

Reconstruction of Nationalist self in Benazir Bhutto's *Reconciliation: Islam Democracy and the West*

This thesis explores how Benazir Bhutto reconstructs the nationalist self in her autobiography *Reconciliation*. It also explores how she represents the public self through her personal self. Her experiences are not only that of an individual rather they represent as a whole Pakistan and Muslim culture. From her experience we can see the historical, social, political and cultural aspects of Pakistan. Individual self cannot be separated from social, political and cultural aspect of society or culture. So, to be personal means to be public as well.

Bhutto is the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan and the leader of center-left Pakistan People Party (PPP), she finished writing this book just some days before her assassination. This book is based on her experience and different events of her political career and struggle. She gives her life for Pakistan and its people. This book explores the struggle of modern Muslim women for the reconstruction of nationalist self.

Despite knowing that, time was running out for the future of her nation and for her life. She returns to Pakistan in October 2007, after eight year's exile, with a hope she could be a catalyst, for a change in her home country. She knew the danger of returning to Pakistan but her eagerness to establish democracy in Pakistan convinces her to back to her country. She survives from suicide bomb attack that kills nearly 200 people of her country. She continues her mission to change her nation from dictatorship to democracy along with changing people's mind towards Islam with more courage. People take Pakistan and Islam negatively. They have impression that Islam creates terrorism in Pakistan. As democratic ideas make everything and every goal possible to achieve, she declares the purpose of returning home in 2007 was to

establish democracy and modernization. At that time there was dictatorship. By bringing history of Pakistan, she wants to show it is not Islam which creates terrorists and extremists in Pakistan but those leaders who misinterpret the Islam for the purpose of politics and power.

It is the only country to have been established in the name of Islam. She wants to explore the real image of Islam. Some people criticize that there is no possibility of democracy in Muslim countries and Muslims would have trouble in living in democratic world. She argues that democracy and Muslim countries are not contrary to each other. They exist mutually. Islam lets people be free. It does not bind anybody. She lays out her vision of Islam as an open, pluralistic and tolerant religion. She quotes passage from the Quran in support of her argument that Islam preaches tolerance and pluralism “You shall have your religion and I shall have my religion” (56). She compares Osama Bin Laden’s attempts to exploit, manipulate and militarize Islam.

In this case, she identifies Islam in its actual form that it is close to democracy and insists that democracy and Islam are not only compatible but mutually sustaining. She even challenges Huntington’s theory of “The Clash of Civilization”. She devotes her life for her nation. The Islamic world faces both internal and external crisis. On the one hand, the peaceful and pluralistic message of Islam has been distorted by extremists and on the other, the world has accepted terrorist image of Islam as its reality.

She argues that the Quran must be interpreted from a modern understanding of Islam and related to its historical context, she gives example from Mughal Empire time when there was tolerance in Muslim community. Now extremists use the Quran to suppress women; they want to unite the Muslim world politically and to provoke a

clash of values with the west. A clash between Muslim and western civilization is not inevitable, in this way, there is a reconstruction of nationalist self. Bhutto defends Islam from those who take it as a religion of violence and fear. She shows the political histories of large numbers of Muslim majority nations effectively arguing that failure of democracy in most of these countries has political rather than religious roots. She mentions that when her father was arrested, she changed from a girl to woman; he would guide her over the next two years, when he was murdered, and she understood that her life was to Pakistan. To change the people's mind she took all the responsibilities of her father's party, devoting her life for the nation. She has placed Pakistan at the heart of Islamic world from internal forces that haunt those who exploit religion for their own political agenda.

Bhutto revisits the Quran, brings history of Pakistan and other Muslim countries for the purpose of nationalist self, because Pakistani identity lies in religious identity. Bhutto wants to save her national identity. Pakistan is the nation which has policies on the basis of religion. But that religion is exploited, distorted due to extremist's desire to remain in power. It is taken as the religion of violence which takes other's life to impose their religious belief. Islam is narrow, monolithic, rigid social system and it breeds the terrorist which snatch the world's peace. Anti Muslim prejudice in Europe has resulted in the perception that every Muslim is potential terrorist. So, Muslims seek to rediscover their identities for themselves.

Reconstruction of nationalist self is related to identity formation; Bhutto wants to construct the nationalist self on the basis of her experience. Mapping states "An identity affirms some form of commonality, some shared ground" (33). She constructs her identity in terms of difference and commonality. She is different because she is a modern Muslim woman, who interprets the Quran from a modern understanding of

Islam and is related it to historical context. She wants to make people aware of what is the main message of the Quran for the future of her nation as well as for her life. As she belongs to Muslim community, she has communal identity. She challenges traditional beliefs of Islam in Muslim community as well as in the western views.

The problems arises, why she does try to redefine the existing beliefs in the Muslim communities bringing repeatedly quote from the Quran or why does she want to reconstruct her nationalist self? Why does she bring the history of other Muslim countries regarding how they established democracy? How is nation's image contributing to her personal identity?

