

Understanding Cowasjee: A Content Analysis of Ardeshir Cowasjee's Columns Through the Lens of Modern Political Ideologies

Muhammed Faiq Lodhi and Dr. Asmat Ara

ABSTRACT:

This research attempts to study Ardeshir Cowasjee's columns through the lens of modern political ideologies to understand which school of thought Cowasjee belonged to, depending on the categories found in his columns. For this study, 224 columns were selected via the SAMA publications compilation of the late journalist's work titled 'Vintage Cowasjee'. Content analysis method was used to conduct this study. Convenience sampling technique was utilized. The research draws upon primary sources, like interviews, as well as secondary sources, like columns, write-ups and other written material that focus on Cowasjee and his views. This study also attempts to confirm whether he was pro-dictatorship or pro-democracy. Lastly, the study also focuses upon his use of language and if he was able to produce a new style of writing.

Keywords: Ardeshir Cowasjee, Columns, Dawn Newspaper, Political Ideology, Pakistani Journalist

In today's world, columns and opinion pages have become imperative for any newspaper to thrive. People develop readership on the basis of the number of good columnists and opinion writers a particular newspaper has. Every columnist focuses on particular ideologies and schools of thought while writing their opinions. A writer can be a liberal, a conservative, a feminist, an environmentalist or simply someone who believes in the power of communism. Many a times, a columnist can follow multiple political ideologies; for example a feminist writer can also be liberal. If the reader knows what ideology a particular columnist follows while writing their opinion, then it is easier for them to understand where the writer is coming from.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

For every individual, it is important that the society they dwell in should have a particular framework within which they can hold opinions, negate assumptions and draw conclusions regarding issues of an intellectual nature. (Denzau & North, 1994) Keeping this view in mind, an ideology, therefore, has two operations; firstly, to interpret ones surrounding and understanding ones society, and secondly, to understand how an ideal society should be constructed.

According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, the word 'ideology' was first used during the French Revolution, in 1796, by philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy. For de Tracy, this meant a science of ideas; however, over the years, this word has changed its meaning in different forms. Since society has different individuals and every individual has a different mind-set, as explained by Plato in *The Republic*, it is only natural that more than one ideology can simultaneously exist with a society. (Jost et al. 2009) Some believe that ideologies are "bodies of concepts, values and symbols which incorporate conceptions of human nature and thus indicate what is possible or impossible for humans to achieve" (Vincent, 1995, p. 16) while others insinuate that ideologies are "particularly concerned with political beliefs, values and ideals, and moral justifications pertaining to the form and role of government and

that nature of a state's economic system" (Funderburk & Thobaben, 1994. p .1).

ARDESHIR COWASJEE(1926 – 2012): A BRIEF

INTRODUCTION

Ardeshir Cowasjee died at the age of 86, on November 21, 2012. As he has mentioned in one of his columns, he didn't believe in downplaying death and using words like "passed away" or "demise". For him, death was "an unalterable fact" and that is exactly how one should keep it (SAMA, 2012).

Born to Rustom Fakhirjee Cowasjee and Mecca Rustomjee in Karachi,, Cowasjee belonged to a reputable Parsi family which has done a lot for the city by building, supporting and protecting schools, universities, hospitals, parks, playgrounds and other infrastructure and also by providing aid and charity to the less fortunate strata of society. Therefore, it is not much of a surprise that, through his columns and his individual hard work, Cowasjee maintained the tradition of helping Karachi in whatever way possible.(Ava,interview,2014)

In 1953, he married Nancy Dinshaw, a physician, who stood by him during his ups and downs until her death from a heart complication, in 1992. He has mentioned his wife and children, Rustom and Ava, on various occasions.

He had interest in shipping industry in his years as a ship owner. However, after Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government implemented the nationalization policy on private businesses, Cowasjee's East and West Steamship Company was also taken over by the government, along with all the ships that operated under the company's banner. This was a major blow for Cowasjee and a dark period in his life. (Jilani, 2012)

After the nationalization, he was appointed as managing director of the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation by Bhutto. After this, he was made chairman of the Port Qasim Authority but that

post too didn't last very long. In 1976, he jailed for 72 reasons on Bhutto's orders. The reason for this is still unknown. In his column, A Laugh At Our Own Expense, published on April 7, 1995 in Daily Dawn, Cowasjee narrates in much detail as to what happened with him during his period in jail.

During Zia-ul-Haq's era, he was briefly appointed as advisor on ports and shipping. However, his attitude and temperament were not in line with how the government worked, and hence he didn't continue with that post very long.

LIFE AS A COLUMNIST:

After Zia-ul-Haq's death, after the press censorship and restrictions were partially loosened, Cowasjee got interested in journalism and writing, and he started with sending in letters to the editor to the Daily Dawn.

