting youth engagement in politics, and incorporating a variety of viewpoints into the decision process.

In Pakistan, overcoming the loop of manufactured consent is a difficult and a complex task. But Pakistan can start to create a more authentic and full-bodied democracy, where the people actually own the power, by putting these suggestions into practice and encouraging a

culture of , inclusion, diversity, transparency, honesty, openness, responsibility, and engaged citizen engagement.

8 Conclusion

This research discusses the unrelenting difficulties in Pakistani politics, which are marked by a periodic pattern of engineered power shifts driven by selective prosecutions, media manipulation, and popular discontent. Keeping in view the agenda-setting theory and the hypodermic needle communication model, the current study provides shrewd information about how political elites and the media mold popular opinion to affect election results. According to the findings, holding free and fair elections under the supervision of an impartial organization is crucial to ending the cycle of coerced consent and enabling people to make true democratic decisions.

In conclusion, the convoluted linkage between public vulnerability, media manipulation, and power dynamics in Pakistan's political landscape determine the critical need for comprehensive interventions to ensure and sustain democratic stability. Manufactured consent has a widespread effect that feeds a power-shifting cycle that erodes public trust in political institutions and threatens the very foundation of democratic governance. Restoring genuine electoral freedom possibly by creating an impartial electoral commission in order to address this urgent issue, becomes quite integral to maintaining the values of free and free elections and resuming public confidence in the democratic process.

In addition, it is essential to maintain media independence and increase public knowledge of deception techniques. Efforts to augment media independence and advance a general understanding of the methods by which public opinion is shaped are critical to allowing citizens to make informed and intelligent choices, which in turn creates a more resilient and healthy democratic culture.

It is obvious that Pakistan's pursuit of a citizen-driven democratic government will remain a fantasy in the absence of such all-inclusive and systemic measures. Hence, it is essential to take coordinated action to support electoral integrity, improve media freedom, and encourage an informed public in order to create the conditions for a more inclusive, fair, responsible, and transparent democratic framework in Pakistan,. This need sheds light on the significance and urgency of the research's scope and findings, which outline the intricate relationship between public trust, media influence, and power dynamics in determining Pakistan's path toward democratic governance.

References

- Ali, T. (2010). *Pakistan: Military and Politics*. Routledge.
- Cohen, S. F. (2004). *States of Inquiry: Dominance and Resistance in American Public Culture*. University of Chicago Press.
- Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The Psychology of Attitudes*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Gilani, I. A. (2012). *The Perils of Democracy: Elections and Civil Society in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Hasan, Z. U. (2015). *The Media and Democracy in Pakistan: A Critical Evaluation*. Routledge.

- Jalal, A. (2014). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh*. Cambridge University Press.
- Khan, A. U. (2012). *Pakistan: The Enigma of Islamism*. Oxford University Press.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1927). *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. Alfred A. Knopf.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-setting Function of the Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-185.
- Zaman, M. Q. (2018). *The Power of Narratives: Political Communication and State Formation in Pakistan*. Routledge.

Nuclear Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Impact on Human and Environment

Zainab Murtaza,¹ Dr. Mian Muhammad Azhar,² and Dr. Khadija Murtaza³

Article Information	Abstract
Received: February 09, 2021 Revised: December 25, 2023 Accepted: December 30, 2023	This paper provides the natural consequences of the creation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), especially nuclear weapons, creating a huge gap in existing non-proliferation systems and security thinking. Nuclear weapons are being recognized in various parts of the global network as being used for security purposes. In reality, nuclear weapons produce the same air blast effects as conventional explosive weapons. It can directly damage a person's eardrums and can also affect the lungs. Natural deprivation is a worldwide phenomenon that affects human populations, nearby and national security. Nature conservation is at the same time a security and human rights issue as well as an issue of climate change. Radionuclides are examples of chemicals involved in WMD, but beyond these there is a wide range of nuclear radiation and other byproducts, gaseous emissions, and developing solutions for photography. The main sub-sectors of environmental protection are the creation of WMD, and for the most part military projects. The local and international impacts of industries are particularly numerous.
Keywords <i>Nuclear Weapons</i> <i>Environment</i> <i>Carbon Emission</i> <i>fission</i> <i>fusion</i>	

1 Introduction

A weapon of mass destruction is a weapon that can kill and seriously injure countless people and cause extraordinary damage to man-made structures and nature. The United Nations Commission on Conventional Weapons (UNCCA) in August 1948 characterized these weapons as including radiological weapons, nuclear sensitive weapons, lethal dangerous compounds, biological weapons and other types of weapons with dangerous properties developed later. Nuclear bombs have devastating effects. Nuclear weapons are the most dangerous weapons on earth (Carus, 2012). However, trans-border contamination, consumption of assets leading to ethnic or national conflict, and frequent migration, decline in welfare and future, and financial dependence on dirty, waste-extracting or collecting businesses, are among these problems.

¹ PhD Scholar, Department of Political Science, Government College university Faisalabad, Email: zainabmurtaza545@gmail.com

² Corresponding Author, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Government College university Faisalabad, Email: muhammad.azhar@gcuf.edu.pk

³ Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Government College University Faisalabad, Email: khadijamurtaza12@yahoo.com

Nuclear weapons are gadgets that derive most or all of their striking power from the distribution, combination, or combination of both (Company, 1995). Nuclear division is the splitting of a molecule into at least two parts. Nuclear fusion is the fusion of two atoms to form a single heavy particle. The simplest nuclear weapons are fission weapons. Tests of nuclear devices have gone from yields as low as one kiloton to 50 megatons (National Research Council, 2005).

Nuclear weapons are the most dangerous weapons on earth. One can destroy an entire city, slaughtering and endangering wildlife and people with tragic consequences afterward. Nuclear weapons are the deadliest type of WMD. Nuclear weapons are sometimes called nuclear bombs. Atomic bombs also release radioactive material. This radioactive material can affect people many years after the bomb explodes. Radiation from nuclear bombs can cause birth defects in babies born long after the bomb has exploded.

There have been only two nuclear attacks in history and both of these attacks were carried out by the United States. During the Second World War, it dropped atomic bombs on the urban areas of Japan. These attacks resulted in the involvement of groups of over 200,000 people (Tomonaga, 2019). Many countries that do not have nuclear weapons are trying to acquire them and believe that they may need them later. They feel that these weapons are the only important way they can avoid various countries that have nuclear weapons.

