

Illusion of Agency in Benazir Bhutto's *Daughter of the East: An Autobiography*

Benazir Bhutto's autobiography Daughter of the East: An Autobiography is generally read as the narrative of agency. Through her autobiography, Bhutto asserts her agency by presenting her life long struggle against the military regime to establish democracy in Pakistan. She portrays her image as a strong female political leader, an epitome of strength and endurance. Presenting the fact that she was the former Prime Minister of Pakistan and her never ending resistance to tyranny of martial law, she tries to assert her agency. In response to her claim of holding strong agency, the present research paper tries to explore the autobiography from the perspective of Louis Althusser's idea that individuals are always already subjects. The research attempt to discover how Bhutto's free choice was constrained by the Ideological State Apparatuses and the Repressive State Apparatus, causing her loss of agency, emphasizing on Bhutto's familial, socio-cultural and political circumstances. Through the reading of autobiography from Louis Althusser's idea of lack of free will and Barry Barnes' theorization of agency, as its theoretical tools, the research concludes that the prominent political figure of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto's decisions and actions were not independent and freely chosen, rather guided by the external forces: her family, religion, society, culture and tradition, politics and the military regime. Thus, Bhutto's lack of agency reveals her weaker side, the submissive Bhutto victimized by her circumstances.

Keywords: Agency; Illusion; False-consciousness; Ideology; Hailing; Interpellation

The research paper explores illusion of agency in Benazir Bhutto's *Daughter of the East: An Autobiography* in order to argue Bhutto lacks free choice and control

over her own life although she became the first lady Prime Minister of Muslim majority nation Pakistan. The researcher will try to discover how Bhutto's life was driven by external forces like her family, society and the military regime of that time; and how she adjusted her values and prejudices according to the circumstances around her that lead to her loss of agency.

Agency refers to the power space of acting out existence. Holding agency means that an individual is active agent of her own life, is in the position of controlling her life and whatever that individual person does is solely within her power. Barry Barnes defines agency as, "For an individual to possess agency is for her to possess internal power and capacities, which, through their exercise, make her an active entity constantly intervening in the course of events ongoing around her" (25). An individual can act, speak and exercise her power according to her will and live her life as her will without any external forces' intervention. Generally, we think that human beings have control over their lives because they are the ones who live their lives. They live their life according to their personal values and preferences and every individual has her own principles.

However, another sociologist, Anthony Giddens has different view regarding human agency. Proposing his 'structuration theory', Giddens problematizes the view of rationalists that human actions can be determined by external system or structure. Insisting upon human beings as agents and their power to intervene, Giddens argues that "human beings do always have the ability to act otherwise, and the social systems they live in are reproduced, not merely by what individuals do, but what they do as possessors of individual agency" (qtd. in Barnes 27). According to Giddens, the structures of society both constrain and facilitate human actions, but not determine it because individuals have agency. Regarding the situation when an individual have no

choice, Giddens asserts, “circumstances of social constraint in which individuals 'have no choice' are not to be equated with the dissolution of action as such. To 'have no choice' does not mean that action has been replaced by reaction” (Giddens 15). Even the constraints operate like an individual has no choice left, Giddens asserts, individual is not driven irresistibly and uncomprehendingly. Rejecting the idea of determinism of human action by structure, he states that even though, “the rationalization of action is causally implicated...To have reasons for doing something is not the same as to do something for reasons, and it is the difference between these that spells out the causal impact of the rationalization of action” (345-6). Those reasons are causes of activities which the individual makes happen as being an agent inherently. While Giddens advocates for human agency on the basis of human power ‘to act otherwise’, Barnes questions “why the power ‘to act otherwise’ should be listed amongst the various individual powers that human beings possess?” (30). Hence, this research is inclined towards Barnes’ idea that human beings are interdependent, social beings who freely choose and act as mutually accountable and susceptible creatures; affecting each other and being affected by each other at the same time.

Illusion is the state of living in deception. It means something seems true or real but that is false or not real. It is like you believe on existence of something that does not exist. To believe that every author of autobiographical narrative possesses agency is like an illusion. Generally, Bhutto’s autobiography is read as narrative of agency assuming that it is all true about Bhutto and everything written in the text is completely Bhutto’s interpretation of her life. She holds agency means that she is the driver of her life. In fact, the author who seems to be free living her life according to her free choice is operated by various forces of her family, society and state where she lives in. She has her values and prejudices which seem to be exclusively hers, but are

shaped by her experiences, the historical, socio political and geographical contexts. Her principles are her but governed by the external forces like her family, school, society, cultural institutions and government institutions. An individual can never be absolutely free because these external forces keep on operating directly or indirectly. Hence, the subjectivity of the author is constituted by the author but it is not free from the influences of her external environment. When the author conforms to the order of circumstances adjusting her ideas to fit herself in certain laws, agency of the author is false consciousness, an illusion.

Generally, we believe that Bhutto is active agent of her life. She is free to live her life according to her free will and while narrating her life story, she is free to interpret her life in her own way. Readers of *Daughter of the East: An Autobiography* assume that they can know the life narrator, Bhutto by simply reading her life narrative. Smith and Watson mention, “we tend to read autobiographical narratives as proofs of human agency, relating actions in which people exercise free choice over the interpretation of their lives and express their “true” selves” (42). To be precise, readers believe that Bhutto possesses agency because she is the only means to the truth, the one who has experienced all those incidents by herself. Also she is the only one person who is credible to narrate those incidents. As she is the actor of her life, she is free to interpret her life in her own way expressing her “true” self. Likewise, readers assume that Bhutto has lived her life as an independent individual and her autobiography is solely her production. But the fact is that Bhutto is not actually expressing herself spontaneously. There are various institutions functioning as coercers who motivate to tell her life narrative and the censor elements in her head and outside her head as well which keep her from expressing her true self.