According to Jilani, "he started awakening to public happenings after Zia-ul-Haq's time. He went to Lahore once to attend a seminar on the dignity of man and that had an effect on him. After that he started writing."(Jilani, interview, 2014)

It is somewhat symbolic that one of Cowasjee's very first columns was on Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as he has been a recurring theme in Cowasjee's columns.

Cowasjee used to write on array of topics, many of which have not been mentioned here. But whatever he wrote about, everyone paid heed to it – readers and critics alike. As John M. Glionna refers in his article, "when Cowasjee sounds the alarm, people hear it... He is often referred to as the grand old man of Karachi: a veteran columnist for Dawn, the nation's largest English-language newspaper, and one of Pakistan's most outspoken critics." (Glionna, 2008)

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Following literature reviews focus on how other journalists have been studied over the course of the years and what significance

those studies had. This would contrast with why studying Cowasjee under the chosen lens of 20th Century political ideologies is important.

M. J. Robinson, in her book “The Hearsts: An American Dynasty”, published by the Associate University Presses, has focused on the life and family of William Randolph Hearst, the famous journalist. In her book, she gives a detailed analysis of the journalist’s family and how the Hearsts can be considered an American dynasty, because of their wealth and businesses. She uses multiple data collection techniques, which include interviews, surveys, case studies, content analyses and also secondary sources. This book is significant in the sense that Hearst was a very prominent journalist and working on his life’s work would provide perspective to others who are about to join or are already part of the journalism field. (Robinson, 1991)

Tariq Habib (1997), in his MA level research titled “Razia Bhatti: Life and Achievements” at the Department of Mass Communication, University of Karachi, focused on the works of a senior journalist of the English media, Razia Bhatti. He uses the case study method to gather his data and has interviewed an extensive list of people, around 10 of whom knew Bhatti pretty well. He has spoken to people who were her friends, colleagues, family members and even admirers, in order to have a well-rounded approach to her life’s work. The research is significant as there have not been many leading female English-medium journalists in Pakistan and working on the life of one such individual would provide ample data for others who will pursue this field later on. (Habib, 1997)

The BS level research titled “Javed Chaudhry aur unki column nigari ki khasusiyat” (Javed Chaudhry and the characteristics of his column writing) by Faryal Gul and Syed Samar Hussain (2010) at the Department of Mass Communication, University of Karachi, discusses the works of well-known journalist and columnist Javed Chaudhry. They use case study and content analysis method to

gather their information. The research is very significant, as Chaudhry is still active in journalism and this study can be the building stone for other researches that may happen about Chaudhry or his works. (Gul & Samar, 2010)

Faiza Muhib, Bushra Younus and Samra Urooj (2010), in their MA level research titled “Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi ki shakkhsyat aur column ka funni jaiza” (The personality of Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and an critical analysis of his columns) at the Department of Mass Communication, University of Karachi, discuss the life and works of famous Urdu columnist, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. They do this by using content analysis and case study method. They analyse columns of five months by the writer and then discuss it salient features. This is significant as the research thoroughly focuses upon column writing as a medium and how the likes of Qasmi made this medium so popular in Pakistan. (Muhib et al, 2010)

Tevi Troy, in a research article titled “Does anyone actually read Bob Woodward’s books” at the Hudson Institute, discusses the works of Bob Woodward, the renowned journalist who unveiled one of the most controversial political scandals in the history of the United States – the Watergate Scandal. He uses survey method and secondary sources to accumulate his data. The research is significant as it helps show a contrasting image between public’s acceptance and following of Woodward the man as opposed to reading his works. (Troy, 2011)

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

A review of all the major kinds of political ideology needs to be made in order to better facilitate the study. It should be noted that since each of these ideologies have extensive literature and research material present on them, this section will deal with them briefly, with only the basic information being discussed so as to understand their gist.

LIBERALISM:

The root etymology of the word ‘liberal’ is derived from the Latin word liber, which virtually means freedom or being free. This word became a part of political dialogue in the 1800s, along with its counterpart word ‘liberty’. Though traditionally, the word ‘liberal’ meant someone who is generous or tolerant, or as the Merriam-Webster dictionary puts it, someone ‘marked by generosity’, in today’s world this word denotes a person who is in support of, or is in agreement with the ideas of ‘Liberalism’. Like the root word suggests, the doctrine of Liberalism focuses on individual liberty and its primary assumption is that humans are rational beings; therefore, their individuality and freedom need not be compromised in anyway. (Ball et al. 2014)

CONSERVATISM:

The word ‘conservative’, in literal connotation, means to conform, and it is also used for something or someone who follows a traditional path. In other instances, it also means a way of conserving or preserving a particular tradition, custom or idea. First used in the 19th century to denote a political ideology, Conservatism has been part of political discussions in almost all societies. In the West, this ideology is often seen as old fashioned or too simplistic in nature (Heywood, 1992). Conservatism calls for acting in a group, upholding the status quo and protecting those ideas that are already prevalent, for examples traditions of a particular society (Funderburk & Thobaben, 1994).