Benazir Bhutto, a modern Muslim woman and former prime minister of Pakistan brings the history of other Muslim counties to show how Islam and democracy can go together by challenging previous claims that Islam is responsible for inviting violence and terror in the world. Her discourse asserts that the failure of democracy in the Islamic countries is not because of religious roots but the way Islam is misinterpreted by religious leaders and misinterpreted by the west.

Bhutto achieved her aim for a defense of her religion. In the Journal of International affairs, Abdulahi Boru reviewed "Bhutto succeeds in correcting the misinterpretation that Islam is a monolithic system that is immune to change. In her book she illustrates that; there are various schools of thought and diverse way of looking an issue within Islam" (228-29). From this line I can say that Bhutto succeeds in defending Islam as religion which is capable of change. To support this view, she brings history of nation from pre-partition era to the present. There was Mughal Emperor Akbar who married a Hindu girl and easily accepted that multicultural dimension that promoted religious tolerance. Their identity lies in multiculturalism, not in monolithic one. But this does not mention cultural issues, it also mention how

nationalist self is constructed through religious aspect.

Reconciliation is the story of a courageous woman and her struggle for democracy and modernization in Islam. Kamran Asdar Ali reviews this book, “Her book does dwell on how Islam can be reconciled with the west; it falls short of reconciliation with her past in Pakistan, her lost opportunities, to make a difference while in elected office” (38). Her book shows how to be reconciled with the problem of Pakistan to the west. When she is out of power reconciliation, short lived and when she was elected as a prime minister, she did not fulfill her agenda due to extremist’s charges upon her. Ali again states “Both father and daughter were in favor of a centralizing state” (38). It shows father and daughter devoted their lives in the name of nation and making it united. Despite of having many problems in Pakistan, they collected their courage to fight against opponent party to establish democracy.

She believes in democracy in Pakistan and reconciliation between the west could promote tolerance. Ali further argues:

She is the moderate Muslim leader, who has imbibed western values who better than the general, can shepherd her strategies country into the fold of civilized nation. Bhutto pushes all the hot bottoms democracy, freedom, globalization, free trade, women’s rights, civil societies- to show that she is one of us. It’s a strange, one side conversation in which she is seeking to reconcile with the west without asking for any explanations from the other side. (39)

She is in favor of modern view and western value to make liberal Pakistan. She wants to reconstruct the national identity. In the past, Pakistan was known in one way “orthodoxical” but she wants to make her nation liberal from its beginning. She tries to give new identity to the nation as well as herself. She is a representative figure of

Muslims from Pakistan. Hundreds of young men walked around her vehicle to form a human shield to protect her from any attack. People did it because they believed in democracy. They wanted to live in democracy. Her ideas are only one side: there is subjectivity. It's the feature of autobiography in which there is unique perspective of Bhutto. It's one sided conversation, in which she is seeking to reconcile with west. "Benazir Bhutto will be remembered and admired for the bravery and commitment to a politics of people" (39). She will be remembered as a brave person. Although having many difficulties she followed the path of her father and she realized her life for the nation. She fights for women's right and gender equality. She revisited the Quran for the sake of its real message because her national identity lies in the religion.

The main feature of her book is that it presents two kinds of conflict: Islam and west and within Islam itself. Hasan Askari Rizvi takes Bhutto's book as following. "Benazir Bhutto addresses three challenges in Pakistan and global contexts with reference to two conflict one between Islam and west and other within Islam" (866). There is debate between different interpretations of Islam in Pakistan, different vision for the Muslim community, which shows the lack of tolerance. For this reason west takes Pakistan negatively. Bhutto presents an image of modern Islam that defies the negative caricatures often seen in the west.

This book can be taken as a micro form of history of Pakistan, because she is representative figure of Muslim country and her history is micro form of history of Pakistan. Rizvi further mentions, "Bhutto also offers narratives of Pakistan's political history, since 1947 with a brief reference to the earlier period. Focusing on why democracy could not take root in Pakistan" (867). In her book there is history of Pakistan from undivided India and points out, what is the case of failure of democracy in Pakistan. The father of Pakistan died a year after independence leaving the country

without the moral authority of a leader, is one of reasons of failure of democracy.

Finally Bhutto explores the failure of democracy is not because of its religious root but it is due to political reason. Extremists used Islam and misinterpreted it.

Benazir Bhutto has knowledge of Islamic tradition and history. In this regard Mahammad Atif Khan remarks, “She eloquently clarifies misconceptions dominant in western academy, especially regarding the rights of women in Islam alleged incompatibility of Islam with democracy” (142). In her book she clearly clarifies the misconception of Islam by bringing history from early age. She quotes many references from the Quran and hadith (Traditions). Extremists take Islam to suppress women but she reveals the modern, democratic values, pluralistic aspect of Islam. She finds that Islam and democracy can co-exist. Actually in Islam there are many features of democracy.

