

**TRACING MARTYRDOM AND
VICTIMHOOD: A STUDY OF THE
AUTO/BIOGRAPHIES OF ZULFIKAR
ALI BHUTTO'S *IF I AM ASSASSINATED*
AND FATIMA BHUTTO'S *SONGS OF
BLOOD AND SWORD***

By

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Assassinated* and Fatima Bhutto's *Songs of Blood and Sword***

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THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of English Studies for acceptance:

Thesis Title: Tracing Martyrdom and Victimhood: A Study of the Auto/Biographies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's *If I Am Assassinated* and Fatima Bhutto's *Songs of Blood and Sword*

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ABSTRACT

Title: Tracing Martyrdom and Victimhood: A Study of the Auto/biographies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's *If I am Assassinated* and Fatima Bhutto's *Songs of Blood and Sword*

This poststructuralist study uses trauma literary theory to analyze the auto/biographies of ZAB and FB, the members of historical and political significant family in Pakistan. While focusing on the association of selected auto/biographers with Pakistani politics, this dissertation locates the role of auto/biographies in constructing certain narratives for cultural and political purposes. The aim of this study is to investigate the power of auto/biographies merely not in construction of the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood, but in representing these narratives as a source to invoke cultural trauma as well. This multidisciplinary research also studies individual traumas of the subjects of selected auto/biographies, and their influence on the memory of the targeted audience to shape collective traumas. It explores the portrayal of the subjects as victims of state violence and analyzes their emergence as martyrs for sacrificing their lives to fight state violence. Moreover, it examines the purpose behind the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood as tools to construct cultural trauma. The association of a leader's death or fall of his/her regime is investigated as an occurrence of cultural trauma, in this research. The life narratives of his physical and emotional traumas, described in auto/biographies, are analyzed as his/her journey from victimisation to victimhood. This journey throws light on the leader's ideology that the partisans promote after his/her death. The ideology of a martyr as a cause to sacrifice life is analyzed as catalyst for martyr-making. Since, the leaders are acknowledged for their services and sacrifices, the aspects of martyrdom and victimhood are traced out in this dissertation as means of invoking collective memory for their recognition. The name of Bhutto family still holds a place in Pakistani political and cultural history even after the assassinations of ZAB, MB, SB and BB. Demonstrating these deaths as narratives of cultural trauma, this research scrutinizes over the function of the selected auto/biographies in their recognition as victims and martyrs. The study is delimited to ZAB's autobiography, *If I am Assassinated* (1979) and FB's biography on MB, *Songs of Blood and Sword* (2010).

Key Words: Trauma, Collective trauma, Collective memory, Cultural trauma, Martyrdom, Martyr, Ideology, Victimisation, Victimhood.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM.....	II
AUTHOR’S DECLARATION FORM.....	III
ABSTRACT.....	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	IX
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	X
DEDICATION.....	XI
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Overview of the Study.....	1
1.2 Thesis Statement.....	10
1.3 Research Questions.....	11
1.4 Critical Framework.....	11
1.4.1 Theoretical Perspective of Cultural Trauma.....	12
1.4.2 Theoretical Perspective of Victimhood.....	14
1.4.3 Theory of Embodied Martyrdom.....	18
1.4.4 Conclusion.....	20
1.5 Research Methodology.....	21
1.5.1 Research Methods.....	21
1.5.1.1 Auto/biography as a Research Method.....	22
1.5.1.2 Textual Analysis as a Research Method.....	23

1.6 Delimitation of the Study.....	24
1.7 Organization of the Study.....	25
1.7.1 Chapter 1: Introduction.....	25
1.7.2 Chapter 2: Review of Relevant Literature.....	25
1.7.3 The Emergence of Grievance-based Identities: The exploration of Victimhood in Life-Narratives of Bhutto Family.....	26
1.7.4 The Making of Martyr: The Reputational Uses of Embodied Martyrdom in Selected Auto/biographies.....	27
1.7.5 Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	28
1.8 Significance and Rationale of the Study.....	28
CHAPTER NOTES.....	29

2.REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE.....	31
2.1 Introduction.....	31
2.2 Review of Historical Auto/biographies.....	31
2.3 Review of Selected Auto/biographies.....	37
2.3.1 A Case of <i>If I am Assassinated</i> by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.....	37
2.3.2 A Case of <i>Songs of Blood and Sword</i> by Fatima Bhutto.....	43
2.4 Review on the Selected Theories.....	46
2.4.1 Theoretical Perspective of Cultural Trauma.....	46
2.4.2 Theoretical Perspective of Victimhood.....	51
2.4.2.1 Victims: The development of Political Consciousness.....	53
2.4.2.2 Victims: Ideological Concurrence.....	55
2.4.2.3 Victims: Political Mobilisation.....	57

2.4.2.4 Victims: Political Recognition.....	58
2.4.3 Embodied Theory of Martyrdom.....	60
2.4.3.1 Martyrdom: A Socio-Religious Concept.....	60
2.4.3.2 Martyrdom: Reputational Entrepreneurs of Martyr.....	62
2.4.3.3 Martyrdom: Martyr's body as a cultural object.....	63
2.5 Conclusion.....	65

3. THE EMERGENCE OF GRIEVANCE-BASED IDENTITIES: THE EXPLORATION OF VICTIMHOOD IN LIFE-NARRATIVES OF BHUTTO FAMILY.....67

3.1 Introduction.....	67
3.2 Victimhood: From Acts of Victimization to Consciousness.....	69
3.2.1 Authoritarian States and Victimisation.....	70
3.2.2 Democratic States and Victimisation.....	74
3.3 Victimhood: The Ideology of Grievance.....	75
3.4 Victimhood: The Mobilisation for Recognition.....	80
3.4.1 Authoritarian States and Struggles of Victims.....	81
3.4.2 Democratic States and Struggles of Victims.....	84
3.5 The Culture of Victimhood.....	86
3.6 Conclusion.....	91
CHAPTER NOTES.....	93

4. THE MAKING OF MARTYR: THE REPUTATIONAL USES OF EMBODIED MARTYRDOM IN SELECTED AUTO/BIOGRAPHIES.....95

4.1 Introduction.....	95
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4.2 Embodied Martyrdom: The Partisanship and Narratives of Victimisation.....	97
4.3 Embodied Martyrdom: Symbolic Power of the Body.....	102
4.4 Embodied Martyrdom: Collective memory and Cultural Trauma.....	107
4.5 Conclusion.....	113
CHAPTER NOTES.....	114
5. CONCLUSION.....	115
WORKS CITED	120

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ZAB	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
FB	Fatima Bhutto
BB	Benazir Bhutto
MB	Murtaza Bhutto
SB	Shahnawaz Bhutto
ZUH	Zia ul Haq
GB	Ghinwa Bhutto
NB	Nusrat Bhutto
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
AZO	Al Zulfikar Organization

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“how is the memory of groups conveyed and sustained?
- involves bringing these two things (recollection and bodies)
together in a way that we might not have thought of doing.”

(Connerton, 4).

1.1 Overview of the Study

Martyrdom is a religious as well as a social concept. Nations remember their martyrs and pass along the narratives of their scars and sacrifices from generation to generation. Societal norms, traditions, culture and historical context impact such memory-based stories. Thus, such tales become a part of nationhood and assist in representing national and cultural trauma of a nation. It is a serious challenge to analyze martyrdom signifying culture and memory because this concept is highly religious and sacred. To understand martyrdom in socio-cultural dynamics, it is imperative to locate the significance of his/her life-narrative that makes him/her to emerge as martyr after death. This seems unfamiliar in Pakistani cultural and academic spheres because martyrdom is a sensitive topic to be associated with social and political agendas. As a martyr is supposed to sacrifice his/her life for a cause and experience emotional and physical torture, this research explores that the narrativization of martyrdom revolves around his/her life as victim of hegemony and death as martyr. The making of a martyr or victim is a contested process that influences communities for generations. The collectivities usually perceive individual trauma of martyr or victim as their own. They respect the martyr or victim for sacrificing life and try to relate themselves with his/her cause. Therefore, the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood construct cultural trauma. The study of cultural trauma begins with individual trauma that exists in Sigmund Freud¹'s psychoanalysis.

Literature has allowed language to portray the inner-self in relation with the outer world through words. The historical, social, cultural and political contexts of

outer world shape the inner world of individuals based on their memories. It is known that pleasant memories are formed by favorable and joyous memories, whereas, dark and perplexed memories are influenced by painful traumatic incidents. Psychoanalytic theories on trauma seek the role of memory in forming individuals' behaviors and fragmented identities. This scholarship helps to gain self-knowledge and self-confidence beyond the boundaries of traumatic events. The concept of trauma addresses the impacts of a tragic event on the traumatized one's inner world about the perception of outer world. Trauma is a truth that is told and retold through memories. It, as a process of remembrance, splits the unconscious that gives birth to a fragmented identity. The repetitive remembrance of the tragic incidents damages one's abilities to think and move in the society, thus, this condition is analyzed through psychoanalytic theories on trauma. In fact, trauma studies investigate the psychological, cultural and political perception of memory and identity in societal and literary norms. In academia, memories build an identity as well as a narrative to form literature on trauma. It is the use of language and words, that made Sigmund Freud to direct his research on power of memory by listening to his patients' stories. Psychoanalysis and literature, both address the mystery of human nature within the background of historical and cultural exposure. Literature illustrates and analyzes these memories in the light of psychoanalytic theories.

As far as the significance of the term 'trauma' is concerned, it is the wound that injures both body and brain², and challenges the rationalization of one's self as well as the soul. Moreover, it represents a whole background of cultural or historical event in it. The occurrence of traumatic events represents a society's law and cultural practices. Freud's "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" (1920), a work that was originated in his treatment of World War I combat veterans who suffered from repeated nightmares and other symptoms of their wartime experiences, has established the concept of trauma through the interpretation of painful dreams. The incidents of agony cause nightmares and the memory does not let them fade away. As nightmares take away the capability of relishing dreams, traumatic memories also hinder ordinary thoughts of the individual. The abnormal thoughts result in loss of the ability to narrate trauma event but create dissociation. According to Freud, the self does not remember the actual event but only the "reproductions" of the traumatic experience that arise in dreams (19). Moreover, in *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), Freud

examines how memory of a traumatic event is forgotten and repressed with time but gets triggered by the occurrence of similar event. In this way, each catastrophic incident invokes and transforms memories of other catastrophes, which makes history a complex entanglement of the unpleasant incidents inflicted and suffered. Therefore, Freud's research on trauma states that the repressed memory returns when triggered. Further research on trauma challenges the presentation of agonizing incidents through language. This concept has emerged on the basis of traumatic incidents' consequences on and individual and his memory with the works of Cathy Caruth³ and Shoshana Felman⁴, in late twentieth century. Their theories present trauma as an unspeakable and unrepresentable experience as emotional suffering disrupts both mind and language. Traumatic memories exist beyond reality and get mixed with the external factors, such as; time, dreams and perception. Such elements risk the credibility of traumatic narrative as well as sufferer's memories. Therefore, their theories addressing trauma studies tend to locate the fragmented self in collective trauma and look for a historical narration of the destructive incident.

The Caruthian notion on collective trauma addresses the disability to express traumatic feelings through language. Extreme experiences shatter the thoughts and block the capability to describe it in words. This repression of memories and narration becomes more dangerous for the individual and affects his/her identity. The traumatic event itself is the reason behind disability of narrating it in words. The flashbacks of experience reside in victim's mind but appear to be unavailable for narration like normal events. The account of these incidents remains crucial for both psychoanalysis and literature. Consequently, the early development on trauma studies identifies and analyzes individuals' memory in historical memory⁵. The transhistorical nature of trauma creates situation of temporal gap and indicates the remembrance of similar event in different time. Color, race, nationhood and gender are the repetitious aspects on which Caruth's transhistorical trauma dwells. This notion of trauma studies provides critical frameworks for marginalized version of feminist and racial studies.

On the contrary, the pluralistic approach contradicts the psychological and unspeakable trope of trauma, and challenges it by uncovering new relationships between experience and culture. It studies the structure of trauma that shapes memory and identity, and also focuses on cultural representation of trauma to create trauma narratives. The pluralistic notion of trauma investigates it as an event of alteration that

moulds an identity. The abovementioned discussion states that the traumatized person experiences trauma in flashbacks and forms a new knowledge about his/her existence and the world through memories. This psychoanalytic trauma theory presents an insight on explicit and established aspects of extreme experience and experienced ones. The contextual knowledge and surroundings of the individual become the opportunities for analyzing trauma and its side effects on him/her. Instead of demanding the essentialities of dissociation, the pluralistic approach emphasizes more on cultural context that unravels the mystery of trauma. The abovementioned discussion shows that Caruthian psychological and individual notion on trauma presents traumatic memory as a part of a storeroom that contains frozen recollections in it. According to this, the constant process of experiencing those remembrances and the disability of narrating them through language, makes memory a fixed entity. Furthermore, the unspeakability of trauma events is viewed as influence of hegemonic authorities and cultural values. Whereas, the pluralistic conception of trauma, views memory as fluid process that evolves repeatedly with the change of cultural context and time. Remembering and forgetting are fluid processes that get varied with the cultural and historical moments. The focus on individual's traumatic memory, in different time spans, enables the pluralistic notion to represent war, postcolonial, racial and feminist studies. The presentation of a tragic event on the basis of memory addresses the postmodern self and identity as well. Naomi Mandel⁶ and Greg Forster⁷ demonstrate the ideas of pluralistic trauma studies in their works and portray the cultural dimensions of trauma for individuals.

Hence, the pluralistic notion of trauma describes the multiplicity of agonizing remembrances through its narration in flashbacks and pauses, details of landscape, the social, political and cultural background and imagery of the event. The causal description of trauma and its effects on traumatized identity go side by side. As far as the emotional state of fragmented identity after traumatic incident is concerned, the literary texts themselves provide their theory of trauma through causal and temporal details of trauma. For instance, the protagonist's views about the catastrophic incident, the shattering of his/her identity, and thoughts about the place of tragedy before and after trauma, are some of the aspects that create groundings to study trauma. The cultural happenings and normative practices make a road for him/her to travel towards the destination of remembrances. However, trauma disrupts the truth, splinters the

identity and creates a void between the knowledge of event and memories. The complex and fluid nature of memory alters the details and includes new interpretations with the change of time and cultural contexts. The revision and rearrangement of trauma memory reconstructs protagonist's subjective and social knowledge. His/her inwardness gets painted in the colors of his outwardness, and the occurrence becomes both personal and cultural experience. Thus, this is the role of memory that becomes the lens to see the inner and external world of the individual.

Memory plays the role of guiding agent in composing auto/biographies; a literary genre to reconstruct either author's or subjects' personal development within a given historical, social and cultural framework. In fact, the autobiographical memory resides in the knowledge of events in form of different episodes. These events represent both pleasant and dark memories. The autobiographical memory is concerned with the recollection of memories, and emotional and cultural factors that shape the identities⁸. The memories, an individual chooses to remember, either to describe or process his/her life events, are considered as autobiographical memories. The episodic memory gets stored in the basement of mind, whereas, autobiographical memory is a subcategory of episodic memory that is also viewed as narrative memory⁹. The narrative memory is recalled to compose autobiographies as a genre of literature. This memory offers the individual a choice to disclose or omit certain parts of his/her life. The cultural context plays an essential role in forming autobiographical memory. The personal culture or the process of interpreting meanings from different events depends on the outer world's culture and norms. The cultural practices shape autobiographical memory and can be located by focusing on collective memory. In order to add credibility, the memories of others are also noticed and invoked. Thus, autobiographical memory not only synthesizes scholarship on the self but also creates collective remembrance to influence the public culture.

In literature, autobiographical memory influences autobiography. The autobiographical self in literature, is formed by one's life-narratives that s/he chooses to share with the world¹⁰. His/her identity is shaped by the readers on the basis of the events and experiences, mentioned in the work. Thus, writer's autobiographical memory is developed by the narratives presented in autobiography. The readers associate themselves with author's autobiographical memory and this relativity makes the narratives a part of cultural and social memory. The intersection of personal

history and autobiographical narratives makes his memory a historical and cultural memory because history is an objectified version of personal experiences. Likewise, the autobiographical memory on trauma interprets and manipulates history on the basis of the fluid nature of traumatic memory. The recollection of autobiographical memories adds emotional responses of the self too that includes a new knowledge in the existing details. The auto/biographies on trauma provide an insight about the auto/biographer or his subjects' sufferings and pain. The representation of trauma creates a sense of control in the author with the composition of selected memories. The descriptive nature of auto/biographies, formulates a way to locate the identity in the established culture and its practices. Moreover, the chronicle of catastrophic incident through meaning-making narratives, in form of a book, unknots the autobiographical memory and becomes a mirror for other traumatized selves to relate with it. Thus, autobiographical memory on trauma generates narratives that become a part of public discourse and create collective memory.

The role of autobiographical memory, in composing meaningful narratives on trauma, shows its worth in cultural practices. As culture represents traditions, ways of life and material legacy¹¹, the trauma narratives influence communities on wider level and change the individual trauma in collective trauma. This type of trauma is abstract in nature and is spread as outcomes of any cultural and historical event. A traumatic incident that not only influences individuals but people on wider level is called cultural trauma that portrays an event as a tragedy; such as some political assassination, witnessed by whole country¹². This research explores the construction of cultural trauma for different meaning-making purposes. Hence, it is a process of asserting power to create purposeful narratives and collective memory. Since the process of remembering shows the construction of memories and meanings; the author intentionally or unintentionally projects some events related to collective suffering in auto/biography to invoke collective memory and construct meaningful narratives. It can be evaluated that the auto/biographer's projection of ideas and narratives in auto/biography is known by readers for his/her interpretive uses. In this research, Jeffrey C. Alexander¹³'s theoretical perspective of cultural trauma is selected to explore the representation of cultural trauma.

Trauma, cultural trauma and autobiographical memory appear to construct narratives that impact a society and its cultural practices. For instance, martyrdom is

considered a highly religious and sacred concept in Pakistani religious and cultural context. A martyr is respected and remembered on the basis of his sacrifices. His/her cause behind sacrificing life becomes a stimulus to invoke a community's memory. The value of martyrdom in common discourse makes it more a socio-cultural concept rather than religious one since the practice of moral and religious norms influence the culture and individuals more. The concept of martyrdom needs an audience for its acknowledgement, acceptance and interpretation¹⁴. Violence and trauma have to be combined for an individual's emergence as a martyr. Therefore, the concepts of martyrdom and victimhood go side by side. The torture and sufferings associated with the body are essential for the making of a martyr. In auto/biographies, the autobiographical memory leaves traces of auto/biographer's status as a victim or martyr, explored by the public on the basis of collective trauma, after his/her death. His/her virtuous nature, deeds of sacrifice and resistance against injustice are analyzed to acknowledge him/her as martyr. The autobiographical interpretation of martyr's self does not only address literature, but also becomes a part of cultural and collective memory. Such auto/biographies have the characteristics to create and control the memories of cultural trauma in their own way.

For this research, the selected auto/biographies, in the context of creating meaningful narratives, are analyzed through the descriptions of torture and victimisation. "Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom" (2008) provides an insight on "body politic, cultural symbols and collective memory" (99) that are considered as milestones in making of a martyr as socio-cultural identity. DeSoucey et al.¹⁵ present the conception and reception of martyr's body for giving meaning to the deceased's sacrifices, traumas, sufferings and assassination. Meanwhile, the auto/biography works as the corporeal body of the victim who sacrifices his/her life for a greater cause. It shows that the author plays the role of a creator of the meaningful narratives about his/her subject's life and death. Sometimes, the autobiographer also works as an entrepreneur of his/her assassination and portrays himself/herself as martyr¹⁶. As far as the narrativization of martyrdom is concerned, the heroic tales about martyr's life are told and retold to invoke collective memory based on cultural trauma. Consequently, the concept of martyrdom transforms into a socio-cultural notion that impacts whole society on the basis of collective trauma and identity.

A martyr sacrifices his/her life for a cause that aims to eradicate trauma-causing agendas in the society. The system or cultural practices, that violate physical, emotional, cultural, economic and political rights of the whole community, and cause trauma, give the martyr reasons to struggle against, and to get victimized and killed. The perspective of DeSoucey et al. revolves around the dead body, the treatment of body after death and its physical reminders. Meanwhile, these concepts do not address the details of assassinated one's mental state and trauma that makes him/her sacrifice life for the betterment of others. There has to be a relationship between him/her and the public that makes him/her emerge as a martyr. Moreover, the execution has to be influencing enough to invoke cultural trauma and collective memory. The theoretical stance of DeSoucey et al. agrees on constructing narratives of his past (103) but lacks to portray a detailed account on it. Whereas, a martyr is known for his/her trauma, cause, struggles, sufferings and sacrifices that are located through his life-events. The theoretical positioning of Tami Amanda Jacoby¹⁷ on victimhood appears to bridge this gap. Her ideas on the emergence of victims, in "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity" (2014), answer the questions that are absent in work of DeSoucey et al. Jacoby's standpoint includes the journey of trauma-based identities from their act of victimisation to their acknowledgment as victims (511). Moreover, she addresses the ideology of trauma, collective trauma and collective identity, the struggles for justice and recognition of trauma-based identities as victims. DeSoucey et al. and Jacoby's ideas refer to the labeling of traumatized individuals. Former portrays them as martyrs, whereas, for latter, they are victims. Thus, both of the perspectives, together, examine the traumatic narratives of life and after death to construct trauma-based individuals' reputation to invoke cultural trauma. Furthermore, these perspectives are supported by the concepts of Jeffrey C. Alexander on cultural trauma that revolves around the epistemology of public distress after a leader's assassination or fall of his throne.

The auto/biographies contain the perspectives of writers on life. Meanwhile, the readers view life-narratives on the basis of writers' autobiographical memory. Thus, such books create meanings that writers intend to promote and the chronicles that readers want to interpret. The critical framework, on DeSoucey et al. and Jacoby's stances on martyrdom and victimhood, outlines the conception of meanings by writers and their reception by readers. However, a text contains all answers in

itself. The fluidity of meaning assists in discovering different narratives with cultural significance. Hence, the aforementioned theoretical perspectives on martyrdom and victimhood state the emergence of trauma-based identity as victim in one's life and as martyr after death. The story of victimhood and martyrdom gets recognized only if his/her miseries are portrayed as audience's suffering. Therefore, the selected theoretical stance on cultural trauma focuses on the construction of meanings. Not every victim emerges as martyr, but the person who raises his/her voice for a cause, faces more acts of harm and eventually gets killed. According to this argument, the Bhutto family saga, in Pakistani political history, manifests various narratives of martyrdom and victimhood, as this family has experienced traumas, victimisation and assassinations. In political and historical context, this family is often considered under the curse of death¹⁸ that has befallen on most of the family members in their youth. In Pakistani cultural and political narratives, the assassinated members of this family are portrayed as martyrs who have sacrificed their lives to fight against colonial masters and hegemonic powers, and to protect Pakistanis' civil, political and economic rights¹⁹. Their tragic story begins with ZAB's imprisonment and assassination in 1979. His status of being a leader of PPP and Prime Minister of Pakistan makes his execution a source to construct cultural trauma. Afterwards, the series of misfortunes happened to his offspring as well. The auto/biographies of ZAB and his son, MB are selected to conduct this research to trace out Bhutto family members' emergence as victims and martyrs in public. Moreover, the murders of SB and BB are also analyzed to throw light on the traditional death curse of the family to explore cultural trauma.

ZAB (1928-1979), completed his education at University of California and University of Oxford. His training at Lincoln's Inn as barrister gave him an insight of law and judgment. Joining politics during Iskander Mirza's regime, getting appointed as Foreign Minister in 1963, and establishing PPP in 1967 were significant accomplishments of his life that led him to the presidency of Pakistan in 1971 and for the post of Prime Minister in 1973. He was known for the approval of 1973 Constitution, the initiatives of country's nuclear programme, nationalization of industries, operation of Balochistan and Simla Agreement. The military coup of 5 July 1977 became the reason behind his downfall. The allegations of civil unrest and rigging of elections became the main causes for the occurrence of this coup. These allegations played role of a bridge to take him from ministry to imprisonment and

execution. He wrote his autobiography, *If I am Assassinated* (1979), during his captivity. This book is considered as his last testament against the allegations he had been charged with. This research traces out his emergence as a victim for violation of his civil and political rights, imprisonment, and torture of solitary cell in his life. Moreover, it explores the narratives of individual trauma that portray him as a victim and martyr as tools of cultural trauma. Likewise, FB's memoir²⁰, *Songs of Blood and Sword* (2010), manifests ZAB as a victim and martyr as well. FB, the granddaughter of ZAB, depicts her family history in this book. She is MB's daughter and niece of SB and BB, who are the murdered offspring of ZAB. In this research, her book is examined as their biographies to locate their places as martyrs and victims in Pakistani cultural narratives.

This research explores the development of cultural narratives through literature. This study focuses on the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood as FB quotes Suhail, MB's friend, and explains the aim behind the publication of ZAB's autobiography that "it should reach the people" (152). Furthermore, the research analyzes the selected auto/biographies as a tool of cultural representation of trauma. The aforementioned auto/biographies are selected to explore individual trauma of Bhutto family members that transforms into cultural trauma and invokes collective memory. This research also develops a link between cultural trauma and normative practices to locate the culture of victimhood and embodied martyrdom. The study is merely conducted to understand and interpret the selected auto/biographies in Pakistani cultural and political contexts; it does not question their truthfulness.

1.1 Thesis Statement

Martyrdom is both a religious concept and a political site which is contested as a socio-cultural process of presenting individuals as victims in life and martyrs after death. The Bhutto family saga in Pakistani political and social history is often compared with other such families, such as the Kennedy family in the U. S. This study approaches the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood from the standpoint of cultural trauma through the auto/biographies of ZAB's *If I am Assassinated* and FB's *Songs of Blood and Sword*.

1.3 Research Questions

- 1) How do the narratives of victimhood and martyrdom work as the tools to construct cultural trauma in the selected auto/biographies?
- 2) How is the culture of victimhood played off in ZAB's *If I am Assassinated* and FB's *Songs of Blood and Sword*?
- 3) How do the selected texts map out the reputational uses of martyrdom?

1.4 Critical Framework

While keeping Freudian-Caruthian model of trauma in view, the classic approach of trauma shows the disability of trauma in narration. Freud's notion of trauma locates the existence of traumatic memory in mind that gets triggered with the happening of similar incident. Caruth's approach explores individual and psychological trauma in the historical events of catastrophe for the purposes of its narration. However, the pluralistic approach of trauma believes in its expression. As memory is fluid in nature and gets shaped by cultural development and time, thus, this approach focuses more on cultural factors to analyze traumatic memories of an individual. Traumatic events provoke the aggrieved being to emerge as victim and to get remembered for his/her harm. Moreover, if s/he also becomes the victim of assassination, the chances of his/her remembrance increase under different socio-cultural grounds of agony and sacrifices. This study explores the representation of trauma in a cultural context through the theories of martyrdom and victimhood. Furthermore, the theoretical perspective of cultural trauma is taken as a supporting idea to examine the background that provides a suitable context in emergence of the martyrs and victims. This multidisciplinary research follows "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity" (2015) by Tami Amanda Jacoby and "Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom" (2008) by Michaela DeSoucey et al. Meanwhile, the supportive perspective of cultural trauma is taken from Jeffrey C. Alexander's "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma" (2004), presented in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (2004). The purpose of this study is to trace out the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood in order to invoke cultural trauma. ZAB's *If I am Assassinated* and FB's *Songs of Blood and Sword* are selected to conduct this research.

1.4.1 Theoretical Perspective of Cultural Trauma

Jeffrey C. Alexander's theoretical perspective of cultural trauma focuses on the relationship between trauma and victims, trauma and society, narrators of trauma and society, and rise of cultural trauma and its goals.

The abovementioned definition of cultural trauma, presented in the overview of the study, shows that trauma itself is based on the painful memories of the tragic events that human mind creates in agony. Cultural trauma is constructed through the narratives of individual trauma to invoke collective identity. This research explores the representation of cultural trauma through the theoretical concepts of martyrdom and victimhood that aims to portray the journey of grievance-based identities, from acts of victimisation to victimhood; and their after-life emergence as martyrs. The selected texts are based on the life narratives of a Pakistani political family called Bhuttos, whose assassinations are a part of the country's history. Meanwhile, this study explores the representation of cultural trauma, caused by their deaths, in literature while analyzing the selected auto/biographies.

Alexander states, the events that leave "indelible marks" upon "group consciousness" of a collectivity, become the reason of the occurrence of cultural trauma (1). Therefore, cultural trauma in literature is "a narrative about a horribly destructive social process" that demands for "emotional, institutional, and symbolic reparation and reconstitution" (11). The narrators narrate the stories of trauma that disturbed the whole community emotionally, and seek justice or strengthen themselves as victims. According to the theoretical notion of Alexander, these types of trauma occur "when a leader departs or dies" (2), as he claims the "People also have continually employed the language of trauma to explain what happens, not only to themselves, but to the collectivities to which they belong as well (2).