SOCIALISM:

Being one of the most controversial ideologies of the 20th century, the word ‘socialist’ translates to sociare in Latin, which means to have equal access to something or something that is owned by everyone. First used in the 19th century, socialism sparks from the rawest forms of revolutionary thinking, one that was done by and for the exploited working class during the industrial era. Previously, before the concept of a labor union was thought of, factory owners had excess power upon their workers and they would often keep them in adverse conditions, paying them little or

nothing for the work they do. This ideology is widely found in European history (Heywood, 1992).

NATIONALISM:

The word nation is often used for “a group of people united by birth or birthplace”. Nationalism is the idea that people should have the right to run their own country or at least have a say in how it is run. Or as Heywood puts it, “The nation should be its own master” (Ibid, p .125) one can also argue that this was one of the founding steps towards conceptualizing the idea of a constituent government. However, over the years, the concept of nationalism has changed a lot and many new forms coexist currently. Previously, nationalism was seen as something progressive and hence, many who belonged to the liberal school of thought found it to be more in line with their ideas. Even socialist could relate to it, as nationalism called for more power to the people.

ANARCHISM:

Anarchy, in literal terms, means an absence of government. Though the connotation of this word is often negative, here it is being studied as a school of thought – a proper, ideological framework. Anarchism does not necessarily mean living in a government-less society; it also does not mean complete mayhem, though some anarchists do believe that it is through mayhem and destruction that a new system can be born. (Vincent, 1995)

FEMINISM:

Feminism is a movement as well as a political school of thought that calls for an advancement of the roles of women in society, providing them equal rights as men and giving them a voice to raise their concerns. It is difficult to decide as to when feminism was first used as an ideology, as many earlier historians were men and therefore, many prejudiced historians have skipped portions about feminism in their works earlier. (Ibid) Feminists believe that a lot needs to be worked upon. Even though feminism as a political

ideology has arisen recently, feminist thoughts and ideas range back to the Greek and Roman civilization. (Heywood, 1992)

ENVIRONMENTALISM

Although issues pertaining to environment were always part of political discussions, this aspect became an ideology in the 20th century when public discussions began encircling the growing depletion and destruction of the ecological system. Many term this ideology as a “Green Movement”. (Vincent, 1995)

AUTHORITARIANISM

Authoritarianism deals with one individual at the centre who has all the authority to run a particular establishment or country. Unlike other ideologies, Authoritarianism calls for no revolution or change. It focuses all its efforts on the importance of one individual or institution that holds all the authority. This system is highly centralized. (Funderburk & Thobaben, 1994)

CAPITALISM:

Capitalism is system of economics where the means of production partially or completely owned and controlled private individuals for the sake of profit. Capitalism deals with private individuals as well governments and focuses on the economic activities in a country. Focusing on profit, this ideology is often criticized for being too aggressive and not keeping other factors in mind like employment and decreasing poverty in a country. (Jenks. 1998)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

Keeping the literature review and theoretical framework in mind, a total of four research questions will spearhead this study. They are as follows.

RQ1: Was Cowasjee pro-democracy or pro-dictatorship?

RQ2: Is Cowasjee’s criticism government-based or ideology-based?

RQ3: Which ideology was Cowasjee more inclined towards writing on?

RQ4: Did Cowasjee create any new form of writing style?

METHODOLOGY:

Being a unique study of its kind, the research attempts to understand Cowasjee's writings with the aid of different 20th century political ideologies, which have been chosen keeping in mind the model proposed by Jess Mc Culloch from the University Of Melbourne, Australia and other contemporary books on the subject. The research also considered Cowasjee's writings from the point of view of the topics he largely discussed; they have been streamlined and narrowed down to support the purpose of this research, discussed later on.

Moreover, the research will also empirically discuss the late columnist's opinion about democratic and authoritarian forms of government in Pakistan. This is done by tabulating the number of times he has praised and/or criticized a particular government during and before the time of his writings. Lastly, this research discusses the different ways in which Cowasjee has used particular words and phrases, and attempts to find if he was able to coin a new usage for any particular word or phrase.

For this quantitative and qualitative in depth analysis inductive content analysis is used as method of data collection and evaluation. As

The purpose of the method is to identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance. (Hansen,et.al,2004,p .95) .

The research is a line-by-line analysis of Cowasjee's selected columns and all results are tabulated once obtained.

