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Terrorism, Human Rights Dilemma And Its Effects On Women In Swat, Pakistan

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Abstract

The global war on terror has created a human rights dilemma for the most marginalised groups in societies. In a highly patriarchal society like Pakistan, this dilemma is further magnified due to the lack of focus on human rights problems it creates for subsections of society that do not have equal access to mainstream resources, such as women. This paper seeks to identify the human rights issues created due to terrorism and counter-terrorism from a gendered perspective in the context of women in Swat, Pakistan. Secondary data analysis has been used as a research methodology, and the Feminist Theory has been applied as the theoretical framework. Findings reveal that women in Swat have suffered human rights abuses in the economic, social and cultural context far more than men, and continue to suffer from psychological problems. The militant activity in Swat altered the mindset of women towards terrorism, creating women militants. The paper concludes that women in Swat suffered severe human rights abuses to their economic, social and cultural freedoms, and were not beneficiary to adequate rehabilitation initiatives, leaving emotional and mental after-effects on these women.

Keywords: Terrorism; Counter-Terrorism; Human Rights; Women.

تلخیص

دہشتگردی کے خلاف ہونے والی عالمی جنگ نے معاشرے کے سب سے پسماندہ طبقات کے لیے انسانی حقوق کے حوالے سے مشکل پیدا کر دی ہے۔ پاکستان جیسے پدر سری معاشرے میں یہ مشکل اور بھی زیادہ شدّت اختیار کر جاتی ہے، کیونکہ یہاں معاشرے کے پسماندہ طبقات کے انسانی حقوق پر توجّہ نہیں دی جاتی اور اُن طبقات کے پاس مرکزی دھارے میں موجود وسائل تک رسائی ناپید ہے ، جیسا کہ خواتین کے حوالے سے دیکھنے میں آتا ہے۔ یہ مضمون دہشتگردی اور انسدادِ دہشتگردی کے نتیجے میں پیدا ہونے والے انسانی حقوق کے مسائل کو سوات، پاکستان کی خواتین کے نظریے سے شناخت کرنے کی کوشش کرتا ہے۔ اس کے لیے ثانوی اعداد و شمار کے تجزیے کو تحقیقی طریقہ کار کے طور پر استعمال کیا گیا ہے، اور نظریاتی فریم ورک کے لئے حامی نسائی نظریہ (فیمینسٹ تھیوری) کا استعمال کیا گیا ہے۔ نتائج سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ سوات میں خواتین کے انسانی حقوق، معاشی، معاشرتی اور ثقافتی لحاظ سے مردوں کے

مقابلے میں کہیں زیادہ پامال ہوئے ہیں، اور اس کے نتیجے میں پیدا ہونے والی نفسیاتی مشکلات آج بھی باقی ہیں۔ سوات میں ہونے والی دہشتگردی کے نتیجے میں خواتین کی ذہنیت بھی متاثر ہوئی، جس کی وجہ سے خواتین دہشت گرد بھی پیدا ہوئیں۔ یہ مضمون اس نتیجے پہ اختتام پذیر ہوتا ہے کہ سوات کی خواتین کی معاشی، معاشرتی، اور ثقافتی آزادی بری طرح متاثر ہوئی ہے، اور ان کی بحالی کے خاطر خواہ وسائل نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے اس کے جذباتی اور ذہنی اثرات اب بھی موجود ہیں۔

کلیدی الفاظ: دہشتگردی، انسدادِ دہشتگردی، انسانی حقوق، خواتین۔

Introduction

Terrorism is a phenomenon that aims to target and destroy fundamental human rights by destabilising democratic governments, freedom of movements, rule of law, and ultimately, basic human rights. Terrorism runs counter to the basic tenets of the Charter of the United Nations and undermines the foundations of international principles. This includes advances against the enjoyment of human rights by people, including right to life, liberty and physical integrity. In societies that already have a human rights dilemma, this problem assumes gigantic proportions. Given the sensitivity of this issue, and the fact that the most marginalised sections of societies, such as women, have much more to lose in the terrorism/human rights dilemma, there is a strong need to assess the effects that these activities have on the life experiences of their targets.