The argument of the research revolves around the principle of individual as a

subject of ideology and lack of individual's free will as proposed by Louis Althusser who claims that "individuals are always-already subjects" (192). Benazir Bhutto tries to assert her strong agency showing her active involvement in politics of Pakistan. Her strong resistance to tyranny and her struggle to reestablish democracy prove her agency. Meanwhile, this research explores the hidden forces which were operating behind Benazir Bhutto affecting her ideas and free will. There are Repressive State Apparatus and Ideological State Apparatuses which 'hail' individual who enters them, and influence her beliefs, behaviors and actions eventually. As defined by Althusser, "Ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way as to 'recruit' subjects among individuals (it recruits them all) or 'transforms' individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) through the very precise operation that we call interpellation or hailing" (190). Individual human being becomes subjects, become what institutional discourses and practices make of them. By Repressive State Apparatus, Althusser means the military and the police which predominantly functions by violence or physical power; and Ideological state Apparatuses functions primarily by ideology, such as family, religion, politics, associations, information and news, publications and cultures. However, there is no such thing as completely repressive or ideological.

This research focuses on how these institutions embedded their ideologies in Bhutto rhetorically or repressively, and thus, affected the life of Benazir Bhutto that finally resulted in loss of her agency that she believed to possess by herself. As mentioned by Althusser, "Ideology does not exist in the 'world of ideas' conceived as a 'spiritual world' . Ideology exists in institutions and the practices specific to them...ideology exists in apparatuses and the practices specific to them" (156). Althusser argues that ideologies do not exist in ideas, rather they are in the form of written discourses (books) or oral discourses (sermons, courses, speeches, and so on)

that are supposed to be vehicles for 'ideas '. For example, a political party is an institution, an ideological state apparatus. It is based on certain principle, communism for example. The idea of communism would not exist if it was not put in the form of oral speech or in the form of written books by the propounders of communism. It is through those oral and written discourses they extend communism all over the world. In the form of oral and written discourses, ideas are naturalized in course of time, and then, extended through socio political and cultural institutions.

In this way, by drawing on Louis Althusser's idea that subject is a subject of ideology, the paper will attempt to justify that Bhutto's ideologies are outcome of the circumstances around her which are guiding her thoughts and actions; and her claim of herself being an independent, strong and fearless leader is her "false consciousness." Althusser defines the term "ideology" by drawing on the similarities between Lacanian idea that "dreams were the empty, nugatory imaginary, ' patched together' arbitrarily, eyes closed, from residues of the only full, positive reality, that of open-eyed day" (Althusser 175), and Marx's idea that "Ideology is an imaginary assemblage, a pure dream, empty and vain, constituted by the ' diurnal residues' of the only full, positive reality, that the concrete history of concrete, material individuals materially producing their existence" (Althusser 175). Therefore, ideologies are the outcome of human being's interaction with the material world. The term "false consciousness" was first used by Marxist sociologists when the working class people were misled by the ideologies of the ruling class. For Marx and Engels, "Consciousness is, therefore, from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist at all" (14). They called it false consciousness because proletariat willfully accepted the ideas of the ruling class which do not fit to their scenario. Proletarians became politically conscious but could not figure out the

differences between themselves and the ruling class. They were striving to the goal which does not benefit them. In Althusser's words ideology makes individuals 'act by themselves.' "People are invested in and mystified by their own production as subjects, by their own 'subjection.' That is, they have "false consciousness" : they collude in their own lack of agency by believing that they have it" (Smith and Watson 43). By making individuals act by themselves, keeps them in illusion. Ideologies are embedded in person in such a way that it seems natural 'moral conscience.'

"Proletarians would not work if they were not forced to by 'necessity', but, as well, if they were not subjected to work by legal ideology ('of course I have to work in exchange for my wage')" (Althusser 204). They think that they are acting themselves because the operating system of ideology is invisibly functioning through discourses every time.

Along with Marxist theorization of "false consciousness", the researcher studies Benazir Bhutto's agency through the perspective of Michel Foucault's idea of discourse and power. According to Michel Foucault, "Subjects are produced by the intersection of myriad discourses and structures of power" (qtd. in Carle 329). As a result the agency of a person emerges from those structures of power that produce her as a subject and can never be free from them. An individual person becomes subjected to multiple discourses, hailed through multiple ideologies. The dominant ideology becomes universal. Ideology of the dominant class who hold power is applied to all the remaining people who are not in the position of holding power. In her family, Bhutto is daughter for her parents and she has to carry on her familial norms and values as a daughter. At the same time she is born in Muslim family. She has to follow Muslim religious norms. She is a Pakistani citizen. She has some responsibilities as a citizen of Pakistan. Similarly, she has to follow rules of her

school as a student. The multiple layers of ideas are implanted in a person through such institutions. In this way, a single person has to reenact multiplicity of norms in everyday life. She has to perform different roles in different contexts. Her conscious and unconscious responses are products of her cultural, social and political conditioning. When the author is already in control of discourses, her agency is an illusion because she never gets to act according to her free choice. Therefore it is necessary to interpret the text focusing not just on the individual alone but also the network of identities, relationships and structures related to the narrator.