The natural or unnatural deaths of leaders are often shocking for the masses. The laymen usually remember the leaders for their actions and achievements. The stories of their glory are added to the national history and also told and retold by their supporters. The narration of such tales repeatedly highlights the process of constructing thoughts through invoking collective memory. Their death is presented as a loss for the whole mankind that shows trauma's unnatural existence, however, it is created through tales of victimisation and assassinations because "even when claims

of victimhood are morally justifiable, politically democratic, and socially progressive, these claims still cannot be seen as automatic, or natural, responses to the actual nature of an event itself” (9).

It is the memory that shapes the responses of individuals regarding certain traumatic events. As Alexander points out that the memory exists in the mind and appears “in public life through the creation of literature” (6). Once an incident occurs, it fades away with the passage of time but the memory keeps those moments alive in form of ecstatic or dark flashbacks. When the flashbacks about unpleasant events like leaders’ deaths are presented in form of literature, they work as catalyst to shape the readers’ memory as well. This collective memory of readers gives rise to cultural trauma that secures the ideology of deceased ones and provides their partisans the opportunity to promote it. However, such incidents are portrayed as a way of expressing “the pent-up emotions of loss” (7).

The selected auto/biographies narrate the stories of assassination of Bhutto family members. In form of literature, these auto/biographies are analyzed as a catalyst to construct cultural trauma. The detailed passages on characters’ cause to fight the system, the account on their sacrifices and incidents of their deaths are analyzed as aspects of creating cultural trauma. Alexander also states that the creation of cultural trauma “may also be made before the event occurs, as an adumbration, or after the event has concluded, as a post-hoc reconstruction” (8). ZAB, in his book, also refers to his assassination numerous times. Such passages leave the impression of his effort to prepare his readers to see his execution as a tragic incident. On the other hand, FB also quotes her father, MB, who predicts his death several times. The presentation of the death curse in Bhutto family gives space to cultural trauma and invokes collective memory as well.

Meanwhile, Alexander’s ideas of cultural trauma do not question the morality or legitimacy of traumatic happenings, but address the questions of “how and under what conditions the claims are made, and with what results” (9). It deals with the aspects that describe the interpretation of catastrophic occurring by the authors to invoke cultural trauma. Besides, “Events are one thing, representations of these events quite another” (10). Once a tragedy happens, it is impossible to travel back in time and witness the actual event again. The audience and rest of the world rely on the memory of those who have experienced the misfortunes. Therefore, the collective

memory of the targeted audience is shaped by the writers of traumatic events. Alexander categorizes such writers as “carrier groups” who have “particular discursive talents” for “meaning-making” (11). According to him, they claim and represent their catastrophic experiences in the light of “historical situation” (12) to strengthen the validity of public’s sufferings. They mould the history according to their memory of a specific tragic event, faced by them, to narrate it for constructing cultural trauma. Alexander calls it “simply telling a new story” on the basis on flashbacks and interpretations, with the reference of history (12).

This new story is told by the carrier group who paints the history in color of public’s traumatic memories and imagination. For Alexander, the duty of a carrier group is to give an account on the nature of their pain that explains its trauma (13). It is supposed to describe the “nature of the pain” that highlights the individuals of traumatic events (13). With that, the group hints towards the wider audience that also falls in the category of victims on the basis of collective memory (14). At the end, the group feels its responsibility to expose the perpetrator who has caused the trauma in past (15). In literature, the writers narrate such matters in their works by using their autobiographical memory to reconstruct readers’ memory. This research studies the authors of the selected auto/biographies as agents of carrier group and analyzes the representation of cultural trauma as portrayed by them. While intersecting the theoretical notions of martyrdom and victimhood with Alexander’s ideas, the study analyzes the incidents of assassinations and their aftereffects both on the Bhutto family and countrymen.

1.4.2 Theoretical Perspective of Victimhood

Tami Amanda Jacoby presents her theoretical notions of victimhood in “A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity”. Her focus is on the journey of trauma-based identities as victims. The critical framework of this research is about exploring Bhuttos’ journey from their trauma to their recognition on the basis of the acts of victimisation. This research explores that their stories of victimisation are colored in shades of martyrdom after the assassinations of ZAB, SB, MB and BB. Both of the selected auto/biographies narrate the tales of Bhutto family members’ trauma and sufferings, which is explored through Jacoby’s perspective of victimhood. With the support of Alexander’s views on cultural trauma, this research analyzes emergence of victims in a place’s cultural

context. Jacoby's perspective on victimhood includes the collectivity of individuals on basis of their sufferings that is intersected with Alexander's ideas on cultural trauma to form collective identity and memory on a wider level.

The selected theoretical stance is based on the complex nature of grievance-based identity. The acts of victimisation are inevitable but remaining in the state of victimhood is in the hands of individuals. Jacoby's theoretical stance on victimhood is formulated on the ideas of "victimisation as an act of harm" and "victimhood as a form of collective identity" (512). Sometimes, the grief shows belligerence and aggression from aggrieved-identities that blurs the lines between victims and victimizers (511). This perplexed nature is addressed in Jacoby's views while unraveling the identities of victims. Her description of an individual's journey towards victimhood comprises five stages; "structural conduciveness, political consciousness, ideological concurrence, political mobilisation and political recognition" (518). Reaching to the last stage of victimhood indicates that the victims are served with justice, therefore, they can move on from the status of being victims to a life of being productive and mentally healthy citizens. Whereas, the situation of not being able to receive justice, traps victims in this stage and does not let them jump out from the box of victimhood. They adapt victimhood as a culture and source to identify themselves as it is explored in this research.

The first stage of victimhood, structural conduciveness, revolves around the "political context" of victimization (518). The political and societal contexts give rise to the occurrence of trauma events. Two contexts are presented by Jacoby; democratic and authoritarian context. According to her, democracies do not give birth to more victims "because of democratic norms and institutional constraints that limit abuse of power" (519). As democracies are supposed to protect rights and provide justice to the individuals, Jacoby states, "victimhood is more common in democracies that allow grievance-based identities to emerge" (519). FB's memoir is written in democratic context. On the contrary, ZAB wrote his autobiography under the shadows of dictatorship, and in Jacoby's essay, the other political context of extreme events is a repressive state, in which the authoritarian leaders use "coercive means to capture and maintain power" (519).

After the happening of the act of victimization, the individual gains self-awareness about his/her trauma. The choice of either to harness the pain or to suppress

the grief constitutes his/her new identity. As Jacoby highlights that for the victims, the act of harm “is both unacceptable to them personally and a violation of their society” (521). All societies construct some norms to protect the rights of people and the violation of these rights give space to trauma-based identities to emerge as victims. The political consciousness makes the person seek justice for him/herself and for other sufferers as well. In this research, the awareness of Bhutto family members is explored; it is also linked with the collective traumas of their partisans and countrymen. This study merges these two stages and relates it with the third one. The third stage directs the trauma-based individuals to create an ideology of collective trauma to harness their pain and to mobilise (522). At this stage, the individual realizes his/her status of being traumatized.

The third stage of victimhood is ideological concurrence. An idea gains weight when it is supported by a community. Jacoby theorizes the construction of grievance-based identities in political contexts on the basis of the violation of their political, civil and social rights. In this stage, the victim seeks the attention from others and wants his/her injury to be “recognized” for “political effect” (522). In order to acquire the attention from others, s/he tries to identify collectively with the people who also have become the prey of victimisation in past: “While victimisation can be either individual or collective, victim-based identity is necessarily, and only, collective” (522).

The individuals create collective identity to see themselves as “we” otherwise, their experience will remain at “psychological level” (522). Moreover, the collectiveness strengthens their plight and leads itself closer to recognition. The disturbed identities feel protected in form of collective identity and their case becomes stronger to achieve recognition. To accomplish the goal of becoming known for the act of victimisation, the individuals publicize “Private moments like death, trauma, mourning and revenge” (522). The selected texts are analyzed as a source to explore the ideology of victimhood of Bhuttos. The study examines the role of ZAB and FB in supplying ample material about the incidents of oppressing behavior of aggressors with their family and party members to present their sufferings as cultural trauma. Jacoby considers this phase as an act of passing “memories from generation to generation” and to portray past traumas as “glorified” wounds to acquire recognition in present (523).

The next stage of victimhood is political mobilisation. After forming a community of aggrieved individuals, this flock assembles itself for political mobilisation. The position of its efforts is different in different contexts. As stated by Jacoby that democracies encourage the victims to “organize their own parties” and “negotiate with the government” (524). Meanwhile, the authoritarian states “exclude” the victims completely from the system unless they claim to “coincide” with the system or “challenge” it “coercively”, thus, they usually organize their own protests or form guerrilla groups (525). This research scrutinizes over the struggles made by Bhutto family and their party members in different political contexts for political ratification. Jacoby highlights the significance of social power and the efforts of individuals to seek shelter in “political parties” and “social movements” to “publicize their dilemma because it legitimizes their plight” (525). On the other side, some victims get stuck between “existing political structures” and “outside of existing structures” (525).

The last stage of victimhood is political recognition that is supposed to grant justice to trauma-based identities. In this stage, the victim gains recognition by “a target audience” or “authority” to redress (526). Audience can support the victim by vote or opinion (526), as this research explores the acknowledgement of Bhutto family members by their political party and the people of Pakistan. This acknowledgment consists on the relationship between “the victim, the predator and the audience” because witnessing the victimizer in power can stop the victim from moving on (526). This way, some victims find themselves ensnared in “terminal cycle of victimhood” and choose the act of victimisation “as the basis for identity” (527). Jacoby’s theoretical stance shows that some victims enjoy this label, therefore, they do not move on or beyond it. This research investigates the choice of Bhutto family members to stay as victims for not being able to receive justice.

In order to achieve cultural value and power among masses, as affirmed by Jacoby’s theory of victimhood, the victims and their partisans use the act of harm as their identity. This research explores the uses of victimisation by the writers and subjects of selected auto/biographies for political recognition. ZAB, MB, SB and BB are the deceased ones in Bhutto family and the selected auto/biographies revolve around them. Therefore, to evaluate the uses of these assassinations in statecraft and to invoke collective memory, the theoretical perspective of martyrdom by DeSoucey

et al. is selected. It is presented in their essay “Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom” (2008).

1.4.3 Theory of Embodied Martyrdom

Martyrdom is a religious and socio-cultural concept. Martyrs are valued almost in all religious and cultural contexts. While knowing the social and cultural worth of martyrdom, sometimes, the partisans paint the image of departed ones as martyrs and utilize their memory to gain a control over masses’ thoughts and cultural practices. They use the corporeal image of assassinated individuals to invoke collective memory and cultural trauma. The purpose of creating collective memory is to revive the glorifying stories of the dead, and to reshape them according to the present needs. Martyrs sacrifice their lives for a cause that is highlighted through invoking cultural trauma by their partisans. The abovementioned critical framework on victimhood shows that a victim emerges on public level to achieve justice and recognition, meanwhile, the notions of DeSoucey et al. suggest that victim’s partisans present him/her as a martyr after death. In order to create a better understanding with the concept of embodied martyrdom, Alexander’s theoretical stance is intersected with the ideas of DeSoucey et al, in this research. The concept of embodying someone shows putting his/her personality in a character to present it in front of public. Therefore, embodied martyrdom means giving tangible concept to martyr’s body in order to represent a complete and compelling character.

DeSoucey et al. present their theoretical perspective of embodied martyrdom in “Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom” (2008). Their notion on embodied martyrdom provides an understanding on the materialization of deceased individuals as embodied martyrs. The material value of dead ones assists their supporters to create social ideas in the minds of people regarding “memory and sacrifice” (99). The selected auto/biographies are analyzed in the light of these concepts of martyrdom to scrutinize over the usefulness of the corporeal image of departed ones to add emotional weight to the social and cultural ideas.

As stated by DeSoucey et al., different kinds of reputations are added with the corporeal image of martyrs (105). The “reputational entrepreneurs” or the partisans happen to associate cultural ideas of sacrifice with the bodies (99). They continue the process of “making of a martyr” with the help of cultural context as the body is “a

medium of culture” to develop certain narratives and norms (99). The dead ones are promoted as heroes who have sacrificed their lives for the betterment of society and societal norms. The reputational entrepreneurs use body politic, cultural symbols²¹ and collective memory of common masses as their tools for the material utility of corporeal bodies (99). The purpose behind making the martyrs out of departed souls to give “emotional weight” to social ideas for political purposes (99). In this research, the character of ZAB is interpreted as his own reputational entrepreneur and FB as reputational entrepreneur of ZAB, MB, SB and BB who are the significant members of PPP.

The corporeal body is substantial in capturing the “essence of martyrdom” and understanding its “opportunities” (114). The reputational entrepreneurs use the embodied martyr in three ways: “at death, in remains, and in memory” (105). These three ways provide the partisans ample material to get political recognition by use of body politic, cultural symbols and collective memory. The partisans usually attach the reputation to the public figures at the moments of their unnatural deaths. They mould the story of death in an act of sacrifice for the masses and tell this story to pass it to generations.

In first way, the reputational entrepreneurs publicize the moment of their subject’s death. They glorify the story of subject’s last action by painting it in color of sacrifice. DeSoucey et al. refer to the saga of assassination as: “framing the story of execution is an important moment to invoke the body for powerful visual and rhetoric effect” (106).

Reputational entrepreneurs frame the tale of subject’s death to associate his valor, courage and fearlessness with the embodied martyrdom. They declare the occasion of subject’s death as the birth of an idol. The dead body gets agency because of the pain it suffers (114) and the partisans harness this pain to create body politic. According to the selected theoretical stance of embodied martyrdom, the reputational uses of a martyr’s body are adding meaning to his/her image, promoting his/her cause and invoking cultural memory (114). This research analyzes the moments of Bhutto family members’ tragic deaths, presented in selected texts, as a manner of creating embodied martyrdom. As ZAB writes his condition in death cell to give an account of his assassination, likewise, FB also gives a detailed description of the deaths of MB, SB and BB.

After narrating the tale of the subject's execution, the partisans treat the corpse as commodity of politics. DeSoucey et al. call it the "reputational uses of bodily remains" (108). The supporters use the body's injuries to construct a museum and to "strengthen their audiences' collective identities by directly employing the martyr's physical remains" (110). The remains of the body firm the value of corporeal body. The unavailability of subject's body does not prevent the reputational entrepreneurs from creating a shrine of memory (110) as ZAB's burial is carried by the authorities and FB provides an account on his death in her book. Moreover, ZAB himself creates a scenario of his death in autobiography as his own reputational entrepreneur.

The third way of narrating the tale of corporeal body is to use it to form collective memory because "martyrdom is a role that is assigned for present needs" (110). The other two ways somehow deal with the past but the reputational entrepreneurs revive those stories to gain benefit from them in the present. Their purpose is to imprint the corporeal image of corporeal body in the minds of individuals to create a link between the "bodily suffering" of martyr and a "particular cause" (114). This "particular cause" can be social, cultural or political (114). In this research, the death narratives of the characters, told in the selected auto/biographies, are analyzed with the reference of their appealing sense of invoking collective memory.

1.4.4 Conclusion

This multidisciplinary research revolves around the pains and pangs suffered by the individuals that make them victims in their lives, and martyrs after their deaths. As victims, they try to come out in sun as collective identity, and after death, their supporters use their image to invoke collective memory. These theories of victimhood and martyrdom show the dual commitment of individuals with the past and present. Therefore, this research examines the writers and subjects of the selected texts as makers of martyrdom in order to remain victims for political acknowledgement. With the help of poststructuralist interpretive paradigm, this research focuses on the aspects of cultural trauma through the emergence of Bhuttos as victims of political assassination, their choice of presenting themselves as victims and the utilization of the story of victimisation, under the garb of embodied martyrdom, therefore, collective memory for political recognition can be created.

1.5 Research Methodology

According to C.R. Kothari, research is an “original contribution to the existing stock of knowledge making for its advancement” (1). It shows that research is a way to know what is unknown in the existing knowledge. The academic researchers observe the things the way they are, and by following a systematic approach, they add more meanings in them. Kothari describes research methodology as “a way to systematically solve the research problem” (8). Therefore, research methodology is an outline of conducting the research to answer the research questions.

Due to the interpretive nature of the study, qualitative approach is selected to conduct this research. Kothari defines: “Qualitative approach to research is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior” (5). Consequently, qualitative research methodology is an approach to interpret the text with subjectivity. The researcher follows a critical framework and suitable research methods to explore and interpret the situations with different angles. As far as the matter of the subjectivity of a researcher is concerned, James Scotland explains it as: “Reality is individually constructed; there are as many realities as individuals” (11). It shows that the interpretations vary person to person. The construction of meaning is based on the interpretation of the selected phenomena. For this reason, this research follows an interpretive paradigm. According to Scotland, “Interpretive methods yield insight and understandings of behavior, explain actions from the participant’s perspective, and do not dominate the participants” (12). Since, the researchers interpret some piece of knowledge with the help of theoretical framework and research methods; their position of being subjective remains objective. Likewise, this research does not intend to present a biased interpretation of the selected texts but studies them from a different angle with the help of the selected theoretical standpoints.

As keeping in view the aforementioned explanation of qualitative research and interpretive paradigm, the theoretical perspectives of martyrdom, victimhood, with the supporting theoretical stance of cultural trauma are selected to analyze the auto/biographies of ZAB and FB.

1.5.1 Research Methods

Gabriele Griffin, in her book *Research Methods for English Studies*, portrays many research methods to show “how you conduct a given piece of research” (6).

Hence, a research method provides a map to analyze a piece of text. A research method offers a guideline to interpret the text in an organized way. Two research methods are selected to conduct this research: auto/biography as a research method and textual analysis as a research method.

1.5.1.1 Auto/biography as a Research Method

In this research, the aforementioned auto/biographies are selected to analyze. Therefore, auto/biography as a research method is selected to conduct this research, presented by Mary Evans in *Research Methods for English Studies*. The auto/biographical method, presented by her, opens various ways of interpreting the texts on the basis of knowledge presented about the subjects of auto/biographies. In order to create a better understanding with culture, ethnicity and lifestyle of the subjects, a researcher “has to attempt to establish a way of reading the lives of others that does not become simply a collection of information” (33). Accordingly, the selected life narratives are analyzed in light of the perspectives of martyrdom, victimhood and cultural trauma. Furthermore, textual analysis as a research method offers the liberty to interpret the selected auto/biographies in “imagined possibilities” (46).

Since Evans projects the idea of locating individuals within a “particular *Zeitgeist*”, hence, the “outside” of the person becomes important to see “how a particular individual emerged in particular times” (33). It is understood that human beings are cultural beings and exist in a particular society, full of cultural norms and mores. Auto/biography as a research method assists in exploring the actions and reactions of subjects in a culture, and the culture of a place influences the political and societal system. Therefore, in this research, the subjects are studied within the political culture of a country that has faced colonization in past to analyze the power dynamics. Meanwhile, the authors of the auto/biographies are studied as the “hidden subject” because the research locates the reasons behind the composition of the selected life narratives.

Moreover, Evans describes contemporary auto/biographies as “akin to a detective story” (37) and the common factor between auto/biography and detective fiction is “setting out of the complexities of moral choice and moral action” (38). It shows that a researcher reads the lives of auto/biographical subjects as detective

stories and tries to unravel the mystery of their social and cultural lives. S/he tries to understand their choices and analyzes them with the assistance of certain theoretical lenses. This research also studies the lives of ZAB, MB, SB and SB as characters of a detective story because auto/biographies “can also be about a collective subject” (39). By keeping in view all these ideas of Mary Evans, this multidisciplinary research is conducted in the light of auto/biography as a research method. The research is also supported with textual analysis as a research method.

1.5.1.2 Textual Analysis as a Research Method

Textual analysis, by name, shows its significance in analyzing literary texts. Catherine Belsey’s essay “Textual Analysis as a Research Method”, gives an insight on the account of textual analysis by Gabriele Griffin, in her book, *Research Methods for English Studies*. Belsey portrays the ideas of analyzing a piece of writing in this essay that are intersected with abovementioned research method in order to study the selected texts.

Belsey invokes the concept of textual analysis as a research method while declaring it as a process of “assembling ideas that have not been brought together in quite that way before” (163). As a result, textual analysis is based upon the existing meanings, presented in the texts, but have not been addressed yet. This makes the position of a researcher objective as s/he is supposed to find nuances already embedded in the text.

Textual analysis as a research method encourages taking aid from the already present knowledge. It can either be cultural knowledge or the previous researches that have been done on that text. According to Belsey, “Some of this is general, part of the repertoire of knowledge that constitutes a culture; some of it is personal, a matter of one’s own interests or biography; and some is derived from secondary sources” (164).

Abovementioned Belsey’s ideas state that a text has to be interpreted by keeping in view the background knowledge of culture, biography of the writers and the pieces of philosophies understood from the secondary sources or the previous researchers. At this point, auto/biography as a research method develops a connection with textual analysis as a research method. As auto/biographical research method, presented by Mary Evans, invites the researcher to evaluate the subjects in the cultural walls (38), it declares the author of a life narrative “hidden subject” (43). The link

between both of the research methods are made on the basis of their focus on cultural background and biography of the author. The researcher adds something “personal” from his side by applying a critical framework on the text and by reviewing the “secondary sources” or relevant literature.

Belsey states that while using textual analysis, a researcher has to know “how meaning works” (167). According to her, the meaning “subsists in the relation between people, inscribed in *signifiers*, sounds or images” (167). People exist in a society and societal norms change with the passage of time. Therefore, new meanings also develop with the development of cultures. Furthermore, “It follows that meaning is inevitably plural” (167) and the plurality of meaning provides the researcher a chance to find newness in already existing knowledge. The unfixed nature of the meaning makes no meaning an absolute meaning. Every researcher sees the text within his selected cultural boundaries. This research examines the selected texts in the boundaries of background knowledge of the political culture in which the subjects are portrayed.

Since, the meaning is plural in nature and no interpretation is perfect, therefore, this research is merely a contribution to the pre-existing knowledge about Bhutto family saga. It does not change or question the credibility of selected auto/biographies.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This exploratory-descriptive research represents cultural trauma, through the perspectives of martyrdom and victimhood. It is merely based on the content presented in the selected life-narratives; *If I am Assassinated*, as auto/biography of ZAB and *Songs of Blood and Sword*, as biography of MB. It focuses more on ZAB and MB and less on SB and BB. It does not include the legitimacy of authorities’ decisions, law enforcement and judiciary system. It analyzes trauma-based ideology, collective identity and emergence of victims through the theoretical perspective of victimhood by Tami Amanda Jacoby. Whereas, the reputational uses of martyrs and construction of collective memory is explored through the stance of DeSoucey et al. on embodied martyrdom. Furthermore, the exploration of trauma is delimited to the concept of cultural trauma presented by Jeffrey C. Alexander.

1.7 Organization of the Study

1.7.1 Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction of this dissertation portrays background of the study that locates the selected theoretical perspectives, martyrdom and victimhood, in their roots. Both of the selected perspectives are an outcome of trauma in nature, that is why, they are supported by the notion of cultural trauma. This notion is explained through its backgrounds on psychoanalysis and trauma studies. While keeping in view the presence of these ideas in the selected auto/biographies, *If I am Assassinated* and *Songs of Blood and Sword*, they are intersected with autobiographical memory and traumatic memory. The critical framework of the selected theoretical stances is presented to provide the research plan that locates the application of these stances in qualitative research method. The research methodologies are presented to outline the edges of the research that highlights examining the characters of the selected texts in cultural background. However, the delimitations of the study include the aspects of collective trauma that aids in emergence of victim-based identities for recognition, and the construction of victims' after-death image as martyrs to invoke collective memory. The purpose of this multidisciplinary study is to highlight the role of autobiographical memory in developing certain cultural narratives that invoke collective trauma and memory. The organization of the study, the research plan, and significance and rationale of the study are also parts of this chapter.

1.7.2 Chapter 2: Review of Relevant Literature

This chapter is historical in nature and divided into three parts to study the nature of historical auto/biographies, to review the existing literature on texts and to trace out the origins and different perspectives of the selected theories. The first part gives an insight on the study of auto/biographies while focusing on the aspects like bios, autos, role of memory and cultural background of the subjects. The second part reviews the previous studies on the selected auto/biographies to see what has already been done and what is left to do. Furthermore, this part assists in locating the research gap. The third part examines the selected theories in psychoanalysis and trauma studies. It locates the concept of trauma in Freud's work and finds its nuances in trauma studies. From the traditional view of trauma that addresses the linguistic disability and disassociation, it reaches to the point of pluralistic approach to study

trauma that creates collective trauma on the basis of collective memory. The place of trauma, from individual to collective level, makes it significant on cultural trauma that is used as supporting lens in this research. The previous studies on cultural trauma are also reviewed to grasp its detailed meaning. The representation of cultural trauma through cultural ideologies and practices are located in theories of martyrdom and victimhood. The existing studies on victimhood are analyzed to present its development over the time period. After reviewing victimology in relation with criminology, it is discussed with trauma narratives. As far as the recognition of the traumatized individuals is concerned, the selected perspective of victimhood shows the emergence of victims in different contexts while going through different phases. The detailed reviews on these phases include; consciousness of trauma event, ideological concurrence, mobilisation and then recognition. These stages portray the before-mentioned concepts separately and are brought together in the first chapter of analysis. Likewise, the development of the concept of martyrdom is reviewed as well. The previous researches are studied to see the religious and cultural significance of martyrdom. Meanwhile, the selected theory of embodied martyrdom is about the reputational uses of martyr's body on basis of body politic and collective memory. These aspects are reviewed to locate the newness in this research. Following the three parts, the research gap is identified at the end of this chapter.

1.7.3 The Emergence of Grievance-based Identities: The Exploration of Victimhood in Life-Narratives of Bhutto Family

This chapter locates the reasons of Bhutto family members' emergence as martyrs after their deaths through their portrayal as victims during their lifetime. The selected auto/biographies are analyzed in light of the theoretical perspective of victimhood that addresses the process of victims' recognition. The concept of victimhood is supported by the conceptual ideas on cultural trauma to discover the role of collective identity in emergence of victims. This chapter presents an analysis of the lives of Bhuttos in political and cultural spheres that portrays them as victims. The chapter begins with the introduction about its goals, an insight on the theoretical projection and a brief note on the selected texts. The four sections of this chapter address the acts of victimisation in different political contexts, the realization of victims about their traumas, the ideological stance on behalf of the violation of rights, the struggle of Bhuttos against their traumas for justice, and their recognition as

victims of the curse of death. These sections explore individual and collective trauma, the portrayal of individual trauma as cultural trauma, the status of victimisation and struggles for justice in different political contexts, and the acknowledgements of victims by the audience. This chapter concludes with the victims' dependency on the label of being victim to promote cultural trauma, and to win the support of common masses.

1.7.4 The Making of Martyr: The Reputational Uses of Embodied Martyrdom in Selected Auto/biographies

This chapter begins with the argument on emergence of Bhuttos as victims of violation of human rights, death curse and injustice. In the light of selected theoretical stances of cultural trauma and martyrdom, this chapter discloses the narratives of Bhuttos' reputation as martyrs in Pakistani cultural narratives. The three sections, in this chapter, include the process and advantages of associating reputation with dead bodies. According to the selected theoretical stance of embodied martyrdom, the reputational uses of a martyr's body are adding meaning to his/her image, promoting his/her cause and invoking cultural memory. The supporting lens of cultural trauma is also evaluated as a reputation, utilized by the reputational entrepreneurs or carrier groups. First section is about the partisanship of martyr's supporters who protect and promote the legacy of his cause. The second section presents the reception of martyr's corporeal body as body politic and source of identity. Moreover, the third section of this chapter comprises the purposes of martyr's physical reminders to invoke collective memory. These sections analyze the value of corporeal body to associate cultural and political meanings with it. Martyr's partisans utilize his/her emotional trauma, physical wounds and scars, and the story of burial to give emotional weight to sacrifice that makes his/her death a representation of cultural trauma. This chapter concludes with the rise of martyr's status as a symbol of cultural trauma that strengthens the control of partisans over social ideas and memory of common masses.

1.7.5 Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter develops a link between the life and death narratives of the subjects of selected auto/biographies. The objective behind making this link is to examine the conception of narratives by the subjects of auto/biographies, and their reception by their partisans. The part of autobiographical memory in narrativization of

cultural trauma through martyrdom and victimhood is also discussed in this chapter. The conclusion wraps up the findings of analysis and presents the significance of this area of study for future researches.

1.8 Significance and Rationale of the Study

This research explores the narratives of Bhuttos that are embedded in Pakistani cultural and political contexts. While keeping this in view, this research intends to assist the students of English literature in understanding the role of auto/biographies and autobiographical memory to create narratives based on cultural norms and practices. The cultural perspective of trauma and memory can also be helpful in conducting a comparative and contrastive study on different social narratives and literature. The critical framework of this study may help students to conduct research in feminist, racial and postcolonial studies as well.