Terrorism threatens the security of human beings and creates an environment of fear that places individual freedoms at risk. The question that thus arises pertains to aspects of human security and safety as well (Newman, 2010). Furthermore, given the fact that terrorism undermines the economic and social development of nation states, the brunt of this retardation in growth is usually borne by the most vulnerable of its segments, such as women, children, the elderly and the physically disadvantaged. Terrorism also gives rise to organised crime, such as kidnapping, assault, murder, hostage taking and robbery, and again, this affects the marginalised segments of societies more than its mainstream segments, such as women. The destruction and disturbance of political governments and political processes also undermines the potential for women to take part in these processes that then aids the debate and development of laws that can help in the economic and social mainstreaming of women (OHCHR, 2008). Also, when treaties and agreements are negotiated between warring parties and with terrorist and extremist groups, women's rights and issues are hardly ever focused upon. Moreover, Huckerby (2015) maintains that counter-terrorism programmes tend to focus more on men than women, given the fact that they are more likely to become involved in terrorist activities. Hence, aid and funding for rehabilitation and mainstreaming of people focuses more on men than women, making them lose out on this front as well. Similarly, the security of

women is not prioritised, making the entire focus of terrorism and counter-terrorism activities to become gender-blind (Navier, 2018; Ahmed, 2012).

Ever since the commencement of the worldwide war-on-terror efforts, Pakistan has found itself in the eye of the storm as far as the repercussions of the war-on-terror as well as its effects on mass population are concerned. In the last 14 years, Pakistan has seen a loss of nearly 74,000 lives, and hundreds of thousands of people are left suffering from disease, disability and physiological and psychological aftermath of terrorism related activities (Iqbal, 2018). While there has been a dire need for and efforts on the development of specialised anti-terrorism laws in the country, such as The Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997 (ATA), the Protection of Pakistan Act, 2014 and a Constitutional Amendment Act which allows Military Courts to try civilians accused of terrorist activities, there have been systematic flaws in the transparent and effective implementation of these laws, which have had the combined effect of human rights issues surfacing as a result of terrorist activities and counter-terrorism measures (RSIL, 2017).This includes several factors, including the lack of a determined criteria for what constitutes terrorist activities, the ignorance of the police force in the context of terrorism and anti-terrorism laws, including a lack of investigation skills, etc. This leads to significant challenges in the context of human rights abuses, including misidentification of accused, delays in lodging FIRs, etc. (CCPR, 2018; RSIL, 2018).

However, alongside these institutional problems and loopholes, social and cultural problems arising out of terrorism and its effects require equal, if not more, attention. While the casualty count and the economic consequences of the devastating losses occurring from terrorist activities and counter-terrorism efforts have been the subject of much debate, there has been nearly nil focus on one of the most important entities in Pakistani society who have suffered in innumerable ways: women. Haqqani (2005) maintains that while Pakistan presents itself as a progressive Muslim state, several areas of women's rights fall prey to extremist mindsets, and militant activities are no exception. There has been increasing concern over the lack of the state's abilities to look after the basic human rights of its most vulnerable segments, including religious minorities, women and children, and there has been an increasing influence of militant groups and other such non-state actors over decisions that directly affect these population segments (Brohi 2008; Zia 2009).

While the consequences of death and destruction are the same for men and women, for a patriarchal society such as Pakistan, the long-term effects of these occurrences, particularly in the case of loss of life and earnings, are far graver for women as compared to men. This is mainly due to the fact that women are generally dependent upon their male counterparts for upkeep and maintenance, for themselves as well as for their children. They are, usually, neither educated nor skilled enough to sustain themselves or

their families, and in the event of the loss of the main earner of the family, or any kind of disability being suffered by the person in question, face a much more pressing and dire situation as compared to their male counterparts in similar situations. Moreover, men and women have completely different experiences pertaining to poverty and sustainability (Social Watch, 2005; Fodor, 2006; Bennett & Daly, 2014). In such a scenario, the coverage that 49.2% of the female population in Pakistan (Countrymeters, 2018) requires imperative understanding of the consequences of this long-drawn war on terror but is also critical in understanding the life experiences as well as rehabilitation and sustainability efforts that need to be extended to the affected female population.