Some have built significantly more powerful nuclear weapons. These weapons are called thermonuclear weapons. An atomic bomb is many times more powerful than a nuclear bomb. Conventional bomb and nuclear bomb explosions are distinguished by rapid fusion reactions while atomic bombs explode through nuclear reactions. Because nuclear reactions produce far more significant steps of life than synthetic reactions, atomic bombs, per unit of matter, are thousands, or even millions, of times more explosive than conventional bombs. In addition to the radioactive fallout from nuclear explosions that are dangerous to all life, nuclear explosions can cause damage long after they occur.

2 Literature Review

The aim of this study is to explore the impacts and risks of nuclear weapons on Human and the environment. There are some books that are useful for understanding nuclear weapons and their effects.

Robinson, in his book describes how humans have destroyed the Earth and its various ecosystems. The book also covers the harmful consequences of developing, testing, stockpiling, and using weapons of mass destruction, both predictable and unintended. The book describes the classification of ecosystems and weapons of mass destruction. The following chapter examines how guns affect ecosystems using environmental survey data from actual weapons testing sites and combat zones (Robinson, 2013).

Westing, in his book explores how war and other military operations lead to this type of degradation. There is little indication that global violence is declining, and the military's ability to destroy and disrupt ecosystems has increased. Each of the major global habitats—temperate, tropical, desert, arctic, insular, and marine—is subject to a separate assessment based on human use and abuse of the same ecosystem (Westing, 1980).

These books help to understand some of the unresolved concerns about how weapons affect ecosystems, encourages additional research to advance the cause of environmental protection and disarmament, and addresses these issues.

3 Material and Methods

To understand the impacts of nuclear weapons this study adopted analytical and descriptive designs. Secondary sources used to obtain data for research include books, journals, newspapers, articles and previous study projects. Qualitative method is used for this research.

4 There are Two Types of Nuclear Weapons

There are two basic methods used for nuclear explosions, they are fission and fusion (Scientists, 2016). They are opposites, when a one atom split it is called fusion and when 2 atoms combine it is called fission. Fission bombs are commonly called atomic bombs and fusion bombs are called thermonuclear or hydrogen bombs.

4.1 Splitting Atom as Fission Weapons

Particles are part of weapons. The core of the weapon is made of plutonium or more advanced uranium. Both molecules are sufficient. Both contain a number of protons and neutrons in their cores. Uranium is usually dispersed in nature in constant mixing with various components. Uranium has sixteen isotopes, but only three are found in characteristic uranium. U-238 is the most abundant by a long shot, making up 99.28 percent of regular uranium. U-235 makes up 0.71% of regular uranium. Uranium-234 constitutes only 0.0058 percent (Science Behind the Atom Bomb, 2014).

Plutonium is present only in the world characterized by: For all intents and purposes, the plutonium that exists today is the result of human activity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. 15 isotopes of plutonium are known, although only PU 239 and 241 are fissile. For a variety of reasons, plutonium-239, rather than plutonium-241, is commonly used to create electrical power and nuclear weapons. Both plutonium 240 and 242 are neutron-damaging, which means they absorb neutrons without dissociating them (Burns, 2011). There are two types of fission bombs, two of which were created by the Manhattan Project called the Intended Weapon type bomb and the Implosion bomb.

4.2 Fusion Weapons

Fusion or nuclear bombs are increasingly incredible, powerful and massively more labor-intensive than fission and fission weapons. They likewise consist of thousands of non-nuclear parts such as batteries, capacitors, links, detonators and wires. The main nuclear device weighed more than 60 tons and was much larger than various bombs. While it was 500 times more earth-shattering and powerful than the Maine fission bomb test and 800 times more impactful than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. This is the same reaction that occurs in the focal point of the sun. This type can only occur at high temperatures and unusual weights. Regularly these weapons are many times more dangerous than the fragmentation bombs that attacked Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is also called a two-phase atomic weapon.

5 Brief History of Nuclear Weapons

During World War II, the United States made atomic bombs because it believed that Germany was also working on nuclear weapons. The Manhattan Projects effort was at one time considered the highest priority project among many competing states (Goldberg, 1995). Germany surrendered before the atomic bomb was developed, but the weapon was used on two separate occasions in 1945, three days apart, to force Japan to surrender, ultimately leading to the most devastating war in human history. Since the use of atomic weapons against Hiroshima on August 6 and August 14, they have never been used in war again. The first detonation of nuclear weapons took place on 16 July 1945 in the United States when it first tested an atomic bomb. After just 3 weeks, the world politics changed. The United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan on August 6, 1945, killing or injuring about 130,000 people. Three days later, the United States bombed Nagasaki. Of the 28,600 people living there at the time of the explosion, 74,000 were killed and 75,000 were seriously injured. On August 14, 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally. It also resulted in the end of World War II.

Meanwhile, the nuclear arms race began during the Cold War. During this period, the United States and the Soviet Union conducted thousands of nuclear tests as they developed more advanced and lethal weapon systems. This world changed a lot when America tested the H-bomb in 1952. That bomb was much smaller in size, more powerful and more dangerous than the weapon dropped on Hiroshima. In 1953, the Russians developed the H-bomb, and after this test, the world became more dangerous.

In 1954, Indian President Jawaharlal Nehru said that these weapons are a threat to the world; these should be banned because he advocated a peaceful world. It was the first major move to ban nuclear technology of mass destruction. Later, France established its nuclear program in 1960, while China developed its own nuclear weapon by testing it in 1964.

However, in the 1970s, India conducted its first nuclear test to detonate a nuclear weapon named Smiling Buddha. At that time, India declared it as a peaceful experiment, but after some time, it announced to the world that India is a nuclear power. India shocked the world on May 11, 1998 (1998: India explodes nuclear controversy, 2005) by testing and establishing 3 nuclear weapons which was about 6 times more powerful and dangerous than on the Hiroshima attacked by Americans. After this tests India also tested two more nuclear explosions. Meanwhile, as Pakistan strengthened its nuclear program in response to India's nuclear program, with its six nuclear weapons to maintain its status and balance of power in the region.