CHAPTER NOTES

- ¹ See Sigmund Freud, “Beyond the Pleasure Principle” (1920), for an introduction on extreme experiences that impact dreams and cause trauma. Freud is called the father of psychoanalysis for his contributions in exploring human psyche.
- ² See Dylan Sawyer, *Liotard, Literature and the Trauma of the differend* (2014), especially chapter 4, for the development of the notion of trauma.
- ³ See Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (1996), for themes of trauma, troubled identities, linguistic representation of trauma and collective memory.
- ⁴ See Shoshana Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century* (2002), to see an insight of human psyche.
- ⁵ See Rahman Haghghat, *Historical Memories in Culture, Politics and the Future: The Making of History and the World to Come* (2014), historical memory is cultural behavior of a group towards a particular event in remembering it (1).
- ⁶ See Naomi Mandel, *Against the unspeakable: Complicity, the Holocaust, and Slavery in America (Cultural Frames, Framing Culture)* (2007), the concept of unspeakability shows an escape from the moral responsibility of representing traumatized identities (4-5).
- ⁷ See Greg Forter, *Gender, Race, and Mourning in American Modernism* (2011), for a discussion on causes and cultural conditions of trauma in postcolonial literature, and role of sovereign powers in silencing the individuals (76-77).
- ⁸ See Martin A. Conway, *Theoretical Perspectives on Autobiographical Memory* (1992), especially chapters 1, for a detailed description on autobiographical memory and past.
- ⁹ See Martin A. Conway, *Theoretical Perspectives on Autobiographical Memory* (1992), especially chapters 3, for an account of episodic memory and autobiographical memory.
- ¹⁰ See Andrea Smorti, “Autobiographical Memory and Autobiographical Narrative: What is the relationship?” (2011), for the role of autobiographical memory in writing autobiographies (304-306).
- ¹¹ See Larry L. Naylor, *Culture and Change: An Introduction* (1996), for the introduction of culture, Culture is seen “as a characteristic of only certain people and associated with only certain kind of activities” or art (16).
- ¹² See Ron Eyerman, “Social theory and trauma” (2013), for an argument on the development of cultural trauma (43).
- ¹³ Jeffrey Charles Alexander (born 1947) is an American sociologist, and one of the world's leading social theorists. Alexander differentiates "cultural trauma" from what he calls "lay trauma" in social thought. "Lay trauma" refers to the idea that certain events are inherently traumatic to the individuals, who experience them—for example, the idea of trauma in psychology. However, "cultural trauma" approach cannot assume that any event—as horrendous as it may be—will turn into a trauma for the collective who encounters it. This is more about the creation of trauma that makes the communities feel traumatic even if they have not faced it directly (2-3).
- ¹⁴ See Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (2004), especially chapter 2, for theorization of martyrdom from historical perspective.

¹⁵ Michaela DeSoucey, Jo-Ellen Pozner, Corey Fields, Kerry Dobransky and Gary Alan Fire have presented theory of martyrdom in “Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom” (2008). DeSoucey, Fields and Dobransky are doctoral students in sociology at Northwestern University, meanwhile, Pozner has received her PhD in Management and Organizations and teaches organizational behavior and industrial relations, meanwhile, and Fine is the John Evans Professor of sociology at Northwestern University and he is author of *Authors of the storm: Meteorologists and the Culture of prediction*.

¹⁶ See, T. S Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), for an account of Archbishop Thomas Becket’s portrayal of his death as martyrdom.

¹⁷ Tami Amanda Jacoby Associate Professor of Political Studies at the University of Manitoba where she teaches International Relations, IR Theory and Middle East Politics. Her publications include: *Redefining Scrutiny in the Middle East*, *Women in Zones of Conflict: Power and Resistance in Israel*, *Bridging the Barrier: Unilateral Disengagement* and articles on terrorism and gender politics.

¹⁸ See Jennifer Davies, *Curse of the Kennedys and Other Powerful Family Tragedies* (2013), for an account of death curse in political families, especially chapter named “The Bhutto Family”.

¹⁹ See Bina Shah, *A Season for Martyrs* (2014), for an account on Bhuttos as martyrs.

²⁰ See Edward Seidensticker, “Autobiography” (1999), a memoir is subset of autobiography and is more concerned about emotional truth than facts (46).

²¹ See “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies” (1986) by Ann Swidler. According to Swidler, cultural symbols are beliefs, ritual practices, art forms ceremonies, language, stories and rituals of daily life (273).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents review of the existing relevant literature on selected texts and theories, and is divided in three parts. The first part includes the reviews on historical auto/biographies to establish the role of auto/biographies in shaping narratives about their subjects. Meanwhile, the second part presents reviews on the selected auto/biographies to synthesize a new area of research. The third part covers the literature available on the selected theories to locate them in history and to relate previous ideas with new ones to identify the research gap.

As far as the overview of this research is concerned, it presents the study of ZAB's autobiography, *If I am Assassinated*, and biography of MB, SB and BB by FB, *Songs of Blood and Sword* to explore the representation of cultural trauma through the perspectives of martyrdom and victimhood. While discovering the birth of cultural trauma, this research offers scholarship on the complexity of the concept of martyrdom and locates it in the past of the martyr, and the theoretical stance of victimhood examines the uses of his status in the present. This study also investigates the relationship between collective identity and memory. Therefore, the review of relevant literature establishes a link between this research and the previous researches. The following review of the relevant literature develops an argument to create an insight of the selected topic.

2.2 Review of Historical Auto/biographies

Literature of a place speaks for its culture, political system and societal norms and mores. Meanwhile, the aforementioned selected auto/biographies are historical and political in nature. The review of such auto/biographies is given to discover the research in a political context to locate familiarities and differences in existing contexts.

Ioana Luca reviews Edward Said's *Out of Place: A Memoir* (1999) while discussing auto/biography as a genre with the help of James Olney's collection of

theoretical and critical essays. Luca argues about the unstable position of auto/biographies that is a result of critics' viewpoint of reading them merely as the collection of historical incidents. Their focus remains merely on "bio" not on "auto" (125). Olney's stance has made the critics see the subject in "psychological", "cultural" and "political" context (126). The ample material available on the auto/biographer shows his collection and recollection of memories. In the light of Olney's perspective about auto/biographies, she investigates Said's self, portrayed in his text. The relationship between memory and history, and history and autobiography is seen within the complexity of his exile and identity. According to Luca, Said's composition is based on his memories because he has seen history with his childhood self, functioning in a different culture and politics (137). However, the present Palestine is different from the one exists in his memory. Said's Palestine is now "Out of Place", and he has turned away with history but then returned with his "recollection of memories" (137) and "agent of memory" (138). Said writes his memoir through the assistance of his memories, and it is discussed in the overview of this research that personal lives and historical lives are interwoven. Under the façade of portraying the "self", history is described on the basis of memories to show the political nature of auto/biographies. Therefore, Luca, in her review, makes a connection between Said's individual and national identity. It shows that an auto/biographer, with the narration of life incidents, portrays a culture, society and history. His memories are as authoritative as a leader because they lead him to investigate his past. Luca's review establishes the position of auto/biography as a genre because it highlights its role in presenting the self, memory and culture rather than only focusing on a person's life.

Benjamin Franklin is considered an important figure in studying auto/biography. He is an American political philosopher, civic activist and motivational writer. Jennifer Jordan Baker reviews his autobiography in the light of his biographies, and analyzes the relationship between "his own biography and that of the nation" (275). Baker discusses his autobiography with a political perspective in "Benjamin Franklin's "Autobiography" and the Credibility of Personality" (2000). According to her, Franklin credits his own autobiography as an "entrepreneur" and compares it with "enterprising use of public credit" for his contribution (276). Her review shows that he uses his autobiography as a source to develop a relationship with his nation. To tribute them, he acknowledges their support in his text and creates

collective identity with them. His autobiography narrates his achievements to inspire his countrymen. Likewise, David M. Larson reviews Benjamin Franklin's autobiography and biographies, and agrees with Baker while saying that Franklin's achievements "attract attention" (203). Most of his biographies are written about his youth and personality. Larson calls Franklin a "spell caster" by the spell of "artistry of the *Autobiography*" (1995). He investigates the reason behind composing biographies about Franklin's youth and concludes that his nature, thoughts and actions inspired the nation deeply (205). Moreover, his "apparent rebelliousness" opens broader ways for a biographer with "social orientation" (213). Thus, Franklin's rebelliousness against authorities and religion makes him an intellectual with the ability of questioning the system. In short, the life of the subject of auto/biography is not merely a collection of incidents from his birth to death, but also a source to gain enlightenment. Biographies are usually written to pay tribute to the individuals who have managed to enlighten the biographers and to inspire the common masses.

As far as the reviews of Franklin's auto/biographies are concerned, it appears that the subject's self and his actions in different situations create his whole personality. While reviewing Richard Nixon's autobiography *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (1978), Richard M. Mills describes Nixon as a "skilled politician", "a devoted Republican" and a lawyer (504). Mills analyzes Nixon's decisions about Watergate, and pinpoints his fear of being mistaken. According to him, Mr. Nixon "seems to recognize that he did wrong" but the "lawyer in Mr. Nixon" seems to play the role of defending him (506). The auto/biography gives insight of a person and assists in examining his self. Despite being the President and a "skilled politician", he also had fears like ordinary people. This conclusion again develops the relationship of auto/biography's subject with its readers. They do not only read the auto/biography for knowing the subject's life or to get historical knowledge but to learn about his reactions in different contexts and situations.

The individuality of everyone varies from each other. It applies on the case of auto/biographies as well. They are not merely monotonous stories of famous individuals but an account of their lives full of struggles and challenges. Nancy Clasby comments while reviewing *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) that "the static concept of the individual and his progressive, predictable growth is absent from Malcolm X's book" (18). His experience is rather "spiritual" that points towards the

dissimilarities of individualities. Malcolm's autobiography changes the minds of "white peoples" and gives them a new horizon to accept his identity. Clasby, under the light of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, analyzes Malcolm's autobiography. She affirms that as a "colonized man" he has no biography but "what colonizers approve to define him" (19). Therefore, he had to discard his old history and merge into the new cultural norms (20). He had to make himself invisible because of "the oppressor demands" (21). This shows such narratives might create paradoxical rejection but Malcolm seems to fight with them through the composition of his book. Clasby acknowledges his efforts to look like a white-man and to be accepted in the society by mentioning his efforts to comb his hair straight (22). However, eventually, his attitude for whites grew "uncompromising" because he saw them as authoritarians (25). He took shelter in teachings of his religion, Islam, and started believing in brotherhood of humanity (25). Malcolm, in his aggression, faced imprisonment but eventually his spiritual journey became the reason to clear the cloud of judgment between white and black people. As an American Muslim minister and human rights activist, he was known among Afro-Americans and Muslim Americans. His radical ideas became the reason of his fame. Being a controversial character, he made several enemies and his assassination happened in 1965.

Controversial characters are considered as a threat for their opponents. History is loaded with the names of individuals whose assassinations happened on the account of their notions. Malcolm's story shows, it is harder for the colored people with history of colonization. Postcolonial literature focuses on the social struggles and political grinds of colonized beings for their acceptance in the eyes of their masters. However, it will be biased to say that individuals like Malcolm have to face the fate of killing as the American President, John F. Kennedy, has also confronted such destiny, in 1963. Edward Klein's biography on Kennedy family shows that Kennedys are cursed because of the unnatural deaths-tree in their family.

Edward Klein, in his biography, *The Kennedy Curse* (2001), analyzes the life narratives and unnatural deaths of Kennedys. Klein comments that being a journalist, his belief in supernatural happenings was not deep rooted but John F. Kennedy's assassination unraveled the message of bad luck for Kennedys (15). For that cause, whenever some Kennedy came to the verge of achieving his goals, he died. For instance, John F. Kennedy's father, Joseph Kennedy, had died by a stroke before

seeing his son getting elected. John F. Kennedy himself died before becoming commander-in-chief. The curse followed his son JFK Jr. who married his beloved and became responsible for both of their deaths. Klein investigates the rational explanation of the curse in his book. He mentions a Greek thought that Jacqueline Kennedy brought Kennedy curse with her by marrying Aristotle Onassis after John F. Kennedy's death (15). History tells that Onassis faced terrible business loss after marrying the young widow. Both Onassis and his son died after watching their family business collapsed (16). He mentions more myths behind this curse of death but eventually states that concept of curses dwells in human psychology (18). Since childhood, the ideas start building their homes in human consciousness and reside there. Joseph Kennedy's aggressive behavior with his children shows their urge to become successful (19). Meanwhile, their mother's distant attitude also imprints the thoughts of being useless on their minds (19). Klein pinpoints a "thrill-seeking gene" that probably runs in Kennedy family (20). The carriers of this gene are interested in taking more risks and want uncommon and extraordinary successes to achieve (22). In history, Kennedys are quite significant and famous for their struggles, passion to take risks and chronicle of their success. Klein ends his book with a wondering note about the next victim of Kennedy curse (218) that shows the ambiguity of life. The myth of Kennedy curse is not discovered yet but Kennedys' nature, personality traits and lifestyle are certainly portrayed in this book.

The curse of death also follows Gandhi family in India. Mahatma Gandhi, an Indian politician and lawyer, has played a significant role in independence of India with his campaign for her independence. Unfortunately, a gunshot took his life in 1948. Moses Bopape, reviews his biography, *Gandhi and his Critics* (1985) by Bal Ram Nanda, and states the book is about the achievements of Gandhi (162). Nanda's composition of Gandhi's life narrative is "emotive" while narrating events on the behalf of Gandhi's critics (162). Furthermore, Gandhi's lifestyle is shaped by "his exposure to English legal system", "reading of Bible" and "Karl Marx's work" (162). He adds that Gandhi's critics seem to be "brutal" (162) but Nanda attempts to defend and justify his irreligious practices. This review shows Nanda's composition of Gandhi's life narrative with an optimistic approach. He sees a new and positive perspective behind Gandhi's uncommon activities and preaches it to the readers.

Therefore, it can be said that auto/biographies present new ways of interpreting human lives and behaviors.

As far as the curse of death is concerned, Gandhi faced the destiny of assassination. With that, Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv Gandhi, prominent figures in India's politics, also experienced the same fate. Bopape, Philip Oldenburg, analyzes Mary C. Carras's *Indira Gandhi: In the Crucible of Leadership: a Political Biography* (1979) in his review. According to Oldenburg, Carras appears to justify that Indira Gandhi is not a "power-hungry, dictatorial person" while referring to her decision of imposing emergency in 1975 as Prime Minister of India (155). Oldenburg declares the violent side of Gandhi, as a part of her personality traits. Referring to her childhood, he states that Gandhi's aggressive and stubborn behavior portrays her as a power-hungry leader (156). As far as Gandhi's personality traits are concerned, Carras focuses more on the events of 1975 and "avoids" the matter of her relationship with her son (156). Oldenburg concludes that Gandhi's role as a leader seems "unconvincing" because of the absence of events about her grip on Congress and her relationship with other politicians (157). This review highlights the impossibility of capturing a person's whole life. Oldenburg accepts presence of the detailed description of Gandhi's political life but somehow, it fails to provide full essence of her nature.

Like Indira Gandhi, Benazir Bhutto is also a powerful political figure in history of Pakistan. Unfortunately, the curse of death followed Bhutto family in Pakistan. It preyed upon her father, two brothers and herself as well. Suroosh Irfani, mentions the reason behind composition of her auto/biography, *Daughter of Destiny: An Autobiography* (1988), in his review, that she wants to be remembered (113). According to him, Benazir's autobiography reflects her "struggle of memory against forgetting" and "struggle of individual against power" (113). It also refers to her condition of being at war with the history of her family (113). The execution of her father, the exile of her brothers and the history of her imprisonment gave chance to her political opponents to paint her story in their own color. Irfani acknowledges the battles of Benazir against the agonizing memories of her past that she wanted to forget and avoid (113). However, her individual catharsis becomes collective catharsis in form of her electoral success. She has narrated her side of story and tried to justify the

political steps taken by her family to strengthen her place in the hearts of her supporters.

The aforementioned reviews on the genre of auto/biography show that a man's mind is a collection of numberless memories. The auto/biographers choose some of the memories to share with the world in their works and the critics pick some of them to interpret. Eventually, the auto/biographies create a foundation to construct certain narratives about their subjects. This study contributes literature with the analysis of selected auto/biographies as a seed to grow multiple narratives with the help of cultural norms and mindset of masses. The auto/biographies of Bhuttos are analyzed in this research; they are also prey of the death curse like Kennedys and Gandhis.

2.3 Review of Selected Auto/biographies

This part of the chapter presents the previous researchers done on the selected auto/biographies. The review of existing research provides insight about what is already done and what can be done now. It gives broader perspective on the selected texts to find the research gap and understand the significance of the research as well.

2.3.1 A Case of *If I am Assassinated* by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

ZAB is a well-known name in Pakistan's history. He served Pakistan as President, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He composed his autobiography in last days of his life during imprisonment. He was alleged with many allegations and a series of *White Paper* were published on an account of his crimes. His autobiography answered the accusations and portrayed his whole political life. As autobiography is known as life-narrative, therefore, the review of existing literature is helpful in knowing the life and identity of Bhutto in an effective manner. The following literature is evaluated in thematic order.

Lawrence Ziring, in "'If I am Assassinated...' by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto" (1981), declares ZAB's autobiography his "last will and testament" (812). With the brief history of his story, Ziring comes to "coup-gemony", a term coined by ZAB to describe political authority of military. While giving account on ZAB's arguments, Ziring mentions the strength of his character. According to him, ZAB "explicitly" defends his character and actions. He admires him for accepting the weaknesses of his character (812). Ziring only presents a summary of ZAB's responses against the

allegations and declares him a “mystery” in conclusion (812). He leaves it for future historians to unravel the unidentified sides of his personality. It shows that as a reader, Ziring feels that ZAB has successfully defended himself against all accusations but his character is still a secret that needs to be solved.

In addition to the abovementioned review, Ainslie T. Embree reviews Anwar Hussain Syed’s book, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (1992). In his critique, Embree highlights ZAB’s ideologies as president and prime minister. Ziring sees ZAB as a “mystery” but Embree compares the diverse models of his leadership with Nehru. According to him, ZAB looks at Nehru as a “wealthy intellectual”, “a socialist” and a “charismatic politician” who won the affection of people (202). Embree unknots the ropes of ZAB’s mysterious self and affirms the support of Pakistanis with him that made him win presidency. While being in government, he tried to bring reforms in country’s system. His radical ideas revolved around ending the “primitive” and oppressive” feudalism to eradicate class distinction but “wall of feudalism seems unbreakable” (202). His concepts on nationalization lacked extraordinary performance as he “lacked” the skills to administrate bureaucrats (202). Embree evaluates the corruption of his party members but admires ZAB for awakening the people from the deep slumber of their passive role in forming democracy (202). Like Ziring, Embree also paints him as a hero of common people in his review. It can be concluded that ZAB’s real power was hidden in the support and trust of people in him. His political ideas were beyond the understanding of people (202) but he was loved for his concern for common masses.

As far as the book of Anwar H. Syed is concerned, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (1992), focuses on ZAB’s political actions and his decisions during his years of serving. However, ZAB’s “self” still remains a “mystery” as stated by Ziring. Anwar H. Syed unseals his boxed identity in his article, “Z. A. Bhutto's Self-Characterizations and Pakistani Political Culture” (1978). The aforementioned reviews suggest that *White Paper* declared Bhutto a criminal but Bhutto still won popularity among masses. Syed solves this puzzle in the light of Pakistani political culture and relates ZAB’s style with Pakistani culture for that he uses Majid Lahori’s portrayal of Pakistani leaders. Firstly, he discusses the ways in which ZAB characterized himself in his book (1263). He served Pakistani as president, prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, India-resister, a socialist servant of Islam and a

man of people (1263). While presenting himself as a true leader to his people, he called his opposition “traitors” and did not disguise his habit of drinking (1263). Syed states that his qualities like honesty, truthfulness and loyalty to his people are considered desirable for a politician but in ZAB’s case, these qualities acted as his hamartia (1264). His traits like undisguised drinking, lavish lifestyle, breaking agreements, harassing opponents and imprisoning them without trials were “despicable” aspects for a ruler (1265). Syed calls it “zulm” in Pakistani context (1265). Despite of these characteristics, ZAB was favored among people of Pakistan because he was man of people. His speeches gave people a sense of “personal dignity and political significance” (1265). People related with him and appreciated his steps against feudalism. In the consequence, they saw his “humiliation” and “punishment” as an “insult to Sind” (1265). This shows ZAB’s worth in Pakistani political culture. His life narrates a story of struggle to come to the level of people for giving them a better life and making them fully aware of their rights. It evaluates that he conception and reception of his portrayal as man of the people became possible because of his understanding with Pakistani people’s needs.

The aforementioned reviews portray ZAB’s “self” as a mass leader. Meanwhile, Dr. Arshad Javed Rizvi, in his book, based on constitutional study, *The Political System of Pakistan* (2013) portrays his years of government in “Bhutto: the dilemma of ‘Uncontrolled’ Constitutional Democracy”. Rizvi states that ZAB knew the authority of army in politics and the value of democracy for a country to prosper. Like aforementioned reviews, Rizvi also paints his image as a man of people but declares his governing ways a “new path of popularity” (133). ZAB started his career in politics under Martial Law, therefore, he knew the worth of freedom in democracy. The Constitution of 1973 appeared as a ray of hope both for the people and ZAB himself to revive democracy (133). With a lot of political reforms, he introduced system of federalism to bring people closer to the government (140). Like the other reviews, Rizvi also acknowledges his political reforms as a step towards the betterment of people. He calls ZAB’s efforts “uncontrolled” because they are aggressive in nature for feudalism, and his opposition (140). In short, he was an angel for the masses but in order to attain this post, he had to make some political foes. His political animosities made him face imprisonment, humiliation and execution.

While mentioning ZAB's political foes, Sameel Ahmed Qureshi's article "An Analysis of Contemporary Pakistani Politics: Bhutto versus the Military" (1979) offers a broader perspective about his identity. He affirms that ZAB's death did not stop people from admiring him. Even his enemies accept that his death has fragmented the country politically (910). Qureshi remarks that the opposition parties' "hatred" for ZAB had kept them going against him until army overthrew him for rigging the elections (911). Afterwards, the next election got delayed. For cleaning up his mess, Disqualification Tribunals was set to look into this case, furthermore, the members of his political party were imprisoned (912) and a propaganda campaign against him through media had been launched (913). At this point, his critics started recalling his role in support of the former dictators' rule. ZAB's support for their rule raised the question about his refusal to accept this new coup. In 1978, the Court sentenced ZAB to death and his opposition started achieving posts in federal government (915). Qureshi asserts that government's agenda behind offering posts to opposition was to win both public and opposition parties' support (915). As far as ZAB's role in this whole situation is concerned, he tried to bring reforms in society but because of corruption, faulty implementation of policies and inefficient bureaucracy, the economy had to suffer "irreplaceable damage" (916). At this point, the army took over the country because economic loss could give air to civil war (916). On account of this review, the role of ZAB and military in this whole matter suggests that not only ZAB took all the possible steps for his nation, but army's interference in politics also favored the country. Both of them put the common masses in their priority list but in different ways.

David Taylor's review makes the air clearer for both ZAB and The Chief of Army Staff's positions. He reviews two books, *Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971-1977* (1988) by Shahid Javed Burki and *Pakistan under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia Ul-Haq* (1991) by Shahid Javed Burki and Craig Baxter. Taylor analyzes the books from both authors' perspectives. According to him, Burki sees army's role as a source of giving Pakistan a "greater geopolitical prominence" and Baxter perceives military as "contributing substantially" in country's politics (200). ZAB's reforms revolved around the poor of rural areas and landlords that made urban middle class feel "excluded" (200). On the other hand, army was there for reassurance that their concerns were understood (200). This review presents an insight of the political

differences of ZAB and the General. As auto/biographies focus on the “self” of the person, all individuals vary from each other in nature. The aforementioned reviews suggest that ZAB took all possible measures for the betterment of common people and that made him win their support even after his death.

ZAB’s autobiography is not merely an answer to his allegations but also a piece of art. P. B. Sinha admires the book for his eloquence in *India Quarterly* (1980). According to her, ZAB converts *White Paper* in “White Lies”, in his book, and coins the terms “coup-gemony” and “coup-istan (129). In order to describe the damages of military interference in a country’s progress, the examples of Greece, Italy and Russia are presented (129). Army has an important role to play in country’s defense but civil authority should remain in power (129). His political philosophies were valuable for legislators but not effective enough to save his life. The book is significant because of the political worth of its author. This review points out the artistic qualities of ZAB. He cannot only be seen as a politician, but a writer with creative writing skills.

Being a writer shows his sensitive nature. His speeches to the nation portray his emotions, and his actions show his ambitions. Muhammad Abrar Zahoor, in “Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Political Behaviour and Ouster from Power” (2017), analyzes ZAB’s political behavior and implementation of power. According to him, his aims in politics included distributing power among people in a democratic and social system of government. His slogan about sharing power with people portrayed him as their voice and became the reason behind his victory against former president’s government. Zahoor mentions ZAB’s exertion of the power by pointing out the dismissal of 43 army officers (104) that shows his insecurity of losing the power. Moreover, he “harassed” and “assaulted” his political opponents (107) to secure his position. His motto to serve the people made him take severe steps against his opposition (107). His misdeeds appeared to be the reason to create a gap between “what he professed and practiced” (107). Zahoor concludes with the statement that ZAB’s downfall is his “authoritarian style of doing *siasat*” that is style of a Sindhi *wadera* (107). While focusing on ZAB’s self, it can be said that his family background of being landlord somehow stayed in his mind. The chance of ruling the country gave him the space to exercise his power in his cultural style. In the meantime, he showed kindness for the rural mass but felt no mercy for the people who

committed crimes like seizing others' rights. This shows the uniqueness of his political behavior.

The previous studies show that ZAB is seen as a mass leader. Although, he made mistakes during his serving time but his loyalty with the people prevailed over his wrongdoings. People not only appreciated him in his life but after his death as well. Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah's book *The Man and the Martyr* (1993) reveals a new side of Bhutto. According to Shah, ZAB is a "phenomenon of nature in Pakistan" (38) because he presented himself as a common citizen even while being in power. The whole book tells tales of his struggles for common masses with the reference of his role in Ayub Khan's government, in wars of 1965 and 1971, nationalization and forming a democratic government in Pakistan. Shah states that ZAB's execution is a "tragedy" for being the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan (63). He poses the question; "Was it civilized" (63) to kill the person who was selected by the whole country. Furthermore, he declares ZAB a martyr; "they gave him martyrdom and a glorious death on the gallows" (94). Shah's statement emphasizes that ZAB lived for the poor and died while struggling for their rights (95). Shah highlights ZAB's thinking on military coups in his piece of writing; for him, they are plague for a country, therefore, he remained worried for the nation till the last breath of his life (95).

In the light of abovementioned reviews, it is seen that the existing literature on ZAB portrays him as a mass leader, an intellectual, a democratic leader and a martyr. Meanwhile, there is gap between the conception of such narratives by ZAB's side and their reception by people's side. These reviews are merely based on the reception of ZAB's emergence as a victim and martyr. This reception portrays ZAB's assassination as cultural trauma. The reviews contain appreciative notes for his democratic government and sympathetic tone for his fate. However, after military coup, the narratives behind his emergence as a victim and martyr are hardly discussed. This research studies ZAB's autobiography as a source of creating narratives of martyrdom and victimhood to construct cultural trauma that invokes collective identity and memory.

2.3.2 A Case of *Songs of Blood and Sword* by Fatima Bhutto

FB's memoir is presentation of Bhutto family saga. Her idea behind composing this memoir is to honor her father. FB's book shows the complexity of her position while being granddaughter, daughter and niece of assassinated politicians. Her book revolves around the events that knot her with MB and other family members.

In "Pakistan's Electra" (2010), Ajoy Bose reviews FB's book and states that the curse of Gandhi family has followed Bhuttos across the border (118). The deaths of Gandhis are consequence of "personal bravado" and "extremist groups" (119). Therefore, "military political establishment" and issues of "dynastic politics" are the evils behind Bhuttos' deaths (119). According to Bose, in FB's book, a grim contrast of the personalities of MB and BB is given. Despite her "obvious bias", Bose identify FB as a poetess because of the lyrical quality of her writing (121). He appreciates her for writing this "tragic" yet "fascinating" saga while being in Pakistan (121). This review shows the similarity between Gandhis and Bhuttos and gives a broader perspective about political system of both countries. It also presents FB as an emotional but bold artist whose prose gives impression of poetry.