This research paper aims to identify the human rights problems created due to the war on terror and its associated outcomes, such as counter-terrorism activities. Moreover, it also seeks to address these issues from a gendered perspective and incorporates some implications for Pakistani women from the Swat valley. In doing so, it seeks to answer the research question of how the terrorism and counter-terrorism activities affected the lives of Swati women from a human rights perspective. In order to achieve this, the paper makes use of the Feminist Theory for its theoretical framework. The feminist theory aims to develop an understanding of events and circumstances by applying a gender lens to the situations and to analyse gender differences and gender inequality from this perspective. It focuses on women's rights and issues in society and to the power relationships existing therein (Pomeroy, Holleran & Kiam, 2004). The feminist theory caters to the inclusion of themes surrounding discrimination, sexual objectification, and the patriarchal mindset. Analysing data sets with this perspective not only allows for an assessment of the contributions that women make to a society, but also the effects of patriarchy on women and the role of gender differences that can then help in the development of knowledge that can aid the transformation of social, cultural and political practices that elevate the status of women in any society, helping them participate as full citizens in public life, not only assessing the gaps in gender equality but also identifying ways that these could be plugged (Bryson, 2016).

Literature Review

Terrorism and counter-terrorism activities in Swat came as a result of the stronghold that Taliban started exercising over the valley, resulting in a dictation of how people lived their lives therein. Before Taliban entered Swat, women and girls were encouraged to acquire education, and were also actively enrolled in professional activities as teachers and health workers. There were also evidences of women working in government departments in administrative capacities, in banks and in non-governmental and private organisations as well (Avis, 2016). Orakzai (2011) and Ali (2010), however, report that given the patriarchal mindset of the society in Swat, women's work in non-governmental organisation and private sector was not viewed favourably as these were generally

sponsored by the West. This was given the context of inappropriate behaviour due to the fact that they ran the risk of becoming *westernised*, which was deemed unsuitable for Muslim and Pukhtoon women (Manzoor, 2008). The Taliban used this mindset, that exists to date, to their advantage and developed religious and cultural frameworks that justified the confinement of women to the four walls of their homes, restricting their movements and relegating them to the traditional role of reproducers only. Access to education for women and girls was severely restricted with nearly 70% of girl's schools being either shut down or bombed, affecting the education opportunities available to women and girls. This was a major step back as Swat was a leading district in terms of male and female primary enrolment ratios of 92% and 75%, respectively (EDSR, 2008; Schifrin, 2008). Some have even termed this as a war on Pakistani schoolgirls, which started from a ban on girls' education and later enveloped both genders (Orakzai, 2011).

A similar fallout was seen in the context of women's employment and economic activities as more than 8000 female teachers and lady health workers were forced to leave their jobs under this tyrannical control of the Taliban. This not only affected their own economic standing but also led to a deterioration of the overall household economic health as the contribution of the women was withdrawn. The matter was significantly grave for households that were led by women due to the absence of male earners. While several NGOs such as Aurat Foundation, KhindoKor, etc. made efforts to reverse this trend, the Taliban's hold was strong enough to crush any such *rebellion* (Sharlach, 2007). This change was not resisted against by the men in the society as it aligned with their concepts of how a woman should behave in society and in households as well, resulting in the banning of women and girls from educational opportunities, employment opportunities and general freedom of mobility, all of which are against the basic human rights. Berry (2003) also maintains that such actions towards women translate into a restriction of movement on their mobility and access to opportunities of employment as well as recreation, self-actualisation and self-realisation. Bari (2010) suggests that such activities and the resultant religious and cultural extremism, have resulted in severe damage to the social and economic status of women, alongside a poor effect on their mental and physical health. This has also left impeding effects on the mental health of women as one of the fallouts of terrorism (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2013), and a resulting effect of the abuses suffered by women at the hands of Taliban is the constant fear that they now carry of their return, despite their gradual return to mainstream social and economic activities in the region (IRIN, 2010). Chachar et al. (2013) also suggest that terrorism impacts the psychological health of working women and has also created a strong sense of fear in working women in Pakistan, which negatively affects their working capacity as well as their normal lives. Moreover, the destruction of the economic setup in Swat continues to have an impact on the lives and economic status of people in the valley to date, and this translates into economic stress for all people, including women (Bangash, 2012).