Bhutto believes that democracy is the way only of achieving any kind of goal in order to make better Pakistan in future. Naheed S. Goraya reviews her book, “The age of international war actually coincided with the suspension of democracy in Pakistan” (368). He implies that in the absence of democracy, there is only terrorism in Pakistan. It means there is no war in democracy and also Islam does not want any war. Islam has been misused. The Quran itself allows for interpretation according to necessity. And any Muslim is free to interpret the Quran. The Quran did not establish a specific group of leaders as its sole interpreters. Islam is not a theology; it is an essential part of Muslim identity.

Bhutto defends Islam from those outsiders who view it as a religion of violence and fear. Goraya further mentions “She explores that the equality of women does not only apply in terms of political and social rights but also in religious terms” (369). Islam as a religion and philosophy is perfectly capable of promoting

democracy. She discovers that the value of tolerance and justice lies at the heart of her religion, in fact dictatorship is contrary to Islam.

True identity of Pakistan lies with religion. Ishtiaq Ahmed reviewed about Pakistani national identity as “Mohammah Ali Jinnah, first used religion to justify the claim to separate statehood for the ‘Muslim nation’” (48). From this line it’s clear that national identity lies in culture and Pakistani culture is shaped by Islam. So, Islam itself was misused by the extremists for the invested purpose. For this reason Bhutto wants to reconstruct the national identity in relation to her. Islam is both culture and religion. So, Pakistan is a separate nation on the basis of their Islamic faith and culture. Pakistani takes Islam as common culture and identity. Ahmed further mentions the writing of Mr. Jinnah.

You are free, you are free to go to your temple, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place to worship in the state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed-that has nothing to do with the business of the state...we are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizen and equal citizens of one state (403-4).

The fundamentalists usually dismiss it as irrelevant. Moderates argue that Jinnah was actually operating within an ideal Islamic framework of tolerance and justice for non Muslims within the Islamic state. It shows that Islam is pluralistic and has a sense of tolerance and justice to others. After Jinnah’s death on 11th September 1948, the idea of a secular state never again received much attention in Pakistani politics, because after that time Pakistan was lead most of the time by extremists. They used religion for their own purpose. Pakistan had been won in the name of religious nationalism. In order to define Islamic fundamentalism, they portrayed as an anti-modern, anti-democratic, violence-prone people. Pakistani nationalism lies in cultural nationalism.

Thus Pakistan is an Islamic state, for this reason Bhutto wants to explore the actual image of Islam and reconstruct the nationalist self.

This thesis focuses especially on the theory of autobiography with particular emphasis on autoethnography. Autobiography is a story of person and his/her life. Bhutto's narrative is not merely her private story rather it is the collective representation of the shared communal self and social self. The analysis has been carried out in the theoretical light of autoethnography in order to argue, how Bhutto's self is not individual but social and how she reconstructs the nationalist self.

Autobiography accounts one's self story and autobiographical 'self' is revealed through the personal experience, but it makes a shift from private self to social self. It is a meaning making process; author identifies his/herself in the process of writing.

Autoethnography has shaped the author's personal experience to reflect the culture of the author. Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner argue that auto ethnography is an autobiographical genre of writing that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural (739). In *Reconciliation*, Bhutto does exactly what she connects her personal experience to the culture of Pakistan.

Autoethnography is a form of qualitative research in which an author uses the self reflection and writing to explore their personal experience and connect this autobiographical story to wider cultural, political and social meaning and understanding (Ellis Carolyn, 2004). While Bhutto is telling her experience to the readers, she connects her story to the social and political aspects of Pakistan. Through her personal experiences readers not just understand her political struggle but also get new meaning and understanding of Islam.

Adam, Jones and Ellis in *Auto ethnography: Understanding Qualitative Research*, mention “Auto/ethnography is a research method that uses an author’s personal experience to describe and critique cultural beliefs, practice and experience” (152). Bhutto, while expressing her personal experience of not wearing of Burka and her father supported her because she was brought up in a home of gender equality. Her parents had the same expectation for their daughter as they did for their son. It critiques the traditional belief and practice of Islam. Auto ethnography as a form of ethnography writes it is partly auto or self and partly ethno or culture (p.3).

Reconciliation is an autobiography of Bhutto on which we can find Bhutto’s experience and at the same time we also find Muslim culture. It is a genre as the representation of self in relation to others and it represents a challenge to some of the very foundational and key belief.

Dr Reed Danahay defines the auto ethnography as a form of self narrative that places self within a social context. This theoretical tool is suitable in Bhutto’s *Reconciliation*, because we can find auto ethnographical elements in this text.