SAMPLE:

The sample size for this research is 224 columns by Cowasjee, which are part of a book, titled 'Vintage Cowasjee', that is a compilation of the columnist's prominent work (SAMA, 2012). The sampling technique used is Non-Probability and its sub-type Convenience Sampling.

TABLES:

In this research, four such coding schedules (tables) have been used and out of these, in one table words are used as its coding scheme. These tables are titled Issues, Ideologies, Tilt towards Government and Word Play.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS:

The different operational definitions that have been utilized in this study are as follows.

Table 1: Issues

National politics (Nat. Pol.): Aspects related to political parties, elections, parliament, constitution and political unrest on a nationwide basis are tabulated under this category.

Local political issues (Local Pol.): Aspects related to local administration, the mayor's office/local bodies, local political parties, political issues pertaining to a particular area and the likes are added in this category.

International politics (Int. Pol.): All issues related to international relations, diplomacy, United Nations, international treaties and bilateral relations with different countries were tabulated under this.

Gender equality (G.E): All aspect related to marriage, family, shared roles, equality between sexes, topics related to third-sex individuals, homosexuality and others are utilized in this category.

Social issues: Issues related to education, health, infrastructure, food shortage, utilities, sports and recreation, psychological diseases and other aspects pertaining to a social nature are used in this category.

Human rights (H.R): Issues related to right to security, right to life and other human rights, with their violations, were addressed in this category.

Civic issues: Anything pertaining to cities, such as infrastructure, utilities, roads, transport, the local bodies, municipal corporations and others were added in this category.

References to history (Ref. Hist.): This includes all instances where the columnist has referred to any event in history to make his point.

References to individuals (Ref. Ind.): This includes all instances where the columnist has mentioned or acknowledged fellow, senior or junior literary writers, which will also include novelists, poets, journalists, other columnists and any other form of writers, and other individuals who were academics or professionals whom he personally knew.

Miscellaneous (Misc.): This includes all important aspects of Cowasjee's writing that were not covered in the aforementioned categories, but is relevant to the topic of the research.

Table 2: Ideologies

Liberalism (Lib): Words and phrases that hint towards liberal ideas, including freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom to exercise religion and freedom of choice. This also encompasses points pertaining to democracy, minority rights and sectarianism, as they all come under the freedom of choice.

Conservatism (Con): Words or phrases that hint towards conservative ideas i.e. ideas that will discuss traditions, cultures,

preserving the past, glorification of historic events and a negation to change or discouragement towards modern innovation, were added in this category. Democracy was also added here, depending upon which angle or party is being discussed, as even conservatives believe in democracy.

Authoritarianism (Auth): Words and phrases that hint towards dictatorship or rule of one; this also includes criticism on Pakistan's intelligence agencies, military leaders, and those institutions where one individual or a small elite group, is in power. Also, it includes instances where blind submission to a doctrine or authority – albeit military or religious – is being discussed.

Fascism (Fasc.): Words and phrases that pertain to fascist ideas i.e. revolution by a singular, authoritarian figure to form a new system of government, addressed in this category. This includes references made to terrorist organizations, the Taliban government in Afghanistan, Saddam Hussain government in Iraq and other such aspects.

Socialism (Soc): Words and phrases that hint towards socialist beliefs i.e. equal distribution of wealth and classless societies. For the purpose of research, communist ideas also come under this category while tabulation of results.

Environmentalism (Environ): Words and phrases that pertain to environmental issues, pollution, deforestation, ecological issues and other problems related to it were addressed.

Nationalism (Nat): Words and phrases that pertain to patriotism, history of partition, or love for the country in general come under this category. This also includes references made to nationalist parties, the Dhaka Fall in 1971, the Baloch Liberation movement, the Kashmir issue and any other topic which signifies nationalist elements.

Religious ideology (Rel): All aspects pertaining to religion, which include legislatures, religious political parties, religious movements, religious indoctrination, religious fundamentalists and all other elements related to it, were dealt with in this category.

Feminism (Fem): Words and phrases pertaining to Women Rights, female liberation, rape, and crimes against women, dowry, honour killings and other aspects pertaining to women addressed in this category.

Capitalism (Cap): This includes words and phrases that hint towards private property, private enterprises, land ownership, business scandals and crimes related to capital, money or investments.

Anarchism (Ana): This includes words and phrases related to lawlessness, calling for a lawless society and a negation of the current system. However, radical approaches were not a part of it, as they will be covered in Fascism, nationalism and the category of religious ideology.

Miscellaneous: This includes all important aspects of Cowasjee's writing that are not covered in the aforementioned categories, but is relevant to the topic of the research.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:

All results were generated via a detailed content analysis of SAMA Publication's compilation of 224 of Ardeshir Cowasjee' columns published in the Daily Dawn from 1984 to 2011 titled Vintage Cowasjee. The columns were vetted with different categories and entries were made wherever the mention of different categories was spotted. However, extra care has been taken to ensure that the results are as close to empirical understanding as possible.