Proliferation problems in South Asia are of two types namely vertical and horizontal. Vertical proliferation occurs when nuclear states modernize and advance their nuclear arsenals with more reliable delivery systems and warheads. The US, China, India and Pakistan are in the process of modernizing their weapons. Nuclear proliferation is the spread of nuclear weapons technology from nuclear states to other entities known as horizontal proliferation. This includes nuclear aspiring states and non-state actors such as terrorist groups. In South Asia this type of spread is particularly associated with A.Q. Khan Network and its support to states like North Korea and Iran. While vertical and horizontal diffusion are different forms of diffusion dynamics. In recent years, experts have identified two main causes of South Asia's nuclear problems. India and Pakistan are two major players in the South Asian region.

North Korea also tested a nuclear weapon that was more powerful and dangerous and declared in international politics that it had achieved the status of the eighth nuclear weapon state. North Korea's weapons can target South Korea as well as US, Chinese and Russian territories.

Additionally, Syria received direct support from Russia, and some other nuclear states, to develop its nuclear weapons program. Furthermore, the state's main motivation for acquiring nuclear weapons and biological weapons power was that it felt threatened by Israel, since Israel is a powerful nuclear power.

6 Effects of Nuclear Weapons on Human Health and Environment

The main sub-sectors of environmental protection are the creation of WMD, and for the most part military projects. The local and international impacts of industries are particularly numerous, apart from the actual or potential impacts of their finished products. Examples are radionuclides and chemicals included in WMD, but beyond these are precursor chemicals and nuclear radiation and other byproducts, solid milling and tailings, gaseous emissions, and a variety of prosaic waste such as used filters, gloves, and photographic developing solutions. Military industries involved in the production of conventional weapons produce large amounts of waste, such as previously used defense sites (FUDS), which may be marginally less toxic and persistent than WMD production.

It is important to understand that a nuclear explosion produces many different forms of energy that have their own destructive consequences in order to understand the effect of nuclear weapons.

- i) Blast
- ii) Thermal Radiation
- iii) Electromagnetic pulse
- iv) Nuclear Fallout
- v) Effects of Radiation on Humans

6.1 Blast

Due to the high temperature and weight of this weapon, the vapor deposits of the explosion are transferred to the outside. The effect of these high weights makes traveling several times faster than the speed of sound at 800 km/h dangerous. If the structure can be destroyed, there will be essentially no living things left. There will be a lot of scope and few casualties. In any nuclear collision, all things considered, this environmental devastation would cause far more casualties than the immediate effects of a nuclear explosion.

6.2 Thermal Radiation

Thermal radiation incorporates heat and light. A lot of infrared, clear and bright beams are also produced in the first few moments from the outside of the fireball. This thermal radiation travels outwards at the speed of light. It therefore exceeds the substantial number of impacts in a nuclear explosion by a large margin, and also at separations where impact effects appear. The range of thermal effects increases markedly with weapon production. Larger nuclear warheads can burn far beyond separation and cause other thermal damage that they can cause impact damage. It is the increased effects of these volcanic storms that create stratospheric

smoke layers that cause dangerous worldwide climate change that eventually becomes the inevitable environmental consequence of a nuclear war that would compromise the continued existence of human beings. Meanwhile, the glow from an atomic explosion can be seen from miles away.

6.3 Electromagnetic Pulse

This heartbeat is abnormally felt at very high separations. A single high-return atomic detonation will create a dangerous EMP over a large number of square kilometres below the detonation site. Despite its various effects, an atom transmits an electromagnetic heartbeat like a warm heartbeat. Despite the fact that part of the electromagnetic pulse does not immediately harm people, it can create havoc at the site of a nuclear explosion as it damages every single electrical device. War planners consider the EMP from a high-return rocket detonation suitable for disrupting all of their country's correspondence arrangements, and sending a solitary rocket over these lines could start a nuclear war.

6.4 Radioactive Fallout

This may be the most heinous effect of a nuclear explosion in light of the fact that the aftershock zone is much wider and more highly irregular than direct nuclear radiation. Removing it is a very important and important activity. The radiation produced at the time of the explosion is known as the schedule or initial radiation, and it occurs within the initial moment of the explosion. Anyone close enough to the explosion to be hit by the radiation in time will likely be killed by the impact and heat effects.

6.5 Radiation of Weapons of Mass Destruction Effects on Humans Life

The adverse effects of weapon radiation on human life depend on the dose of the weapon emitted. Presentation of radiation and emission is moderate and diffuse or profuse and immediate. Radiation affects cells in the human body that are effectively isolated, for example, found in hair, bone marrow, and hypothalamic organs. A large and rapid radiation from a weapon of mass destruction can penetrate cells and cause effects in the human body within hours or days (Ashford, 2011). The most real delayed, long-range effect of radiation exposure is the increased frequency of leukemia and tumors of the thyroid, lung, chest, and bone. For example, uranium miners show a high incidence of fatal lung development from breathing in radioactive residues. Additionally, it is the reason for the extremely high rate of leukemia among survivors of the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima.

A number of researchers and experts say the dangers of radiation released during each stage of nuclear weapons creation and inevitable explosion. A variety of genetic defects, desensitization, disease, stillbirth, mental retardation and severe medical problems have been observed due to atomic radiation.

There are also long term effects of nuclear radiation which create physical problems.

6.6 Blood Disorders

As the Japanese data show, people exposed to the bomb had increased vulnerability. Sometimes, the reduction in white and red platelets continued for up to ten years after the bombing.

6.7 Tumors

Nuclear radiation is known to cause cancer, yet some tumor types develop more quickly than others. A broad type is leukemia. The incidence of disease among Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors is greater than each, and a significant correlation between presentation level and rate level is found for thyroid dysfunction, chest and malignancy and salivary organ dysfunction. Often 10 years or more go by before radiation damage becomes apparent.

6.8 Effects of Radiation on Environment

Due to nuclear radiation, the temperature of the atmosphere is becoming alarming day by day. While a thick layer of smog remains in the atmosphere which spoils the sun's rays for a long time. Due to this change, agriculture is suffering from extreme heat. Radiation from nuclear weapons contaminates food production.

A nuclear weapon can be many times more lethal than the largest conventional weapon. Radiation and explosive radiation from weapons of mass destruction produce extremely hot trends in temperature, radioactive emissions, high radiation ranges, and electromagnetic pulses. On the other hand, various incredible weapons are dangerous to the ecosystems around the world and it is a major cause of climate change.