Benazir Bhutto was born on June 21, 1953 as the first daughter to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto. Bhutto family belongs to one of the wealthy landowner families in Pakistan who own miles of land by their inheritance. Benazir Bhutto's parents come from wealthy, well educated and politically conscious family which is naturally inherited by Bhutto. Her parents were actively participating in politics of Pakistan. Her father served as the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan who was also the founder of the Pakistan Peoples Party. Later on, Benazir Bhutto took the responsibility of the chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party after her father's assassination in 1979. She became the Prime Minister of Pakistan twice from 1988 to 1990 and from 1993 to 1996. In her autobiographical narrative, *Daughter of the East: An Autobiography*, Benazir Bhutto narrates her life story including the current political affairs of her time. Her autobiography is heavily dominated by politics because her life was always involved in politics directly or indirectly. She was never separate from politics. Bhutto mentions that she has gone through terrible times while in prison and many times of detention at her own home, battling against the dictatorial military regime. Bhutto was assassinated on December 27, 2007 when she was back in Pakistan to lead her party for democratic elections scheduled in 2008.

Through her autobiography, Bhutto tries to explicate contribution of herself and her family in politics of Pakistan to the world. She has narrated the horrible situations she has gone through after the General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq declared martial law dissolving the elected parliament of her father in 1977 such as her father's assassination and detention of her mother and herself. She has also presented her strong resistance to military rule. She uses her life writing as a means to establish her image as strong political figure as she claims, "I am a female political leader fighting to bring modernity, communication, education and technology to Pakistan" (xii).

Benazir Bhutto became the first lady Prime Minister of Pakistan twice. By presenting her struggle with the dictatorial military regime, she is asserting her agency. At first, she sounds like she holds strong agency because she has presented herself as a leader who had led her party and the whole nation. In a very conservative Muslim country like Pakistan where women are confined between the four walls and not even allowed to show their faces, she succeeded reach to the position of Prime Minister from where she could lead the whole nation. She positions herself as a dutiful daughter, fearless political leader and strong freedom fighter. Though she seems to act strongly as a public figure, her personal decisions and actions were caused by her situations.

Being born in a privileged family, she was provided with all the facilities that she needed. She got good education as well as proper exposure to politics of Pakistan. It was the political exposure that she came up to become a politician. Most of the decisions were made by her parents either it was about choosing her husband or college for her higher studies. To possess agency means to be able to exercise one's power to fight for own existence and to justify own existence in front of others proving that individual has her own space distinctly her. As Barry Barnes writes "A free agent acts without restrictions upon her will: she acts without compulsion or

coercion” (4). Bhutto is unable to intervene the things happening around her, things are intervening into her life instead. She was not free to make her decisions according to her choice and her actions were guided by external forces, thus she lacks agency.

Because Bhutto does not possess agency, it affects her image of strong personality. It exposes another hidden face of Benazir Bhutto, a face very different from the one Bhutto intentionally constructed by herself. It depicts that unexposed face of helpless Bhutto who followed her father’s decisions whether she wanted or not. She could not even release her own husband who was imprisoned by military regime without committing any crime. She says she protested against the dictatorial military regime but she could gain nothing. Reynolds asserts that "agency is not simply about finding one's own voice but also about intervening in discourses of the everyday and cultivating rhetorical tactics that make interruptions and resistance an important part of any conversation" (59). In his discussion of Bhutto’s political career, Lawrence Ziring writes:

She would always be the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and that lineage was never more than a mixed blessing. The distinctive, clear vision of the Radcliffe Bhutto could not stand independent of her father's legacy ... important was Benazir's character, which was so thoroughly immersed in Bhutto history and lore. Benazir was handicapped by the very Larkana ethos that she could not, and, in fact, would not transcend.” (179)

Bhutto was facilitated by her father and her mother who had already established themselves in politics of Pakistan. Along with that, she got antagonism with the military regime as her father’s legacy. The independent Bhutto who discovered herself free and developed liberal ideas while studying in West could not prevail upon the traditional Pakistani Bhutto lost in traditional norms and values of conservative

Pakistan. Bhutto could not stand as an independent self, free from her father's shadow. Her lack of agency raises question upon her credibility and her narration of her life.

Autobiography is written about life of a single person so it seems to be personal. However the process of producing an autobiographical text is a collective work. Though it is written about an individual's life, it includes other people like her family members, relatives, friends, teachers, professional encounters, etc. In the process of producing text also there are other people involved along with the author. Publication authority and editors also play vital role in producing the final work of autobiography.

News and information, publishing, and entertainment carry out, with or without the backing of the law, daily censorship, which is unremitting and extremely vigilant, since this censorship lodges itself in advance in the heads of authors who take the precaution of censoring themselves, in the name, of course, of their 'professional conscience' and 'decency' or 'the proper behavior' that one owes the fatherland, the dead, and families. (Althusser 86)

As said by Althusser, the above mentioned institutions are secondarily repressive as no physical force is used. They operate by means of hegemony, by manipulating the author's moral conscience. By law, author is not allowed to write something that hurts emotions of certain social, religious groups or something that can arouse violence and anything that is considered unacceptable in the society.

We cannot miss the readers as they heavily affect the way author interprets her life. The intended readers who exist in Bhutto's mind influence her autobiography. For instance, Bhutto has written her autobiography because she wants the readers to know her more closely. She had the targeted readers in her mind as she has addressed

as, “To Bilawal, Bakhtwar and Aseefa, and all of the children of Pakistan” (v). However it is read by other people too who are not addressed by her. As Bhutto knows her autobiography will be read by other people, her way of interpreting her life ought to be influenced by her intended readers’ preference. Regarding the influence of audience on the author, Smith and Watson write, “it influences the inclusion of certain identity contents and the exclusion of others; the incorporation of certain narrative itineraries or intentionalities and the silencing of others; the adoption of certain autobiographical voices and the muting of others” (77). Bhutto is aware of complex responses, so does not write anything that will give negative message to her readers. Ideological State Apparatuses perform as censor. “Preferring privacy, he does not want his name to be mentioned in this book. But he was to stabilize my health and perhaps even to save my life” (Bhutto 238). Here, Bhutto wants to mention the name of that person who saved her life but she could not disclose his name due to privacy issues.