The main concern of this autobiography is, as Islam which is being politicized and exploited by extremist and fanatics; Bhutto wants to defend her religion from them. Her private self become public self. Bhutto herself is a public figure, who fights for democracy in Pakistan and dies for her nation. Bhutto made her choice; the people of Pakistan always came first for her. Her autobiographical tales of struggle become the path of democracy.

Bhutto herself is the victim of dictatorship because she lost her father and two brothers. This autobiography portrays the strength, optimism and vision of great women. It is a great scholarly approach toward realism in the Muslim world and democracy in Islam itself. She talks about the issue of terrorism.

When Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan on of December 18, 2007, she was surrounded by millions of Pakistani citizens because they believed in democracy. People threw rose petals and cheered her return. She was the symbol of hope. Their welcome showed their faith in democracy and also their support for PPP.

Bhutto even survived a suicide bomb attack that killed nearly 200 of her people which means people were ready to die for democracy and they were fed up of dictatorship. They also wanted to be a change in their nation, a desire similar to that of Bhutto's.

Islam has been taken as negatively, because some people think that it's the religion of fear and violence. "when Al Queda hijacked airplanes to attack the united states on September 11, 2001, it tried to hijack the message of my religion- the religion of Islam- as well (17). This line clearly argues that when Al Queda attacked the United States in 2001, it symbolically hijacked the message of Islam. It means there is distortion of Islam, but here Bhutto wants to explore the real nature of Islam. The terrorists take Islam for the justification of their brutality because they have manipulated Islam for political gain. When Al Queda hijacked airplanes to attack the United States, it gave negative message to the westerners. Similarly Armstrong also states that "western people often assume that Islam is a violent, militaristic faith which imposes it on its subjected people at swords points" (Armstrong, 2002b, p.2a). From such activities of extremist Islam became the tools for them. Islam is not the caricature that is often portrayed in western media; rather it's an open, pluralistic and tolerant religion. Muslim in the world embrace a peaceful, tolerant, open and rational that codifies democratic values, such religious messages is hijacked by extremists or religious fanatics.

Much of the world has come to believe that terrorism is part of Holy war of

Islam against humanity: “I believe there is great confusion around the world about whether violence is a central precept of Islam because of a basic misunderstanding of the meaning of the term ‘Jihad’ because terrorists call their murderous acts Jihad” (20-21). From the activities of terrorists, many people around the world think that the word ‘Jihad’ is military war. People misunderstand the meaning of Jihad. This perception must be avoided immediately because it’s the matter of national identity. But this is not the case, as child Bhutto learned that Jihad mean struggles. Actually the meaning of Jihad is, struggle to follow the right path. It’s not violent struggle that make people become better humans. Suicide, murder is clearly prohibited in the Holy Book but it is the misuse for one’s own purpose.

The Quran gives priority to life rather than death. It does not permit to take other’s lives but it demands the preservation of life. Then, how does Islam became the religion of violence? People criticize that Islam is close and intolerant but in fact Islam has embraced other culture and religion. Now it has become the victim of extremists. “Islam accepts as a fundamental principle the facts that human were created into different societies and religious and that they will remain different” (30). This line talks about the fundamental principle of Islam, which regards human beings as different because such different creates diverse societies. God creates diversity and asks to be just and to desire justice in the world. Thus god wants tolerance of other religions so he creates diverse people in the same societies in order to live peacefully, not with conflict. Its regards that god sent 120,000 prophets. It can argue that in Muslim state, diverse point of view will be represented, and be protected. It shows the tolerance of Islam.

Some people argue that there is no possibility of democracy in Muslim countries, because of Islamic dogma. People hate Islam because they think that Islam

breeds terrorism which snatches the happiness of others. Islam imposes its beliefs on others. People think that Bin Laden is the representative of Islam but he is the real representative of religious fundamentalism and he represents extremists, who hijack the religious values to serve their own violent interests. Extremists use Islam to suppress women. But women are equal to men. "The Quran was produced at the time in history when women were seen as unequal in almost every society, girl newborns were sometime buried alive" (39). It is clear that Islam stands for the liberation of humanity from the age of idol worship and darkness. It shows the quality of democracy, then why Islam cannot stay with democracy. The Holy Book establishes the common origin of man and woman.

The interpretation of extremists about Islam used to justify discrimination against women in modern Islamic societies is banned on the tribal notion. There is a famous saying of the Holy prophet that "The best veil is the veil in the eyes" (43). That means man should be god fearing and took at women with respect. Extremist codify the women's dress. Women's equality in the Islam is not only in terms of political and social rights but in religious rights as well. Extremists give women space only at home. But in Islam, women's place is not necessarily always at home. To support this idea Haddad and Esposito argue that "Islam as a religion posits gender equality and egalitarianism, while at the same time guaranteeing women certain rights: the right to life, to education, to conduct business and maintain property, and to keep their name" (1998). Prophet's wife was also a successful business woman. From this example of wife of prophet it is clear that women also have place in outer world. But extremists do not allow women to have role in political and social space.