Farzana Shaikh, in "Fatima Bhutto: Fatima's Feuding, Feudal Family" (2010), compares FB with her family. According to Shaikh, her book is the story of Pakistan through the "prism" of feudalism (14). She, like her father, does not believe in legacy of politics (14). Fatima has broken many familial norms because she preferred Columbia University over Harvard or Oxford (15). Her objectives are rather literary than political. Her family's name is associated with the "fortune of nations" but she declares herself detached from politics (15). It is the politics that has swallowed her father's life, thus, she wants no part in country's politics (15). Moreover, MB's murderer is still on loose, therefore, the "denial of justice" infuriates her (15). Shaikh's comments conclude that FB has no interest in politics but her memoir proclaims her indirect participation in politics in order to expose MB's murderer. FB appears to be distant from her feudal family's customs. She has spent her childhood out of Pakistan and her interests do not match with the norms and mores of her background.

Nina Rao, in *Social Scientist* 38 (2010), evaluates the image of Pakistan as pertinent to FB's book (2010). According to Rao, Pakistan has failed to eradicate polio and has poor quality of electricity (80). American drones are on mission of eliminating "Pakistani Taliban" that results in killing of civilians either as "human shields" or "jihadis in making" (80). Rao states that FB investigates ZAB's archives for four years to picture Bhuttos' role in making Pakistan a "failed state" (80). She scrutinizes over ZAB's foreign policy, MB's political credibility and his political differences with BB. She discards the existence of ZAB's letter for MB, in which he asks MB to avenge his death (81). Her critique suggests that history is based on perceptions by those who have faced it (81). This review pinpoints FB's trauma of facing multiple deaths in her family. She learns the history of Pakistan under ZAB's rule from MB and his partisans, as a consequence, she considers her father to be the one, who glorified Pakistan like her grandfather.

The aforementioned reviews show that FB has no interest in politics. Her relation with politics is only formed on the grounds of her family's association with it. On the contrary, Syed Ghous Ali Shah, former Chief Minister of Sindh highlights his assumption in "Fatima Bhutto will soon take place of her father: Ghous" (2019) that FB may join politics soon because she is the daughter of a martyr (S. G. Shah). According to him, the children of martyrs "replace" them. He seems to pinpoint the assassination of ZAB because his children started their career in politics after his execution.

Her memoir is based on her perspectives as well as the interviews of her family's political supporters. She unveils the life narratives of ZAB, MB, SB and BB in her words. Therefore, this book gives a biographical account of their lives. Biography, like autobiography, shapes several narratives about a character to study. The review of following existing literature about Bhutto siblings helps in developing more familiarity with their characters.

Carlo Gébler reviews Raja Anwar's biography *The Terrorist Prince: The Life and Death of Murtaza Bhutto* (1997) and declares it a "depressing book" (30). He states that after the imprisonment of ZAB, BB joins politics, whilst, "very scary Murtaza" and his "idiot young brother" escape to Afghanistan (30). Gébler's seems unhappy with Anwar's portrayal of MB as a "spoiled son" who is only interested in "self-glorification" and seems to be "indifferent" to others' sufferings (30). According

to Anwar, the event of plane-hijack demonstrates him as unprepared leader of Al-Zulfikar. He hears about this incident of hijacking in Kabul's jail. After getting freedom from prison, he investigates the matter of plane-hijack quite closely and narrates the events in his book while accusing MB for hijacking the plane. Gébler states that Anwar gets "falsely denounced" as traitor by Bhuttos and MB throws him behind bars (30). Besides being one-sided story of Anwar's misfortune, this book lacks index and Gébler blames the author for it (31). According to this review, Anwar feels wounded for getting "falsely denounced", that is why, he paints the image of MB as a terrorist. Gébler gives a new perspective of MB's personality that is absent in FB's biography on him.

"Al-Zulfikar: The Unsaid History" (2010) by Nadeem F. Paracha offers a valuable explanation of Bhutto brothers terror group. According to Paracha, FB remains "cringingly naïve" on the matter of Al-Zulfikar because she ignores the existence of the aforementioned Anwar's biography on MB. Furthermore, she does not interview the families of the killed, jailed and tortured members of this group (Paracha). This review uncovers the history of Al-Zulfikar. It is defined as a "socialist guerrilla outfit" whose motive is to avenge ZAB's death (Paracha). Paracha also associates the event of plane-hijack with MB. He describes the attempts of ZUH's murder by Al-Zulfikar as well. According to him, the terrorist groups slowed down with the paranoia of MB as he began to accuse his supporters of treason and made their imprisonment or assassination happen. The mystery of Al-Zulfikar remained undiscovered because MB found a new mission after coming back to Pakistan that was undermining BB (Paracha). He was killed in a police ambush and his widow accused BB and her husband for the murder (Paracha). He concludes that Al-Zulfikar died with the death of MB. On the contrary, FB describes a different story of her father and his guerrilla group that shows the difference of perspectives. Both FB and Paracha see the same events differently.

BB appears to be the victim of both FB and MB's fury. She has composed her autobiography as well. Patricia Dorff reviews her autobiography, *Daughter of Destiny: An Autobiography* (1988) and states that her autobiography is "carefully" written (186). Dorff finds BB's journey from joining politics to become the prime minister of Pakistan "fascinating" but "white-washed" (186). According to her, BB has omitted several incidents from her account as well as her father's government

(186). Dorff demands more information from BB to catch full grasp over her personality and life (186). At the same time, she appreciates BB for being the youngest prime minister of Pakistan (186). This review shows that auto/biographers have the choice to narrate the parts of life they want others to know and hide their dark memories as well. As human beings, we also choose to treasure some memories and try to forget some of them. Dorff's review points towards the choice of memories that BB preferred to cherish.

The aforementioned reviews demonstrate the fluidity of the meaning, therefore, similar historical cases are seen in contrasting ways. This research is also merely a new and different analytical perspective and does not change the legitimacy of the texts. This research traces out the narratives of victimhood and martyrdom as means to construct cultural trauma, hidden in the selected auto/biographies.

2.4 Reviews on the Selected Theories

Both of the selected theories, martyrdom and victimhood, are based on the traumatic memories of the individuals that they want to share with others. Atrocious acts like victimisation imprint the horrible memories of unpleasant events on individuals' minds, and assassination of someone leaves his partisans in shock. Both of the conditions push people in trauma that shapes their future identities and behaviors. As individual trauma represents an individual's state of mind, the cultural trauma exposes the effects of an event of trauma on collective level. The following reviews on trauma are mentioned to grasp the meaning of cultural trauma.

2.4.1 Theoretical Perspective of Cultural Trauma

Freud's theories on traumatic experiences of individuals provide an insight on the psychological aspects of their attitudes. Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer's *Studies on Hysteria* (1895) provides a scholarship about hysteria and the science of human behavior. Rachel Bowlby has edited this book with her feministic perspective and Nicola Luckhurst has presented a translation of it. According to Meredith Goldsmith, *Studies on Hysteria* bridges the gaps between science and literature from which psychoanalysis emerges (84). She states that Bowlby's introduction presents Freud as an artist for using metaphorical language. Through the use of metaphorical language, Freud states that the patients of hysteria are actors who perform on the stage of his theatre (84). Goldsmith investigates the role of Freud in his theatre as a magician who

claims to remove the hysterical symptoms by placing hand on patient's forehead (85). While scrutinizing over Bowlby's introductory pages, Goldsmith examines Luckhurst's translation as well that attempts to unravel the mysteries of Freud's use of words (85). Freud sees his patients' histories as "novellas" that makes his research a part of literature (85). Moreover, Goldsmith perceives Freud's technique of narrating his case study as a dialogue between him and his patient (85). While keeping in view Freud's definition of hysteria, Goldsmith concludes that patient's urge to hold and tear her gown off at the similar moment paints the picture of her "repression" and "desire" that makes her hysterical (88). This study establishes the roots of change in a person's attitude because of his mixed feelings about repression and desire. The hysterical feelings are formed because of the sexual tension that is expressed by Freud's patient as she grabs and tears her gown at the same time. Therefore, human beings show their stress and trauma in some particular ways and their verbal descriptions are studied through theoretical lens of psychoanalysis in literature. For Freud, dreams also depict the hidden and unhidden thoughts of a person.

The hysteric patients are indeed tellers of their own story. However, Freud reads the bright and dark sides of individuals through their dreams. His book *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899) provides an insight on the realm of dreams. Leonard Shengold presents dreams as roads to the location of a person's unconscious self in "The Metaphor of the Journey in The Interpretation of Dreams" (1966). According to him, the dreamer or traveler himself leads the reader to the unexplored territory of his/her thoughts through dreams (316). Consequently, Freud's book comprises "a truly heroic journey" of self-analysis as it shows a path towards his/her imagination (317). The realization of solving the mystery of dreams points towards Freud's heroic journey. The dreams are supposed to reduce an individual's pleasure of triumph. The dreams are the roads to travel towards unfulfilled desires to feel the sense of achievement. Hence, the dreams are supposed to accomplish the pleasure purposes for unadorned fascinations.

On the contrary, Susan Sugarman analyzes Freud's essay, "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" (1920), presented in *What Freud Really Meant: A Chronological Reconstruction of His Theory of the Mind* (2016), and highlights the deficiency of nightmares in offering dream pleasures (88). The dreams about horrific events cause post-traumatic stress disorder and their recurrence "override the pleasure principle"

(87). This “repetition compulsion” is invoked by death instinct that haunts an individual’s life as well as his/her dreams (87). The traumatic dreams visit the location of trauma repeatedly that makes the dreamer reject the pleasure principle (88). Sugarman defines trauma as an event that disturbs someone’s energy and creates a protective shield around him/her to stop himself from attaining pleasure from dreams (92). The traumatic incidents dwell in victim’s subconsciousness and attack the function of pleasure principle (92). These nightmares cause anxiety and try to overcome the sufferer, however, the basic instinct to live against this force is to strive against this repetition compulsion. This book pinpoints the role of memory in constantly remembering traumatic events that trigger the trauma, shape nightmares and cause anxiety.

The abovementioned reviews illustrate trauma as an agonizing incident that possesses the mind and acts through the process of remembrance or memory. Freud locates trauma in realm of forgotten memory about the trauma incident that gets triggered with the occurrence of similar event. Meanwhile, Cathy Caruth views trauma as fragments of memories that are hard to collect and express in form of words. Caruth’s *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, History* (1996) explores trauma in terms of literature and history for the purposes of its narration. According to her, Freud’s trauma is the wound that injures body as well as the mind and stays inside it (4). Freud’s approach to explore trauma revolves around interviewing the patients, however, the repetitive narrativization of traumatic events hinders the process of healing and injures the memory with pain of remembrance (7). These catastrophic narrations are an indirect way to know the traumatic events that are either forgotten or avoided to recall. This is equal to “knowing and not knowing” the “traumatic nature of history” (4). Caruth argues that after the disaster, trauma cannot be known but only through the memory of the victim, and reaching the true traumatic memory is impossible because the victim hesitates to recall or describe the painful event (17). Thus, such situation creates the linguistic abnormality (17). The torturous incidents invade memory in an unexpected way; they are only remembered because of the pain and not in exploring the knowledge of history. This realization jeopardizes the credibility of history because history narrates the events through the words of its witnesses and their memory. Thus, history unfolds the pages of individuals’ stories through which they are implicated in each other’s traumas (24). Historical description

universalizes the suffering and alters the individual memory and identity. Furthermore, the impossibility of authorizing the historical account makes it fictional (49). Caruth's book shows that the dubious nature of traumatic narratives fail to discover the truth but leaves gaps for psychoanalysts and literary researchers to fill through possible interpretations.

The relation between trauma and history provides an insight on the cultural background about catastrophic events and memory. Laurie Vickroy's *Trauma and Survival in Contemporary Fiction* (2002) presents an account on collective suffering through the protagonists, embedded in fiction of Toni Morrison, Marguerite Duras, Dorothy Allison, Larry Heinemann, Pat Barker and Edwidge Danticat. Janice L. Doane analyzes Vickroy's approach about trauma that follows Caruth's ideas. The previous review evaluates that Caruth sees history as fiction but Vickroy finds fiction as an art to express life (522). Since Vickroy's selected authors present the stories of the meek and marginalized individuals, Doane argues that silence and marginalization of victims is revived through these texts that raises the voice for their acknowledgement (523). This collective role of trauma is highlighted by Doane in relation with postcolonial studies and subjectivity (524). Morrison's fiction is based on trauma of racism and focuses on colonial trauma, nevertheless, Doane finds it "not grippingly original" (524). For her, Vickroy identifies trauma in ethical dimensions but does not go beyond the fascination of victimization (524). This review pictures the scenario of trauma in life where such stories are narrated to remember the survival efforts during and after traumatic times.

The abovementioned reviews show that the narratives on trauma, as the object of knowledge, happen to create collective identity based on shared experience or knowledge. They also establish the thought that the emergence of collective trauma has raised the place of trauma in cultural dimensions. Traumatic tales shift from internal to external level if shared with the society, therefore, trauma also relocates its impacts from individual level to collective level. The collectiveness of trauma represents its cultural and historical influences as well. Thus, cultural contexts emphasize on representing extreme situations like war, colonial repression and racism. Greg Forster's *Gender, Race, and Mourning in American Modernism* (2011) explores trauma beyond its clinical and therapeutic practices. Jolene Hubbs describes Forster's contribution to trauma studies while analyzing fiction both as "wound and weapon" to

generate grievance-based stories (396). Hubbs views Forter's techniques to compose "endless sentences" and frequent narrative interruptions" as means of producing trauma (396). The production and reproduction of trauma narratives influence social, cultural and political forces in the society. Instead of aiding, these hegemonic forces intend to silence the victims (396) that make them what Caruth called "unpresentable" and "unspeakable". Despite of the sovereign powers, Forter manages to make them presentable through his prose style and colonial institution (396). This shows the use of traumatic experience both as wound and weapon. The extreme experience is a wound that becomes a weapon through narration. Trauma, in form of writing, converts into an immortal entity that is read and shared with the readers to invoke collective memory.

The individual trauma becomes an ideology eventually and the collectiveness based on the ideology of trauma develops cultural trauma. Ron Eyerman, in his article, "Social Theory and Trauma" (2013) emphasizes on the individual and collective nature of trauma. According to him, the events of trauma, in form of societal crisis, not only harm people on individual level but also damage them on collective level (43). Trauma is repressed on individual level, whereas, the collectivities revive the whole incident while sharing their memories with each other. The process of remembering the traumatic memories and sharing them makes trauma a tool of meaning making (43). Therefore, cultural trauma is a process to construct meanings out of catastrophic incidents that are suffered by some of the individuals, however, sharing their pain with others is a process of harnessing the memories. Moreover, this research explores that cultural trauma does not exist naturally, but is built through remembering and sharing the memories about individual traumatic event. This research is conducted in the light of the theoretical stances of martyrdom and victimhood as narratives of constructing cultural trauma.

The aforementioned reviews present the role of memory in forming ideas, constructing collective identity and composing literature. Thus, the quality of trauma being a weapon through narrativization, makes it a tool to share the story of catastrophe with the world. The traumatic memories lead individuals to emerge as victims and to invoke collective memory. Meanwhile, collective memory does not let the trauma story fade away but makes the story travel from one generation to another through its narration. The selected auto/biographies comprise the narratives of

Bhuttos' assassinations. In this research, the trauma narratives of their killings are analyzed through the theories of martyrdom and victimhood to show cultural trauma. The traumatic memory, being an unforgettable phenomenon, is shared in these books with the rest of the world. These narratives present the traumatic events faced by books' characters, their influence on individuals' identities and their remembrance by the families and partisans. The selected theory of victimhood examines them as traumatic beings to establish their position as victims, meanwhile, the theory of martyrdom portrays them as legends, therefore, they are never forgotten. These theoretical aspects are supported by Jeffrey C. Alexander's "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma" (2004), presented in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (2004) to represent martyrdom and victimhood as means of constructing cultural trauma.

2.4.2 Theoretical Perspective of Victimhood

Victims are as old as the history of human civilization. There has always been a person in power who exercises his/her might onto someone weak and meek. The person who becomes the prey of mistreatment is called victim. This concept has been known since the beginning of the history but after Second World War, it caught academic attention. *Critical Victimology: International Perspectives* (1994) by R. I Mawby and Sandra Walklate investigates the reasons of victims' emergence and relates it with government's responsibility to protect citizens from "disease, squalor, and ignorance, idleness and want" (70). This notion has become the reason for citizens to feel secure. As the review shows that the citizens have protected their country during war (70), therefore, they also have the rights to live freely and safely.

Mawby and Walklate have argued about victimology through the perspective of war and protection of citizens but the systematic studies about victims began in 1940s, in criminology. Hans von Hentig's book *The Criminal and his Victim: Studies in the Sociobiology of Crime* (1948) is considered valuable for understanding victimology and criminology. While focusing on the nature of crimes and criminals, he constructs an argument about the role of victims in crime scenes. Hentig describes the role of victims in molding and shaping criminals' nature (384). According to him, there is a mutual bonding between the predator and the victim that makes the crime happen (384). He classifies victims and states that some individuals are born victims and some are made victims by the society (384). Hentig's notions of victims have opened a new topic of debate because he describes the ways in which every second

person is a victim. Intentionally or unintentionally, everyone becomes the reason of violating someone else's civic, social or political rights; it creates an endless circle of victims and victimizers. This research also explores this endless version of victimhood in the chapters of analysis.

Lee M. Brooks reviews Hentig's book in "The Criminal and His Victim" (1949) and argues that in criminology, usually feelings of apathy and fear are associated with victims but the author has gone so far in discussing victims. He states the style of Hentig is "somewhat choppy" (446) because his thoughts are hard to follow. According to him, Hentig's book portrays some dark sides of criminology, encourages its growth while making everyone victim (446). Brooks seems to feel sympathetic towards victims. Meanwhile, Hentig focuses on the impacts of psychological state of victims during the occurrence of a crime scene. Instead of encouraging the crime, Hentig seems to pinpoint the attitude of individuals that causes crimes. Furthermore, individuals have the capability to emerge as victim and victimizer at the same time because violence has been a repetitive phenomenon since beginning of the history of mankind. Criminals are also victims of some material or psychological deprivation that turns them into offenders of law, and makes them eradicate their deficiency by snatching from others.

The complexity of victims is analyzed by Diane Enns in *The Violence of Victimhood* (2012). In an article, Mark Schaukowitch sheds light on the topic of victims turning others into victims, by reviewing Enns's book. He argues that after going through the unimaginable phase of pain and suffering, the victims want either justice or revenge. Not being able to receive justice makes them revengeful with intensity (565). Therefore, he highlights the question, posed by Enns, about the responsibility of victims (565). Victims are responsible for the people whom they, willingly or unwillingly, have turned into victims. To avoid such kinds of situations, it is "our responsibility" to evaluate the individuals' harm before labeling them as victims (565). This victim label provides people political empowerment that they use to identify themselves (565). Schaukowitch finds Enns's book a great contribution to evaluate past incidents as ground on which victims rely to get acknowledgement (565). This review questions the credibility of victims and makes the society responsible for granting them justice, thus, instead of using the harm for the purposes of political empowerment, they try to become responsible citizens of a society.

Enns links the victim with power that questions his aims about seeking justice or acknowledgement. The sense of being noticed on the grounds of the harm leads victim to justice. After the act of victimisation, the sufferer feels full of pent up emotions and tries to achieve cathartic relief through receiving justice. The justice depends on victim's luck and law enforcement system. Otherwise, s/he tries to avenge his/her injury and ends up becoming a predator. The question here arises about the credibility of victims that why do some individuals get recognized as victims and some do not? And which societies allow victims to emerge and how do they emerge? Furthermore, what is the process behind victim's trauma to his accomplishment of being known? Tami Amanda Jacoby answers these questions in her essay, "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity" (2014).

Tami Amanda Jacoby's theory of victimhood is selected to conduct this research. Her theory presents the expedition of an individual from the act of harm to his acknowledgment as a victim. Acknowledgement becomes a way for victims to receive justice. They develop political consciousness, seek support in collective identity and then encourage others to take action. At the end, the authorities acknowledge them, therefore, either they achieve justice or receive certain benefits in society. Sometimes, instead of moving on, the victims get trapped in the vicious cycle of being a victim and assimilate themselves with culture of victimisation. At that point, they use their abuse for political recognition. The review of relevant literature on victimhood is described in a thematic order presented in Jacoby's essay.

2.4.2.1 Victims: The development of Political Consciousness

The world revolves around the dynamics of power and status. When a person faces some physical, emotional, social or cultural violation of his rights, s/he becomes a victim (519). The acts of victimisation depend on the societies and their systems. In authoritarian societies, victims get suppressed by the system and find no way to redress. They either face coercion or look for justice outside their state (Jacoby 519). Their efforts, as collective identity, often bring revolution that is a result of constant repression. Jane L. Curry discusses cases of South Africa, El Salvador, and Poland under non-democratic governments in "When an Authoritarian State Victimized the Nation: Transitional Justice, Collective Memory, and Political Divides" (2007) to show the acts of victimisation faced by the people of these countries. In Poland,

people have suffered from foreign occupation (60) and in Stalinist period, state has jailed and killed the individuals who raised voices against oppression (61). Moreover, in Salvador, the people were arrested and killed in throughout the 1970s (61). Similarly, South Africans have protested against the African National Congress in both violent and non-violent ways (61). In order to preserve the power over “ideology and resources”, the aggressors turn to violence and control the citizens from taking any step against them (61). By this, Curry determines the oppression of authoritarian states to control victims. They pay less attention to public’s welfare and protection of rights to maintain their power and political agendas (61).

On the contrary, in democracies, victimhood is common (Jacoby 519) because the law offers citizens to redress freely. Michael Humphrey and Estela Valverde evaluate the democratic system in Argentina with the reference of human rights, victimhood and impunity, in their essay, “Human Rights, Victimhood, and Impunity: An Anthropology of Democracy in Argentina” (2007). The incidents of mass disappearance have happened in Argentina during military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983. Thus, their article explores the transition of human rights politics from dictatorship rule to democracy. It focuses on the families of the victims of mass disappearance and government’s attitude towards them. The victims’ families blame democratic authorities for state abuse and neglect that directed them to protest (179). They have used the means of media, street demonstrations and law against state (179). Democratic governments allow the citizens to redress, therefore, the process of political mourning has been chosen to receive justice (180). The authors define “political mourning” as a movement to publicize private grief for demanding accountability from the state (181). While mourning over the disappearance of individuals during military rule, the mourners added the grief of negligence of democratic authorities towards them. This situation has created new victims in Argentina who claim to be victimized by the republic. The act of violence builds a relationship between the victim and the state that forces democratic government to provide the victim some solution to redress. However, according to Jacoby, authoritarian states repress the victims before any public action from their side (519).

The abovementioned studies show that repressive states cease the cases of victims to maintain their power structures. On the other hand, democracies violate fewer rights of individuals and offer them some channels (protest, elections and

freedom of expression etc.) to redress as a peaceful way to continue their sovereignty. The political consciousness takes place in individuals' minds when they find the acts of victimisation as violation of their physical, emotional, social or political rights (Jacoby 520). Robert Meister discusses the political consciousness of victims in "Human Rights and the Politics of Victimhood" (2002). According to him, after the injury, an individual faces immense physical or mental pain (93). For catharsis, s/he encounters the need to do something with his/her grief. In such circumstances, s/he sees two options: either to harness or to suppress the pain (93). Undertaking the suffering allows him/her to choose politics of grievance, and silencing it makes him/her select the politics of resentment (93). Meister describes this awareness as first phase of an individual towards victimhood. Both of the choices lead the suffering one towards justice. Therefore, Jacoby states the nature of choice depends on "political culture" (520). In a democratic state, there is a chance for him/her to be heard and in an authoritarian state, coercive means of silencing stop his/her emergence.

According to Jacoby, the victimized one develops a political consciousness about being wronged (521). This consciousness directs him/her to the means of justice. Joel Feinberg describes this political consciousness of victims in his book, *Offense to Others* (1985), while presenting a full distinction between harm and offence. According to him, harm can distress a person's body but an offense can make him/her mentally upset (3). The word "harm" revolves around the feelings of hurt, anxiety and disgust, however, "offense" refers to the wrongdoings of others caused by wrongful acts (1). A victim has to be wronged in such ways that break societal norms and mores (Jacoby, 521). His/her harm has to be painted in colors of wrongfulness to make the narrative of violation strong. Therefore, s/he relates his/her suffering with sufferings of others to create a sense of belongingness. This sense makes him/her see the offense on ideological canvas of victimhood that appeals for the need of collective identity.

2.4.2.2 Victims: Ideological Concurrence

Collective identity describes the feeling of fitting in a group on the basis of shared thoughts, traits and lifestyles. Justice is usually offered to those who struggle for it by pressuring the authorities. An individual's cry for help has no impact but in a group, collective suffering empowers him/her. This awareness awakes the urge in victim to make his/her injury recognized (Jacoby, 522). Therefore, s/he finds shelter

in a group of shared beliefs and practices. Eric Langenbacher defines culture in his book *Power and the Past: Collective Memory and International Relations* (2010) by calling it a set of beliefs and values that give a group some sense of identity (26). Victims also look for a group with shared culture of victimhood for identity. The acts of suffering can be individual but a victim feels empowered in a group (26). S/he identifies him/herself as “we” by constructing parallels between his/her and others’ experiences (26). Victims, in a group, form an ideology on basis of their abuses by publicizing their harms and traumas. This ideology creates a collective identity whose purposes revolve around legitimization of their plight for justice.

Vamik D. Volkan defines the existence of group identities on the grounds of their chosen traumas in “Large-group identity, international relations and psychoanalysis” (2009). According to him, large-group identity refers to the shared experiences of people about “nationality, ethnicity, religion or political ideology” (208). These people can be distanced by geography but united by the sameness of experiences. Victims also create large-group identity based on the ideology of their acts of victimisation. They publicize their trauma or harm as a tool to belong to a larger group. This collectiveness allows the individuals to share same allies and foes that influences national as well as international relations (209). One ideology, established on acts of harm, gathers a huge crowd of people under one roof of victimhood. They tell tales of the pain and pangs repeatedly to strengthen their victim-based identities and case of being victimized. This political usage of trauma stories allows other people to be sentimental about the incidents that they have not witnessed. This is how, the group’s position gets amplified.

The constant narration of traumatic events makes them group’s common history that collectivities share with the world. The group of victims strengthens on the foundations of shared emotions. Benedict Anderson calls such groups “imagined communities”, in his book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991). He describes Volkan’s “large-group identity” as “imagined communities” because these communities exist virtually. The people claiming to belong to such communities do not meet the other members in person, for their whole lives. Mutual harms, sufferings and offenses unite the victims, meanwhile, other people become a part of such group to support them and to keep it alive. They mobilise and work continually to influence the world-wide system of justice.

2.4.2.3 Victims: Political Mobilisation

The victim-group usually plan and act together against the power structures of the society. Brigitta Nedelmann defines political mobilisation in “Individuals and Parties: Changes in Processes of Political Mobilization” (1987) as “the actors’ attempt to influence the existing distribution of power” (181). In case of victimhood, the members of a victim-group are Nedelmann’s actors. They try to shake the foundations of state through their mobilisation in order to show their strength and severity of their issue (181). The political context of state decides the process of victim-group’s mobilisation. Grievance-based identities choose different trails to mobilise in democratic and authoritarian states (181). The question here arises about the causes that lead victim-communities to take such risky steps.

Laura Jeffery and Matei Candea argue over the interface between victimhood and politics in “The Politics of Victimhood” (2006). According to them, being recognized as “non-agentive” victim-community can win the admiration and support of diverse patron groups (290) but no group wants to be associated with politics. However, colliding politics with victimhood is a matter of discomfort (290) because the boundaries between victims and predators are blurred in historical traumatic events like World Wars, Holocaust and terrorism. Each group blames the other one for its destruction and annihilation. Each group attaches its misery to the act of victimisation but refuses to accept the claims of other community. Consequently, the other group’s suffering gets “redefined in political” terms and the case ends (292). It can be concluded that the thin line between victim and victimizer connects victimhood with politics. The political consciousness of victims pressurizes them to avenge their harm in order to organize and mobilise against the power dynamics.

Democratic system usually holds the victimizers answerable to limit the abuse of power (2.3.1). It provides safe passages to the victims for catharsis. On the other hand, non-democratic system is played by the repressive law to maintain their authority (2.3.1). Ilan Pappé presents some bases of political mobilisation while referring to the Israeli-Palestinian history in “Fear, Victimhood, Self and Other: On the Road to Reconciliation” (2010). He argues that peace can be brought between these two countries only by understanding each other (164). Therefore, narratives of these states are described in the ways that avoid clashes of history. The peace-makers from both sides narrate the story of historical trauma without blaming each other for a

better future (166). Thus, Pappé offers to mould political interests into educational, social and religious ones to nurture the peace of state and society. These channels portray ideational struggles of victim-groups against their urge to seek justice but these productive steps bring them closer to political acknowledgement.