Other immediate effects include overpressure injury, collapse of structures and buildings, and heat and fire. Apparently radiation causes radiation sickness with infection and possibly death. Usually in low doses, it weakens the bone marrow. In high doses, the stomach can be damaged and the brain can be severely damaged. The radiations and emission of nuclear explosions are the important cause the enormous fires. Smoke from gas and oil refineries, chemical production plants and industrial facilities will be toxic to nature and humans. The effects of these emissions and chemicals will be devastating to life on Earth. More than four hundred thousand people die each year as a direct result of carbon-induced climate change.

A nuclear arms race could lead to severe global famine and climate change. Nuclear weapons destroy the environment even when they are not used, causing long-lasting contamination of water and land around the world. In fact, increasing resource scarcity also increases the likelihood of conflict. However in 2012, 122 countries voted to ban these weapons to protect people and the environment (Sanders-Zakre, 2020).

An environmental emergency creates the threat of nuclear war. The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists' Doomsday Clock, a symbolic clock that measures the risk of total destruction from nuclear war, is currently 2 minutes to midnight, the highest risk since 1947. This is due in large part to three variables:

- i) Insecure political administration in the atomic states,
- ii) Expanded danger of coincidental atomic explosion or cyberterrorism because of the powerlessness of the high and developing dependence on robotized frameworks,
- iii) Environmental change duplicates the potential for strife over assets, for example, land, drinking water and nourishment saves and builds the strain to move. Political breakdown, thus, prompts fanatic pioneers dealing with atomic weapons, which represents a hazard in locales where there as of now is political pressure. The impact of the local and international industries is particularly countless, aside from the real or potential impact of their finished products.

However, three conferences on the humanitarian effects of nuclear weapons, held in 2013 and 2014, showed that there are several major factors that increase the likelihood of a nuclear weapon being detonated, even if it is accidental, an error in judgment (Wan, 2020).

- i) Capability Hacking and Human Error of Command and Control Networks for Nuclear Weapons
- ii) Keeping nuclear arsenals on high alert, thousands of missiles are ready to launch within minutes.
- iii) Risks associated with access by non-state actors to nuclear weapons and related materials.

7 Conclusion

From the beginning of the development of nuclear technology, it has been clear that there is a close relationship between the military and civilian uses of nuclear power. Nevertheless, there has been considerable debate regarding the use of nuclear energy and related technologies, with two major issues being the disposal of radioactive waste and the effects of nuclear accidents on the environment. Scientists and anti-nuclear activists have warned of the dangers of radiation released during each stage of nuclear weapons development and its eventual detonation. The solutions to climate change must include nuclear demobilization. Nuclear weapons speak to an unsatisfying cost and opportunity and sabotage the institutions of universal cooperation and altruism fundamental to addressing global emergencies. To mitigate the environmental emergency, a robust assembly of assets is required. A large chunk of this capital project can be derived legally from critical assets that will be decommissioned once denuclearized. At the same time, the logistical capacity and political assets now associated with nuclear weapons could then be diverted to the pursuit of biological development. Then again, the response to both an environmental emergency and a nuclear weapon must essentially involve a worldwide network. It is fundamental to encourage a culture of harmony and advance humanity's efforts towards strengthening the multilateral system. Nuclear disarmament is a hot topic in many international conventions. It refers to the process of reducing or eliminating the use of nuclear weapons. While the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or NPT is also an international agreement aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology and promoting cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Many countries spend billions of dollars each year on developing, maintaining, and protecting their nuclear weapons. This cash could be better focused on using nuclear power for non-military applications, for example, medical services and training. Similarly, the possible use of nuclear explosives in the propulsion framework for space travel is also being explored.

Last but not least, states are accepting the recklessness of these weapons of mass destruction. There is needed to make rules about these weapons set in stone, with no exceptions. The more we let these things slip through the cracks, the more we hold our breath for someone to pull the trigger and plunge our world into darkness.

References

- Ashford, M. (2011, March 16). *FYI: How Does Nuclear Radiation Do Its Damage?* Retrieved from Poplar Science: <https://www.popsci.com/science/article/2011-03/fyi-how-does-nuclear-radiation-do-its-damage/>

- Burns, C. (2011). Overview of Plutonium and Its Health Effects.
- Carus, W. S. (2012). Defining Weapons of Mass Destruction. *Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction*.
- Company, D. P. (1995). *Closing the Circle on the Splitting of the Atom*. Washington D.C: DIANE Publishing .
- Goldberg, S. (1995). *Atomic Bomb Research and The Beginnings of High Energy Physics*. Retrieved from History of Science Society.org: <https://hssonline.org/resources/atomic-bomb-research-and-the-beginnings-of-high-energy-physics/>
- National Research Council, D. o.-P. (2005). *Effects of Nuclear Earth-Penetrator and Other Weapons*. Washington D.C: National Academies Press.
- Robinson, J. P. (2013). *The Effects of Weapons on Ecosystems*. New York: Elsevier Science.
- Sanders-Zakre, A. (2020, January 16). *Nuclear weapons worsen the climate crisis*. Retrieved from the guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/16/nuclear-weapons-worsen-the-climate-crisis>
- Scientists, U. o. (2016, September 29). *How do nuclear weapons work?* Retrieved from Union of Concerned Scientists: <https://www.ucsusa.org/resources/how-nuclear-weapons-work>.
- Tomonaga, M. (2019). The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: A Summary of the Human Consequences, 1945-2018, and Lessons for Homo sapiens to End the Nuclear Weapon Age. *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*.
- Wan, W. (2020). *Nuclear Risk Reduction: Closing Pathways to Use*. Geneva: UNIDIR.
- Westing, A. H. (1980). *Warfare in a Fragile World*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- 1998: *India explodes nuclear controversy*. (2005, May 11). Retrieved from BBC: http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/11/newsid_3664000/3664259.stm
- Science Behind the Atom Bomb*. (2014, June 5). Retrieved from Atomic heritage foundation: <https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/science-behind-atom-bomb>

Cultural Embodiment of Women in Pakistani Literature: A Critical Analysis of Kishwar Naheed's Writings