There is division of Muslims into many sects, which creates different version of Islam which cause internal conflict; Sunni majority began to discriminate Shia

minority. “It is my firm belief that until Muslims revert to the traditional interpretation of Islam- in which ‘you shall have your religion, and I shall have mine’ (56). If Muslims return to traditional interpretation of Islam, there will be no internal conflict. Due to internal conflict westerners see Pakistan as a terrorist country. Until Quranic tolerance is re- established. The Muslim countries will not only continue to weaken them but will continue to threaten to spread extremist’s notions elsewhere in the Muslim countries.

Another misconception about Islam is that Islam is incompatible with science and technology. People criticize that there is no innovation in Muslim countries. But Bhutto believes that a careful reading of the Quran proves just the opposite. “The Holy Book does not ask Muslim to just memorize the Quran but instead wants human (God’s creation) to continue to interpret the world and to continue to seek information” (57). It means there is value of creativity. The word ‘seek’ indicates be innovative or search and it does not just bind them to be creative in the fields of science and technology. She mentions of a time “When Islam let the world in culture and innovation in medicine and literature, while Europe was mired in the Dark Age” (58). It makes clear that when there was no concept of knowledge in Europe; Islam already led the world of innovation. God himself creates human with the capacity for the thought and knowledge, so they can use them. Thus science and technology and Muslim world can sustain together. It is god’s desire that humans explore their world. Quran is arguing for the study of science.

Extremists have feared that western product of science and technology distorted their religion. But actually modern technology in the non Muslim world is used to keep Muslim community together, not separate and destroy it. Bhutto says, Radio can be used for calling people for prayer. The call to prayer does not just

inform Muslim that it is time to pray. It gives them the sense of communal identity. Extremists think science and technology create misbalance and it's bad for Muslim countries. So, they ban science and technology. But it can help to bring communities together. Use of cell phones can help keeping religious value strong in Muslim community, modern cell phones has automatic alarm clock type reminders for the call to prayer five times a day. So, that if the user is not near a mosque, s/he can still know when to pray. It also has an automatic silence mode that allows Muslims to avoid interruption, while praying. In this way Muslim community can take advantage of modern technology to achieve a closer community.

Goldschmidt states "Auto ethnography" is focused around the self and reveals, personal investment, interpretation and analyses (293). While Bhutto explains about herself, her nation and religion she gives her own interpretation and analysis. She sees the use of science and technology in alternative views points and analysis in her own way. She gives unique view. In her book *Reconciliation* whatever she mentions and argues are her own investments.

Being autobiographical genre, Auto ethnography has its own subjectivity, interpretation and analysis. She uses personal experience to criticize and write against Islamic belief. According to Bochner and Ellis on Auto ethnographer is first a communicator and a storyteller and it depicts people struggling to overcome adversity. Here in Bhutto's autobiography, Bhutto herself is a storyteller. She depicts the lives of Pakistani people who have been struggling from sixty years old history and finally they overcome adversity.

Extremists spread the negative message of Islam. "The misconception is that Islam is a unitary, rigid social system transcending religion" (62). The misconception suggests that there is little diversity. It does not mean that having diversity causes

rigid social system. People think that diversity causes hardship in society. In the same way Buehler argues “Islam is perceived as a global threat to western civilization and its values and portrays Islam as a code of beliefs and action that is irrational, anti modern and rigid” (645). It shows that Islam is perceived as a global threat, Bhutto argues against it. Abdulkarim Sorous is one of the scholars, who believe that “Islam and democracy are not only compatible, their association is inevitable. In a Muslim society, one without the other is not perfect” (64). He speaks of freedom to religion and freedom of thoughts. Without one there is no existence of other. It means, Islam gives value to others. It regards that without others there is no self identity.

General Zia, Maudoodi, criticizes Bhutto that, there is no Islamic law serving women as leader of Muslim society. “Her later anti-women epiphany against my right to serve as Prime minister was thus obviously more political than theocratic” (69). Zia actually supported Fatima Jinnah, a woman candidate for President of Pakistan in 1960s. So at the time he does not find any Quranic prohibition against women serving as leader of Muslim societies. When Bhutto became Prime minister, extremists claimed that women should not be the head of a country because it’s against Islam. Now in the time of Bhutto it is declared to the world that Islam prohibited a woman from becoming Prime Minister of an Islamic state. Actually it is not against Islam because extremists are destroying the Muslim world by pitting Muslim against Muslim. The Quran clearly commands the government to rule with justice. They distorted Islam as their profit.

Muslim history tries to make an intellectual case that Islam and democracy are mutually exclusive and cannot co-exist. Religion is being manipulated for political agenda. The extremists and militants who seek to hijack Islam aim to make their own judgments. In their failure lie the future of all Muslims and the reconciliation of Islam

and west.