2.4.2.4 Victims: Political Recognition

Jacoby's theory of victimhood describes the journey of victims towards receiving justice. Victims get recognized with the acknowledgment of their claims (526) that bring them closer to the justice. However, in order to get recognition, a victim has to know about his victimizer. Tibor R. Machan declares it the victim's personal responsibility to be "ascertain" about his/her offender, in "Rescuing Victims from Social Theory" (1991). Some specific individuals or groups can be held accountable as victimizers (110). The system as a whole can also be accused responsible for not being able to protect the civil, social or political rights of the victims (110). Victims individually or in group mobilise against their predators and through following political processes, make their plight recognized and resolved (110).

Anika Oettler's "Transitional Justice, Recognition, and Authoritative Power" (2017) states that recognition works as a key for victims to overcome their trauma as well as to empower the authorities (1). In light of Honneth, Fraser, Bertram, and Celikates, Arendt and Foucault, Oettler critically analyzes the relationship between power and recognition. She has investigated the case of Canada in awarding justice to her victims. Getting acknowledged is important for a victim because the term "recognition" stores all his/her painful, traumatic experiences that crave to be recognized with the fear of being misrecognized (7). Sense of being recognized is essential for victim's self-esteem and forms his/her whole personality after victimisation. Human lives and identities are complex in nature that makes the way of recognition hard to interpret because recognition imprisons the victim in bubble of trauma (8). Hence, all forms of recognitions are "unavoidably" misrecognitions (8). Acknowledgement is offered to the victim to empower him, although, the concept of power is usually associated with authorities. Therefore, receiving justice or acknowledgement by the authorities make the victims feel recognized (12). Oettler concludes with the point that getting known by the authorities and public work as empowering agents to heal the victims but their underlying ambivalence needs more

attention (16). This shows that reconciliation of victims is doubtful and full of complexity.

Oettler's review is based on the conception and reception of victim's recognition by the authorities. Seeing his/her victimizer punished heals the trauma but getting the attention of audience and authorities strengthens his/her position in the society. S/he stops feeling insecure about his/her victimisation anymore. Kleinman et al. present the idea of social suffering in *Social Suffering* (1997) as a source to fulfill social and political purposes (10). The sufferings that allow people to construct collective identity are called social sufferings, for instance, war, famine, victimhood and poverty are some illustrations behind formation of social suffering (9). According to Kleinman et al, this phenomenon is a result of what economic, political and institutional power does to people (9). The individuals look towards system of justice after facing acts of victimisation. However, not being able to receive justice makes them use their social suffering as a tool for catharsis. Social suffering is shown through "cultural representations" like images, metaphors and prototypical tales for political and social objectives (10). Furthermore, the collective suffering is described as a product of global political economy; "There is a market for suffering: victimhood is commodified" (11). The analysis of Kleinman et al. shows the value of harm or offense on local and global level. Oettler describes this value or use of social suffering as recognition of victimhood.

The aforementioned reviews present a picture of victimhood. In this painting, victims seem to enjoy their misery to achieve political or social purposes. The collective nature of their story of victimisation transforms their trauma as cultural trauma. These reviews give an account on the practice of victimhood, meanwhile, the story of victim's journey from victimisation to victimhood remains hidden. Tami Amanda Jacoby's theory of victimhood gives an insight on victim's experiences from victimisation to victimhood. In the light of Jacoby's perspectives, this research explores this expedition in Bhutto family narratives as well as the normative practices of social suffering.

2.4.3 Embodied Theory of Martyrdom

Jacoby's perspectives of victimhood present an urge of victims to be recognized. For recognition, they use their sufferings and try to create collective trauma as a tool for identification. The question here arises about the uses of recognition for political or social purposes. This research investigates the appearance of Bhutto family members as grievance-based identities whose objectives of political recognition are explored as getting acknowledged as martyrs. In this research, DeSoucey et al. present the reputational uses of embodied martyrdom in "Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom" (2008) that are taken as guiding standpoints to conduct this research. These narratives are drawn out from ZAB's *If I am Assassinated* and FB's *Songs of Blood and Sword*.

Martyrdom is a sacred and religious concept that is glorified almost in every religion, for instance, Muslims, Christians and Jews. The religious norms hold martyrs as ideals because of their sacrifices for some greater cause like protecting beliefs or saving mankind from some evil propaganda. With the passage of time, this concept has grown its roots from religious to social, cultural and political levels. The modern notion of martyrdom revolves around the socially constructed martyrs by their partisans. They are investigated on several cultural merits to be presented as martyrs. Their lives, achievements, sufferings, deaths, scars and dead bodies are used in presenting them as martyrs to empower their legacies even after their deaths (DeSoucey 103). This section presents a brief review on the existing literature about construction of socially recognized personas as embodied martyrs, in a thematic order.

2.4.3.1 Martyrdom: A Socio-Religious Concept

The selected auto/biographies are written in Pakistani context and the majority of Pakistani people are followers of Islam. Jeffrey R. Halverson argues in his review about David Cook's *Martyrdom in Islam* (2007) about the concept of martyrdom with religious perspectives. According to Halverson, Cook has described a comprehensive study of martyrdom historically and literary. Battlefield martyrs have a higher rank in Islam but the place of rivals as martyrs of war-field is "insignificant" in Islam (542). The concepts of martyrdom, like dying in child-birth, are only accepted by Sufis and apologists (542). Halverson agrees with the conception of Cook about martyrdom in different religions. In Islam, martyrdom is about dying for God and religious beliefs in

wars but in Christianity and Judaism, “innocent persecuted” “Saints” are called martyrs (42). The account on Muslim’s history on martyrdom makes Halverson question Cook’s focus on Islamic notions on martyrdom and, Islamic culture and civilization (543). The need to fight wars for the protection of religion, society and culture makes martyrdom a socio-religious concept since the beginning of Islamic history. This review shows that all religious ideas and practices are embedded in culture and society. Ideas get strengthened with their social and cultural practices. Cook blurs the lines between religion and culture that questions the validity of his notions without their application in society.

The concept of martyrdom hides more meanings in itself including dying for the sake of God’s will. Ruth M. Roth discloses the purposes behind dying as a martyr, in the light of a literary text and a historical narrative, in “Martyrdom” (1968). She compares the assassinations of Thomas Becket in T.S. Eliot’s *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) and Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis. Martin Luther King Jr. prophesizes about his death before the day of his assassination, and Thomas Becket’s sermon about his death on Christmas morning establishes the narrative of martyrdom for them (1147). Both of the individuals relate their act of assassination with the will of God. Becket has the ideas about the consequences of getting killed after coming back from his self-imposed exile in France. Meanwhile, Martin Luther King feels reluctant about his journey to Memphis after failed marches. The women of Canterbury plead Becket to leave the church for his safety and are afraid for him. On the other hand, Martin Luther King sees the failure of his preaching after riot of the first march but the white community wants to see the end of blacks’ sufferings. At the moment of assassination, Becket refuses to flee from the church and orders priests to open the church’s gates for everyone including enemies. Likewise, Martin Luther King does not allow the presence of a bodyguard around him and mentions his fearlessness for death. This is how, both of them are awarded with martyrdom. Becket’s martyrdom is interpreted as suicide too because he refuses to close church’s gates (1148). Likewise, a white woman holds Martin Luther King accountable for his own death because of his option to remain at home without bodyguard (1148). Roth’s concluding point highlights that Becket’s murder can be brought to reality by comparing him with Martin Luther King’s assassination (1148). This comparison

shows the transformation of martyrdom as a socio-religious concept from religious one.

Martyrdom has been radicalized more with the passage of time. The world of capitalism sees martyrdom as a market where martyr is a commodity. As Curt Johnson and R. Craig Sautter present biographies of twenty-six martyrs in their book, *26 Martyrs for These Latter Perilous Days* (2004). In this book, they link the martyrs with common masses. Martyr's willingness to sacrifice him/herself ripens his/her character for a case of inquiry (244). The laymen feel sensitive for those who struggle for their common good. This book focuses on the last words of selected martyrs that aid in portraying them as martyrs. For instance, Nathan Hale's last words, at the moment of his execution, show his urge to die for nation again and again (240). He regrets for only having one life to sacrifice for the country (240). A martyr's death puts people in a debt of his/her sacrifice and they remember him/her for the rest of their lives. Martyrdom revolves around having a cause for sacrificing the life. This cause serves as a ritual for which a willing person devotes his life. After the death of martyr, the partisans use his/her death as a mean to persuade audience for certain purposes and to invoke collective memory to keep the cause alive.

2.4.3.2 Martyrdom: Reputational Entrepreneurs of Martyr

According to DeSoucey et al., reputational entrepreneurs are martyr's partisans who devote themselves for preaching martyr's beliefs. They focus on martyr's achievements, sacrifices, sufferings, wounds and death to use them as cultural objects for their social, cultural and political purposes (100). They want to secure the place and acknowledgement of martyr to be empowered. Gary Alan Fine defines the idea of reputation in his book, *Difficult Reputations: Collective Memories of the Evil, Inept, and Controversial* (2001). While reviewing it, Jeffrey K. Olick states that the reputation of public figures is significant for the society and people (1063). These personas reflect the society and represent the people (1063). Meanwhile, the entrepreneurs, who work on the reputations of public figures, perform in frameworks of creating a "good story" (1064). They utilize the reputations to invoke collective memory. This review describes the purposes of establishing reputations that involve giving meaning to cynosures' perceptions and actions.

These reputations take place within culture boundaries. Cultural symbols and practices bring the cynosures closer to common masses and the entrepreneurs relate appropriateness to those practices for the sake of reputations. Michael Schudson defines culture as “some kind of material form” and “some kind of social practice” (154) in his essay “How Culture Works: Perspectives from Media Studies on the Efficacy of Symbols” (1989). Therefore, culture appears to individuals everywhere; with their own practices of culture, they witness it on media, on road, at work and at home. Schudson claims that decontextualized culture attracts the masses more (155). Hence, get more concerned for the norms practiced by the public archetypes. They choose meaningful cultural symbols to practice them and convey them to others in form of collective memory. As culture is a set of ideas that is not imposed in nature yet the individuals willingly choose to implement it in lives (155). Olick’s review presents such practices of culture by common masses that are conveyed to them by reputational entrepreneurs.

The aforementioned reviews indicate the role of reputational entrepreneurs in adding reputations to the culture, followed by public figures. Meanwhile, this research concerns the beliefs of a martyr that become the reason behind his/her execution. The supporters of martyr deliver those ideas to the society to associate cultural and material utility with them. In literature, writers are the reputational entrepreneurs of the characters that they portray in their literary works. They add biographical, historical, cultural and political reputations to the subjects and the readers analyze them in those spheres or contexts. Likewise, FB plays a role of reputational entrepreneur for her family’ martyrs. Meanwhile, ZAB’s book plays a part of being an entrepreneur for him as Martin Luther King and Thomas Becket did for themselves. The purpose behind reputing some character is to put him on stake to study him on the basis of cultural markers. Meanwhile, the composition of reputations on behalf of martyrs makes people honor them; it also gives emotional weight to martyrs’ ideas.

2.4.3.3 Martyrdom: Martyr’s Body as a Cultural Object

The reputational entrepreneurs use martyr’s body as a cultural subject to preach their legacy of ideas. They base their reputations on the conditions of martyr’s body at the time of death, the treatment with his body after death and the physical remains (102). Eyal J. Naveh’s book *Crown of Thorns: Political Martyrdom in America from Abraham Lincoln to Martin Luther King* (1990) presents the situations in which a

martyr's body is analyzed as a cultural object. Charles H. Lippy analyzes the circumstances, under which a martyr is created in America. The Americans only accept an enduring national assassinated hero when there is a need to regenerate the nation (154). Naveh illustrates the examples of John Brown, John and Bobby Kennedy, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King to describe the making of martyrs for social reforms. However, Lippy declares Naveh's argument "weak" because only Martin Luther King and Abraham Lincoln meet his criteria of embodied martyrdom (154). This book is controversial in nature but describes historical facts about the social change. Moreover, the social reform appears to be possible under the light of martyr's ideas. The development of a link between Lippy's ideas with martyr's corporeal body gives material value to them.

Brent D. Shaw's review on Elizabeth A. Castelli's book, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (2004) objectifies martyr's body as a vessel, full of national, religious and cultural markers (848). These markers or symbols are conveyed to people in form of martyr's ideas to invoke collective memory. Shaw states that these ideas are "deliberately constructed" to recreate the narratives of martyrs, therefore, they develop a distinction between history and collective memory (848). The original works of the martyrs depict their consciousness about the future audience; it is showed through the implantation of several imagined ideas about their own fate (848). This shows the urge of individuals to be remembered as martyrs. Shaw mentions an example of a female martyr whose original work, and Castelli's work about her draw the narratives of memory and gender (848). This is how, the memory and the ideas of martyr get merged, and historical facts disappear from human minds. Reputational entrepreneurs use martyr's body to provoke the violation of an individual's cultural rights and repeat the stories of his physical reminders to create collective memory (DeSoucey et al. 101). The review on existing literature on martyrdom provides scholarship on the concepts of reputational entrepreneurs, cultural symbols and collective memory separately but DeSoucey et al. bring it together under one roof, in "Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom" (2008).

The aforementioned reviews describe the material value of martyr's body in order to construct cultural trauma. Jacoby's concepts of victimhood describe recognition as the purpose of victims' emergence and Alexander's ideas on cultural

trauma express the material use of individual trauma on broader level. Meanwhile, the abovementioned reviews portray the urge of individuals to be acknowledged as victims for their sufferings and as martyrs for their sacrifices. This shows that the willingness of individuals to be known in life and after life is a continuous process, and gets managed through the individuals themselves in their lives, and continued by reputational entrepreneurs after their deaths. This unbroken chain of recognition, while invoking cultural trauma on terms of the martyrdom and victimhood's subjects, is analyzed in this multidisciplinary research.

2.5 Conclusion

Following detailed review about the genre of selected texts, the texts themselves and the selected theories, it has become evident that auto/biographies are not merely a source of reading life histories, however, they offer scholarship on the cultural, social and political contexts as well in which a subject's persona is shaped. The narrativization of specific incidents in auto/biographies and omission of several details disclose their long lasting purposes. The section on the reviews on trauma to describe cultural trauma shows the importance of individual trauma on collective level to create narratives about martyrdom. Likewise, the review on the notions of martyrdom describes the significance of the construction of martyr in cultural contexts, and to fulfill the purposes of certain political benefits. Whereas, the review related to victimhood shows the desire of the victims to be known for their suffering. Thus, the concept of cultural trauma interlinks the perspectives of martyrdom and victimhood, and focuses on the narratives of past and present to disclose the role of subjects and their partisans. The reviews on political auto/biographies cover the aspects of their subjects' life, achievements and characteristics but do not address the role of culture in shaping their identities. To bridge this gap, this research studies the subjects of selected auto/biographies in cultural context and interprets their actions in different circumstances.

ZAB's autobiography, *If I am Assassinated*, is analyzed as his account on the accusations he was alleged with, his charismatic personality as an orator, politician and leader, and his achievements. His book has only been seen as his last testament to clear his name but the question behind its composition for the public is still not discovered. This written document provides an answer to the allegations but ZAB appears to know about his execution. The reality is fluid in nature, therefore, instead

of questioning the credibility of his answers, this research analyzes his book as the embodiment of narrating stories of martyrdom and victimhood to construct cultural trauma. Meanwhile, FB's memoir, *Songs of Blood and Sword* is analyzed as brief biographies of ZAB, MB, SB and BB. The abovementioned reviews about this book question its validity while focusing on historical facts. However, this research focuses on the aspects of trauma and memory to explore the narrativization and fictionalization of cultural trauma through martyrdom and victimhood. The analysis of this research, therefore, is meant to locate the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood, to locate the role of selected auto/biographies to invoke collective memory, to influence the cultural beliefs by creating cultural trauma and to explore this trauma as a source for recognition both in past and present.

CHAPTER 3

THE EMERGENCE OF GRIEVANCE-BASED IDENTITIES: THE EXPLORATION OF VICTIMHOOD IN LIFE-NARRATIVES OF BHUTTO FAMILY

“There is a market for suffering: victimhood is commodified”.

(Kleinman, 11)

3.1 Introduction

While focusing on the sufferings and sacrifices of martyrs, this chapter explores the significance of martyrs' in Bhutto family during their lifetime. Based on their traumas, imprisonments and exiles, this chapter discusses their emergence as victims. The journey of these individuals from the act of victimisation to the culture of victimhood is investigated through ZAB's autobiography, *If I am Assassinated* and FB's memoir, *Songs of Blood and Sword*. While analyzing the trauma-based identities, this chapter presents the connection of victimisation with politics, the concurrence of ideology on basis of the acts of harm, aggrieved-ones' struggles for justice and the emergence of victim-based identities. With the investigation of the reasons behind trauma-based ideology, this chapter highlights the advantages of collective identity to achieve justice. It concludes with the acknowledgement of victims on the basis of their harm that they harness to extract implicit and explicit benefits in society.

Tami Amanda Jacoby, in her essay, “A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity” interlinks trauma with victimhood, and victimhood with the politics of recognition. She refers to politics as a “complicated terrain” to receive justice (513), therefore, it seems impossible for the sufferers to achieve it without getting acknowledged as victims. Her theory formulates different stages for aggrieved ones to experience on their way to seek justice. This chapter, in the light of Jacoby's theoretical stance of victimhood, looks into the itinerary of Bhutto family from the acts of victimisation to their emergence as victims.

Whereas, Jeffrey C. Alexander's theoretical perspective on cultural trauma is selected as the supporting idea to scrutinize over the cultural conditions that give rise to victims in a culture. As auto/biographies consist on auto/biographer's memories, Alexander suggests that these memories "appear in public life through the creation of literature" (6) and the readers welcome these memories as a source to invoke cultural trauma. The cultural trauma happens when a "leader departs or die" and when a "governing regime falls" (2), that is why, this chapter analyzes the aftermaths of the fall of ZAB's regime and the assassinations of other Bhuttos including ZAB as means of creating cultural trauma.

Two research methods are selected to analyze the selected auto/biographies; textual analysis by Catherine Belsey and auto/biography by Mary Evans. Textual analysis as a research method focuses more on the culture that shapes characters' identities (164), and promotes the fluid nature of meaning that changes with the cultural norms (167). On the other hand, auto/biography as a research method establishes a way of reading texts that portrays the life narratives more than a source of collecting information (33) but to study the development and reactions of subjects in different situations (38). Together, these methods help to trace out the unexplored sides of the story and characters in a specific cultural context. These two research methods are intersected in this chapter to analyze the selected auto/biographies.

The characters of aforementioned auto/biographies play a significant role in Pakistani politics. ZAB, the writer of *If I am Assassinated*, served Pakistan as President of the country, from 1971–1973, and as Prime Minister, from 1973–1977 before composing this book. His offspring, BB and MB, are also important figures in Pakistani history. FB, the writer of *Songs of Blood and Sword*, and daughter of MB, has penned down the tale of her family in her memoir, and presented her family as family of martyrs. The discourse of their martyrdom is known by every layman in Pakistan as well as across the borders through literature and media. In order to scrutinize over the narrative of their martyrdom, this chapter locates the Bhuttos in their lifetime to see their emergence as victims on the grounds of their grievance and trauma.

The purpose of analyzing these texts is to understand the trauma that has influenced not only the Bhutto family but the whole nation of Pakistan. As FB herself

says in her memoir that without analyzing the history of her family in politics “there is no way to understand the manner in which violence and power attached themselves to the Bhutto family” (115). In order to “understand” the “violence and power”, Jacoby’s theoretical stance on victimhood is selected, whereas, it is supported with Alexander’s ideas on cultural trauma because the selected auto/biographies revolve around the tales of Bhuttos’ assassinations. These assassinations have trapped Bhuttos and their supporters in an endless circle of victimhood because justice is not granted to them.

The selected auto/biographies contain tales of Bhuttos’ sufferings and sacrifices that make them important in the investigation of victimhood. The status of victimhood represents trauma-based identities’ struggles towards getting acknowledged. Therefore, their journey towards victimhood includes these stages:

1. Victimhood: From acts of victimisation to consciousness
2. Victimhood: The ideology of grievance
3. Victimhood: The mobilisation for recognition
4. The culture of victimhood

3.2 Victimhood: From Acts of Victimisation to Consciousness

As far as the victimisation is concerned, this part of chapter highlights the acts of violence mentioned in selected texts. Emphasizing on victimisation, it relates the identity of individuals with politics of power. Politics involves uses and abuses of power to get something as Harold D. Lasswell¹ has named his essay “Politics: “Who gets What, When and How” (1936) to define politics. When an individual faces physical or emotional harm, s/he finds him/herself caught between two options; either to suppress or to harness the pain. Harnessing the pain makes him/her use the grief as a source of power to receive justice. Jacoby’s concepts on victimhood state that acts of victimisation lead the aggrieved identity towards his/her emergence as a victim. However, Alexander’s ideas on cultural trauma depict that cultural trauma is constructed by carrier groups on the occasions of leaders’ deaths and fall of governments (2). These carrier groups work as agents for “meaning making” about traumatic events (11). In the selected auto/biographies, the authors and the subjects are studied as the carrier group of creating cultural trauma on the basis of their sufferings.

The acts of victimisation mentioned in the selected auto/biographies started during Bhutto’s rule. FB glorifies her grandfather’s rule in her book to associate it

with the hardships he faced to present his execution as cultural trauma. According to her, during ZAB's rule, the events like nationalization of industries, efforts of eradication of feudal system and operation in Balochistan took place (119). Later, his realization about his fight against Pakistanis of Balochistan as a "treasonous" act forced him to stay at a distance "from his power base" that became the reason to turn the army against him (119). ZAB's refusal to fight against his people is portrayed as the beginning of Bhuttos' tragedy that strengthens the incident of his execution as cultural trauma.

FB also mentions that ZAB acted nervously after losing support of Henry Kissinger on the issue of nuclear bomb (123). His struggles to win the hearts of the opposition parties, the amendments in the 1973 constitution, banning alcohol and declaring Friday a public holiday seemed a failure to secure his position in government (123). His decision to replace General Tikka Khan with General ZUH did not save him either (124). His views about the new general as a "meek, subservient man" (124) worked as his hamartia. The acts of harm faced by ZAB, took place in an authoritarian context, and continued to follow Bhuttos in democratic rule as well. Therefore, this section of the chapter revolves around the conduciveness and consciousness of Bhutto family as candidates of grievance-based identities while tracing them in two contexts of governments: democratic states and authoritarian states.

3.2.1 Authoritarian States and Victimization

According to Jacoby, political system influences the occurring of victimisation in a society (518). The societal norms and mores usually shape the culture and institutions that are followed by the individuals. In authoritarian states, coercive means are used to maintain power that repress individuals and create patterns of violence (519). The use of repressive apparatuses on people befalls in category of violence in repressive states (519). In the selected auto/biographies, the story of Bhuttos' victimhood begins with the coup of 1977 in Pakistan and ZAB's imprisonment. The concept of authoritarian states is described as "coup d'état" by ZAB in his book (56). Coup d'état is known as a system of government that depends on bureaucracy and armed force². These forces run the government and influence institutions of economy and civic participation in state's matters as well (Luttwak 3).

Both of the selected auto/biographers blame the authoritarian system for their tragedy. The coup, that turned Pakistan into an authoritarian state, happened after the elections March 1977. As far as the status of authoritarians' power is concerned, they are known for their ways of controlling and maintaining the matters of state³ that caused the dismissal of ZAB's government. According to ZAB's autobiography, *If I am Assassinated*, this coup happened because of the "bloody protests by the main opposition party" (11) in refusal to accept the results of elections. In order to maintain the peace of the country and to conduct elections again as "Operation Fairplay", the coup got imposed (11). These protests happened during the government of ZAB that made him held responsible for the restlessness among civilians.

His book narrates the stories of his imprisonment for various allegations about corruption and rigging of elections. He blames the authoritarian system of government for his character assassination and fate. According to him, the regime has issued *White Papers* to defame him internationally as "Foreign journalists are being requested to publicize it" (301). Furthermore, they are translated into four languages including Arabic to deprecate him (301) because "The Chief Martial Law Administrator never tires of defaming me" by calling him a "murderer" and blaming him for "ruining the economy" (121). According to him, he has been "insulted and humiliated by the court" during the hearing of his case (298). About the cases against him, in his defense, he only says that *White Paper* is written in a certain way that makes "the reader believes that the views and opinions are mine" (62). His tone seems convincing, therefore, in the introduction of this book Pran Chopra⁴ declares him a "victim of conspiracy" of the circumstances (31).

Pran Chopra's review of this book portrays ZAB's individual trauma as cultural trauma because its narration crossed the boundaries of the nation. When individual trauma or the act of victimisation influences audience on wider level, it becomes cultural trauma (Alexander 2). Meanwhile, ZAB considers this dismissal and his imprisonment as victimisation and presents his trauma as cultural trauma. The construction of cultural trauma begins with the fall of ZAB's regime that he strengthens through his auto/biography. While disclosing his cause behind joining politics; that is raising voice for poor, he relates his sufferings with them. As trauma represents the wounds that harm an individual emotionally, the cultural trauma inflicts a nation through changing people's perspectives about different matters. ZAB claims

to be known as an individual who is chosen by people (90) and recounts his suffering as global suffering.

The authoritarian states cease their opponents either by imprisoning or executing them (Jacoby 519) as happened in Bhuttos' case. The victimized individuals appear as victims after the realization of their victimisation; this consciousness makes them publicize their suffering and mourning (523). In the selected autobiography, ZAB shares the stories of his wounds and scars with the world that enables others to feel his pain. That is why, FB claims that the incident of his assassination has survived in the thoughts of his supporters (19). As trauma represents the wounds that harm an individual emotionally, the cultural trauma inflicts a nation through changing people's perspectives about something. For ZAB, *White Papers* are "false, fabricated and malicious" piece of writings that are composed to turn "mankind against me" and to influence "the hearing of my case" (7). ZAB sees the timing of the publication of *White Papers* as an act of abuse as well (7) because these papers can change people's perspectives about him. However, his autobiography shares his pains and traumas with the world and create cultural trauma. As Alexander defines cultural trauma as "something constructed by society" (2), ZAB condemns the system of authoritarians by calling it "coup-gemony" whose clutches "exist only for Pakistan People's Party and its leadership" (192). ZAB constructs the narratives of his innocence by mocking the law for victimizing him and his supporters. By mentioning the maltreatments of authoritarian government with his partisans (192), he creates collective identity with them on the basis of their traumatic experiences. This collectiveness construct cultural trauma that has influenced the thoughts of his political party in the beginning, and then modified thoughts of the whole society.

This research analyzes the selected auto/biographies of ZAB and FB side by side to disclose the acts of harm Bhuttos have faced. FB also agrees with her grandfather in *Songs of Blood and Sword*. She narrates the tale of ZAB's sufferings by saying; "Two years later, after arresting and torturing him, General Zia put my grandfather to death" (14). That is why, she, like ZAB, also blames the system of authoritarian state for ZAB's execution. According to her, his execution shows the coercion of authoritarian powers that killed him after torturing him. Moreover, she pens down the effects of ZAB's tragedy on his family. The Bhutto brothers started living in exile after ZAB's arrest and assassination (176) because the authoritarian

state requires ceasing their foes to maintain the rule (519). Therefore, the regime takes interest in case of Bhutto brothers “personally, not just politically” (148). As ZAB’s character has been assassinated by the publication of *White Papers*, his sons were declared “terrorists, derided as landless fighters” (243) after the incident of plane hijack. That is how, the regime tries to change the public’s perspectives about Bhuttos to prove the legitimacy of ZAB’s execution and to maintain the rule. Moreover, Bhuttos claim to stand for the public and associate their traumas with them. FB quotes MB to describe the scenarios of victimisation in authoritarian regimes in her book. According to her, “In history, whoever fights the corruption of the state, whoever raises his voice against forced unemployment and abuses of power, whoever fights *awam ki huqooq ki jang*, the war to defend the peoples rights, they call them terrorists” (32).

It shows that ZAB sacrificed his life while raising his voice for the masses. Bhutto brothers have left the country in order to continue their political activities. The abovementioned quote suggests that because of their efforts, they have been declared terrorists. However, MB connects Bhutto brothers’ mobilisation with the protection of individuals (32). The Bhuttos’ victimisation does not end on it but in Pakistan, NB and BB both have been “shuttled between jail and house arrest” as well (185). Exile and imprisonment are not “the only hardships” that Bhuttos have faced but ZAB’s widow, NB, has been attacked in Lahore and has “suffered gashes on her forehead and head” (209). Moreover, in 1984, SB has been killed mysteriously in France (252). His assassination was painted in colors of suicide. Although, no suicide note has been found and NB also denies the possibility of suicide (254). Both of the authors present these incidents to show the apparatus of repressive states that cease their victims in order to stop chaos from happening. They maintain their power and stop other victims from emerging by not offering freedom of raising voice for rights (Jacoby, 519). This makes Bhutto brothers leave the country and mobilise against the state outside the state. Bhuttos are famous figures in national and international political history, therefore, the narration of such events make Bhuttos’ trauma, cultural trauma. It is the influence of cultural trauma that they ran their political party and guerrilla force to fight against the authoritarian apparatus. However, unlike democratic regime, the coercive apparatuses of government refuse to allow such activities in the boundaries

of authoritarian states (Jacoby, 519). The democratic states allow their victims to redress but acts of victimisation also take place in such systems (518).