Barnes opines that “human beings, it was said, had agency in relation to rules. But references to agency have come to be used to proclaim the autonomy of the individual over all kinds of other allegedly causal factors, both 'structural' and 'cultural', and they are being used ever more widely in this way” (47). Rights and responsibilities come together along. Human beings are granted with certain rights by the state instead they have to fulfill certain responsibilities towards their state. Likewise, human beings’ freedom is relative not absolute. As human beings are social creatures, they are interdependent social agents, who affect each other as they interact. Individuals are free to exercise their rights and power in relation to rules and norms of the institutions of the society. They have to keep in their mind that they are not allowed to encroach upon rights of another person or harm another person like herself.

Bhutto could practice her freedom but had to keep herself within the boundary of her sociopolitical context. She is granted freedom to write her life narrative, along with that she is embedded with that moral conscience not to invite trouble for others. She needs to be accountable of her actions and her every words to her readers. In this way her interpretation is subjected to her readers, that means it is not solely her free choice. Her choices are determined by her intended readers who exist in her mind.

Bhutto was born as the daughter of Prime minister and the founder of Pakistan People's Party. Her family was among the richest and most well known landlords of Pakistan. Her father and mother were actively involved in politics so she was always informed about political affairs happening in Pakistan. Since her childhood, she along with her siblings was given knowledge about current political affairs happening in Pakistan and all over the world. Politics was imposed upon her which she adopted later on. Bhutto says, "terms such as 'cold war' and 'arms embargo' had already become part of our dimly understood vocabulary as small children"(39). As these lines indicate, her father made a conscious effort to prepare her as future politician. Reviewing Bhutto's political career, Saeed Shafqat writes, "Her father made a deliberate effort to prepare her for such a role and also chiseled her political acumen. On more than one occasion, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto exposed his daughter to the political circumstances he faced as prime minister"(656). Her father used to take Benazir to the political meetings with him. He invited eighteen years old Benazir to Security Council, General Assembly of United Nations while she was in Harvard University in New York. He was there to call for a ceasefire and withdrawal of Indian forces from Pakistani territory. For another instance, he took Benazir along with him to India for his summit with the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi in Simla. He exposed her to the political circumstances, national and international matters as much as he can

because he genuinely desired his daughter to follow his footsteps. Bhutto says, “he had secretly written to Mary Bunting, the president of Radcliffe, asking her to try and steer me towards political courses” (50). Even when she was at school far from her home her father used to mail her about politics as Bhutto mentions, “At Murree my father continued our political education by mail...one of the nuns sat Sanam and me down on a bench in the school garden and read the letter to us in its entirety, though we understood little of its content” (Bhutto 38). Her father’s continuous effort plays vital role in constructing Bhutto as a politician. Her world was restricted within politics that she could not think beyond politics. In this regard, Karl Marx views,

the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life...men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc. real, active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces. (11)

As the above lines by Marx indicate, Bhutto’s “ideas”, “conceptions” and “consciousness” were the result of the political exposure that was given by her father. She grew up hearing about politics from her father and mother. As opined by Karl Marx, physical environment shapes mental atmosphere of a person. For example an infant begins to build up ideas from what she gets to see, hear, feel, taste or smell. Ideas come in relation to material activities.

Along with political exposure, Bhutto’s father used to give her lessons of diplomacy, instruct her how to appear in front of others. He used to say “never lay all your cards on the table” (Bhutto 57), so that you can create doubt to the person in front of you. While they were in Simla for summit with Indira Gandhi, her father told her not to look sad and not to look happy. Her father advised, “You must not smile

and give the impression you are enjoying yourself while our soldiers are still in Indian prisoner of war camps. You must not look grim, either, which people can interpret as a sign of pessimism” (Bhutto 60). Bhutto was taught to censor her expressions for the sake of her public image.

Bhutto’s actions were predetermined by her father. The researcher does not deny the fact that Bhutto was granted far better life than any other Muslim girl in Pakistan. She was sent to convent school and didn’t have to put on Burqa like other Muslim girls of her country. She was a well educated empowered woman. However she did not get that complete freedom to choose her own way. Firstly, she was sent to America to study in Harvard. When she completed her four years education in Harvard, she desired to continue her further studies in the same university thinking that it would be easier for her to live in familiar place than in the new one. But her father denied her to stay more in America and insisted on sending her to London. Her father said, “If you stay longer in America you will begin to put down roots here. It’s time for you to move on”(67). Bhutto describes that moment as “I felt my father was pushing me. But what could I do? It was he who was paying for my tuition and expenses. I had no choice. And I was a practical person” (67). It was her moral conscience to follow her father’s decisions. This is the ideology embedded in Bhutto by her society and family that being a daughter she should obey her parents. Fulfilling the role of a dutiful daughter Bhutto never protested her father’s decisions rather she followed her father’s footsteps silently. It shows the submissive face of Bhutto. Agency is not adjusting self according to others.