There is no explicit reference of democracy in the Quran because it was not a word in use in the seventeen century Arabia but there is the feature of democracy in Quran. The principle of equality, justice, women's rights, science and technology, open, pluralistic, tolerance, secularism, which are the underlying foundation of democracy are repeatedly stressed in the Quran. It shows that for Muslims like Bhutto who, believe in democracy Islam is about consent and people's participation. Islam and democracy are compatible.

Who can doubt that Islam is a religion as a value structure has been manipulated for political agenda not for spiritual agenda? Western nations block democracy in Muslim countries initially for economic reason and then political one, which creates tensions between the west and Islam.

While describing Bhutto's personal experience she also critique the traditional beliefs of Islam as Ellis defines, Auto ethnography as research method which, uses personal experience to describe and critique cultural beliefs and practice. Here practice means extremists' practice of using religion. She points out there is conflict within Islam, and between Pakistan and west. The extremists' interpretation of Islam causes the west to see Pakistan suspiciously. She criticizes those who say there is no possibility of democracy in Muslim societies and Muslims have trouble living in democratic world and science and technology are incompatible in Muslim societies.

Ellis further argues, in Auto ethnography author uses self reflection and writing to explore author's experience and connect this autobiographical story to cultural, political and social meaning and understanding. While Bhutto narrating about her story or experience to the reader. She connects her story to the social, political aspect of Pakistan because an individual is the product of sociopolitical or

cultural phenomena of particular time and place.

Bhutto gives a clear meaning of Islam as an open, pluralistic and tolerant religion. She gives new social meaning and understanding which has been exploited for long time in the history of Pakistan.

There is a common misperception that democracy has failed to take root in Muslim countries due to Islam itself. But there is western political intervention in the affairs of Muslim countries.

Bhutto mentions that Forty five predominantly Muslim states are considered free, eighteen Muslim nations are considered partly free, and twenty four predominantly Muslim nations are labeled not free. The mean score for political rights in the Muslim world is 5.24, compared to 2.82 for the non- Muslim world. The mean score for civil liberties in Muslim countries is 4.78 compared to 2.71 for non-Muslim countries (86). These differences are not the result of theology but rather a product of both western manipulation and internal Muslim politicization of Islam. The success of democracy within certain states has less to do with a country having a Muslim majority than was previously thought by western analysis. It's only hypothesized that religion is significant in relation to democracy.

West does not let the Muslim world to be democratic because when, there is democracy the resources are less likely to be exploited from abroad. Due to internal crisis foreigners get benefit from that internal matter. They can control economic and human resources. It's clear that colonial power fears that spread of democratic norms would lead rather directly to nationalist movement and demands for independence from which they cannot get profit from such developing countries. The world may be a different place if the west makes a similar commitment to building the economic and political infrastructure in the Muslim world instead of frequently draining its

material and human resources. The west may have made mistakes, but it's the extremists who training a young generation to be terrorists. And they distort the fundamental values of Islam.

Bhutto revisits the history of Pakistan for the sake of Islam and to defend it. "Pakistan is in great turmoil in its sixty years history, November 3, 2007, will be remembered as one of its blackest day" (157). It was the day Pakistan entered military, dictatorship. Extremists suspended the constitution and arrested hundreds of party officials, human rights activists, suspended independent television and banned print media.

King Akbar inherited the Mughal Empire in 1556, who was the son of Babul. "Akbar expanded and modernized the Mughal Empire. He promoted religious tolerance, including people from the major religion of Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism (160). It shows, Akbar ruled state not by force but by power of pluralism and multiculturalism. He even married women from Hindu family. At that time there was the real interpretation of Islam. The history of 1556 reveals Islam can survive with democratic values. It's the history of pre divided India. It was the golden age of Islam. From which we can easily get the idea regarding the life style and culture of that time which is the study area of Auto ethnography.

Bhutto's political life began practically after her father's execution. "I had suffered in Zia's prison and under house arrest for nearly six years after my father's democratic government was overthrown"(191). It shows who were against Zia or dictatorships were given too much torture. It means, Bhutto and her family became the victim of Zia's brutality.

When Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 2007, there were shouts of crowds "Bhutto family, hero, hero, the rest zero, zero (197). It was the voice of people who

preferred Bhutto family. It means there has a great contribution of Bhutto's family for the sake of nation and its people. It's known that Bhutto's regime was the renaissance for Pakistan. People also wanted to establish the new Muslim identities. And in that crowd Bhutto hear the faint cry of "Jeay Bhutto"- "Long live Bhutto" from the wounded. It shows how Pakistani people love her.