Taliban also used public beatings of women and killing of innocent men and women for the advancement of their agendas. This, in itself, was a grave violation of human right to life and security, as well as personal integrity. There was also the psychological manipulation of women by the Taliban whereby they motivated them to contact Taliban leaders over the issues faced by women, and some of these issues were resolved in ways that gathered the support of women for the Taliban as well, such as on matters relating to property and inheritance rights and such other familial issues. This was done only to gather initial support for the women in the valley. Once their hold grew stronger, they started marginalising women and confining them in designated spaces with no recourse to any system that could help alleviate their problems. Their mobility was further governed by specific rules of accompaniment by their relatives and the compulsion of the veil for all activities undertaken (HRCP, 2010).

These instances led to strong military intervention and operation in the valley, which was successful in pushing back the Taliban on one hand but led to an increase in suicide attacks in the society on the other. These suicide attacks targeted a number of sections of society, including security forces convoys, check posts, police and army training centres, etc., but also did not spare public spaces such as schools, polling stations, hotels and restaurants. This led to the creation of a sense of uncertainty and insecurity in the society, and was further enhanced by the rise of crimes such as murders, robbery, kidnapping, etc. With women being already marginalised, this created a social dilemma for them whereby they were placed at a higher risk of being targets of these activities (Rabbi, 2012). Studies on the effects of the war on terror and counter-terrorism activities has revealed that women and sexual minority groups have remained the silent sufferers of the fallouts of acts of terrorism, leading to an increase in gender-based violence and a reinforcement of gender stereotypes (Mlambo-Ngcuka & Coomaraswamy, 2015; Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2013). Even counter-terrorism activities have seen an abuse of human rights against vulnerable groups, including abduction, torture and rape, many times as a form of punishment for the involvement of the male family members in terrorist activities, or as a form of extracting information from them which they might well not possess (Welch, 2016).

A further issue that arose from these terrorism and counter-terrorism activities in Swat was the problem of internal displacement. Nearly 2 million people were displaced from their homes in areas of Swat, Buner and Dir (Safdar, 2009). These internally displaced people had to leave all their belongings behind, leaving them in a dire state of affairs as far as their economic and social status was concerned. For women, this created a further dilemma in terms of cultural issues. Within the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps that were established for these people, there was a great unease found in women with regards to their purdah culture and the maintenance of their social relations. These camps were unable to cater to the specific needs of women in terms of cultural issues,

social setup and even in terms of weather problems, leaving women to face significantly greater problems than the men. Lack of adequate segregation meant women were mostly confined in their movement within these camps and faced isolation and destitution in an already difficult and unfamiliar environment, causing a number of mental and emotional health problems. Their interactions with neighbours and relatives, which was a norm in their home districts, were significantly affected as well, which caused further mental and social disturbance to their lifestyles. Food insecurity was also an issue. The cumulative effect of this was a grievance mindset towards the Taliban as well as the military operation initialised to contain the Taliban as they saw both entities responsible for their disturbed pattern of life and destitution. Bari (2010) concludes that as a result of these problems, there has been an increase in female enrolment in Madaris in Pakistan, particularly following the terrorism/counter-terrorism process. The same was seen in the case of Swat where, due to the lack of awareness and literacy in women, a lot of them sympathised with the Taliban and provided support to them, either through having a soft corner for them, or in some cases, through active involvement as women militants (Khaliq, 2010). Mahmood (2017) reports a similar trend of increase in women's participation in Jihadi groups, calling them 'facilitators', 'fundraisers' and 'domestic radicalisers'. However, the process goes further and invariably makes women psychological hostages to the situation, further perpetuating the problem. Moreover, Younas & Sandler (2017) and Berko & Erez (2007) report that a gender imbalance may also be conducive for the rise of domestic terrorism in developing countries. Once men from a society are rendered unavailable or incapable to look after the administrative, legal and law enforcement responsibilities, there may be a resource gap in these areas due to the unavailability and incapacity of women who have not been groomed to undertake these responsibilities. This leads to them playing the roles of supporters and perpetrators of terrorism (Fink, Barakat & Shetret, 2013). This is particularly true for patriarchal societies. This, combined with economic deprivation, could also result in grievance-generated terrorism perpetuated by women, leading to higher domestic terrorist attacks, particularly given the weakness of bureaucratic institutions in such scenarios (Gunaratna & Bin Ali, 2015; Bloom, 2011; Cragin& Daly, 2009). Harris & Milton (2016) further report a negative relationship between the provision of women's rights and domestic terrorism. Moreover, once peace was restored in the region after the military operation, a number of organisations were set up to rehabilitate the militant men in the region, however, other than a solo organisation set up by the military to rehabilitate women militants, no other setup was established leaving a significant gap between the rehabilitation efforts undertaken for the two genders (Khaliq, 2010).