Beside her father’s guidance, Bhutto was bound by her family, tradition, her religious norms and values. Bhutto family was well known and prestigious family in Pakistan. Therefore she had the responsibility to maintain Bhutto family’s prestige

and goodwill along with her younger brothers and sister. Although she was sent to America and England for international degree, she was taught to keep her roots in her mind and carry on her traditions with her. When she shifted to America, her mother stayed with her for the first few weeks calculating the location of Mecca so she would know in which direction to pray. Her mother departed for Pakistan but she left her Muslim norms to her daughter with warm woolen “shalwar khameez”. Bhutto took her religious conscience wherever she went. Furthermore, her arrange marriage was unexpected by herself. She was among the ones who didn't view marriage and family as their primary goal. She kept on refusing to marry but eventually she had to agree due to pressure from her family and relatives. They kept on approaching her for marriage again and again. She decided to marry but it did not come from her inner self rather it was the decision induced by the pressure from her mother and relatives. As she says, “Contrary to my expectations, I would follow the traditional path and have an arranged marriage myself” (31). Though her action of marrying to Asif Zardari was contrary to her expectation, she accepted to go opposite of her expectation herself. She changed her idea to adjust herself in the context without any visible use of physical force. This is how ideology hails an individual into subject. Bhutto's idea of not marrying or marrying the person of her choice got changed. According to Althusser, “Before its birth, then, a child is always-already a subject, marked out [assigne] as a subject in and by the particular familial ideological configuration in which it is 'expected' once it has been conceived ('deliberately' or 'by accident')” (193). Bhutto was also great expectation for her parents. It may not be appropriate to use the word “selfish” but in every human being there lies an expectation of getting something in return when you do something for someone. As said by Althusser, all parents keep expectations from their children that their children

be great person in future and add fame to parents or become support for their old age. In this way, Bhutto is subjected (in Althusser's words) by her familial institution. She became what her family and father wanted to make of her. She had to become a dutiful daughter for her family, good politician for her politician father.

While arguing that Bhutto followed the path paved by her father, the researcher here does not deny her personal hard work and her diligence. Bhutto studied the subject preferred by her father, in the institution chosen by her father. Even so, it was Bhutto who did all the hard work and got degree by herself. She chose to become politician when she felt that her circumstances demanded her to fulfill her responsibilities. She never stepped back from her responsibilities. Whatever dangerous situations came, she did not find way to escape rather faced them either she won or lost. When her governments were dismissed, she still continued her works to bring democracy again. Bhutto was undermined by her opponents for being female Prime Minister that she will not be able handle office of Prime Minister during her pregnancy and after delivery of baby. Breaking the stereotype that women cannot be as strong as men, she was present in office at the time when women are considered to be weak. Contrary to the expectation of her opponents, she was present in her office even after a day of her delivery. "I almost ignored any hint of physical or emotional limitation during my pregnancies" (Bhutto xiii). Leaving aside her personal sorrows and troubles, Bhutto fulfilled her duties.

Bhutto had divided personality: the Radcliffe Bhutto and the Larkana Bhutto. Ian Buruma describes the Radcliffe Bhutto was rational, realistic and bold. The Larkana Bhutto is susceptible to psychological and sentimental needs and more artificial. She found vast differences between the Western society where she experienced ultimate democracy and Pakistan where people were under the rule of

martial law. After becoming Prime Minister, she could not make the policies suitable in the scenario of Pakistan. However she tried to adjust her principles, she was not satisfied herself. She felt uncomfortable to go to the field in Larkana where there were only male workers because Muslim women do not go out of houses, only men do outdoor works. While Bhutto was in Larkana to look after her farm, she was invited to make “faisala” by the villagers. She gave her verdict that the old man would not get the girl, but a cow and twenty thousand in compensation. Bhutto expresses her dissatisfaction regarding her own decision as she states, “A cow for a girl not an equation that had ever come up in discussions about the women’s movement at Radcliffe. But this was Pakistan” (Bhutto 162). She felt her own ideas conflicting regarding her marriage. She was pressurized by her family for arrange marriage while she was skeptical about getting married to a person whom she had met only three days before. She was worried about opinion of her friends in the west. She says, “I felt torn apart. I knew my friends in the West would find it difficult to understand the peculiar cultural and political circumstances that were leading me towards an arranged marriage” (356). At the same time she was afraid of scandal of breaking her engagement as she was the leader of the opposition party. It would bring negative impact on her image. When she returned to Pakistan in 1977 for elections, she behaved like a typical Pakistani Muslim woman of conservative Muslim society. She was following conventions of her society. “Benazir Bhutto has not flouted Islamic conventions about women. Since her return to Pakistan, she has worn a traditional tunic and a veil on her hair (not a face covering)” (Cad 12). She decided to go according to Pakistani culture where religious and family obligations remained central. Being an educated and empowered woman, she did not dare to challenge the tradition. She learned to adjust her principles according to her context instead. She

understood that the things which were accepted in America were not accepted in Pakistan and vice versa.

Bhutto's eerie and superstitious description of few events reflects the influence of tradition upon her. Muslims in her country believe that when there danger to the master of the house, the animals deflect and die. She believes that the danger to her father is huge that three of her pets died. Miracles were happening at her father's burial ground. A crippled boy walked and a barren woman delivered a son. There is no logical connection between her father's death and crippled boys walking and also delivery of child by barren woman. Bhutto shows signs of her growing in Muslim family. Being educated in America and London, she ends up believing in such superstitious things. Description of such superstitious events raises question upon her credibility.