The percentages have been tabulated in two ways – one with regards to the number of times a particular category was mentioned throughout the 224 columns and second is with regards to the number of total columns in which a category was found. This

would help in better understanding how much a single category has been utilized throughout the sample.

Table 1: Issues

Categories	Nat. Pol.	Local Pol.	Int. Pol.	G. E	Social	HR	Ref. Hist.	Ref. Ind.	Civic	Misc	Total
Entries	456	189	139	0	296	284	351	216	233	448	2612
Percentage	17.46	7.24	5.32	0	11.33	10.87	13.44	8.27	8.92	17.15	100
Columns	149	90	49	0	122	96	141	122	87	162	1018
Percentage	14.64	8.84	4.81	0	11.98	9.43	13.85	11.98	8.55	15.91	99.8

National Politics: Cowasjee wrote about national politics around 17.46 percent of the total number of entries and it was present in 14.64 percent of the total columns entered. Column number 30, titled *The Maker and The Shakers* (SAMA, 2012) discusses this category 11 times, which is the highest number of times this category is discussed in one column. Column number 51 and 54 discuss it 10 times.

Local Politics: This category was entered 7.24 a percent and makes up around 8.84 percent of the columns in which different categories were discussed. It was discussed 7 times in column 138 titled *Freedom After Expression* (SAMA, 2012). This column focused upon a Karachi-based magazine and how the owner of the publication had to fight with the local political powers to keep the magazine from being shut down.

International Politics: This category was marked 5.32 percent of total of all categories entered and was discussed around 4.81% of the entire columns. The category was mentioned 7 times in column number 49 (SAMA, 2012), which was the highest number of times it was marked. This category was marked mostly when the columnist would mention a meeting, a seminar or a conference

attended by government officials and politicians. Also, whenever certain countries and their state affairs were mentioned, particularly India and the USA, this category was mentioned.

Gender Equality: This category received zero entries. Since the issue was separated from women rights (which were marked under the category of feminism in table 2), there was not much added here.

Social Issues: Social issues were 11.33 percent of the total entries and comprised 11.98 percent of the entire number of columns in which categories were marked. This is one of the few categories where the percentage of entries with that of columns is fairly the same, both being 11 percent or so. Column 98 has 13 entries of this category, being the highest in all columns of the book. It is titled *Intolerance? Bigotry? Ignorance* (SAMA, 2012) and focuses upon the curriculum of Pakistan's government education board.

Human Rights: This issue was talked about 10.87 of all the entries made and was found in 9.43 percent of all the columns marked. In column number 107 and number 92, titled *Fetters and Jirga Injustice* (SAMA, 2012) respectively, human rights have been discussed 10 times each, being the highest number of entries in all columns. In these columns, he talks about right of men and women equally, questioning primitive practices such as jirgas and karo kari (honour killing). He was against the Ahmadi law, the blasphemy law and the Hudood Ordinance as well, which he believed were against the ideas of human rights. And he supported any and all those who opposed these laws and practices.

Reference to History: This is the third highest category in the table. It has been discussed 13.44 percent on an average of all entries marked and makes up about 13.85 percent of the columns marked. Column 31 (SAMA, 2012) discussed this issue 13 times – the highest in the book. The column titled *Long Tails* discussed the historical periods of different army generals and political leaders who have ruled over Pakistan since partition.

Reference to individuals: This category was mentioned roughly around 8.27 percent of the entire entries and was seen 11.98 percent of the columns. In column number 217, he mentions 9 different references to literary individuals whom he knew. The column was titled Male, 73, Dead on Arrival (SAMA, 2012) in which he discussed and mourned the death of his colleague.

Civic Issues: This category makes up around 8.92 percent of the total entries made and 8.55 percent of all the columns mentioned. In column 14, it is mentioned 10 times, which is the highest number of times the issue has been discussed in the book. The column titled Regularization Syndrome (SAMA, 2012) talks about the different construction projects that were taking place in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad during the time when this column was written.

Miscellaneous: This category was the second highest in terms of entries, being 17.15 percent and was the highest in the columns mentioned i.e. 15.91 percent. This means that this category was found in more columns but was entered lesser in every column it was marked.