When Bhutto was in power she opened the state media for the first time in the history of Pakistan. They funded the electrification of 40,000 villages, built 18,000 primary and secondary schools; foreign investment quadrupled. There was good relationship between Pakistan and India, and also with the United States. Bhutto and her party moved forward with their message of reconciliation and redirection of national priorities. They distributed 35000 acres of land among the landless peasants; arrangements were made to build 2000 two room small houses for homeless in every big city. 80 thousands new literacy centers were set up throughout the country. Women bank was established to make independent women and they can start their own business. They introduced the computerization of identity cards to document citizens and provide the basis of a fair electoral process and protected minorities rights. Bhutto states her government made Pakistan the first country in South Asia and the Middle East to introduce privatization of public sector power units.

Bhutto was twice elected Prime minister of Pakistan and she was accused of corruption. Whatever she contributed to nation all was banned, and Pakistan comes to be in the hand of military rulers. "I was attacked on as un Islamic and a tool of Washington" (200). It's the charge of extremists toward her. Bhutto and her family was the key target of conspiracy of dictatorship. In the tenet of her Prime Minister ship "Pakistan became one of the ten emerging market of the world" (206). Bhutto's party made Pakistan the country of 21st century. But the very program of

modernization made them more of a threat to the extremists, who thrived on ignorance and poverty to achieve their political agenda.

Democracy is such a tool which removes the oxygen from the air of the extremists. "I believed that there is at least some degree of causality in the fact that most of the major terrorist attack in the world took place when my party and I were out of office" (207). She tries to clarify that such activities were done by extremists. This includes both 1993 and 2001 attack on the World Trade Center, the Bombay blasts, the Indian Parliament attack, the attack on the U.S. embassies in Africa and the U.S.S. Cole, the train attack in Spain, and the subway attacks in London. The roots were not in religions but in politics.

She knew the danger of returning to Pakistan. She did not know whether she would live or die but she returned for her nation and people. She sacrificed her life for the nation in the process of reconstruction of nationalist self. "Pakistan is a tinder box that could catch fire quickly. It is my home, home of my children, the home of all children of Pakistan for whom such enormous sacrifices have been made" (232). There is distorted history of Pakistan for 60 years which she attempts to make their home, Muslim home. Bhutto and her family made great contribution for making democratic nation which is the country of Islam and it is looked from suspicious eyes. In the words of the great Pakistani poet Iqbal, "Tyranny cannot long endure". The tyranny of dictatorship is not bearable. Extremists do not allow people to do anything according to their wish, which causes difficulties in the lives of Pakistani and Pakistan itself.

The clash of civilization is thought to be caused by religion: "Some took to describe the battle between religious terrorist extremists and the United States and Europe as a clash of civilization" (236). The current context of international terrorism directs against the West, but in actuality the battle took place within the Islamic world:

between moderation and extremism. The assertions about Islam are widely misinformed. The notion that the culture of Islam is antithetical to democratic values. Islamic extremists view that the west is disrespectful and antagonistic to Islam's belief and history. Huntington insists that ideological difference can be compromised but cultural difference cannot. Because of culture there is identity of people and people do not make compromise in the matter of identity.

Huntington argues that the main cause of clash of civilization is religion. He further argues, "The clash of civilization sees religion as the ultimate defining variable and thus the ultimate cause of 'separator' between people" (240). For clash of civilization religion is the cause to have conflict in the world but in the opinion of Benazir Bhutto it is not true. In Islam there are characteristics of democracy which do not allow war in any corner of the world, then how can religion become the cause of war and separation? There is no clash between civilizations, but there is clash within civilization.

Bhutto's experience of studying and lecturing abroad suggests that educational and cultural exchange does not lead to conflict. It gives more knowledge and keeps two different people in harmony. Due to difference she is interested with all level of culture, nation and religion. Her life experience proves, Huntington's theory is in correct because Huntington's theory insists diversity in the society cause conflict among people. In this way Bhutto criticizes the key belief of Huntington. Auto ethnography, represents a challenge to some of the very foundations and key belief. And give new meaning and understanding that democracies do not go to war with democracies and it does not become state sponsor of terrorism. Ellis further states, Auto ethnography is an approach to writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience

(ethno). As Ellis states from Bhutto's experience can get the cultural experience of Muslim people.

Bhutto gives her interpretation in regard to the clash of civilization. If west would promote and nurture world as a matter of natural security policy, there would be no clash of civilization between Islam and west, and if democracy is institutionalized in the Islamic world. Automatically there will be good relationship between them.

Tariq Ramadan a Muslim living in Britain, the founder of Muslim brotherhood. "Ramadan seeks reconciliation between Muslim and west...he believed that Islam needs to adopt today's world" (269). The real Islam wants to have harmony in difference and it teaches to reconcile between differences. He insists that Islam means democracy and Islam's another name is democracy. They are two side of the same coin. For this reason, it is possible democracy in Muslim Ummah. There is no battle with the west; the debate is between different interpretations of Islam, different vision for the Muslim Ummah. It's about the lack of tolerance and misinterpretation of Islam.