Dr. Shahzad Mahmood,¹ Yasmin Ahmad,² and Shahla Irum³

Article Information	Abstract
Received: October 20, 2022 Revised: December 24, 2023 Accepted: December 30, 2023	Pakistani society is a male-dominated society. Females consider secondary characters in society. Women always have to bear the violence, power, and cruelty of men. Kishwar Naheed is a woman who faces many problems in her life in a male-oriented society. She discusses all the issues and problems faced by women in the male dominant society in her writings. In the current study qualitative method was used to analysis of culture embodiment of women in Kishwer Naheed book "Aurat, Zuban-e-khalq se Zuban-e-hal tak". Finding of the study shows that the most important thing which is impacting women's lives is the change of the world into materialism. Cultural Patterns of society take revolution which provides women more security and respect while other religions take it as males control women. The whole society was male dominant where the female was considered inferior and the male rule over the body of women. He controlled her and masculinity was the most valuable in society.
Keywords Women Society Community Position Feminist writings	

1 Introduction

Kishwar Naheed was born in 1940 to a Syed family in Bulandshah India. She is a feminist Urdu poet from Pakistan. Kishwar was a witness to the violence including rape and abduction of women associated with the partition. She migrated to Pakistan in 1949. She has written several poetry books. She has also received awards including Sitara-e-Imtiaz for her literary contribution to Urdu literature.

Kishwar Naheed was born into a middle class family that educated its sons well but only taught its daughters to read and write before arranging marriages for them. Kishwar Naheed had to fight to receive an education at a time when did not go to school. She studied at home and obtained a high school diploma, but she received a master's degree in economics from Punjab University, Lahore She married a man of her own choice, was disowned by her family and became a civil servant, a career which she pursued for 38 years. Sent on leave for five years when the country was under Martial Law, she went to court to protest her suspension and was reinstated. She was briefly arrested in February 1983, along with other women

¹ Visiting Lecturer, Department of Gender Studies, Bahuuddin Zakariya University Multan, Email: meshahzad143@yahoo.com

² Department of Gender Studies, Bahuuddin Zakariya University Multan.

³ Department of Gender Studies, Bahuuddin Zakariya University Multan.

activists for protesting against the proposed Law of Evidence that was discriminatory to women.

Later in life, Kishwar Naheed held administrative roles in various national institutions. She was Director General of the Pakistan National Council of the Arts before her retirement. She also edited a prestigious literary magazine *Mahe Hawwa* whose goal is to help women without an independent income, become financially independent through cottage industries and selling handicrafts.

For over four decades, Kishwar Naheed has been a fearless and independent voice in an environment that has at times, been extremely hostile. In her current role as coordinator of *Hawwa Crafts Cooperatives*, this gifted feminist writer, poet and activist have been responsible for reviving dying crafts in remote areas of Pakistan and for helping about 2000 craftswomen make better lives for themselves.

Hawwa crafts Cooperatives has over the past 20 years trained and upgrade the 2000 craftswomen. As a writer, Kishwar Naheed was in trouble under martial law. Two of her books were banned and she was also arrested on the charges of spreading pornography. Frequently under surveillance, she had to send her two sons, out of Pakistan, for fear that the martial law regime or the fundamentalist forces might use them to intimidate her.

In 1998, Kishwar Naheed then working as director general of culture, resigned from the service when the minister of the culture objected to a classical dance festival in the country. This pioneer in feminist and resistance literature has produced nine volumes of poetry, eight books on women's issues, eight books of translations of contemporary resistance and international literature, and 12 books for children. She also wrote weekly columns for newspapers. Kishwar, who lives in Islamabad, also works as a consultant with Action Aid and the Asian Development Bank.

Kishwar Naheed is a woman who has remained continuously engaged in writing for more than forty years, producing more than forty books all small and big volumes included. She has been participating in social cultural and political movements in one way or another for about 50 years. She was among the earlier broadcasters of Radio Pakistan. Every event of import, every significant development you name it and Kishwar Naheed knows the inner story of just everything that happened in Pakistan because she experienced it all. She has been a working woman, since her early twenties, nursing to become an executive of institutions such as The National Arts Council of Pakistan.

1.1 Works of Kishwar Naheed:

Kishwar Naheed works a lot to empower women. She wrote many books in which she discusses the gender inequalities and problems which are faced by women and also highlights the patriarchal society. She also discusses the domination of men in society. Books of Kishwar Naheed, *Sher aur Bakri* 2012, *Raat kay Musafir* 2011, *Khawateen Afsana Nigar* 1996, *Jadu ki Handiyaa* 2012, *Dasht-e-Qais mein Laila* 2001, *Galiyyan Dhoop Drwaza* 1978, *Chaand ki Beti* 2012, *The distance of shout* 2001, *A Bad women's story* 2009.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

- To explore the culture embodiment of women in Pakistani literature.
- To find out the status of woman in culture context.

- To shows the status of woman in male dominated society?

1.3 Problem Statement

Females are the integral part of the society and playing a vital role in the development of society and other sphere of life. Having the highly importance she is still facing many major issue in her public and private life. Many writers across the world highlighted the status of women in society. There is dire need to highlight the women position in context to Pakistani literature. So, keeping this point of view study tried to find out the women position in society which predict in the Pakistani literature especially focusing on the famous Pakistani female writer Kishwer Naheed.

1.4 Research Questions

- Does the female consider inferior to men?
- What literature predicts the causes of women inferior status in society?

2 Literature Review

Mahmood (2015) stated that gender discrimination hindered women's empowerment. Society defines the different roles for both males and females. The public sphere is associated with the male and the private sphere with the female. But females have a great contribution to economic progress. The wage gap also exists between males and females. Women have to be paid less as compared to men for the same work. Both men and women face different types of problems in society, but women are the most vulnerable. They face restrictions on working in a public place due to security reasons.

Habib, et al. (2016) describe that the security responsibilities of females and children are attached to the male. In society, it is considered that it is the male who transfers the knowledge to girls otherwise if women do they have an empty mind. Female status in society is always judged by male status. Prostitution is mostly attached to a female because the male controls her. A Male can have many wives at a time but women cannot act like him.