3.2.2 Democratic States and Victimisation

As far as the democratic system of government is concerned, unlike authoritarian governments, it is dependent on the support of constituencies⁵. Like former, democratic regimes promote freedom of political parties and individuals and coercive means to maintain sovereignty are not used in democracies to control the individuals (Jacoby 520). These governments promise to protect rights and provide justice to the individuals, therefore, Jacoby states that “victimhood is more common in democracies” by promising the *possibility* of justice” (520). The democracies promise to protect the citizens but the acts of victimisation happen in such states commonly (521). On the other hand, the authoritarian sovereignties control both victims and victimizers from emerging by force, and themselves become predators (524). However, democracies regimes grant victims the chance to express themselves (520). FB has composed her father’s biography in democratic times of Pakistan because MB refused to write his autobiography during authoritarian times (22). His supporters have expressed their wish for him to write a foreword to ZAB’s autobiography, *If I am Assassinated*, that “appeared to be impossible” in authoritarian regime (152). According to Jacoby, the democratic governments “limit the abuse of power” (518) as well as “promise the possibility of justice” (520). This made FB disclose Bhuttos’ traumas, in democratic rule. On his arrival in Pakistan after his exile for eight months, the police arrested MB and took several party workers into custody in order to avoid public riot (328). After his arrest, MB was been taken to solitary confinement, “with only a small cot and a urinal and sink in the corner” (333). On the other hand, she quotes MB’s party worker, Shahnawaz, who was been kept in illegal custody without warrant for his arrest; “The police used to torture me by putting cigarettes out all over my body” (329). Jacoby’s theoretical concept on victimhood states that democratic governments protect the citizens (518), therefore, the government arrests the leader and party workers to avoid civil chaos and riots. After his release, MB “was made to travel across Pakistan to appear at court hearings” (358). The party members “gathered” to see him but only to get “rounded up, arrested and viciously beaten” (358).

MB's imprisonment in a cell, his characterization as a terrorist and the arrests of his partisans without warrants show the hostility of government for him. FB mentions MB's bodyguard, Ashiq, who happened to be with him on the moment of his assassination and screamed for help; "But none of the police responded" (400). Moreover, after MB's death, FB claims to be prohibited by the government from "filing a criminal case against the police officers involved" (422). FB connects the web of her thoughts with the trauma of her father's murder and narrates the related events in her book. She blames BB for MB's death; "she was engaged in a political war against her brother" (342). According to her, MB came back in Pakistan during BB's democratic regime and took stand against his sister's government on the matters of corruption and poverty (363). The aforementioned quotes show that by following this timeline, FB portrays regime and the police as her father's murderers. Furthermore, she calls the incident of killing a "standard Operation Clean-Up" because immediately after the assassination, the police file a case against all the dead for initiating the attack on police (418). This shows that the regime tried to "limit the abuse of power" (Jacoby 520) of MB because his aims included empowering the masses by speaking against the government and corruption. The government faces the fear of the emergence of victims for their social and political rights as democratic states promise justice to victims (518). However, MB's murder invokes cultural trauma among the individuals because his victory, as an independent candidate, in elections shows his influence on the people.

MB's political record, his courage to stand against the system and the incident of his assassination construct cultural trauma that is strengthened by the ideology of victimisation on collective level. Similarly, ZAB's autobiography also presents an ideology against the atrocities of authoritarian rulers to create collective identity with the countrymen. Jacoby's aggrieved individuals firstly face the acts of harm and develop the consciousness about the violation of their rights. Afterwards, they associate themselves with others on the basis of their trauma to create collectiveness.

3.3 Victimhood: The Ideology of Grievance

Ideology is a system of belief based upon the elements of cultural structures to mobilise the masses against something⁶, therefore, ideology is the foundation of every action that takes place in the world. This is the ideology that turns 'I' into 'we' for

sharing similar beliefs. After choosing the option to harness the pain, the harmed ones decide to publicize their act of victimisation to “draw the attention of others and fit into dominant political narratives” (Jacoby 522). The purpose behind seeking others’ consideration is to receive justice, therefore, victims want their injury to be acknowledged (524). Victims seek others’ support to get identified because finding shelter of collectiveness empowers them. Moreover, carrier groups narrate the traumatic events in order to share them with the collectivities (Alexander 2). The narration of historical tragedies creates strong emotions in the people who have not even experienced them (4). These emotions give birth to an ideology associated with the memories of historical traumas. Forming an ideology is significant for constructing cultural trauma as well. It occurs when individuals feel the pain of some catastrophic event and associate themselves with its memories. The reason behind constructing cultural trauma on the basis of ideology to receive justice is to achieve “recognition and legitimisation” (Jacoby 522) as the selected auto/biographies create ideology of the victimisation in states in different political contexts. Moreover, the instances of physical and emotional sufferings of masses are also mentioned in these books to paint social crisis in color of cultural crisis. As culture of a society represents its tradition and norms, the rulers’ victimisation is portrayed as the culture of authoritarian and democratic rule to invoke cultural trauma.

To create an ideology, individual traumas are associated with collective traumas (Jacoby, 522). As ZAB’s autobiography revolves around providing evidences for his innocence against the accusations on him, he repeatedly shows concern for his reputation in eyes of the countrymen (59). In order to create the ideology on basis of his sufferings, he feels the need to win their support. As he accuses the authoritarians for defaming him by publishing *White Papers*, he calls the allegations, mentioned in them, an attempt to “create hatred against me in the minds of the people of Pakistan” (59). He reminds the readers about his concern for the countrymen. According to him, he has visited “every nook and cranny”, “jhuggies of sweepers” and “huts of the kachi abadis” (76) in order to awaken the laymen from the deep slumber of ignorance about their rights. Besides, he associates his miseries and traumas with the nation by questioning the coup about ‘Operation Fairplay’ to conduct elections in the country (77). ZAB mocks the authoritarians for breaking their promise to the nation about conducting elections within ninety days and considers it as violation of public rights

(77). Moreover, ZAB switches to “we” instead of “I” to create ideology of victimisation; “We cannot forget the summary punishments awarded to our comrades by military tribunals” (100). He has composed his autobiography during his imprisonment, therefore, he makes the nation associate with his pain by mentioning the violation of their rights to create an ideology. Moreover, as carrier agent of cultural trauma, the story of his wounds and blood influences the individuals on broader level. The foreword of his book by Pran Chopra shows his concern for ZAB’s health and civil rights (29). This is how, ZAB creates an imagined community⁷ with them and becomes a part of it.

Every ideology is based on some cultural beliefs and the abovementioned discussion shows that ZAB’s ideology is based on the cruelties of dictatorial government’s tyrannies. As being the carrier agent of cultural trauma, he sees his imprisonment as a loss for the people. Thus, he refers to the incidents that bind him accurately with his partisans. According to him, when the “miserable citizens of this country have been lashed, whipped and given rigorous imprisonments for saying “Jeeyay Bhutto,” when women have been lathi charged, tear gassed and marched off to jails for praying for me at the shrines of saints” (122).

For him, the fall of his government makes the countrymen “miserable citizens” who have been chanting his name while getting victimized. The narration of such events constructs the fall of his regime as the foundation to build cultural trauma. This cultural trauma makes ZAB, the countrymen and his overseas supporters a collective identity on the basis of ideology of victimisation. This shows the importance of his autobiography in narration of the oppressive nature of authoritarian states. That is why, the repressive states control print and media to “maintain their rule” (Jacoby 521). ZAB refers to his experience of Kot Lakhpat jail in Lahore, which he finds “full of journalists and employees of the television department” (315). FB also supports ZAB’s statement and states in her memoir that journalists have been awarded with “whipping sentences” during authoritarians’ rule (135). Therefore, ZAB’s book is published from outside of the country.

The purpose behind mentioning all these incidents in auto/biographies shows that both of the auto/biographers want the readers to acknowledge their concern for them. During the years of oppressive government, people have been told such stories through the publication of ZAB’s autobiography, his family and his political party to

create collective identity. However, in form of literature, such narrations continue to influence the individuals beyond the limitation of time and space; the books keep on inspiring people to create collectivity against victimisation. FB's memoir is written three decades after the publication of ZAB's autobiography but it revives the atrocious tales of the rule of tyranny. While being analyzed as carrier agent of cultural trauma, the beginning of her book shows the relevance between democratic stories of victimisation with authoritarian ones to give the impact of the failure of current government (3). Under the sovereignty of current government, the gunmen have been replaced with suicide bombers whose prey is both military and countrymen (4). For her, the golden time of country's government faded with the fall of ZAB's government (4). The coup did not only harm the democratic government of ZAB but also snatched the right of democracy from the laymen (9). She claims that authoritarian governments are "by nature insensitive to public opinion" (14). Hence, her book also develops the ideology of victimisation by creating collective identity with the victimized ones.

To create this ideology, FB shares the pain of losing her father, grandfather, uncle and aunt with the masses, and utilize their dark memories to change her "I" into "we". She refers to the editors of the Urdu dailies the Urdu Digest, the Sun and the PPP's Musawat who were "arrested and awarded" with ten public lashes in 1978 (200). Moreover, the local playwrights, poets and writers were "punished or silenced, and forced to leave the country" (201). She associates with the misery of masses while connecting their trauma with her family's sufferings. Her father endured the sufferings of confinement (3.2.2, 91), therefore, she relates with the pain of MB's supporters who were also arrested and tortured in democratic system of government. She mentions two prisoners whose "fingernails removed when they dared to shout pro-Bhutto slogans" (209). ZAB also refers to the slogans of "Jeeyay Bhutto" (155) which shows the collectiveness of individuals on the ideology against state's oppressiveness. According to FB, MB continued to preach the ideology of justice against victimisation among masses after ZAB's death (32). She revives those memories by narrating all of the traumatic events faced by her and her family's supporters to invoke cultural trauma. After MB's assassination, the survivors of that event have been "taunted and tortured" by the police (418). FB adds survivors' experience in her memoir or MB's biography to give meaning to their trauma and to

create collective identity with the common people of the country. Qaisar, one of MB's bodyguard and a survivor of the incident of his murder, was told in jail by police; "We've killed your leader, now we're your sahibs" (418). Asif, another bodyguard and survivor, was driven around "in circles" and imprisoned "blind-folded and gagged" (418). The detailed description of such events is presented to legitimize the ideology that is presented first by ZAB and MB and then FB.

It is the collectiveness of individuals on some ideology that constructs cultural trauma and gathers them to mobilise against perpetrators (Jacoby 524). The aforementioned references from the selected auto/biographies show that after the assassination of ZAB, his sons continued to demand justice. In order to achieve justice, they promoted the ideology of ZAB by questioning the authorities of the country who they blame for the execution of their father and torturing the people. As FB states that in ZUH's regime, at a press conference in London, both brothers have questioned the state on "Public floggings, stonings and humiliating displays of torture" (170). They created "we" with the masses by associating with them on the basis of victimisation. They drew people's attention to their trauma while linking it with the sufferings that were befallen on them with the fall of ZAB's regime. This is how, the characters of Bhutto brothers can also be interpreted as carrier agents of cultural trauma. After SB's murder, MB continued to gather people against the state to receive justice (211). After returning to Pakistan, he publicized his ideology of getting justice for ZAB and everyone who was tortured or murdered by the state (341). He legitimized his plight by relating his ideology with the significant historical characters (341). To mobilise people against state's culprits, he addressed to them; "we are the party of quaid-e-awam, the leader of the people, Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party" (32). Consequently, he associated the people with his party to create collective identity that aims to assemble against the government to get recognition of their trauma. This shows that FB has promoted her father's ideology while composing his biography to mobilise against his killers. Narration of his ideology shows FB's concern for the recognition of MB's injury and assassination.

Similarly, ZAB presents his ideology in his autobiography to mobilise the people. His concern seems to be remembered by people for his ideology of raising voice against the authorities; "with the firm expectation that the eighty million people of this Nation are not without "Gheirat" (290). He calls the masses "my people" to

create collective identity with them (290). It is his way to motivate people to stand for him against the government by mocking their “Gheirat” (respect). Jacoby’s theoretical perspective on victims’ ideology also indicates that they need a collective identity to strengthen their injury (524). The collective identity is created on the ideology of standing for the justice that makes the victims publicize their individual traumas to relate them with collective traumas (525). The authors and subjects of the selected auto/biographies also narrate the events of their traumas and associate them with other victims’ traumas to create collectivity to mobilise them for justice. The narrative of ideology influences not only the victims but constructs the memories of trauma in people who have not witnessed the “horrendous event” (Alexander 2). Thus, these collectivities see individual trauma of carrier group as cultural trauma and assemble themselves against the offenders.

3.4 Victimhood: The Mobilisation for Recognition

After creating an ideology, the collectivities start struggling to receive justice for the acts of harm they have faced (Jacoby 516). The aggrieved ones see their traumas and scars as sources of empowerment to stand against the victimizers (517). Jacoby states that to mobilise against the culprits, the victims “formulate their struggles through ideas that have purchase in society” (517). Individual trauma does not usually influence society or institutions of law enforcement. Therefore, the victims act as collective identity and mobilise according to the political contexts of the country. As authoritarian states refuse to allow victims’ emergence to maintain their rule, the democratic government also tries to silence the victims to avoid public riots (522-524). The abovementioned section (3.2) develops the idea that authoritarian states control public protests by using their powers but democracies try to control the leader of the protests. This abovementioned analysis of the selected texts traces out that ZAB was assassinated, Bhutto brothers were exiled, BB and NB had to face imprisonment and the common masses faced public floggings, stonings and torture during the regime to authoritarians. It also states that the democratic rule assassinated MB, refused to file case against his murder and, arrested and tortured his partisans to avoid more chaos in the country. As both of the contexts let the acts of victimisation happen differently, the mobilisation of victims is also different in these contexts.

3.4.1 Authoritarian States and Struggles of Victims

As far as the mobilisation of the victims in authoritarian regimes is concerned, Jacoby states that such governments exclude victims completely unless they accept their sovereignty or challenge them coercively (525). As authoritarian states defy victim rights and control everyone under their rule coercively, they also suppress their mobilisation (522). ZAB's autobiography is seen as his struggle to achieve justice. He has written this book while "paper resting on my knees" (95) during imprisonment to expose his victimizers. According to FB, ZAB's sons, friends and party members, as collective identity, have participated in publication of his book outside the regime to publicize his plight against the government (59).

In order to legitimize his plight, ZAB claims to compose this book as "a federal minister of eight years and as the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan for five and a half years", not as a "convicted murderer" (95). ZAB appears to struggle alone against the maltreatment of authoritarians with him. While being in imprisonment, he fails to witness or recognize others' mobilisation against authoritarians. The victims of dictatorial states usually pay the price of having lack of ideology⁸. The authoritarians control the activities (Jacoby 521) happening around the state, print, media and ban public gatherings that happen in absence of ideology (523). According to ZAB, the occasion of the fall his rule, the authoritarians threw him in jail and also arrested the individuals whose actions displeased them (64). Therefore, in form of his book, ZAB exposes his offenders and discloses his ideology against them. He unravels the animosity of authoritarians against him by mentioning the issue date of second *White Paper* that is 28 August, 1978 (7). Whereas, it is printed on 25 March, 1978 that is the time of ZAB's case hearing (7). According to ZAB, the regime has planned to publish the *White Paper* at this moment to affect his hearing because "I was at the height of my popularity with the masses when the conspiracy started against me" (125). The authoritarian states refuse to allow victims to redress (Jacoby 520), therefore, ZAB's rebuttal against *White Paper* was not seen in the newspapers (16). Moreover, the government sealed the press that tried to print it (16). His autobiography was also published from outside because repressive governments did not allow political processes in the state.

ZAB was alleged with rigging of elections and his autobiography provides answers to those allegations. His autobiography, as a struggle to stand against the

regime, exposes new government's biasness towards ZAB's political party as ZAB states that the Chief Elections Commissioner "refused to take complaints made against the opposition" (56). Moreover, he claims that there is no criticism about the oppositional political party in the *White Paper* and it remains "benevolently silent" on their activities during elections (56). Jacoby conceptualizes that repressive governments use coercive means to silence the victims (520), therefore, the authoritarians did not allow ZAB's autobiography to get published in the country to avoid chaos. Sometimes, the dictatorial regimes get engaged in counter-mobilisation⁹ and see victims' protest as a threat to the state, therefore, they counter back and stop victims' struggles.

The selected autobiography of ZAB addresses the acts of regime to assassinate his character. According to Jacoby's perspective, it was his right to redress as a victim and to mobilise his supporters against the government and opposition (521). However, the construction of grievance-based identity is a complicated process and sometimes the lines between the victim and victimizer get blurred (511). The victims become perpetrators while mobilising against them by violating their social, cultural or political rights (511). ZAB disrupts the system and violates opposition's political rights by producing material against them in his book. Meanwhile, the violation of his rights include the fall of his regime, the allegations of rigging, his humiliation in front of his countrymen through *White Paper*, his imprisonment and the threat to his family, also made him suffer from trauma. He is conscious of regime's maltreatment with the people. Thus, the purpose of his book is to deliver his ideology to the people and create collectivity with them. He makes the readers feel the importance of democracy for the prosperity of a country (200). He wants the nation to memorize its history that narrates the sacrifices of "Muslim population and not the military generals" during the creation of Pakistan (201). It shows that ZAB associates his ideology with state's history to let his partisans know that rule of the country belongs to a common man like him, not the authoritarians. This research studies ZAB as carrier agent of constructing cultural trauma, therefore, he declares the rule of dictators as a violation of citizens' political rights. Moreover, he presents the fall of his government as a "tragic event" (57) that influences individuals of whole state and shape his trauma in cultural trauma in them. Authoritarian regimes maintain their rule with oppressive means (Jacoby 519), and his autobiography develops narratives of victimisation that

influence the readers beyond the state's boundaries. That is how, ZAB mobilises against his offenders and constructs cultural trauma.

According to Jacoby, the repressive states refuse to allow the victims to assemble in the state (524). They either exclude the victims or silence them, hence, the victims organize themselves outside the authoritarian regime and involve themselves in “protest movements, guerrilla organisations or terrorists groups” (Jacoby, 525). ZAB's autobiography is composed in the boundaries of dictatorial regime, whereas, his sons mobilised against the perpetrators during their years of exile. FB, while narrating the incidents from the lives of MB and SB, states that after ZAB's arrest, the Bhutto brothers mounted an international campaign, named “the Save Bhutto Committee” for ZAB's freedom (148). Furthermore, they approached the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, for his support in saving ZAB's life (149). Both of the brothers attended several press conferences, spoke at Pakistani embassies and Pakistani communities, held rallies and run *Musawat*, the newspaper, to abrogate the constitution of 1973 and to save ZAB (150). Rallies, protests and press conferences are held to assemble the collectivities against the authoritarians (Jacoby 525). It shows that the regime controls media and print in authoritarian states, for this reason, Bhutto brothers brought the stories of their international mobilisation across the country through overseas service of BBC (170). This step plays the role of mobilising the individuals of the country against the authoritarians. Besides that, these stories portray Bhuttos' trauma as collective trauma that influenced the whole nation. This is how, the brothers have constructed cultural trauma by portraying army's coup as a horrendous event that requires their mobilisation. As a result, “the press, lawyers, women and union workers” in regime have started their resistance movement under MB's supervision (199).

After organizing the protest movements, FB mentions, Bhutto brothers have formed a “guerrilla organisation, Al Zulfikar” (178). The reason behind the formation of this organisation revolves around fighting the regime with force (178). ZAB's party members and victims of torture and imprisonment were the “ideal candidates” to join this guerrilla movement (217). Moreover, the organisation contacted activists, university students and young men “who had been fighting the regime” (193). SB has played a significant role in making plans, preparing guerrillas' outfits and collecting weapons to fight the regime (209). The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy

or MRD was also formed in 1981 to expose the “inhumane” activities of authoritarians in the state (210). The lines between victims and victimizers again get mixed here because Bhutto brothers’ mobilisation against the regime portrays them as enemies of the state¹⁰. The violation of the social and political rights of their offenders is shown through the organization of press conferences, rallies and guerrilla movement. Therefore, the process of the recognition of grievance-based identities as victims sometimes makes the victims turn into victimizers (Jacoby 519).

3.4.2 Democratic States and Struggles of Victims

As compared to repressive states, the democratic governments allow their aggrieved individuals to redress as Jacoby states that trauma based collective identities are constructed in democratic governments (516) because they “encourage victims to join established parties or organise their own parties” to get justice and acknowledgement (524). Thus, the victims join social movements and political parties to publicize their injury. The assassinations of ZAB and SB happened during their mobilisation against the authoritarian regime. Meanwhile, FB’s book is composed in democratic rule and it has faced no difficulty in reaching out to the public. As far as the mobilisation of victims in democratic states is concerned, democracies show resistance instead of dominance¹¹. This shows that the governments have the capacity to resist and renegotiate power relations with the political parties. Thus, democracies allow victims to redress but also resist against their mobilisation (Jacoby 522). FB begins her book by stating that “the democratic government of Pakistan does not tolerate criticism” therefore, the newspapers censor her columns (6). The censorship shows that democratic rule allows her to write but refuses to print it in full form.

The abovementioned incident shows that the democratic regime continues to resist against the mobilisation of victims while encouraging them to redress side by side. While describing MB’s role in politics, FB states that his reason to join politics was to stand against BB’s democratic government for “warrantless arrests and extra-judicial killings politically” (26). After ZUH’s assassination, MB was forced by his partisans to come back to Pakistan and in order to return, MB had to participate in elections as an independent candidate (313). His wife and son visited Pakistan to file the election papers (314). In order to mobilise the people, they chose to travel by road “to the poorest parts of Sindh, Dadu, Badin and Thatta” (315). On second trip, FB joined her mother and brother as well. She narrates her experiences of commiserating

with families of suicide victims who took their lives because of unemployment (315). This is how, FB associates her trauma with the families of suicide victims. It shows that both of the parties found the government responsible for their sufferings; but MB still had to live in exile because the government refused to allow him to come back, and the individuals committed suicide because government lacked employment opportunities. Thus, this collectiveness shapes their individual trauma in cultural trauma.

After winning the elections, MB's arrival to Pakistan mobilised people against the corruption of government (341). According to him, the country needs an "open heart surgery" to treat corruption (341). His comments against the government present him as a violator of the political rights of the authorities. A democratic government does not repress the victims (Jacoby 520) but it refused to MB's request to visit ZAB's grave on his birthday (346). Furthermore, the government also "deployed thirty-thousand plainclothes policemen on his grave for this occasion" (346). According to FB, MB answered back to regime by calling it "the killers of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto" (346). Jacoby predicts that victim becomes victimizer in the process of getting recognized (512). That is why, MB's accusations for the new government about ZAB's murder make him assassinate the reputation of people in charge. It has happened in past that the authoritarian regime held ZAB accountable and executed him as well (211), however, ZUH's death somehow avenges the sufferings ZAB faced during his time. MB chooses to mobilise his father's political party and clears it from the participants of government in ZUH's regime. He addresses to Jamshoro's crowd; "My sister Benazir and the part of *Shaheed* (martyr) Bhutto are besieged by a mafia of thugs, thieves, and Zia's agents" (357). His disapproval for the new government, run by BB, shows that the victim wants to get recognized on the basis of his act of victimisation (Jacoby 529) but BB's brokering with former government reduces the chances of the acknowledgement of Bhuttos' trauma. Therefore, MB looked for partisans in crowds to publicize his plight. His flights towards Balochistan, Waziristan, Punjab and Sindh, in order to make political networks, unravel his political plans (365).

MB, with the support of his partisans, mobilised people against government while raising the issues of state's "dismal economic record and violent stance on law and order" (359). After launching his own party, Pakistan People's Party (Shaheed

Bhutto), his status of being an independent candidate came to an end (360). It shows that MB channels his trauma through political campaign to legitimize his plight. He fights against politics through politics (360). His efforts involve gathering ZAB's supporters and victims of former government to fight for the justice (362). As an agent of cultural trauma, MB's travels all across the country and narration of the incidents of the fall of ZAB's government and his assassination highlight his struggles to influence the individuals. This is how, he promotes his trauma claims to the nation and constructs cultural trauma on the basis of their past memories about Martial Law and ZAB's fall.

FB accuses the state for MB's assassination (415) that shows the resistance of democratic government against his plight. However, the authors and the characters of the selected auto/biographies seem to take chances for recognition as victims and become part of culture of victimhood.

3.5 The Culture of Victimhood

The selected theoretical stance on the emergence of victims as grievance-based identities portrays their journey from victimisation to victimhood. As victimisation addresses the trauma of victims, victimhood shows a situation where victims get trapped in their traumatic situation and find themselves unable to move on (Jacoby 527). According to Jacoby, if the victims are not granted justice, their dangerous fate is "to be caught in a terminal cycle of victimhood" (527). On the other hand, some victims like to be acknowledged on the behalf of their tragedy, therefore, "dependent upon the benefits that accrue to victim status but unable, or unwilling, to move beyond it" (528). It means that being caught in the cycle of victimhood is a choice in which the victims choose to identify themselves through their trauma.

It is established in the second chapter of this dissertation that the purpose of ZAB's autobiography is to provide answer to his accusations. However, Pran Chopra in foreword of his book argues that ZAB has failed to provide proofs against the allegation of rigging (14). Moreover, his explanation of signing the Larkana Plan is "wholly unconvincing" (37). As ZAB claims that he has only signed it to cheer a "devoted follower" who presented him this plan as his masterpiece (135). This incident shows that ZAB claims to sign the Larkana Plan in order to not to hurt his follower's feelings and to exhibit his concern for his countrymen, however,

mentioning the incident in his book can still cause the hurt. ZAB's book shows that he connects all his answers to his love for the nation. For instance, despite being in a cell, he does not consider himself answerable to court and his only test is "the people and this test is met by political not by bureaucratic means" (129). The "test" here refers to vote and elections that he won. However, the military coup did not accept the results (48) ZAB's concerns revolve more around its acceptance by the individuals (129). He declares the *White Paper* "fiction" and considers providing proofs against it "below my dignity" (75). Additionally, he denies the opportunity to "plead guilty to this calumny" that is presented in *White Papers* (348). It shows his motive to create collective identity with the readers as he claims; "my countrymen do not expect me to answer such a ridiculous explanation" (75). Furthermore, it shows that in the death cell, the thoughts of collectivities concerned ZAB more than the decision of court against him. He narrates the horrors and terrors of jail in his autobiography but refuses to defend himself against the allegations (75). Thus, his mobilisation against his victimizers revolves more around his recognition than achieving justice.

The abovementioned discussion shows that ZAB accuses the regime for his imprisonment and humiliation (148) to emerge as a victim of politics. Jacoby argues that the victims have to be "ascertain who is responsible" (526). Moreover, the carrier agents of cultural trauma, after narrating the story of traumatic event, establish the identity of perpetrator to give meaning to their story (Alexander 14). The abovementioned discussion on ZAB's autobiography refers to his views on the authoritarians about the fall of his regime, imprisonment and the victimisation acts of the new government faced by the countrymen as coercive means to maintain power. It also states that ZAB acknowledges people's individual traumas and relates them with his trauma, this is how, he portrays the fall of his democratic rule as an occurring of cultural trauma. Besides, recognizing the regime as victimizer, he focuses on his own recognition and refuses to co-operate with the trial bench because "the trial for murder for the leader of the largest and most powerful political party in the country and its former President and Prime Minister should have an open trial and get commensurate coverage" (300).

However, the government refuses to provide ZAB "publicity" or a chance to connect with the masses through radio or television (300). He considers it as violation of his civil rights as he was elected by the votes of people whom he sees as his saviors

(300). *White Papers*, as fabrication of lies against him, have assassinated his reputation, therefore, he wants the public to conclude if their elected “President and Prime Minister is a murderer or whether he has been framed” (301). It shows his distress for his image in people’s eyes more than receiving justice in the court. His claim to see the *White Papers* as “ridiculous explanation” and refusal to co-operate with trial bench (75) shows his interest to emerge as a victim for recognition, not to attain justice. The repetition of referring to his former posts can be seen as his love for the power that people’s votes awarded him. He claims to be known on the basis of his services, therefore, he does not feel any need to defend himself before public as well (296). However, he demands people to stand against the “internal hegemony” of military coup (201). Such incidents show his aim to get recognized, as knowing the coercive nature of authoritarian regime; he seems to burden the people with the load of standing for him. For him, the support of people could highlight his resistance against co-operating in the court but also display his desire to see the individuals taking stand for him.