Extremists fail to grasp Islam, which teaches to give space to others and to understand their value system knowing that these are tolerated by Islam as a religion. The essence of Islam is tolerance, Quran states, "for you, your religion; for me, my religion" (280). But extremists charge Islam of having a dogma of intolerance, hatred and bloodshed. They justify their brutality with slogans such as "Islam is above everything else". They seek to make people afraid and to control anyone who does not share their extremist views regardless of nationality or religion.

One of the reasons of birth of extremism in Pakistan is "The great threat to democracy is not the genuine Madrassas but rather the military Madrassas" (287).

Dictator manipulated religion to brainwash children to becoming soldiers of an irregular army. They teach hatred and violence. They breed terrorists, not scientists. Military Madrassas undermine the very concept of national identity. So Bhutto wants to reconstruct the nationalist self for herself and the nation as well. When, Bhutto dethroned these militant madrassas that have spread like a forest fire, they started plotting against her life and activities.

Extremists take advantage of parents from low income social classes who want a better life for their children. “The destabilization of democracy has led to the success of the militant madrassas” (288). If parents are very poor, they cannot feed, provide health care for their children and the state fails to provide such basic human needs through public services. Parents will seek an alternative. The militant madrassas have become an alternative government for millions of Pakistani. From poverty, hopeless, hunger, despair breeds extremism. In this way the militant madrassas breed grounds of violence.

There must be fundamental change in Pakistan, among them, Islam states to equalize society and opportunity deals with women’s rights, when gender inequality has been used to promote political domination for centuries. “Democracy cannot work if women are subjugated, uneducated and unable to be independent (289). Extremists do not let women be independent. It’s known that literate mother raise literate children. Illiteracy and poverty produce hopelessness and from hopelessness comes desperation and extremism.

Extremists scare people in the name of national identity. It makes Muslim around the world to reexamine traditional interpretation of religion that trouble people and freezes social development. Bhutto’s experiences show the entire history of nation likewise, one country’s political instability directly threatens to international

stability and is a clear danger to world peace. “Democracy needs support. The best support for democracy can come from other democracies” (307). But west did not support to establish democracy in Muslim country because if there is democracy in Muslim countries then west cannot exploit the human and natural resources. After Iraq, many people in Muslim countries began to see the United States as a trouble to Islam.

If there is reconciliation between Muslim and the west then it proves that Muslims and westerns can co-exist together and also thrive together. Bhutto proves herself not only as Muslim scholar but also one of the leading female Muslim reformers of contemporary world. It is not the time for clash. She suggests “It is the time of conciliation and creativity. It is time for new ideas, bold commitment, honest, both among people between people. There has been enough pain in the history but it’s the time for reconciliation” (318). In this way Bhutto explores Islam not as a theology, but an essential part of Muslim identity. Auto ethnography provides an avenue for doing something meaningful for yourself and the world. Bhutto achieves her goal of exploring real image of Islam and is able to introduce its unseen image to the world.

Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and the West, is a vision of the new world order of Bhutto. She had the courage and vision to challenge both the terrorists and the authoritarian culture. Without her, Pakistan is a dark place. She is the symbol of hope and democracy, who began establishing democracy at the time when her position was snatched. Bhutto was expected to bring stability but she cannot complete her work because of her assassination.

It is believed that Islam is rooted in an authoritarianism that promotes dictatorship. But Bhutto challenges this belief of people and presents her unique vision of Islam, is the religion of democracy and all people. There is tolerance and

justice for non Muslims within an Islamic state. Pakistan had been won in the name of religious nationalism. But later on with the death of Mr. Jinnah Islam is distorted by extremists. So there is need of reconstruction of Muslim identity. Bhutto is successful to show how Islam is the religion of multiculturalism. Religious freedom allows people to accept Islam freely. The Quran states that there is no compulsion in religion. Bhutto opens the eyes of those who criticize that there is no possibility of democracy in Muslim countries, but she defuses that Muslims have trouble living with democratic values and insists in the possibility of sustaining science and technology. Non Muslim world has the impression that Islam is a bad religion which imposes its faith on others and it does not have tolerance on others.

Bhutto presents that Islam is a religion with all the qualities of democracy such as justice, women's rights, secularism, tolerance, science and technology. She reminds Muslims in the need to return to ijihad, which means 'reason' to interpret their faith according to their situation. And Muslim countries must return to its traditional interpretation of Islam. If there is no traditional interpretation of Islam, Pakistan will never become the country of real Islam. There will always be dictatorship.

Benazir Bhutto is dedicated to her nation; she served twice as Prime minister and she is a woman of courage and bravery. When she became the Prime minister, it seems that she was able to step to in her father's shoes to continue his work of uniting the nation and establishing democracy. Multiple interpretation of Islam causes intolerance within Muslim. Bhutto challenges Huntington's ideas of clash of civilization, which sees religion as the source of clash of civilizations and she points out there is no clash of civilization but there is clash within civilization.

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