Ikramullah (1963) As such the culture and traditions of the Pakistani people are a blend of continued adherence to Hindu values and customs by a majority of the converts to Islam in the region, on the one hand, and the values and traditions of Islam brought by migrants and conquerors on the other hand. Due to overt similarities and consistencies, the practices of the seclusion of women (Purdah) as status symbols and their exclusion from male-oriented work (which also is prominent among Hindus) remained intact and have been blended with the Islamic traditions of honoring and segregating women. However, orthodoxy in Pakistan usually invokes religious- injunctions rather than cultural norms to affect the status of women.

Mahmood et.al. (2017) concluded that women face health issues because they have no proper diet. They have no access to medical facilities. There are no proper medical facilities in rural areas and people have less awareness about the reproductive health of women. That's why women face health issues. Females have fewer opportunities for education as compared to males because society is male dominated. A male member of the family was not allowed the women for education. They imposed restrictions on females that's why females have no access to education.

According to Skalli (2001) in Pakistani culture, patriarchal system is dominant in families and all other spheres of life and resultantly women are placed in a weaker social status. In this culture, gender discrimination is quite visible and girls are deprived of their basic rights of education and health. Similarly, the equal jobs opportunities are not present and thus women are left economically much weaker than men. The family decisions are taken by the heads of families, i.e. men.

Mahmood (2021) finding stated that male is dominant in society and females have to obey them, because the patterns of society for her are decided by him. Women must reject history because there is nothing for them from which she inspires and starts to work.

3 Methodology

Qualitative methodology was used to examine the women's situation in society and the position of women in the eyes of different female writers in Pakistan. So for this purpose, it was examined by the writing of the most famous female Pakistani writer Kishwar Naheed's book "Aurat, Zuban-e-khalq se Zuban-e-hal tak". First 6 Chapter taken from her Book.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

Conflict theory, first developed by Karl Marx, is a theory that society is in a state of perpetual conflict because of competition for limited resources. According to Marx, (1973) conflict theory, domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity, maintain social order. According to conflict theory, men, as the dominant gender, subordinate women to maintain power and privilege in society. Conflict theory asserts that social problems arise when dominant groups mistreat subordinate groups, and thus advocates for a gender balance of power. According to Frederick Engels, the family structure is analogous to the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, with women having less power than men in the household because they rely on them for wages. In Conflict Theory, men, like any other group with a power or wealth advantage, fought to maintain control over resources (in this case, political and economic power). Conflict between the two groups caused things like the Women's Suffrage Movement and was responsible for social change.

4 A critical Overview of the Women's Situation

Cultural patterns highly affect the lives of women in society. Women are considered inferior in society due to cultural patterns. Women also face different types of violence due to these cultural patterns. Like they face health issues, mobility issues, and many other problems faced by women in society due to existing cultural patterns. They have no property rights. They also face the issue of education. They have no access to education due to security reasons and also due to mobility issues.

Stereotypes hindered women's empowerment and decision-making power according to their own will. Some stereotypes also hindered women's economic activities, like women are not capable to work in the public sphere, she is only capable of the private sphere rearing and caring for children. She can just perform household tasks. The wage gap is also an issue faced by women in the workplace. Harassment is also a main cause that hindered women's economic progress. Mostly she faces sexual and psychological harassment at the workplace. Women also face different issues at the family level. They face different types of violence

within the family. Psychological violence like mental torture, physical violence like slapping, beating, and physical abuse, and sexual violence like marital rape and sexual rape.

4.1 War against Women at Every Level

The evolution of human beings starts with violence, males oppress females. But today to some extent males do respect women. Three million years ago, matriarchal societies were present where women rule. Ten thousand years ago studies show that mutual understanding was common between both sexes. In Christ's time, Patriarchal societies exist where males dominate, Bishops were superior and females were nuns. Man rule over women they think that women are less advanced in technical skills and sciences that's why they can't make progress. Feudalism and capitalism are more related to males. In the 18th century, females have no right to property, business, and inheritance. In the 19th century, experiments were made to improve the situation of women. At the time of Marxism, the Socialists did not give any attention towards women as they performed the duty of rearing and caring for children, and domestic chores. In the mid-19th century voice for women's rights was uplifted by some middle-class women. Access to education, employment, opportunities, and involvement in politics, and at that time wages were also limited for women. Males feel insecure when females join the publishing sphere. Females are associated with sensitivity. Males rule over society, that's why they want to be obeyed. Girls have to follow their mothers because their future is related to them.

It is considered that the female spoils the male. Females are known as the property of males. Women's first movement challenged the patriarchy because they did not consider women's role as work. Many males Harassed females based on religion. In some countries, the law permitted a male that he can make the murder his wife. It is the male who makes women prostitutes by giving healthy amounts, on pleasing him. This world wants to control and dominate females.

4.2 Women and Nature

Female is associated with the devil because both leads toward evil. In spiritual matters, the nature of females is different from that of males. It is said that there is no difference between women and children .women are physically and mentally weak as compared to men. the word women are used for the sake of pleasure, satisfaction, and fulfilment of desires. In Christianity, it is said that Eve was created from the rib of Adam, and that's why she has to serve and obey him. An example of the male is like the sun, which rules the other planets. Women are more close to nature because of simplicity; We can differentiate between men and women by psychological wishes. In societies, it is a myth that women spoil men due to their emotional behaviour. the presence of hysteria makes women emotional. It is suggested that men should never share their feelings with women because they can't understand their problems. It is said that men are the Caliph of God not women. It is taught that women should obey their men. Females are associated with slavery. Nature defines the roles of a woman as a good wife and mother. Females are more close to nature as compared to males. It is said that women are clever like a wild animals. Most crimes are related to females. The heart and brains of women have a great impact on their souls. Females are more vulnerable due to reproduction .female become subjugated to males due to their reproduction. At that time there was a specific age for girls,(sixteen to seventeen years) for education and there was no right to higher education for them and it was also said that it will spoil them. The biological formation of the female is more complicated than compared of the male. It is also said that

the brain of the female is small as compared to the male. The intellectuality of the female is also less as compared to the male. Females are considered the weakest sex of society. Male members of society dominate females that's why she is considered the weak element of society. Women are considered a disabled part of society. Women are more sensitive but less selfish as compared to men. The mental ability of the female is equal to that of disabled old people.