Table 2: Ideologies:

Ideo.	Lib.	Con	Auth	Fasc.	Soc	Envi	Nat	Rel	Fem	Cap	Ara	Misc	Total
Ent.	526	341	243	120	7	105	179	223	62	269	57	5	2137
(%)	24.61	15.95	11.37	5.61	0.33	4.91	8.37	10.43	2.90	12.59	2.66	0.23	99.96
Col.	160	124	109	66	7	40	97	82	25	91	35	5	841
(%)	19.02	14.74	12.96	7.84	0.83	4.75	11.53	9.75	2.97	10.92	4.16	0.59	100.06

Liberalism: This is the first category in this table and it also has the most entries, which clearly identifies that Cowasjee was a liberal or at least interested in liberalism, irrespective of what his views were regarding dictatorships (which will be discussed later on). The category has been discussed in about 24.61 percent of the entries made in this table and was part of 19.02 percent of the columns mentioned. Column number 51 and 54 had 10 entries each for the category, being the highest. The two columns, titled

One Party State and Ehtesab or Intekhab (SAMA, 2012) discussed different democratic political governments and how different liberties of the people were being manipulated and abused by those in power.

Conservatism: This category was mentioned around 15.95percent in all entries and was in 14.74percent of all columns marked. It has been marked 10 times in column 51, titled One Party State, which is the highest number of entries. The main reason why conservatism has such a high number of entries is because it was also marked, along with liberalism, wherever a democratic government was under discussion in the book. Since democracy is a principle present in both liberalism and conservatism, it was deemed necessary to mention the two ideologies together.

Authoritarianism: This category is discussed around 11.37percent in entries and 12.96percent in columns. It was marked 7 times in column 85, which is the highest number of entries in this category in one column. This column was titled Los Desaparecidos of Pakistan and it discussed different authoritarian figures throughout the world and also in Pakistan. Being the third highest category in terms of columns mentioned, one can understand that this ideology was of much interest to Cowasjee, even if we cannot completely say that he belonged to this school of thought. This makes the analysis somewhat complex, seeing how even though he has a clear-cut leaning towards liberalism, his interest in authoritarianism cannot be ignored.

Fascism: This is one of the lowest mentioned categories in the table. It has been marked around 5.61percent in entries and 7.84percent of the book's content. In column 90, titled The Primrose Path to Paradise, this category is mentioned 8 times, being the largest in a single column throughout the book. The column focuses upon the Taliban and other fascist groups present in Pakistan.

Socialism: This category has the lowest number of entries in the table. It has been marked around 0.33percent in entries made and 0.83percent in number of columns with these entries, which is almost negligible. This clarifies one major thing, Cowasjee was not a socialist and neither was he influenced by socialist ideas. The only times this category was marked was when he wrote about equal distribution of wealth or when he quotes Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to be a socialist.

Environmentalism: This category has been mentioned around 4.91percent of all the entries and 4.75percent of all columns mentioned. Even though there is an entire section dedicated to this topic, traces of the ideology could be found in other columns as well. The column that had the most entries for this category was number 148 (SAMA, 2012) with 7 entries.

Nationalism: This has been discussed around 8.37percent in entries and 11.53percent in total columns used. Column 46, titled Pax VajMush, had 10 entries – the highest in this category. The column traced the life of the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his political upbringing. Cowasjee was a nationalist, according to these numbers as well as other instances. With more than 40 percent of his 224 columns having traces of this ideology, there is no doubt that Cowasjee admired Jinnah immensely.

Religious Ideology: This category has been mentioned around 10.43percent of the total entries and 9.75percent of all columns tabulated. Though the percentage of columns is lesser, the number of times it has been traced in different columns is a lot. The largest number of entries made is 8, in column 90 titled The Primrose Path to Paradise and Unconditional Surrender?

Feminism: This is the fourth lowest category in the table. It has been marked 2.90percent of total entries and 2.93percent of the columns tabulated. In column 96, it was mentioned 8 times, the largest number in this category. The column was titled Suffering

on and on and it discussed the abuse women face in Pakistan and the number of women who are able to contest for elections.

Capitalism: This category has been mentioned in 12.59percent of the entries and 10.92percent of the columns tabulated. The column that had the highest number of entries for this category is column number 55, with 11 entries. The column is titled The Party’s Over and it discusses different corruption.

Anarchism: The category has been mentioned in around 2.66percent of entries and 4.16percent of columns tabulated. Column 90 has 7 entries of this category, which is the highest. If anything Cowasjee was not an anarchist. The times when he has discussed anarchism, or the type that is rampant in Pakistan in the shape of the political mafia and the industrial hooligans who live in a virtually government-less world, he has condemned their actions.

Miscellaneous: This has been marked only 5 times, making up 0.23percent of all the entries mentioned and 0.59percent of all columns tabulated, and is the lowest category in the table. Most ideas that he discussed could be adjusted into either one of the other 11 ideologies. Therefore, the miscellaneous column was not of much use, like that of the one in table 1.