ZAB appears to be certain about his execution and asks his sons to “drink the blood of those who dare to shed my blood” (118). Moreover, he requires the assistance of countrymen to avenge his death as his sons; “Who are my sons? My sons are the masses—Mir Ghulam Murtaza and Shahnawaz have been taught from birth to be their servants” (118). The question arises that if ZAB knew about his assassination? If yes, then did he only compose his autobiography to be remembered and to be avenged? Jacoby states that grievance-based identity, on the basis of trauma, assists the victim in attaining material and political values (514) that have some “purchase in society” (517). ZAB’s sons and partisans tried to avenge their death and make the laymen remember him as a martyr in Pakistan’s political history¹². Jacoby states that once victims begin to use their trauma as identification, “it is difficult to establish the victims as an independent agent” (529). Therefore, after ZAB’s assassination, his partisans continued to do his work. This work is analyzed in the next chapter of this research while referring to the efforts of his family members, political party and partisans that have purchased the idea of martyrdom and painted his assassination in color of cultural trauma. According to Alexander, cultural trauma theory does not address “the causes of genocide but its aftereffects” (26). The abovementioned analysis states that the aftereffects of ZAB’s autobiography show

that his partisans, whom he has called “my sons”, still remember him for his services and sacrifices.

FB also claims in her book that ZAB wanted recognition more than justice as he himself promoted ZUH as Chief of Army Staff (124). According to FB, ZAB promoted ZUH because of his detachment for political aspirations, and love for obedience to orders (124). The history of Pakistan narrates the tales of military’s involvement in government, therefore, ZAB selected the person who was less interested in ruling the country. On the contrary, his autobiography suggests that the regime of ZUH has appeared as angel of death for him (67). ZAB wrote countless letters to his children during their educational years across the country as FB predicts that his letters are full of wisdom as if “he must have known would have a place in history” (126). She has also quoted his letters to MB in her book and given them a place in history and literature for his recognition (128).

Victimhood is an endless cycle in which victims themselves choose to be trapped (Jacoby 525). After mobilisation, victims either want to receive justice or choose their trauma for their identification (520). FB calls her book, “my journey of remembering” (10) as she recalls and narrates the traumatic events faced by her family and herself in it. These narrations assist her in constructing cultural trauma because she shares and relates the incidents of assassinations with the world. It also shows that she wants the readers to know the story of her father who was assassinated in a police attack. She holds BB and her husband responsible for MB’s death as his last words name him; “They got us, Zardari and Abdullah Shah” (400). It highlights the portrayal of BB’s democratic government as a victimizer in her victim story and the narration of MB’s death as a tool to construct cultural trauma. She blames BB for killing her brothers (400), but her assassination is supposed to award her justice for MB’s murder but she refuses to move on from her status of being a victim. Furthermore, her traumatic memory seems to shape incidents differently for her; while describing the political traits of BB, she blurs the boundaries between being a victim and victimizer. For instance, she sees BB’s choice to cover her head as a scheme to keep the “Islamic parties and leaders” “on her side” (30), this is how, she violates BB’s right of clothing. Moreover, she mentions BB’s decision of not suspending “the Hudood Ordinances” that have been introduced in authoritarian times (303). Here, FB condemns BB for keeping Islamic parties on her side but stays silent about ZAB’s

acceptance of other Islamic parties (113). Furthermore, she claims to be respectable for the characters of her book. As she states that “I must make clear that my aim here is not to launch a vitriolic attack on anyone but simply to honour my father’s life through a meaningful remembrance” (132).

While remembering her father, she remembers ZAB’s command for his sons to avenge his murder (169). The aforementioned arguments show that instead of stopping the activities of his political mobilisation against ZUH’s death, MB shifts his attention to the culprits in ZAB’s political party. FB claims that the association of the name of Bhutto brothers’ guerrilla organisation, Al Zulfikar, with ZUH’s “death must have made MB overjoyed” (282) that shows MB’s fire of revenge against his father’s killer. It shows that this fire of revenge has led MB towards avenging ZAB’s death from ZUH’s supporters as well. According to FB, MB has no interest in politics but the new government, after ZUH’s death, gave the party ticket to BB’s husband to stand from Lyari (283). This place “was known as power base” of ZAB’s political party in Karachi (283). This shows that BB’s involvement with the former government in elections of December 1988 forced MB to join the politics and, this is how, BB’s decision throws MB in cycle of victimhood. According to FB, he tried to stop his sister from shaking hands with the murderers of their father but BB ignores his advice (294). While being a part of the state, the citizens have to follow the laws and rules set by the authorities. The former government has followed the orders of the system but MB refuses to accept it. On the other hand, BB’s decision to be a part of the government ruins the relationship of Bhutto siblings.

MB has no interest in being part of government but “Zulfikar had sent his sons out of the country because he saw them as the inheritors of his throne” (310). The matter of being “political heir” (311) and recognition has also made MB utilize the trauma of the deaths of ZAB and SB as his identity. FB mentions the comment of Maulabux, a party worker, who says; “Bhutto’s heir is a Bhutto” (311). The narratives like replacing son with father shows the cultural practices of a place, that is why, people’s warm welcome for MB, on his arrival in Pakistan, shows his recognition “as the heir to the Bhutto throne” (328). This narrative gives MB recognition as well as power. The characters and the author do not accept the existence of the narrative of legacy in Bhutto family (360). Nevertheless, NB comments on siblings fight, “It’s bad for your father’s legacy”, contradicts it (360). MB’s reaction on BB’s husband

involvement in government and preaching ZAB's cause also indicate his urge to get recognized for the struggles he made to overcome his traumas. Instead of himself, who is "son of a martyr, who had been struggling in exile for over a decade at that point and had never compromised on his beliefs" (385), he had to see BB's husband in government. The fight over ZAB's legacy and the recognition to be known as the victim of authoritarian rule became reasons for MB to lose his life.

According to Jacoby's theory of victimhood, MB's death has pushed FB in the cycle of victimhood. The abovementioned discussion states that she blames BB and her husband for MB's assassination. She also mentions an interview of BB without providing the references (46). According to FB, in that interview, BB has changed the facts about MB's injuries and declared his own guards his murderers (416). She also told FB on a phone call that governments have their own ways of handling things and FB "is unaware of them" (420). According to Jacoby, victims struggle for recognition through the ideas "that have purchase in society" (529) to achieve the goals like "political representation" and "martyrdom" (517). Therefore, MB adapts the idea of fighting against the participants of ZUH's regime that grants him political representation in his life and status of being a martyr after his death. He has seen ZAB's fate for going against the state, for that reason, he has known the consequences of it. His ideas of fighting the regime while knowing the outcomes make him represent martyr-complex¹³ as he himself chose to die. As the selected cultural trauma theory revolves around the aftereffects of traumatic event, MB's assassination has been painted as martyrdom who sacrificed his life for his nation.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter revolves around the journey of victims from victimisation to victimhood and the role of cultural trauma in emergence of grievance-based identities. The authors and characters of the selected auto/biographies have directly or indirectly witnessed the victimisation of authoritarian and democratic states. The narratives in books, based on the auto/biographers' memory, represent their traumas and the desire to get recognized on the basis of their injury. The collectiveness of trauma-based identities shapes individual traumas into cultural traumas. This chapter has examined the fall of ZAB's regime and deaths of ZAB, MB and SB as examples of cultural trauma. The recognition of political victims of regime's victimisation has also been

analyzed in this chapter. Furthermore, victims' preference of acknowledgement over justice has also been explored in the last section of this chapter. The victims create collective groups that portray their characters on the ideas that have purchase in the society. The chapter is concluded with the idea of martyrdom that has been adapted by the subjects of selected auto/biographies. They have the recognition of being victims in their life and of martyrs after their deaths. The dual nature of cultural trauma, both in life and death, is analyzed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER NOTES

¹ Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902 - 1978) is an American political scientist and communications theorist. He relates politics with culture and social structure in his research works. He has written his essay "Politics: Who gets What, When, How?" in 1936.

² See Edward N. Luttwak, *Coup d'Etat: A Practical Handbook* (1969), for a discussion on coup d'état. This system of government depends on the machinery that controls the activities of organizations and individuals (3).

³ See Paul C. Sondrol, "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Dictators: A Comparison of Fidel Castro and Alfredo Stroessner" (1991), for an insight on the rule of dictators, the authoritarians see themselves as individual beings who have the power to control everything (600).

⁴ Pran Chopra was an Indian journalist, political analyst and newspaper editor. He has written the introduction of ZAB's autobiography.

⁵ See Juan J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (2000), to see the difference between democratic and authoritarian governments, democratic states are in contrast to authoritarian regimes because political forces are dependent on constituencies and influenced by other political parties (161).

⁶ See Juan J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (2000), for definition of ideology, Ideological belief systems based on fixed cultural elements which is important for mass mobilization and manipulation (162). Ideologies unite the masses beyond geographical boundaries and create collective identity.

⁷ See Benedict Anderson, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism" (1983), Anderson introduces the concept of imagined communities in his book which is beyond the boundaries of nation and unites people on multicultural and transnational level on the basis of cultural experiences. In this thesis, this concept is referred to portray the construction of imagined communities that the selected auto/biographers create to invoke cultural trauma.

⁸ See Juan J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (2000), for mobilisation of victims in authoritarian states. Because of the limited sources of publicizing the plight, the victims have circumscribed capacity to relate with others on emotional and collective level (164). The absence of ideology do not create collective identity and the process of mobilisation becomes slow.

⁹ See Alexander Betts and Will Jones, *Mobilising the Diaspora* (2016), to see authoritarian regimes' response against the threats that come across the borders (2). Here, this concept is intertextualized to analyze the mobilisation of dictatorial regimes against the rebellious parties.

¹⁰ For further explanation, see Raja Anwar, *The Terrorist Prince: The Life and Death of Murtaza Bhutto* (1997), a biography on MB, the incidents of MB's participation in plane-hijack and his decisions of putting the traitors behind bars are mentioned in this book that portray him as a victimizer.

¹¹ See Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective (Contemporary South Asia)* (1995), democracy and authoritarianism are reflective of ongoing struggles between dominance and resistance (3).

¹² See Sayid Ghulam Mustafa, *Bhutto, the Man and the Martyr* (1993), for ZAB's emergence as a martyr among his partisans, Mustafa claims that ZAB's life is heroic and his death has made him a martyr (2).

¹³ See Sheldon E. Davis, "What are Modern Martyrs Worth?" (1945), for a definition of martyr-complex, the modern martyr are like the person who himself hits his head against a stone wall and cries that the wall has hit him for his act of righteousness (68).

CHAPTER 4

THE MAKING OF MARTYR: THE REPUTATIONAL USES OF EMBODIED MARTYRDOM IN SELECTED AUTO/BIOGRAPHIES

“The tyrant dies and his rule is over; the martyr dies and his rule begins”.

(Kierkegaard, 151)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter states that the narrative of martyrdom is represented through the narratives of trauma and victimhood. While keeping in view the previous chapter, this chapter addresses the role of victim’s partisans after his/her death. This part of the thesis affirms that on the basis of his/her sufferings and sacrifices, a victim of violence is introduced to the nation as martyr. The theoretical framework of this research argues that the status of being a martyr strengthens the legacy of his/her cause and paints the sacrifice in color of cultural trauma. This chapter explores the aspects of martyr-making in socio-cultural context. It demonstrates the reasons behind portraying martyrs of victimisation as benefactors of the human kind. Furthermore, it describes the accomplishments of embodied martyrdom through the presentation of martyr’s corporeal body and details of its remains. The aim of this chapter is to trace out the advantages of martyr’s image for cultural and material utility that is the crux of embodied martyrdom.

Jacoby defines the nature of victim-based identities as “fluid and open-ended” (516). This fluidity and open-endedness is explained through their goals. As the last chapter concludes that the goal of victims is either to receive justice or to get recognized. Jacoby’s concept states that victims’ goals revolve around seeking valuable benefits from past traumas, for instance; justice, truth, peace, martyrdom, independence or political representation (517). This chapter analyzes the victims’ goal of appearance as martyrs. The theoretical perspective of DeSoucey et al., mentioned in “Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom” is selected to

analyze the selected auto/biographies. According to DeSoucey et al., martyrdom is given to the selected individuals on the basis of cultural context by his supporters (99). Moreover, the reputational uses of a martyr's body are about adding meaning to his image, promoting his cause and invoking cultural memory. The supporting lens of cultural trauma is also evaluated as a reputation, utilized by reputational entrepreneurs or carrier groups. This theoretical stance is presented by Jeffrey C. Alexander's ideas on cultural trauma to locate the role of martyrdom in invoking collective memory about martyr's sufferings and sacrifices. In this chapter, cultural trauma is analyzed as cultural context in which the martyr's image is introduced. Furthermore, auto/biography as research method by Mary Evans and textual analysis as research method by Catherine Belsey are selected to study the selected life narratives; *If I am Assassinated* by ZAB and *Songs of Blood and Sword* by FB. Together, these research methods highlight the ways of reading texts as source of developing the character identities in a cultural context.

As far as the development of the narrative of martyrdom is concerned, literature influences its readers and creates certain discursive practices based on the cultural context. As Pran Chopra, the writer of the foreword of ZAB's autobiography, leaves the matter of finding ZAB innocent on the citizens of Pakistan because "they will know less about his side of the case than a reader of this book" (17). His statement discloses the role of readers in examining a piece of writing. Similarly, this research traces out the role of memory and sacrifice in evolving the narratives of embodied martyrdom. Instead of questioning ZAB's status as a murderer, it revolves around the aftereffects of cultural trauma that are brought by him and his family. The selected theoretical concept focuses on the making of martyr. Likewise, ZAB's portrayal of his image as a martyr during his lifetime is explored as he associates his imprisonment with memories of his services for the nation (335). As the overview of this research suggests that auto/biographies are composed on the basis of the memories that are locked up in the basement of an individual's thoughts, ZAB's character is analyzed as narrator of the memories of his services and sacrifices in his book. On the other hand, FB chooses to narrate the traumatic memories of victimisation, faced by her family as she calls her memoir "a journey of remembering" (10), therefore, her book is based on the memories regarding the sufferings Bhuttos have faced. In order to develop the narrative of martyrdom, she

states that Bhuttos have “rarely” faced “natural deaths” and most of them have died “violently” in their youth (42). Her book also narrates the incidents of the violent deaths of ZAB’s sons. However, this chapter analyzes the role of their embodied martyrdom that makes them tangible and alive through their scars and sacrifices. It shows that they are revived because of their cause and assassinations.

In the light of the slogan of Bhuttos’ partisans, “Bhutto is alive” (31), this chapter analyzes the selected auto/biographies through the theoretical perspectives of DeSoucey et al. and Alexander to locate the role of embodied martyrdom in the occurrence of cultural trauma that invokes collective memory. This chapter is divided in following three parts:

1. Embodied Martyrdom: The Partisanship and Narratives of Victimisation
2. Embodied Martyrdom: Symbolic Power of the Body
3. Embodied Martyrdom: Cultural Trauma and Collective Memory

4.2 Embodied Martyrdom: The Partisanship and Narratives of Victimisation

This part of the chapter analyzes the role of victim’s partisans in the portrayal of his image as a martyr, based on his sacrifices for the mankind. According to DeSoucey et al., the making of a martyr begins with the death of some recognized victim (101). After victim’s departure, his partisans seek to preach his ideology in order to “elicit desired behaviours, generate collective identities, and persuade a potentially indifferent audience” (DeSoucey et al. 100). The previous chapter has explored the ideology of aggrieved individuals that is promoted to create collective identity, likewise, the aforementioned notion of embodied martyrdom shows that a martyr’s partisans continue working on his ideology to produce desired results. There is always a “particular cause” of serving humanity that makes the martyr suffer from the acts of victimisation in his life (114). The partisans link this cause with martyr’s scars and death to achieve their purposes behind martyr-making (114). This research delimits the aims of martyr’s partisans to the creation of collective memory that invokes cultural trauma.

The selected conceptual stance on embodied martyrdom names martyr’s supporters the “reputational entrepreneurs” (100) because they add reputation and meaning to victim’s death to introduce him as a martyr. The death incident of a

historical or political victim provides his reputational entrepreneurs “ample material” to add with his cause (105). Alexander’s agents of cultural trauma also portray the death of a leader as occurrence of cultural trauma (2). Moreover, he states; “Events are one thing, representations of these events quite another” (10) that shows the carrier agents also add meanings with their leader’s death as martyr’s reputational entrepreneurs do. This research analyzes ZAB as his own reputational entrepreneur and carrier agent, and studies Pran Chopra’s foreword to his book doing the same for him. Furthermore, FB’s character is analyzed as reputational entrepreneur for both ZAB and MB, and also for SB and BB.

As ZAB’s reputational entrepreneur, FB focuses on defining his cause in her book. As she argues that the former regime of General Auyb has not “impressed” ZAB much, therefore, he launched his own political party (72). The purpose of his party was to introduce an “economic programme” that “would be aimed towards social justice and led by the principle that the means of production should never be allowed to become the means of exploitation” (73). In order to fulfill his cause, his choice to make amendments against the “injustices of feudalism” made him lose his family’s land but his preferences remained for the good of his nation (113). His familial background makes him a feudal master but he refused to become “the perpetrator of capitalist aggression” (46). His action of nationalization became reason behind the allegation called “economic castration” of capitalists (114). However, his cause behind the decision of nationalization is portrayed as the service of Pakistani people by FB (114). This is the history of ZAB’s ideology that is highlighted by him and his reputational entrepreneurs or carrier agents to legitimize his appearance as a martyr.

The introduction of ZAB’s autobiography has also worked as helping agent in portraying him as a martyr. As Chopra adds reputation to ZAB’s cause by mentioning his position as an elected President and Prime Minister, and says that “he alone is the man born to deliver Pakistan” (19). The countrymen have elected him to rule them because he is one of them (19). By that, Chopra refers to ZAB’s statements on the differences between an elected government and an imposed government to strengthen the legitimacy of his actions. Moreover, he develops the narrative of ZAB’s martyrdom during his imprisonment by arguing about his fame among people and by mentioning the fear of his execution “otherwise he would be back in power one day”

(32). This is how, Chopra persuades indifferent audience to acknowledge ZAB's sacrifices by adding meaning to his victory in elections. Moreover, he also represents the fall of his regime as cultural trauma to influence collectivities.

Alexander describes cultural trauma as "something constructed by society" (2). The abovementioned discussion shows that FB narrates ZAB's services to preach his cause and to legitimize his image as a martyr in her book, and Chopra links his imprisonment with his selection as the ruler of the country. Consequently, the narrations of victimisation by both of the reputational entrepreneurs are seen as sources to "elicit desired behaviours, generate collective identities" (DeSoucey et al. 100). ZAB's character is also analyzed as his own reputational entrepreneur like Thomas Becket¹ and Martin Luther King² who themselves provided the information of their death plots. ZAB prophesizes about his assassination in his autobiography and demands his death to be avenged (118). The "imagined dimension of trauma" makes the acceptance of the actual event of cultural trauma easy for the audience (Alexander 9). Besides that, the imagined version of trauma generates desired meanings from trauma narration (9). As ZAB comments: "dead men tell no tales" (195), thus, he becomes his own entrepreneur and carrier agent. Furthermore, the purpose of such agents is to "project the trauma claim to the audience-public" (Alexander 11) and to add reputation of sacrifices with martyr's corporeal body (DeSoucey et al. 105). ZAB narrates the story of his injuries by telling the audience about his imprisonment and states that "I am confined in a death cell and have no access to the material needed for effectively refuting" (7). While being in confinement, suffering the torture and lacking the material to defend himself, he still chooses to tell his nation "to escape from this lawlessness" (192). This shows that he does not accept the authoritarian system of government. For him, a person selected by the people to rule the people deserves to be in the government (229). He sees himself as that man who is born to serve his nation and not born to "wither away" in jail (231).

After sharing his cause with the readers to generate collective identities, ZAB narrates the victimisation acts that he had to endure because of his cause. Therefore, his emotional and physical injuries are analyzed as his sacrifices for the nation. ZAB interprets the publication of *White Papers* and its transmission with an Arabic translation on radio and television are the instances of his emotional sufferings (48). He claims to be victimized and executed on the basis of "Mr. Telephone", "Hearsay

evidence” and “Bureaucrats” (176). It shows that he dismisses the allegations and constructs his own past on the basis of his services and sufferings. He asserts to be punished for false accusations because “if I wanted to rig the elections, I would not have made model plans” for it (75). This is how, he provides legitimacy of his own actions to create a different version of his past that is described in *White Papers*. His explanation of making model plans for elections and his arrival to meetings to conduct the elections (75) “shows that there was no thought of malpractices either in the mind of the ruling party or the administration” (151). According to DeSoucey et al., the narration of trauma stories from the past assists the reputational entrepreneurs in “constructing a past” that “glorifies the martyr’s identity while simultaneously commenting on contemporary experiences” (103). Thus, by defining his status as an elected President and Prime Minister, he sees the allegations as “clumsy efforts of character assassination” (55). ZAB also narrates an incident of his interaction with the head of a village to generate collective identity. According to him, during the election campaign, a village’s headman said to him: “Who else is worthy of your vote” (76). This is how, he legitimizes his cause of serving the nation by winning the elections. The narration of this incident also depicts his thought of seeing himself as the one who raised voice for his people. According to him, *White Paper* has misinterpreted him in using the phrases like “More to our advantage” but it “might mean more to the country’s advantage” more than his own (107). The use of the expression “might” shows the reconstruction of his own past. Moreover, he quotes the occurrence of signing Larkana Plan, presented to him by a “devoted follower”, as another reason to be in jail (136). However, he does not show any regret about it as he does not regret serving the nation (136).

As his own reputational entrepreneur, ZAB writes his own past in his autobiography. The abovementioned argument shows that while representing the events of the fall of his regime and his death in near future, he utilizes his injuries as a tool to construct cultural trauma. He believes to influence people through his statements (108). FB, as reputational entrepreneur for MB, also constructs his past and states that whenever MB made an appearance in public crowds, the people chanted the slogans of “*Aiya Aiya, Bhutto Aiya*”. “Bhutto has come”. “*Mazdoor ka leader*”. “The leader of the workers” (29) in ZAB’s remembrance. MB’s character is also studied as reputational entrepreneur for ZAB in this research because he continues to follow

ZAB's cause of serving the poor. FB states that MB has been showing his concern for people since his childhood because of his decision to start a magazine to promote "progressive socialism in quite a young age" (92). The publication of this magazine made him receive legal petitions from the individuals of working class (93). Afterwards, FB relates MB's mobilisation against the regime with his thoughts of freeing the people from authoritarians to save them (94). According to FB, both of the Bhutto brothers raised their voices against the regime. Unfortunately, MB had to work alone on ZAB's cause after the murder of SB (267). FB relates the loss of his brother with the loss of his home because "Life in exile was bearable when Murtaza had Shahnawaz to commiserate with" (268). As the happening of events is different from their representation (Alexander 10), sometimes MB draws the pictures of the authoritarians to explain FB about the tragedies that were faced by ZAB and SB (270).

While working as a reputational entrepreneur and carrier agent for ZAB and SB, FB states that the sacrifice of life for the cause of serving people did not stop at ZAB and SB, and MB also devoted himself as a follower of ZAB's ideology. After the death of ZUH, MB's decision to go back home and to face "the multitude of cases of treason" against him filed by the former regime, presents him as a person who took stand for a cause (298). His arrest on Pakistan's airport is constructed by FB as an act of sacrifice. According to her, "He was so relaxed about jail" because being in his country's jail "is better than living in exile" for him (326). The tales of his torturous stay in jail are the incidents of MB's wounds and sacrifices that aided him in rising as a martyr after his assassination.

The narratives of loss of MB's father and brother, the exile, imprisonment, and torture are the significant parts of his story that have "already make him win people's trust" (328). According to FB, MB returned home for the people and then stood against the corruption of country's government (374). She states that after the murders of "three thousand people in Karachi under Operation Clean-Up", MB has the "honor" to "condemn the government's extrajudicial killings in Sindh" as a non Muhajir politician (383). FB adds reputation and meaning to his political activities in order to portray him as martyr because a martyr sacrifices his life to enlighten the society and MB's assassination educates the individuals to stand against injustices³. FB secures his position as a heroic figure while stating the incident of the army's

phone call to BB, acting as Prime Minister. According to FB, BB was told to free MB from jail and to “Stop making a hero out of him” (355). The qualities of bravery and strength, to stand against the victimizers, make a deceased historical figure “perfect” for the role of martyrdom (DeSoucey et al. 110). Therefore, the partisans of ZAB and MB portray them as martyrs and narrate the tragedy of their deaths as cultural trauma.

4.3 Embodied Martyrdom: Symbolic Power of the Body

The partisans transform some victims as martyrs by the narration of his sacrifices and sufferings for a cause as DeSoucey et al., comment that these narrations are supported by martyr’s corporeal body that is used “as a source of identity” (99). The martyr chooses to be acknowledged on the basis of his ideology against victimisation during his life (Jacoby 519), but after his death, the reputational entrepreneurs use his bodily image to promote his cause (100). Moreover, “the martyr must choose to die” for the legitimacy to his cause (101). This description of the “subsequent desecration of the body” gives reputational entrepreneurs the chance to paint martyr’s image according to their desired results (102). The current chapter analyzes the utilization of victim’s body as a source to portray him a martyr and to present his death as an incident of cultural trauma. For this reason, the goal of carrier agents revolves around projecting the idea of trauma into audience (Alexander 11). The reputational entrepreneurs narrate the stories of the treatment with the body at the moment of death, the treatment of the body after death and the use of physical reminders to invoke memory (DeSoucey et al. 102).

The reputational entrepreneurs associate martyr’s ideology with his identity to add meaning to his body’s image (100). The previous section of this chapter evaluates that the cause of the martyr makes him sacrifice his life. Moreover, DeSoucey et al. comment that the collectivities are created by narrating the story of martyr’s cause in association with his corporeal body (101). In ZAB’s autobiography, he shows his believe in the nation (75). For that reason, Pran Chopra declares in his foreword that ZAB was thrown into jail because the people wanted to see him back in government as a ruler (32). The description of the possibility of ZAB’s victory in re-election (38) shows that Chopra uses this possibility to legitimize ZAB’s ideology. Chopra gives more meanings to ZAB’s identity that his services are imprinted on people’s memories, therefore, after his death “someone will win them in the name of his ghost”

(38). Moreover, he insists that at the end of authoritarian regime, “Bhutto’s ghost will sit in his place” (42). ZAB’s ghost here refers to his ideology of serving and benefitting the poor that is supposed to be used by the future rulers. Chopra predicts the role of ZAB’s partisans in winning the elections in his name. This shows the significance of ZAB’s cause in order to sacrifice his life and to emerge as a martyr. While discussing the matter of ZAB’s death, Chopra states that ZAB’s health condition became “pathetic” in jail for being on a “hunger strike” (39). ZAB’s hunger strike unravels his choice of dying for his cause.

ZAB’s autobiography states that instead of co-operating with his trial bench, ZAB chooses to die for his cause (300). He writes his autobiography while being in a death cell (7) and offers an account on his condition in prison, which is analyzed according to the concepts of DeSoucey et al., about martyr’s body at the time of death. The abovementioned discussion shows that ZAB himself provides a detailed description of his situation in death cell as his own reputational entrepreneur. Moreover, he also shares imagined dimension of his death trauma with the nation to paint his death as an occurrence of cultural trauma. To legitimize his cause, he portrays himself as a common man;

The former President and Prime Minister of Pakistan is such a common man that whereas the confessing co-accused and convicts are having a fiesta in the District Jail of Rawalpindi, meeting their relations for hours on end seven to eight times a week, my wife and daughter have to keep complaining and protesting in order to see me barely a week (194).

ZAB also compares himself with other state offenders in jail who have been facilitated more than him (195). According to him, he is not proved guilty, however, other prisoners are treated better than him (195). The purpose of his comparison with other lawbreakers is to narrate the story of authorities’ unjust treatment with him. Furthermore, the state publishes *White Papers* as soon as the appeal reaches the court against his death sentence (160). He pinpoints the purpose of the publication of *White Papers* that is to spread “resentment” against him during the hearing of his case (161). Therefore, he writes his autobiography to let the people know the version of his story with the prophecy of his death; “my life is in their hands, insofar as human beings have the power to decide” (111). He gives an account of his achievements during his rule that includes the plan of The Nuclear Reprocessing Plant (225). While

mentioning his achievements, he comments on his maltreatment that “and for his services, he gets the death sentence” (225). The theoretical stance of DeSoucey et al. affirms that the chronicles of his accomplishments glorify his sacrifice. Furthermore, his willingness to die is shown by his remarks on getting transferred to death cell as he argues that being in death cell is “a humiliation worse than death itself” (94). His representation of being in a death cell rather than being dead is harsh because being alive makes him attend the hearings of his case (94). He analyzes the remarks of Chief Justice for him by stating that the judge’s contentment is “to hang me by the neck until I die” (94). Furthermore, he mentions the commands of the police for him that include; “shut up”, “get up” and “take this man away” (299). Therefore, he sees the prison as a “valley of death” (235). These illustrations from ZAB’s autobiography portray the imagined dimension of his death and unknot his urge to die for his cause. They also propose that instead of brokering with the regime, he prefers to die. His attitude towards death narrates the tales of his cause behind death and cultural trauma.