On the other hand, Bhutto's life was heavily affected by politics of Pakistan. Her personal life got lost in her public life. Bhutto family and Pakistani politics were inextricably linked to each other. Bhutto had been exposed to politics since her early childhood and got herself directly involve in politics after her father was assassinated in 1979 by Zia's military regime. In 1977, the military force took over Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's elected parliament and arrested him which bring drastic change in life of Bhutto family. From the day of her father's arrest, there began tussle between Bhuttos and the then military regime. Benazir and her mother were arrested and kept in detention to prevent them from indulging in political activities which were banned by the martial law. Military vans were parked twenty-four hours a day outside 70 Clifton. Their telephone lines were tapped. Bhutto family was under surveillance of Zia's military force. All the activities of Benazir Bhutto and her mother were closely observed by the military officials. They were kept in detention in their own homes, at

70 Clifton and at Al Murtaza. Her younger brothers and sister were sent abroad and advised not to come to Pakistan. Bhutto was kept under strict observation. The continuous military observation made Bhutto family especially Benazir Bhutto conscious of her activities. She had to behave in a certain way to keep herself from being caught up in any controversy. Bhutto explains, “During my father’s imprisonment he had cautioned us never to give the appearance that we were enjoying ourselves. If you go to the cinema, wear a burqa” (Bhutto 203). Her father suggested her to act according to the person who was looking at her. She had to hide her true expressions giving appearance to army officials. While living under surveillance, she was never free to practice her free-choice. Due to the external pressures, she developed restrictions within herself. According to Barnes, “It is important to recognize how very strong our intuitive sense can be that there is something out there pressing upon us, constraining us, forcing us to act as otherwise we should not, and that it is something more than ‘just other people’ ” (150). Bhutto was conscious every time not to let her emotions come out in front of others. She says, “I didn’t allow myself the slightest bit of excitement” (246). It was her younger sister Sanam’s wedding. She was still in detention. The regime granted her permission to attend her sister’s wedding but the fear of regime did not vanish from her mind. She was mentally disturbed by Zia’s mental and physical torture on her family. She could not enjoy her little sister’s wedding naturally and freely.

Bhutto faced so many ups and downs in her life. She lived comfortable and luxurious life as the daughter of a rich landowner. Suddenly her life turned into troublesome after her father got arrested by martial law and hanged. Barbara Crossette writes in *The New York Times*, “Ms Bhutto’s father was hanged in 1979, despite pleas for clemency from world leaders. Years of house arrest, then exile, followed for her

and her mother Nusrat Bhutto” (6). She used to be haunted by the fear of military regime while living in London. During her exiled years in London, she used to feel afraid of being followed.

For all that I was free, I dreaded going out of the flat. Every time I stepped out of the front door my stomach, my neck and my shoulders tensed. I couldn't walk two steps without turning around to see if I was being followed. After all the years of living alone behind prison walls, even the crowded streets in London seemed threatening. I wasn't used to people, to voices, to noise.

(Bhutto 253)

She was captured by the fear of dictators which she could not eradicate even after leaving the country. She was unable to free herself from that fear of martial law.

Adjusting to real life in London was very difficult for her. However, she did not give up her political activities despite of harsh treatment by the military regime. As Bhutto mentions, “I decided to mount an international campaign to expose the regime's maltreatment of the 40,000 political prisoners still in jail in Pakistan” (225). Although she was living safe life, far from Pakistan, she began a movement against Zia-ul-Haq and demand release of thousands of political prisoners held by Zia for participating in political activities restricted by Zia's government. From London, Bhutto exposed Zia's human rights violations when the democratic Western nations were paying less attention to it. While the military regime was carelessly hanging number of political activists in Pakistan, Bhutto was doing her best to save them from hanging. She was calling help from United Nations Secretary General, US Secretary of State for Human Rights, foreign ministers, lawyers, Amnesty International, those who could help her.

Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 1986 and began her movement against military rule with her PPP members and supporters. Then she had to present herself as a leader

who can indeed lead the party founded by her father. She was the only representative of Pakistan People's Party. She knew she had become a public figure. She says, "I put on a veneer of self-confidence and hid my anxieties from everyone. I had to" (253). She realized that her "years of detention and my family's treatment by the military regime had elevated me in the eyes of many Pakistanis to super-human status" (253). Such realization made Bhutto more conscious of her responsibilities towards her father and those followers of her party who had trust on her. As a leader, she was aware of her activities, what she does and what she speaks. She used to preplan her actions before presenting herself in front of mass. Assuming the role of leader, she had a conscience in her that she had to impress her followers to keep them supporting her, not letting their trust broke from her. "Imprisonment gave credence to her leadership as it was popularly perceived as unjust, and she became a symbol of resistance to the military regime" (Shafqat 657). Bhutto had to keep respect of the support and trust given to her by her supporters. Her intention was to keep on holding the public support which will help her to reach in power and gain victory over Zia's military rule. During her election campaign, she had to give speech in front of huge mass of people. She used to sit with her mother and prepare for her speech a day before. The way she act or speak was influenced by her audience whom she wanted to persuade and motivate. "The individual in question behaves in such-and-such a way, adopts such-and-such a practical line of conduct ...on which the ideas that she has as subject, depend freely and in all 'good' conscience chosen" (Althusser 185). Every individual, when becomes subjected by any discourse (religious, political or familial) is endowed with consciousness that is a conscience making her believe that she should act in accordance with her ideas which are already embedded in her by discourses. Bhutto revolts against the dictatorship of martial law because she believes

in democracy. It is her belief that democracy is good for people, tyrannical rule is not.