Research Methodology

The research methodology employed for this paper is desk research and makes informed use of secondary data sources for the identification of concepts that can help answer the

research question. This involves reanalysing, interpreting and reviewing past data. The research makes a qualitative analysis of identified literature in the subject. Desk research method has been applied for this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is a cost-effective method for data gathering and analysis. Secondly, for this particular subject, given the fact that the aim of the research is to develop a greater understanding of the research topic, review and analysis of secondary data is deemed an appropriate method. Thirdly, given the fact that the sample population for the topic may not be easily accessible warrants the use of this method as there is sufficient evidence that terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts have created an impact on human rights in general and women's rights in particular. Also, secondary research is not only available in the public domain, but has also been subject to adequate scrutiny, thereby resolving issues of reliability and validity (Bartnikowska, Ćwirynkało & Borowska-Beszta, 2017; Doolan & Froelicher, 2009).

Data collection for this paper has been conducted using online sources such as journal articles, social media sites, blogs and opinion papers, as well as some books on the topic, alongside newspaper articles, press releases and news items. A thorough literature review on the topic was conducted which led to the identification of further sources such as reports and news items, which were then accessed and evaluated for their value to the research topic. Government sources have also been used to generate requisite facts and figures (Magee et al. 2006). Existing data was seen to be an effective source of finding answers to the research question posed in this study, as secondary data sets allow for an analysis of existing data to answer new or extended research questions (Doolan & Froelicher, 2009).

In order to enhance the quality of research in terms of all resources being used, the research was planned along the aspects of time and availability of resources. Keeping in mind the law of diminishing returns, a timetable was set for data collection and analysis involving collection and analysis of secondary data sources over a period of fifteen days. On average, at least three sources of data were identified and reviewed per day, and some of these were then discarded for lack of value to the topic under consideration. Data collected was coded and themed for its similarities and differences, and data collection was aborted once a significant degree of data saturation was reached within the allocated timeframe. Data was evaluated through the sources used for its collection as well as for its applicability to the topic and to the research findings from other sources. The research method followed a sequence where facts were listed, compared for their similarities and differences, and findings were summarised from them (RESLEA, 2017).

In order to enhance the credibility of the research using archival data, a systematic procedure was followed, which included: (a) determining the purpose of the research as this determines that sample being chosen and the research questions being set as well as

the general context of the study (Magee et al. 2006); (b) the quality of the secondary data being analysed as previous studies undertaken by academic researchers carry greater weightage; (c) the information collected including the procedures followed in the primary research and their resultant findings that are now being used for the secondary study (Everhart, Mardis, & Johnston, 2011); (d) the timeframe within which the primary information was collected as this is relevant to the research topic given that it focuses on the relatively contemporary issue of terrorism and counter-terrorism (Boslaugh, 2007); (e) the sources of the information; (f) and the consistency of the information gathered from one source with information gathered from another source (Stewart & Kamins, 1993).

Findings

Given the issues highlighted in the secondary data analysed, there are several aspects of the problems that have emerged and that have the potential to create significant implications for women in Swat, Pakistan and other developing countries engulfed in terrorism and counter-terrorism activities.

It has been ascertained that gender itself is a vulnerability in terms of poverty, social security, violence and access to resources. Women in Swat were rendered incapable in terms of their economic, social and cultural security as a result of the terrorism they encountered. The human rights abuses that they suffered both during and after the militancy in Swat were significantly different from the ones suffered by the men in the same region. It is therefore essential that the security concerns of both men and women are dealt with through a gendered perspective. In the context of human rights, an ignorance of this factor leads to gross violations of the rights of women as citizens. The instances of the emotional and psychological manipulation of women to gather support by the Taliban also reveals the access gap that women suffer from in terms of their social problems, which the Taliban identified and pretended to fill to garner their support. Once this was achieved, these efforts were abandoned, and women were grossly marginalised. An even more disturbing fact is that due to the patriarchal mindset of people and society, these aggressions against the basic human rights of economic, social and cultural freedom and decision making were not objected to by the male members of the Swat region, allowing these actions to gain legitimacy.