The treatment of his body at the time of his death is described in a brutal manner by him as he spends his whole day “in a congested and suffocating death cell” (296). Moreover, he complains against the weakening of his eyesight and the shattering state of his health (296). He gets executed after the court’s approval of his death sentence but his autobiography is unable to reveal the treatment with his body after his death. However, his reputational entrepreneurs utilize the absence of his body as a source of invoking memory as well as “creating a shrine” (DeSoucey et al. 103). ZAB himself states that he has an “eternal bond” with his nation that is unbreakable (77). This statement shows that his book adds the narratives of martyrdom with his state at the time of his death. On the other hand, Pran Chopra compliments him in the foreword of ZAB’s book that after ZUH’s departure from government, “Bhutto’s ghost will sit in his place” (42). As abovementioned analysis of his statement reveals that ZAB’s ghost is a symbolic representation of his cause, which is promoted by his reputational entrepreneurs and carrier agents to portray him as a martyr and to make his death an occurrence of cultural trauma.

FB also narrates the treatment with ZAB’s body at the time of his death, in her memoir, by stating that the rejection of ZAB request for a fair trial made him sure “that he would be killed” (167). Moreover, his request to see a dentist for his injured gums by eating the food with shards of glass in it, displays his condition at the time of

his execution (169). As far as the treatment with ZAB's body after his death is concerned, FB claims that the family has never seen ZAB's body because of his quiet burial before the release of the news of his death (14). FB claims that the state provided no medical proof of his hanging that made the family believe that "he was tortured and killed" (173). The selected theoretical perspectives suggest that the reputational entrepreneurs or carrier agents narrate the torturous details of martyr's body to add meanings with the event of martyr's assassination to promote his cause and to invoke cultural trauma. Moreover, FB's description of the location of ZAB's execution represents it as a historical place. According to her, the country's first Prime Minister and ZAB were assassinated at the same place, moreover, BB was also killed in the same city (171). The deaths of three political personalities at the same location invokes cultural trauma and interlinks it with their heroic tales of scars and sacrifices. As far as the heroic nature of ZAB is concerned, MB tells the cameras that he has been politically ruined and got tortured for two years before getting executed (173). Moreover, while working as ZAB's reputational entrepreneur and carrier agent, MB comments on ZAB's death that the government has "buried a martyr today" (173). MB declares ZAB a martyr on the basis of the victimisation and character assassination that he faced for two years to promote his cause.

The abovementioned analysis of the selected auto/biographies suggests that ZAB describes his ideologies of working for the poor and standing against the authoritarians in his autobiography. On the other hand, FB says that MB refuses to write his biography and asks FB to write it after his death (22). This depicts MB's desire to get recognized after his death. Moreover, FB, as his reputational entrepreneur and carrier agent, makes him recognized as a martyr and associates the notion of cultural trauma with his death. She also narrates the incident of SB's death in her book for the world to acknowledge him. According to her, SB's body was found while "lying its face down" (251). As far as the treatment with his body at the time of death is concerned, the "unnatural" blue marks were seen on this body and his face began to change its color into "blue-ish black" (252). After his death, a small glass bottle has been found in the trashcan (252). Moreover, FB shares the news of finding poison in SB's system, confirmed by the police, in her book (253).

FB also adds reputation with SB's physical reminders by narrating the instance of MB's visit to his grave, and as compared to the marbled grave of ZAB, SB's grave

“was flat on the ground” (357). According to her, the shape of the grave looked “untidy” and the grave itself was “circled by bricks” (357). On the contrary, the stage for government’s speeches is properly constructed outside the shrine (358). Through the description of SB’s grave, FB projects the narrative of her familial trauma in the minds of the audience to paint it as cultural trauma. The aforementioned discussion on SB’s assassination shows that the incident of his killing was happened for his mobilisation against the authoritarians. Moreover, in the previous chapter his character is studied as a follower and preacher of ZAB’s ideology of standing for the poor and against the victimizers. FB narrates another memory of SB’s death about his body being seen by his daughter Sassi Bhutto, who shares the experience of being “haunted by flashbacks of discovering my father’s lifeless body” (253). His death supports FB’s statement about Bhuttos’ unnatural death before reaching to their middle ages (42). The unnatural deaths of Bhuttos make this family the Kennedys of Pakistan and also provide ample examples to construct cultural trauma.

Like Sassi Bhutto, FB has also lost her father. She remembers seeing scars on MB’s chest, back and nose, meanwhile, MB finds it hard to explain the story behind his marks (238). Before his death, MB discloses in a press conference that his bags are ready (26). The assassination of MB has occurred on 20 September, 1996. The narratives about his body’s condition at the time of his death state that MB’s car was followed by police while coming back from a public conference (396). Later on, the police blocked the road and MB tried to talk to them and one of his bodyguards, Yar Mohammad, joined him (398). FB narrates that a “single shot hit Yar Mohammad in the forehead and killed him instantly” (399). The wild firing of police hit MB’s another guard Ashiq in his arm, furthermore, his other guards, Sajjad and Rahim, also got killed at the spot (399). According to FB, two policemen hit themselves in the foot and leg to make the incident look like a “police interaction” (400). FB claims that MB was shot several times in face, chest and arms “yet he survived the hail of bullets” (399). She quotes his guard, Qaisar, who told FB that despite of his injuries and wounds, MB walked on his own when police took him out of the car (401). The presentation of MB’s endurance of several bullets’ wounds and his courage to walk with all of the wounds, add status of martyrdom with his body’s sufferings and provide material to create cultural trauma.

MB survives the gunshots in his chest and arms but does not endure the last shot in his jaw (402). According to FB, after making sure that the last shot “proves itself as killing shot”, the police dropped MB’s “covered in blood” body outside the hospital and left (404). He happened to lose his life during a cardiac arrest (410). FB remembers to see “blood congealing on his face” and “flecks of blood in his hair” (413). She describes his funeral in Larkana as an “intense” gathering and MB’s arrival there through a helicopter (420). While describing the treatment with MB’s body after his death, she mentions the crowd that “attached themselves to the airborne helicopter, clinging on to the doors and landing gear as it struggled to lift off” (420). These occurrences portray MB as a martyr who sacrificed his life while serving the nation. Furthermore, the crowds represent the acceptance of his death as an event of cultural trauma.

Meanwhile, in 2007, the nation had to face another incident of cultural trauma on the occasion of BB’s “murder” (427). After narrating the incidents of the deaths of her family members, FB concludes; “Every decade someone in this family, in his immediate family of Zulfikar and Nusrat’s children, is killed” (427). The selected auto/biographies state that ZAB himself, and his three out of four children have been murdered. According to FB, the Bhutto family is known for their significant role in establishing the rule of democracy in Pakistan (429). The stories of their assassination are embedded in the country’s cultural narratives. Whereas, the reputational entrepreneurs of the theoretical stance of DeSoucey et al., see the physical bodies of the martyrs as aiding agents of shaping memory (102). The description of the abovementioned characters influence the readers’ memory that helps the reputational entrepreneurs in seeking their goals of shaping martyrs, and aid the carrier agents to create narratives on cultural trauma.

4.4 Embodied Martyrdom: Collective Memory and Cultural Trauma

According to DeSoucey et al., “the reputational entrepreneurs use the body of the martyr to invoke collective memory” (114). This shows that the construction of memory about the martyr’s body is done as a source to add meanings to his identity and emotional weight with his cause and sacrifices (101). A martyr’s story has to display “courage, leadership, and vision, providing a domain to convert words and actions into a symbolic resources” (102). Therefore, the stories of Bhutto family’s

martyrs are based on ZAB's ideology of being good to the laymen and his sacrifices for them. The significance of his cause is known by Pran Chopra comment, who predicts the government of his "ghost" in future (Bhutto 42). Including ZAB, the deaths of his family members are portrayed as events of cultural trauma because a collectivity feels traumatized when it faces "fall of a regime" or "death of a leader" (Alexander 2). As far as Alexander's theoretical concepts on cultural trauma are concerned, the cultural trauma occurs on the construction of memories about a horrendous event (12). Moreover, the carrier agents "decide" to represent social pain according to their goals (10). In this research, these agents represent the deaths of Bhuttos as social pain and portray them as martyrs. The notion of cultural trauma is analyzed as an assistant to shape the subjects' identities as martyrs. The experience and imagination of trauma through stories create collective identity on wider level and shape memories (20). Therefore, the carrier agents make the collectivity "re-remember" the collective past because memories are not constructed on the basis of present events but also by remembering and reconstructing the past memories (22). This shows that the reputational entrepreneurs or carrier agents reconstruct the past of their subjects and present them as martyrs of present by adding reputations to their bodies.

The narration of a martyr's death incident and the image of his corporeal body invoke collective memory (DeSoucey et al. 101). These narrations are supported by martyr's historical background because the stories of sacrifices and glories are told and retold to influence the martyr's image (103). As far as ZAB's story of the glorification is concerned; in the foreword of his autobiography, Pran Chopra utters his name with another significant character in Pakistan's history. According to him; "Bhutto has more charisma than any other politician in Pakistan since Jinnah" (10) because he served Pakistan as foreign minister, president and prime minister. Moreover, he has achieved the post of ministry at the age of thirty (11). He argues that ZAB's selection as the Prime Minister of Pakistan built the idea of government other than "with the possible exception of the army's guns" in people's minds (11). His imprisonments during the authoritarian rules of 1968 and 1971 made him "more popular" (11) but his latter arrest made him lose his life. Despite that, Chopra finds it hard to "depose" a man who was selected by the people (37). His foreword to ZAB's

autobiography displays his courage and leadership that is necessary for the making of a martyr (DeSoucey et al. 102).

The abovementioned discussion shows that as his own reputational entrepreneur and carrier agent, ZAB uses the imagined dimension of the trauma of his death to invoke collective memory. He makes the people remember his struggles and services for them in order to be remembered by them. Therefore, he also establishes his status as a martyr after death for the services and sacrifices he made. ZAB mocks at the engineering of coup in the darkness of night, meanwhile, he has sworn “as the first civilian elected President” in “broad daylight” (61). He explains his victory in election by calling himself “a creation of the people” (129) who chose ZAB to rule them. This shows that he constructs his past narratives by relating his political activities with his cause. While referring to the system of justice of his government, he claims to support “his *Haris*, the poor, the downtrodden” (104) as a leader. He repeatedly develops the narratives of his loyalty to the people to prove himself innocent against the accusations of election rigging; “If I had taken a blind partisan position at the cost of the masses, I would have let down the masses and their cause” (117). It portrays his desire to see the rule of democratic government in country as a cause of the citizens to take stand. Moreover, in abovementioned statement, he declares their cause to be his cause. He reminds the people about his services of introducing nationalization, eradicating feudalism and signing the Agreement of The Nuclear Reprocessing Plant (221). The description of his achievements and struggles for the country invoke collective memory and work as a tool to create cultural trauma after his death. He claims to love the countrymen as his sons as he declares; “My sons are the masses” (118). According to him, it is his concern for the people that influenced them to stand for him against the regime (118). ZAB pens down the incidents of women being “lathi charged” and “tear gassed” for their marches to pray for him at the shrines (122). He declares the most important achievement of his political party is to make people aware of the importance of democratic government for the development of a country (177). This is how, he reconstructs the past of his years as a ruler and portrays the life narratives in his favor.

In order to bring credibility in his statements, he narrates the occurrences of his past as a member of feudal family. According to him, in his youth, he saw people “crawl humbly” and sitting on “bended knees” in front of their feudal (178). However,

he claims that his government has eradicated feudalism and introduced the masses with their basic rights as humans (178). He seems shocked that despite all of his struggles to raise the standard of the individuals' lives, the regime accused him of election rigging (179). By describing the incidents of his interactions with the masses, he highlights the love of masses for him as the secret of his victory in election (333). Even though he asserts "I would not refer to my contributions" but recalls his role in the wars of 1965 and 1971 and the achievement of Simla Agreement as efforts of bringing "contentment" in the souls of people (335). This shows the reconstruction of ZAB's past by his own pen to live in the memories of collectivities, as a leader, who is martyred for his cause and sacrifices. After adding reputation to his sacrifices and imagined dimension of his death, he proclaims; "My name and my reputation is safe in the custody of the people and in the heart of history" (295). This statement shows that by describing his sacrifices and achievements again and again, he prepares the nation to perceive his death as an occurrence of cultural trauma.

On the other hand, FB states in her book that ZAB's death has traumatized people deeply because his execution made "Men set themselves on fire in Zulfikar's constituency of Larkana" (173). She also constructs ZAB's past, based on her memories, developed by the stories she heard from MB. She asserts that after resigning from the post of foreign minister, during authoritarian regime, ZAB was supported by "ordinary people, activists, students and labourers" (68). To represent these people, he founded his political party that promised to serve "the peasants, the working class" (77). In order to secure ZAB's position as a leader of masses, FB narrates about seeing his photographs addressing large crowds (90). However, the real time of his glorification began with his victory in 1972 (107), and FB associates ZAB's triumph with the support of people who acted as a collectivity to make ZAB win (107). Besides that, FB portrays ZAB as an "innocent leader" because his trial has failed to meet the standards of justice for not being an open trial and for the deteriorating condition of his health (168). This is how, she portrays ZAB as a heroic leader who appeared as a martyr because of his sacrifices and bodily sufferings, and also presents his death as an occurrence of cultural trauma.

The previous chapter states that MB's struggles to save his father's life revolve around organizing Al-Zulfikar, publishing *Musawat* and speaking to press conferences against the authoritarian government. His efforts failed to save ZAB's life but he feels

pride in fighting against the “government that killed my father and brother” (22). MB’s cause behind sacrificing his life was as same as ZAB’s ideology. ZAB believed in democracy and power of masses, so did MB (23). Therefore, the display of his courage is shown by his resistance that is significant for the making of a martyr (DeSoucey et al. 100). Moreover, FB invokes the memories of collectivities by representing MB as a man who respects law as well. As she narrates that while speaking to a crowd against the government’s corruption, he told his partisans to “surrender peacefully” in front of the police to avoid riot (27). This is how, he shows resistance and acceptance at the same time. During the years of MB’s exile, he gets contacted by a person, Tipu, who claims to hijack a plane and invites MB to lead it (222). MB turns Tipu’s offer down and asks him to release women and children (224). By narrating the incidents of MB’s life, FB constructs his identity to invoke collective memory and portray his death as occurrence of cultural trauma. The purpose of cultural trauma is to mark the memories of a collectivity forever about an incident. Therefore, the reconstruction of MB’s past with the reference of his death as a martyr and event of cultural trauma makes him recognized for his cause.

MB has love for his nation in his heart like ZAB, however, FB mentions his love for country’s soil and its culture as well in her book. She recalls that, in her childhood, MB made her aware of being “landless” and “belonging from somewhere else” (271). She also remembers MB playing “old Sindhi folk songs” and using “*ajraks*” (271). According to her, this is MB’s love for his country and culture that made the people accept him, therefore, he won elections from Larkana as an independent candidate with no polling agents and no monitors, against rigging (318). The police took him to Landhi Jail on his arrival to Pakistan (328) and FB brings up the narratives of MB’s imprisonment to show his concern for the partisans more and less for his scars. He used to send food and clothes to Maulabux, whose cellmates started calling him “*sahib*” on behalf of MB’s treatment with him (332). While quoting others’ opinion about her father, FB establishes MB’s status as a martyr whose life has been taken because of his ideology and adds reputation of cultural trauma with his identity. According to her, MB started acting on his ideology and mobilising against the state after getting released from prison (359). The narrative about the crowd of people on his release depicts FB’s establishment of invoking collective memory by reconstructing their pasts. Moreover, the individuals “willingly”

created collectivity with him because “People wanted to meet him, to hear him speak, to see if they was any hope to be placed in his newcomer or whether he was another elite feudal landowner who had no political connection with the ordinary masses” (359).

While working as reputational entrepreneur and carrier agent for MB, FB enhances his reputation and states that in order to serve the “ordinary masses”, MB launched his own party in 1995 (390). The party continued to convey the messages of people to the government through the words of MB (391). On the last day of his life, he addressed the crowd and told them; “I’m ready to go to jail” (396). However, instead of getting jailed, MB gets assassinated. His burial in the original flag of his political party (421) tells the tale of his love for sacrificing himself for his cause that was fulfilled through his party. FB’s statement; “Papa gave his monthly MPA salary to the Edhi Foundation every month” (366) adds reputation to his corporeal body’s image and portrays his death as a matter of cultural trauma. She shares the trauma of losing MB as “living with an incomplete picture of my father as a murdered man” (437). Moreover, FB has been told by her teacher and a friend; “Your father will make history” (412). According to her, he has made history by promoting ZAB’s ideology, standing for the rights of masses and sacrificing his life for serving the country. Through this, not only she portrays MB as a martyr but adds reputation of collective memory with his image.

FB states the incident of visiting her father’s grave after BB’s assassination and the elections of 2008. She establishes MB’s status as a martyr by telling the police; “I’m the *Shaheed*’s daughter” (432). However, seeing the posters of BB’s husband and children around the graves of her grandfather, father, uncle and aunt with the description of “Benazir’s *siasi waris* according to her ‘will’, her political heir”, infuriate her (432). She removes the posters but pens down this incident in her book to invoke collective memory about her father who does not claim to be ZAB’s political heir. This shows the reconstruction of past and adding meanings to the life narratives of MB to present his death as an event of cultural trauma. On the other hand, BB’s husband and children appear as her heirs to rule the country but FB provides no further explanation about this matter (435). Although, she narrates the incident of telling Justice Nizam’s brother, Noor Ahmed that she has composed her book to present story of her family to be read and known (435). It shows that her only point

behind the composition of her book is to remember her past with MB in it, and share it with the world to add reputation of cultural trauma and collective memory, with his embodied martyrdom. She also sees “no point in appealing” because her family’s victimizer has absolved himself from the cases (436). Therefore, FB shares the narratives of Bhuttos’ tragedy in her book to mention their sufferings as well as their victimizers’ recognition.

4.5 Conclusion

According to DeSoucey et al., the embodied theory of martyrdom provides a dual account on the past and present of the martyr’s identity that permits embodied martyrdom to share memory and generates collectivities on the basis of martyr’s belief and sacrifice (115). Moreover, Alexander’s theoretical notion on cultural trauma revolves around not about the causes of genocide but its “aftereffects” (26). The intersection of these theories has assisted in analyzing the selected auto/biographies. As Kennedys of Pakistan, Bhutto family has faced several unnatural deaths. Moreover, the deceased members are significant personalities in the history of Pakistan’s politics. Moreover, the chapter suggests that their deaths are based on their resistance against the system. Their acts of following an ideology, claims to stand for the masses, and the incidents of their deaths are analyzed in this chapter to explore their emergence as martyrs. As trauma represents someone’s wound that inflicts human mind, cultural trauma influences the memory of a collectivity and does not make it forget the horrendous incident. Therefore, the deaths of Bhuttos are analyzed as incidents of cultural trauma for their recognition as martyrs. Thus, the abovementioned discussion shows that both of the writers of the selected auto/biographies describe the reason behind the composition of their books is to be remembered and to get acknowledgement, on the basis of their sacrifices and scars.

CHAPTER NOTES

¹ See T. S. Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), for the plot of the assassination of Archbishop Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. The events like Becket's sermon about his death on Christmas morning, his knowledge about the consequences of getting killed after coming back from his self-imposed exile in France, his refusal to flee from the church and his orders to priests for opening the church gates for everyone including enemies, shows his desire to be known as martyr after his death.

² See Roger Bruns, *Martin Luther King, Jr: A Biography* (2006), to locate this American minister's event of assassination in struggle to secure civil rights. He prophesizes about his death before the day of his assassination in Memphis. He defies a bodyguard by declaring his fearlessness from death and gets killed. The incident of his execution depicts his wish to die and to be remembered as martyr.

³ See Murtaza Mutahhari and Muhammadi Rayshahri, *The Martyr* (1979), for an discussion on the purposes of a martyr with the reference of the martyrdom of Imam Husayn, a martyr devotes his life to create fervour, to enlighten the society and to revive it (63).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The Bhutto family members in Pakistani political history are known for their unnatural deaths and assassinations. The narratives of their martyrdom are embedded in Pakistani socio-political discourses but this research explores their origins in the selected auto/biographies; *If I am Assassinated* (1979) and *Songs of Blood and Sword* (2010) while tracing out the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood as a source of representing cultural trauma.

Martyrdom as a religious concept addresses martyr's willingness to sacrifice his life for a noble cause. However, martyrdom as a socio-cultural and socio-political concept changes martyr's whole identity. In this research, martyr's noble cause, the incident of his assassination and his wounds and scars are analyzed in the socio-cultural context that believes in protection of human rights. The status of martyrdom awards a martyr with recognition and acknowledgment on the basis of his sufferings and sacrifices. Therefore, the selected theoretical perspective by DeSoucey et al., on embodied martyrdom describes the process of martyr-making for the purpose of recognition and invoking collective memory through the wounds of martyr's body. His wounds make him a victim of physical harm during his lifetime and a martyr after the death. Jacoby's theoretical concept on victimhood states the journey of a victim from his act of victimisation to the culture of victimhood for his recognition. Both of the concepts revolve around the recognition of the individuals on the basis of their wounds. The intersection of these theoretical stances is made to conduct the chapters of analysis. In those chapters, the subjects of the selected auto/biographies are studied as victims in their lives and as martyrs after their deaths. Moreover, the role of traumatic autobiographical memory in developing the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood is analyzed through Alexander's theoretical stance of cultural trauma.

As far as the significance of this research is concerned, the socio-political discursive practices of martyrdom and victimhood are explored from the selected auto/biographies. The research also establishes the role of auto/biographies in disclosing cultural narratives. Moreover, the role of collective identity and collective memory in the recognition of victims and martyrs is also traced out in this research.

The aftereffects of the deaths of leaders and fall of their regimes on the countrymen are discovered through the theoretical perspective of cultural trauma. However, the research is delimited to Alexander's concept of cultural trauma, Jacoby's stance of victimhood and the idea of embodied martyrdom by DeSoucey et al. This exploratory-descriptive research merely analyzes the content presented in the auto/biographies; *If I am Assassinated* and *Songs of Blood and Sword*. It does not question the legitimacy of governments, law and judiciary system.

The critical framework of this research revolves around the role of memory in composition of auto/biographies. The traumatic memories of assassinations are studied in this research, therefore, the critical framework relates traumatic autobiographical memory with cultural trauma and selects theoretical perspective of Jeffrey C. Alexander, presented in "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma" (2004), included in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (2004). This perspective describes the portrayal of tragic state incidents, for instance the fall of government or death of a leader, as occurrences of cultural trauma through inflicting the memory of a collectivity. In the selected auto/biographies, the fall of ZAB's regime and deaths of Bhutto family members are analyzed as incidents of cultural trauma. The writers are scrutinized over as carrier agents of meaning making because they promote the details of horrendous events to construct the memories of cultural trauma. The conceptual framework on victimhood, presented by Tami Amanda Jacoby in "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity" (2015) explores victim's journey from his tragedy to his recognition on the basis of his trauma from the selected auto/biographies. The aspects of traumas, ideologies, mobilisation and recognition of subjects mentioned in the selected books are disclosed through this idea. The subjects' lives are analyzed as their status as victims, meanwhile, their emergence as martyrs after death is explored through the theoretical notions of "Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom" (2008) by Michaela DeSoucey et al. This theoretical stance unravels the process of martyr-making to add reputations to martyr's body to invoke collective memory. Therefore, the purpose of this research revolves around tracing out the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood as tools to represent cultural trauma. The interpretive nature of this research requires the use of qualitative research methodology to conduct this research. Moreover, "Auto/Biography as a Research Method" by Mary Evans and "Textual

Analysis as a Research Method” by Catherine Belsey are selected to conduct this research.

As far as the findings of the research is concerned, the theoretical perspective of victimhood is intersected with the concept of cultural trauma in the “The Emergence of Grievance-based Identities: The exploration of Victimhood in Life-Narratives of Bhutto Family” to explore victim’s journey from victimisation to victimhood and to analyze the acts of victimisation as cultural trauma. According to the selected auto/biographies, the imprisonment, exile and assassinations are the acts of victimisation that have happened differently in the different contexts of authoritarian and democratic regimes. Moreover, these victimisation acts on individual level are analyzed as individual trauma but on collective level they are studied as cultural trauma. The Bhutto family is significant in Pakistan’s political history, thus, their traumas are studied as an influence on the whole collectivity. After the acts of victimisation, the subjects decide to gather the partisans by publicizing their plight and creating collective identity. The private traumatic moments of sufferings are analyzed as events of cultural trauma because of their presentation by the writers as carrier agents of collective trauma. After shaping the ideology, the collectivities assemble against the government and act according to their political contexts. This chapter establishes that the authoritarian regimes refuse to allow victims to redress, hence, they either work alone like ZAB or organize their guerrilla organization outside of the regime like Bhutto brothers. In democratic governments, the state does not stop victims from mobilisation by coercive means but resists them.

The reason behind victims’ mobilisation is either receiving justice or to get recognition on the basis of their grief. It is analyzed that the subjects of selected auto/biographies have not received justice, therefore, they get trapped in the hurricane of victimhood that allows the victims to use their trauma as their identity. The recognized victims seek a host of goals that involves the uses of their tragedy to gain justice, voice, martyrdom or political representation. The subjects of the selected books are examined to be known as martyrs after sacrificing their lives for their ideologies. Moreover, the recognition of Bhutto family members as victims influences the collectivity as witnessing their victimisation as occurrences of cultural traumas. Likewise, the emergence of victims as martyrs portrays their deaths as cultural trauma

too. The selected theoretical stance on embodied martyrdom describes the process of making of a martyr based on his cause and sacrifices.

The selected concept of embodied martyrdom is intersected with the selected perspective of cultural trauma in “The Making of Martyr: The Reputational Uses of Martyrdom in Selected Auto/biographies” to explore the process of making of the martyr for reputation purposes of invoking collective memory and constructing cultural trauma. An individual chooses to be grievance-based identity but after his death, the reputational entrepreneurs or carrier agents add reputations or meanings to his injuries, death and cause. These entrepreneurs, as martyr’s partisans utilize his sufferings and sacrifices to construct the image as a martyr. ZAB’s character is analyzed as his own reputational entrepreneur, meanwhile, FB plays this role for both ZAB and MB. Afterwards, these entrepreneurs add reputations to martyr’s body through three ways; the treatment with his body at the time death, the treatment with the body after death, and use of physical reminders to construct collective memories. ZAB describes the treatment of his body before and at the time of his death in his autobiography, whereas, further explanations have been presented by FB in her book. The absence of ZAB’s body does not stop her from interlinking the narratives of martyrdom with him. FB’s description of MB and SB’s death incidents are also analyzed in this chapter. As carrier agents of cultural trauma, the writers and subjects of the selected auto/biographies, address the nature of martyr’s pain, nature of his dead body and his relation with collectivities. The purpose of the creation of a martyr is to invoke collective memory that shows the influence of martyr’s death on the memory of the targeted audience. Through the narratives of subjects’ achievements, the reputational entrepreneurs of ZAB and MB invoke the collective memory of the whole nation.

The conclusion of the analysis of the selected auto/biographies depicts the socio-cultural nature of the concepts of martyrdom and victimhood. The identities of both victims and martyrs are developed for their recognition. Collective identity is shaped and collective memory is invoked for their acknowledgement. In order to get recognized, the victims choose to be known for their trauma, whereas, the reputational entrepreneurs construct the narratives of martyr’s cause and sacrifices for meaning making. Moreover, the aspects of generating collective identity and invoking collective memory influence the collectivities as occurrences of cultural trauma. The

in-depth analysis the selected auto/biographies conclude that the narratives of martyrdom and victimhood are embedded in Pakistani socio-political culture. It is the culture that develops certain narratives and the people happen to become the source of practicing them.

For future researches, I suggest the researchers to explore auto/biography as a genre. This genre is not much preferred to research because of the report-like form of its narratives. However, the auto/biographies are written with the assistance of auto/biographer's memory. It is established in the first chapter of this research that memories of some event are constructed because every individual perceives the event in his own way. The untrustworthy positioning of memory, somehow, makes it fictional. Moreover, the selected auto/biographies can be analyzed from the perspectives of Postcolonialism, Marxism and Re-Orientalism. Furthermore, the selected theoretical stances can be used to analyze the texts related to Feminism and Racism.

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