Table 3(a) and 3(b): Tilt towards form of government

These tables aim to find out as to what opinion Ardeshir Cowasjee had about forms of governments. Was he pro-democracy or pro-dictatorship? Table 3(a) discusses the number of times he criticized or praised the government – albeit whichever form. Table 3(b) further divides the date from 3(a) and categorizes it into pro-democracy and pro-dictatorship and vice versa.

Table 3(a): Pro or Anti Government			
Pro-government	Anti-government	Neutral	Critic on Misc.
40	660	14	8

Anti dict.	Anti demo.	Pro dict.	Pro demo.	Critic both	Praise both	Miscellaneous	
						Public	Judiciary
12	129	11	19	67	2	6	2

There were only 14 columns where he did not make a comment in the government – a meagre 6percent of the entire content. The other 94percent was filled with his opinion about the governments that were either present during the time he wrote a particular column or has been there before that. Along with the government, there were 8 instances where he criticized other parties – 6 times it was directed on the public and 2 times on the judiciary.

Criticism

He wrote against military dictators in just 12 columns, as compared to democratically elected leaders, for whom he wrote against in 129 columns. The mere difference between the two numbers is testimony enough that Cowasjee was pro-dictatorship and believed that dictators could govern Pakistan better than democratic leaders.

PRAISE

He praised the dictators in 11 columns, and praised democratic leaders in 19. Though the number of praise here for democracy exceed that of dictatorship, if one analyses these numbers with the critics, then one can see another clear difference. He criticized military dictators 12 times and praised them 11 times. The difference, between these two, is negligible and gives a rather balanced approach of Cowasjee toward the military. This shows that he was not completely biased towards dictators. However, when we compare the numbers with democratic leader, the situation seems very bleak. He has criticized democratic leaders in

129 columns and praised them in 19 columns. More than a hundred columns difference is present here. It might seem like Cowasjee almost had a sense of resentment towards democratic leaders. There were only 2 columns where he praised both forms of government. The ratio of 2 to 222 columns is astounding, and leaves little doubt in the fact that Ardeshir Cowasjee was the biggest proponent of any government that was present during his time of writing.

Table 4: Word Play

Column number # 1: Winding down					
Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
3	2	3	Bandied	In a negative tone	For birthdays. Witty
4	2	3	Declared birthday	Not used normally	Pointing towards criticism. Witty
2	1	4	Informed me	Positive	Negative. As a taunt
2	1	5	Winston Churchill quote	Used as reference, in speeches	Used for his own death

Bandied is usually used in a negative way, whereas “Informed Me” has a more positive or neutral tone. Both of these words and phrases have been used inversely by Cowasjee – for greater effect of his wit. The other two entries aim at wittiness as well, which his columns were renowned for.

Column # 7: Killing the messengers

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
3	5	28	Roll over and play dead	While referring a dog	For the United States

Though this phrase is referred for dogs or for explaining that a situation is not as easy as it seems (don’t expect him to just roll over and play dead, he’ll put up a fight – for example), using it for a country is clever usage of this phrase and should be acknowledged.

Column # 14: The regularization syndrome

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
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4	1	43	Official and otherwise	For formal and informal settings	To denote mafias, hinting towards govt.
1	4	44	Compassion	Positive	Negative; sarcasm.
8	1	45	Proves that crime pays	Criminals get punished	Crimes give benefits

He used ‘official and otherwise’ to make a distinction between different mafias – the government being the official one. Again, this attempt at sarcasm proved very successful. The same is with the use of the word ‘compassion’. However, in an interesting way, Cowasjee has taken the idiom ‘crime pays’ (meaning criminals have to pay for what they have done) and used it in its literal sense – that crime pays a lot of money and benefits. This is an ingenious technique and shows his skill and talent as a writer.

Column # 15: The right to life

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
1	3	48	Jealously guarded	Not normally used	To guard something out of envy

He could have written heavily guarded, but instead he wrote jealously guarded, which give it more depth and has an emotional touch to the phrase – denoting how much the person is attached to the thing he/she is guarding.

Column # 16: The lopsided balance sheet

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
1	6	50	But we like to shoot... not like the message	Don't shoot the messenger – saying	Portraying Pakistani culture

Again, he has cleverly used an old idiom to show how the Pakistani culture works, that people blame the bearer of bad news responsible for the bad event itself.

Column # 22: De facto versus De jure – 2

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
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1	1	65	Nervy president	Has dual meaning. British English: easily agitated or alarmed; nervous. American English: bold or impudent	Used ironically for the president to create an affect.
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Here, he has again inter-used literal and metaphorical meanings of the same word. Nervy can mean courageous as well as alarmed or agitated. And he has magnificently used this word to get both angles across to his readers.