One of the major issues surrounding terrorism and counter-terrorism revolves around the assurance of human rights in all such measures, and women's rights are, in essence of human rights. In the case of Swat, a major issue that was highlighted was not only the ill-preparedness of the IDP camps from a gender perspective, but also a lack of attention to the rehabilitation of women after peace was restored. This is a particularly grave situation where women have reported to be under psychological and emotional stress post-conflict, yet no significant attention has been given to their problem, and efforts to include them in

mainstream activities in the valley are slow and inadequate. The efficiency of systems set up to counter terrorism activities have not been, and cannot be, effectively applied without a gendered lens from which problems are viewed. This not only caters to the issues women face as a result of terrorism and counter-terrorism activities but also identifies the factors that can make them work in favour of or against such activities. For example, while it is true that most terrorism activities are carried out by males, one of the fallouts of these activities is also the rise of terrorist activities undertaken by females. This has also been the case for women in Swat. Policies and programmes are still, unfortunately, focused predominantly on males, leaving a huge gap which needs to be addressed to understand the motives and effects of terrorist activities better. Given the fact that such a policy is nearly non-existent in Pakistan, it leaves a major crevasse when it comes to installing counter-terrorism measures. Moreover, given the fact that the Pakistani society already suffers from a dearth of effective laws that protect women in various spheres of life, there is a major risk of unidentified women sufferers falling through the gaps in policy formulation and implementation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper concludes various aspects that have been considered in this article and suggests that terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts have a direct impact on human rights. In countries where women form a marginalised section of civil society, including Pakistan, this impact is multiplied in extent several times due to the fact that the take-off point for women's rights is already low, and this condition is further perpetuated by the problems encountered by women in the context of terrorism and counter-terrorism activities. The case in point for women in Swat further drives this point home, and identifies the gross abuses to their economic, social and cultural wellbeing that were perpetuated due to terrorism and counter-terrorism activities. This not only created severe problems for them during the militant activity and the resultant operation, but also left indelible psychological problems for them, and there have not been adequate resources set aside to help them cope with this. The same was not the case with men.

It is therefore critical that a gender lens is applied to all aspects of strategies that are used to address terrorism and the resulting human rights violations to ensure that women in the society are given the due consideration needed in such scenarios. This would ultimately help in lifting women socially, economically, and culturally, thereby strengthening the human rights debate and the narrative against terrorism in the society. There is also a need to install mechanisms that ensure the participation of women in law enforcement programmes as well as measures undertaken to further the de-radicalisation and rehabilitation of women in terrorism-hit societies. In essence, all terrorism-fighting activities need to be developed in ways that cater to the safety and security of the human

rights of all strata of society, and only then can these have far-reaching and comprehensive outcomes.

In this respect, some recommendations include:

- In the context of developing appropriate, gender-sensitive responses to the problems created by terrorism and counter-terrorism activities, it would be essential as well as efficient to involve NGOs and civil society groups working for the protection of women's rights in the development of gender specific policies to counter the terrorist threat, both with women as recipients as well as being actors in the process. This would also help in the identification of the causes that could have led women to partake in such activities, whilst ensuring that those who are passively affected by terrorism have some recourse for the protection of their basic human rights. (Millar, 2015).
- Keeping the cultural aspects intact, it is essential that they be brought effectively within the loop of counter-terrorism efforts. Moreover, with the focus of the world already on human rights abuses against women in Pakistan, such as honour killings and jirga-endorsed cases of rapes, a gender lens will help legitimise all efforts taken in this regard(OHCHR, 2013).
- Gender security needs to be linked to provide the human security whereby women are given the same access to education, contribution and development as any other human being in a society. This is a basic prerequisite for stable peace and prosperity. Any strategy that marginalises or ignores nearly half the population in a society on any pretext cannot claim to have a holistic approach to solving the terrorism problem. Moreover, the concept of human security pertains to all types of security required for an effective quality of life for any individual, including physical and economic security. Once the counter-terrorism efforts are undertaken in this background, they tend to have better outcomes(Iqbal, Afzal & Inayat, 2012).

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