4.3 Evolution of Human and Women

In 1859 Darwin's book was published and he admitted the process of evolution. According to him the process of evolution seems "fruitful and changeable". Darwin writes that when he studied Malthus's book then it came to his mind, case by getting your chosen race, you will destroy other races. Wallis and Darwin take the idea of evolution by studying Malthus's book, according to which in the process of evolution children are born. According to Darwin the history of life was based on social liberty and individuality. In Victoria's times, male preference was common and the whole society revolves around the male.. In the 19th century, some women take notice for demanding their rights (Darwin, 1859). In the 1970s women have no scientific knowledge and experience like Darwin and Spenser. The education of the female was limited. M . Feber was the observer of insects during his study he observed that male partners fight with each other and the winner takes females with him. The same situation takes place in human beings and is used by a male as a commodity. But Darwin's view is different he states females show that they are innocent, but in fact, they are not. Male member of society fights with each other and the reason behind them is female. In his second book, *The Descent of Man and Selection concerning Sex* states that males are more biologically powerful than women. He discussed that distinctions can never be extinct from society. Scientific studies and observations are In the favor of males. Males and females are sexually different mostly based on reproductive organs. Male is physically and sexually stronger and more active than females. Female is more emotionally attached to children because she looks after their children at the time of birth. In animals and human beings, both women attract males and males towards females. Mostly the attributes attached to males are stronger, active, aggressive and warriors while females are weak, fragile and emotionality is attached to them. He fights with other males to show his aggression and becomes happy to fight with others. The biggest difference between males and females is their mental ability, male feel superior to them because they have greater this ability and make their name in every field of life. The hunting and securing of females and families is the responsibility of males. In the past males cover long distances for capturing prey while females stay at home or cover short distances near their homes for gathering food and other needs. Still, today hunting and security of women both are associated with males and they cover long distances while women cover short dignity honour are still attached to women. They still are not allowed by their guardian or elder to go out of the home and cover a long distance, because she has no masculine power and cannot fight with others for their own need. The evolution of words and language makes a great revolution in the theory of evolution. But the point is that experts in biology do not give any importance to it, maybe there is less space for the rejection of males in language. Still today no one said that women cannot talk, mostly it is said that women cannot sit quite. Male is preferred over females within society.

4.4 The Difference in Sexuality in Languages

Language is a field in which the difference between males and females can be seen very easily. From thousands of years ago, this topic remains under debate the words which end in

proper tense or noun will fit into masculine or feminine. Every country has its meanings regarding its language. First of all this discussion started between the Greek philosophers and Aristotle was the first person who discussed it. According to Aristotle a sentence which ends with masculine means a very active person and which ends with feminine means a woman who suffers from many problems. The experts in languages state that difference between males and females is not judged based on language. According to FisaGoras same use of language for both males and females can make problems. The idea of Aristotle about the meanings of masculine and feminine attained great fame. Grimmer states that masculine means a source by which we understand the nature of anything and feminine means the phenomenon in which we understand tolerance in someone. Masculine is associated with stone and feminine is associated with a mountain. Italian philosopher states in his book that as work is masculine the same woman is feminine, according to him god and fire are masculine but earth and water are feminine. In one manner things express their way and in another tolerance. Britain expert on language Herrus states in his book *Hermes* 1751 that many times words are considered masculine. Those words which show the efficiency of a thing about its working or appearance may be good or bad is masculine. On the other hand, the feminine that accepts obedience, collecting and producing, are more tolerant able, more beautiful, and have more mistakes like women. The noun is not the image of anything but in fact, it is the result of thinking of human language. It is the human who takes things in a masculine or feminine way according to his/her perception. Jakob set the standard for masculine and feminine which is very interesting. According to him, masculine is the first more active, strong, and flexible, and feminine comes on the second number which means a soft, fragile, person who bears the pain and accepts the things taking place. In the 19th century, language experts take noticed that all languages do have not a natural difference between masculine and feminine. There is no masculine and feminine in Turks, Chinese, and Mongol but in Africa, these patterns exist where the male is preferred more in language. France philosophers state that grouping is done based on power and weakness, more powerful animals are masculine and less powerful are feminine. At the end of the 18th century, the first time women's equal rights and education were demanded. It is considered that women are the good protector of language. Marriage is how both male and female adopts each other languages. In Pakistan, differences exist in language for both sexes.

4.5 Women and History

German feminist says that my history books tell a lie, they said that there was no existence of mine. In history, women exist but in those patterns set by men. Our whole history revolves around men not women. If women come into history then their roles and character are set by men. In Greek, they take the topic of war as a discussion where males perform bravely while women stay at home. The person who does not take part in the war was considered a male having women characteristics. Therefore history prefers males over females and every work which includes power relates to males. If women don't take part in daily life then there will be no progress for her in history. In history, women have had no status of respect and dignity but it was taken as an image in which you take pity other times you hate her, and sometimes you ignore her. It is a fact that when our history starts males dominant over the whole society and women's status was very down in society. There was no equality for women in society and due to inequality, it became easier for a male to use women for his benefit, because for your benefit or you can sacrifice for your less valuable thing. In history it was a tradition when you have no good relations with any tribe and you want to friendship with that tribe then the tribe gave the girl to another tribe and make friends with each other. There was

another case in which the loser tribe gives their girl to the winner and the winner feudal feels proud that he has the girl of the loser party. Marriage was the easiest way in which disputes were solved. In the past Rajput families gave their daughters to Akbar to attain the Mughal family name. After the sacrifice women go behind the scene. In all those actions or works there is no benefit for women but all are in the favour of men. Women's status was not uplifting but the male was praised all the time and his status was uplifted. Our history does not matter if African or Asia women were used for the benefit of males. In history, women were discussed as the loot that is delivered between soldiers after the war. They were given as a slave and the master can treat them as he wants. It was a tradition in the Rajput family that when they saw that they are losing the war they killed their women for the protection of their honour. That time people praise men not women because he protects their honour. When a women's importance will be like an entity or commodity then every wealthy man tries to buy her for his needs and desires. The reason behind the war between countries is women. For the whole of history, war is seen as a symptom of bravery that is associated with masculinity and peace is attached to a female. If women perform all the time well but single time if she doesn't then society associates with her that she cannot perform well. Women just gain fame in the status of mother in history because she gives birth to children which are mostly male and those males make history. As a prostitute women fulfil the desires of male that's why history ignore her. When any nation progresses there is no name of a female but when it declines female name came automatically and she distracts the ruler with her activities. According to history's point of view, there are two reasons behind the misfortune of a nation first is the freedom of women and second is their interference in political issues. For the whole of history, women have had no status, she is a commodity which is used by male.