Column # 24: Not the business of the state					
Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
20	5	69	Megalomaniacs	Used as a psychological disorder	Used as an insult for politicians
24	6	69	Mortgaged feet	Not used normally	Debt-ridden country

Using psychological disorders as insults has been common, but the usage of this particular disorder is not. Also, ‘mortgaged feet’ is a very clever way of explaining that the country is in debt, so much so that it has even ‘mortgaged’ its own feet to survive.

Column # 37: As white as driven snow

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
4	2	115	Pure but poor Republic of Pakistan	Poor and pure are not generally used for Pakistan together.	Used as irony.

Gives an ironic feel to the clichéd description of Pakistan

Column # 38: Gluttony

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
27	5	136	Should anyone, prior to their impending vaporization... copy from	Not used normally.	Creative way of letting people know that reading the book can lead to them disappearing.

			Pervez		
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This was a sarcastic remark as well as a sugar-coated warning to people that reading a particular book (under the context of the column) can lead to serious issues for the reader. He is hinting at how the government is accused of kidnapping its own people.

Column # 48: Sharaf Sharif

Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
19	3	154	That accomplished robber of the people's money	Accomplished not normally used with 'robber'	Used as an insult to Benazir Bhutto.

Effective usage of 'accomplished'.

Column # 134: Weavers of lies					
Line	Para	Pg.	Word/Phrase	Normal usage	Usage by Cowasjee
1	1	459	Tweedledum and Tweedledee	Names of characters from Alice in Wonderland	Used for Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Shairf

These two characters from Alice in Wonderland come across when Alice wants to ask for directions and the tricky bit with these two is that one of them lies while the other tells the truth and both of them say that the other one is lying. This description got his views on Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif's supposed political feud through very effectively.

CONCLUSION:

Understanding any individual is hard. Moreover, if an individual has as complex a personality as Ardeshir Cowasjee, the task increases tenfold. In an attempt to identify the kind of ideological leanings this columnist had, there were four research questions drafted and upon which this entire research was framed. After conducting a thorough content analysis of his selected columns, it

can be safely agreed upon that all research questions have been fundamentally answered.

RQ1 inquired about whether Cowasjee was pro-dictatorship or pro-democracy. It can safely be assumed now that Cowasjee was pro-dictatorship. The numbers say it all – the fact that he has criticized dictators a lot less than democratic leaders points toward this conclusion. Additionally, his general tone of writing about dictators has been seen as softer as compared to that of democratic leaders. For example, the passage below shows how he would praise dictators even while lamenting the condition of the state:

Rather than getting better and better day by day, year by year, this republic of ours seems to be slipping fast in the wrong direction. Strange things are happening, of which we were previously unaware — they may well have been with us for decades, since the rule of religiosity in the 1980s, but now the press, thanks to President General Pervez Musharraf, has become freer than ever before, and thus bolder, and it does its best to tell it as it is. (SAMA, 2012)

This finding also complements the results for RQ2, which focused on whether his criticisms were stemming from government-based influences or ideology-based narratives, because it can be seen that he had criticized both forms of government on various occasions and his focus has been largely on issues and ideals. If the ideals, which he deemed important and necessary, were upheld by a government, he showed his support for them, irrespective of which party's government it was or whether it was even a dictatorship.

RQ3 was aimed at understanding his political ideology and whether he subscribed to one set of general ideals. This was largely untrue, as he followed an array of political ideologies. He was a

liberal, a nationalist and an environmentalist in the truest sense, who was also influenced by authoritarian, fascist and capitalistic ideologies – but these influences varied from issue to issue. Moreover, the operational definitions of these terms, as laid down by this study, should also be referred to while these ideals are associated with his works.

The last question, RQ4, was focused on finding whether he was also to create any new usage of language or writing. It was found that though he experimented with words and phrases every now and then, the amount of those experiments is not large enough to be considered as a new writing style.

Whether these results provide a clearer picture of the columnist's leanings or open him up to more interpretation, one cannot claim for sure. Like most dynamic and enigmatic personalities, Cowasjee was a man of paradox, and the results of this study point towards it. Most of these leanings should not coexist, in theory, within one individual, but in practical life, there are various factors that influence people to develop their identities, which are not always clear-cut or measurable. Additionally, the variance in Cowasjee's ideological adherence could also result from that fact that the sample size dealt with columns ranging across the columnist's 24-years of journalistic writing. There is always the possibility of him learning and changing his opinions over time, which might explain why certain opposing ideas (such as being a liberal while also supporting dictatorship) coexist in his works.

Ardeshir Cowasjee was an enigma, exceptionally interesting to understand and solve. However, this research is just a fraction of the enormous work that he has done and there is definitely room for future scholars to focus on other aspects of his writings, or implement the same research model on a large, more controlled sample. Nonetheless, this study has been conducted in the hopes of becoming useful for others and is thus concluded with its relevant findings.

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