Bhutto published her autobiography as *Daughter of Destiny* in 1988 for the first time and it was published as *Daughter of the East* in 2007. She was clever enough to publish her autobiography before election. As mentioned previously, for her autobiography was a medium to gain public support by telling the painful experiences of Bhutto family and the execution story of her Prime Minister father. It was not only her deeds that made her Prime Minister of Pakistan but her father's name and contribution. While giving speech for election campaign, she used her father's name to make her position stronger. She narrated the incident of her father in India. Her father refused to sleep on bed and slept on the floor saying that how can he sleep on bed while Pakistani prisoners of war have nothing to sleep on but the ground. Acknowledging her father's contribution to her success, she says, "My father had not given his life in vain. The people of Pakistan had stood by him in voting for me—an inexperienced woman of only thirty-five. I became the youngest elected Prime Minister in the world due to this love and loyalty" (393). She admits herself that she was inexperienced but won due to her father's sacrifice. After her father's execution, she was the only member from Bhutto family to represent Pakistan Peoples Party in the election. She won because supporting his daughter and his party was a way for Pakistani people to pay back to late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who sacrificed his life for democracy.

Bhutto has politicized her memory in her autobiography. Every author has some hidden intentions behind presenting their lives in an open book. Autobiography is politicization of memory. According to Daniel L. Schacter, "Memories are records of how we have experienced events, not replicas of the events themselves" (qtd. in Smith and Watson 16). The truth presented in autobiographical text is the perspective

of the narrator. Readers see the world of Bhutto through the eyes of Bhutto. She shows the truth from her perspective which is not the objective truth because the author's perception is influenced by her geographical, social and historical contexts. Neither all the memories can be recalled and included in one book, nor, all the memories are useful to author's intention. Remembering and forgetting of events is an integral part of writing autobiography. It is the position from where the author exercises her power. Bhutto remembers those events which are mostly related to politics so her book is full of political affairs of Pakistan. There are deliberate selection and omission of memories. Smith and Watson mention, "the memory invoked in autobiographical narrative is specific to the time of writing and the contexts of telling" (18). She especially focuses on the good works done by her father and herself. She mentions the long list of good works done by her father during his government. Her father redistributed the land held by the feudal few families. He brought socialist, economic policies like nationalizing the monopolized industries, gender equality, literacy programs, etc. her father also did so much to improve international relations. But she did not mention the fact that her father was also accused of human rights violations by Amnesty International. Reviewing Bhutto's Autobiography Patricia Dorff writes, "The book is marred by Ms. Bhutto's white-washed presentation and selective account of her father's political career" (186). Beside her father's contribution to Pakistan, she highlights the painful experiences during her struggle with military regime when herself and her mother was severely beaten by armies. She describes the years of detention and imprisonment without basic facilities, living in confinement where no human contact was allowed. She also writes about the poor condition of jail where her father was kept before execution. There are so many incidents in the book which arouse sympathy in the readers

towards Bhutto family. By telling her compelling life narrative, Bhutto projects her character and values which help her to attach herself to her supporters and gain their support. It was the huge support of public which helped her to reach I power. She got support of people who supported Pakistan Peoples Party from her father's generation.

In her autobiography, Bhutto has refuted the accusations made upon her. It was necessary for her to refute those charges made upon her to hold her and her father's reputation all around the world. She felt it was her duty to fight for her father's honor. "The fight to save his honor became my own" (123). Her government was dismissed under the charges corruption, mismanagement and incompetence.

Referring to Bhutto's critics Barbara Crossette notes:

She never held a job or political office before becoming Prime Minister of South Asia's second largest nation. They say her lack of experience was a handicap not only in her political dealings but in making policy decisions involving the war in neighboring Afganistan and the grave economic problems at home. (6)

After dismissal of her government for two times, Bhutto was living exiled life in Dubai with her family since 1999. She returned to Pakistan in 2007 to lead her party in the scheduled 2008 elections. She published new updated edition of her book in 2007. In this edition she refuted the charges of corruption and mismanagement made upon her. She argues that those accusations were conspiracies, deliberately constructed to dismiss her government. She says, "not a single charge filed against my husband or myself was proven in a court of law" (408). She also talks about her brother Shah's involvement in Al-Zulfikar "Circumstances, not choice, had thrown him into the dangerous, shadowed world of Al-Zulfikar" (283). After clarifying those charges upon herself and her husband, father and brother, Bhutto highlights the

reforms which were done by her government. She claims that her government was the first in the history of Pakistan to pay back capital rather than interest alone. She was given a gold medal by World Health Organization in recognition of her efforts in the health sector. Besides these major achievements, her government did reforms in education, agriculture, gender equality, international relations, economic and health sectors. The extremists were not happy with her works because she was an obstacle to their fundamentalist thought. They opposed her because they wanted full control over Pakistan. Bhutto describes the opposition party's action as, "The extremists therefore invested their energies and mobilized their resources in undermining my policies and getting rid of my two governments" (Bhutto 418). Bhutto is paving her way towards the upcoming election clarifying the dismissal of her two governments. She shares her experience to construct her agency.

Bhutto is asserting her agency through her autobiography by showing her credibility. She has written the things which she could not speak explicitly during military rule. The military overtake of her father's government snatched rights from Pakistani citizens. The media was under control of martial law which only threw news about Zia's activities and his upcoming plans. Even the international media like CNN and BBC did not give true information about imprisoned Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. During that crucial time, Bhutto along with the few PPP supporters used to print pamphlets written about her father and circulate to people at night. Bhutto mentions that she tried her best to save her father's life and his honor till the last moment and even after her father's death she advocated for her father. Bhutto is powerfully using her authority as the author. Her intention is to keep on holding people's trust on her in spite of her dismissal of her government for two times. Therefore she tries to prove those charges made upon her were planned conspiracy to dismiss her. She wants the people of

Pakistan and the whole world to know that she had continuously fought the battle against the dictators to reestablish democracy in Pakistan and improve lives of people in Pakistan. She continued her work even after a day of delivery of her child.