4.6 Women and Armed Forces

The world of armed forces is very sensitive and dangerous. In this world, people sit together with very calm minds and talk about weapons, atomic war, and other things related to atomic policies. People gave their strong opinions, point out weak things, and try to convince others with their arguments. They have no danger, pain, and trouble in the discussion of these types of issues. Most males are taken into the armed forces because they can perform their duties well. In armed forces weapons, even missiles are formed on the principle of penetration. When France was attacked by missiles all the wholes that appeared were named based on women's organs. Mostly the people who belong to this profession are very friendly, they appreciate their weapons and missiles. It is a reality that people appreciate their close things with love and affection, the same situation takes place in the armed forces they deal their weapons as their children appreciate them with love and affection. There is a relationship between male sexual power and weapons. To overcome their aggression and stress levels they treat their weapons like a woman. Being a part of the atomic war meaning to lose your feminine characteristics and abusing yourself. Un unmarried women have very much importance in atomic war because they take their weapons and job as an energetic thing which make them more active and the reason behind their progress is only women. America plays the role of the father in the atomic war who empowers others or sometimes talks with love but in every condition shows its maleness. One time they said that when small countries become atomic power then they don't know how to use them and parents know better what their children want to do. To decrease their stress level they use sexual language and it is very common among them, they feel relaxed while using this language. Males feel superior in the armed forces women are taken less because of their bodies and emotionality. By using daily routine language war masters feel relaxed, they attach the names of their weapons on daily household or groceries. By using this type of language our attention can be diverted from

human life, it is easy for them to make friends with these words because by using these friendly words they feel relaxed and things normal. In the armed forces, weapons are important, not humans. Women are powerful in just the status of the mother when she gave birth to a child and mostly male children. The Male wants to take the power of producing children from her, he wants to combine birth and destruction. There are many chances of producing children during atomic bomb production. People think that a women's only work is to raring and care for a child in her womb and the main work of giving knowledge is done by the male. From Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs we kept the names of small children and fat men. When analysis of bombs is done then they prefer a male child in place of a female child. In 1952 when the testing of hydrogen bombs take place scientists pray for sons and not for daughters. The atomic world is an imaginary world that lessens the value of destruction and shows that a new world is going to take place in the future. The world of atomic war is materialistic. In this world people feel that they are superior because they do have not emotional attachments like women, they don't show their feelings for anything. Science is freedom of knowledge. Women and emotions both are unimportant like religion in the armed forces. They attached their god's name to their weapons. Atomic scientists are claiming for new religion or announcement of being god that they have occupied god power. But when we talk about the male perspective in a war they feel relaxed by using sexual language. In wartime, the gestures and wording consist of sexuality and they do not go on to their physical meaning in society. The language which is discussed here is not spoken by uneducated people but by the armed forces' most civilized people.

5 Conclusion

We are living in a world where materialistic and non-materialistic women's demands collapse with each other. We have to know who are the materialistic men and who are the materialistic women. The people who want to rule over the whole society are mostly males belonging to the middle class or economic class. The books of history are mostly written by a male. It is very difficult for a woman to change the past she can make her future good. Now a day to some extent women are understanding their problems and those problems which were taken normal are political rights now. Present-day women have no issue that men will leave them or that another woman will take her husband but she is in anger that why only males have the power to leave her when he wants, and it is a revolutionary thing that is taking place in women. Sociologist observes women as a subject who shows obedience and acceptance through their silence, which means they accept their defeat. In 1975 society was very worried about women. Now we recognize that they were worried about their past and their political-economic life. Here our society adopts European practices but they don't want to disperse their society and they will stand up for the protection of their religion. Westerners mostly take pardah as a weak point of Muslim society and critique that due to pardah women cannot perform their duties and enter a public place. According to a survey report due to the emerging trend of getting an education for women, the trend of early marriage is ending. In society males and females are kept separate which lays stress on early marriage. The concept of early child marriage limited the life of women and it is seen that the women of every society want to be a mother and wives. According to an old fertility survey report, the trend of second marriage mostly in girls takes place when they got married before twenty or lived in a village or have less access towards education and the reason behind breaking families is education. Those girls who got higher education want to compete with their male partners in the public sphere and want to be more promoted. The materialistic world is true in this sense that education of women and male economic status has ended the discrimination between males and females. Late marriage brings higher education to women. The trend of education

is becoming common because of the migration of people from rural areas to urban areas. Through the study of history, we came to know that male in the name of cultural patterns wants to control women. In every society, Muslim women live in different ways and every society has different impacts on them.

References

- Mahmood, S.(2015). Gender Issues in Low Income Families: A Case Study of Multan. Department of Gender Studies, BZU Multan.
- Basit, H., Mahmood, S., Ali, A. A., & Akhter, J. (2016). Implementation of Venn diagram in. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)*, 1291-1303.
- Charles, D. (1876). *The origin of species by means of natural selection, or, the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life*. John murray.
- Habib, B., Sohail Khan, M., Mehmood, S., & Sharif, A. (2016). “Woman Isn’t Sex Slave: Breath Taking Facts of the Profession ‘Prostitution’ in Pakistan”. *Research Innovator: International Multidisciplinary Peer-Reviewed Journal*, 81-93.
- Mahmood, S., & Ali, A. A. (2021). Gender Roles in Changing Structure of Society: A Study of Punjab, Pakistan. *Journal of Historical Studies*, 295-322.
- Mahmood, S., Habib, B., Noor, S., & Mahboob, S. (2017). Gender issues regarding low income families in Multan: An analysis. *Journal of Social Science Research*, 2329-2336.
- Marx, K. (1973). *Karl Marx on society and social change: With selections by Friedrich Engels*. University of Chicago Press.
- Skalli, L. H. (2001). Women and poverty in Morocco: The many faces of social exclusion. *Feminist review*, 69(1), 73-89.
- Ikramullah, M. (1963). The Commonwealth Economic Committee and its Work. *Pakistan Horizon*, 16(1), 15-21.