Although she did not say explicitly, she means that she is the one who should win election for her nation's development and progress. She says, "Too many people have sacrificed too much, too many have died, and too many people see me as their remaining hope for liberty, for me to stop fighting now" (431). She returned to Pakistan in 2007 risking her life to campaign for election scheduled in 2008. Bhutto intends to position herself as a dedicated leader, a strong freedom fighter who dedicated her whole life for her nation and its people.

Bhutto's autobiography is alternative history of Pakistan. She has presented her interpretation of political scenario Pakistan of her time. She is trying to prove that military overtake of her government was unjust. She implies that the fundamentalists disliked her because her policies were more modern and secular. Mainly, she presents every minute details of her father's situation when he was kept in prison by the military regime. The official history might not record those incidents which she wants people to know. Therefore, she writes her autobiography so that people can read history of Pakistan from her point of view. She has included testimonies of her friends, close relatives and her attendants so that her autobiography sounds more convincing. Dr. Zafar Niazi, the dentist who attended her father while he was in Kot Lakhpat Jail reports about deteriorating health of Mr. Bhutto. Kishwar Qayyum Nazami, wife of a former member of the Provincial Assembly tells about arrest of her and her husband at 1.00 am. at night. Anne Fadiman reports about the demonstration on the occasion of Pakistan Independence Day in 1986. He writes the PPP members were demonstrating peacefully but police used violence to interrupt their peaceful

demonstration beating the crowds and dispersed them. Her close friend Peter Galbraith who was working for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Washington talks about tyranny of regime who did not allow him to visit Bhutto. He also reported to the senators in Washington about mistreatment of Bhutto and her mother by the military regime. Bhutto wants people to know her more closely in all these pages of records of factual events in her autobiography.

On the one hand, Bhutto presents her bold side, the courageous fighter Bhutto who never gave her struggle against military regime's tyranny. On the other hand, she presents herself as susceptible Bhutto victimized by her circumstances, the submissive Bhutto who always followed her father's footsteps and helpless in front of strong military regime. In the preface to her autobiography, Bhutto has written that she did not choose this life, it chose her. She had not asked for that mantle. "The forces of destiny and the forces of history had thrust me forward, and I felt privileged and awed" (Bhutto 392). By saying that all the things that happened in her life happened by destiny Bhutto denies her agency. Her statement means that whatever she did, she was in control of destiny. Destiny is above everything and one has to live his or her life as written in destiny. After coming over of so much of political struggles and becoming Prime Minister of Pakistan, she says everything happened because it was her destiny. If Bhutto is accepting everything happened in her life because it was her destiny, she is denying her agency herself.

Although Bhutto's agency seems weaker while analyzing her personal life heavily affected by her familial, socio cultural, religious norms and values, her agency lies in her strong resistance to the tyrannical military regime. She grew up to become a politician because of her familial background but she tackled with every dangerous situation firmly with courage. Sensing the danger upon her, her father gave her choice

if she wanted to leave Pakistan and live safe and comfortable life. The night before his assassination, her father says to Benazir, “If you want you can leave Pakistan while the Constitution is suspended and Martial Law imposed. If you want peace of mind and to pick up your lives again, then you might want to go to Europe. I give you permission. You can go” (Bhutto 9). Her mother decided to stay in Pakistan for the election scheduled by Zia. If they left, there would be no one to lead their party. Benazir was also determined to stay in Pakistan and fight against the martial rule. Though threatened by the military officials several times, she did not give up her struggle. Whatever ideologies were guiding her, she was determined to fight for democracy until her last breath.

In short, Benazir Bhutto intends to present herself as a strong political figure who sacrificed her life for bringing democracy in Pakistan. Through her autobiography, she constructs her agency putting forward her struggle with the military regime. But, her belief that she possesses agency is her illusion because her ideologies were outcome of the external force’s influence upon her. Being the leader of her nation, she could not practice her free will. As proposed by Althusser, the Ideological State Apparatuses and the Repressive State Apparatus pressurized her to conform to particular behaviors, beliefs and identities. Many important decisions of her life including her education as well as her marriage were taken by her father. She always stopped herself from expressing her true self due to her political life. Besides she was bound by her culture and traditions, religious norms and values. Along with her real life, her autobiography is also influenced by her professional and moral conscience. Her autobiography is not her spontaneous writing expressing her true self, rather it is a very carefully presented, partial part of her life. Thus, agency of Benazir Bhutto is her illusion.

Works Cited

- Althusser, Louis. *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. Verso, 2014.
- Barnes, Barry. *Understanding Agency*. Sage, 2000.
- Bhutto, Benazir. *Daughter of The East: An Autobiography*. Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2007.
- Cad. "Bhutto Arrested, Released." *Off Our Backs*, vol. 16, no. 9, 1986, pp. 12. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25795286.
- Carle, Susan. "Theorizing Agency." *American University Law Review*, vol. 55, no. 2, 2005, pp. 308-386.
- Crossette, Barbara. "The dismissal." *The New York Times*, 7 Aug. 1990, pp. 6.
- Dorff, Patricia. "Daughter of Destiny by Benazir Bhutto." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 3, no. 68, 1989, pp. 186. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/0236478.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society*. Polity. 1984.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. *The German Ideology*. Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Nedra, Reynolds. "Interrupting Our Way to Agency: Feminist Cultural Studies and Composition." *Feminism and Composition Studies: In Other Words*, vol. 6, 1998, pp. 58-73.
- Shafqat, Saeed. "Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto." *Asian Survey*, vol. 4, no. 36, 1966, pp. 665-672. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/21365078.
- Sidone, Smith and Julia Watson. *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narrative*. University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Ziring, Lawrence. "Benazir Bhutto: A Political Portrait." *Asian Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1991, pp. 178-189. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/30172306.