Citizenship Education in Pakistan

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This paper seeks to explore the context of Pakistan from the traditional vs. the modern, the religious vs. the secular, and the democratic vs. the autocratic, as well as to analyze how citizenship education is currently producing three outcomes: namely moral and law abiding citizens, market-based citizens (self created term coined for citizens created for a market based economy) and nationalistic and Islamic citizens. A critical discourse of the Pakistan Ministry of Education curriculum, policy documents and frameworks will be drawn upon to build the case that Pakistan's citizenship education is not producing critical thinkers who "develop their social consciousness to the extent that they become the agents of social change" and why this may be (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.14). Each political leader has aimed to create "good citizens", the term "good" can be debated as to definition. However, have "reproduced their government ideology" reflected in the citizenship education produced (Dean, 2005, p.36). Before exploring the citizenship education discourse, a brief historical context will be provided in order to understand Pakistan's educational system.

Historical Context

Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the issues facing the country are both interesting and complex. The country emerged after gaining independence from the British colonial rule. The need for two countries (India and Pakistan) arose, because Pakistani people felt that they possessed a distinct identity; one difference being based on religious and ideological conceptions of being Muslims. Following the inception of Pakistan, however, the country has been mired in problems such as "[ethnic] conflict, language riots", political upheaval, corruption and poverty (Dean, 2005, p.36). This has further created a clash of identity in which governments from the founding father Muhammad Ali Jinnah to Asif Ali Zardari debate whether the country should be "Islamic theocratic" or whether a "secular, democratic" nation is the way forward (Ahmad, 2004, p.41). Thus, understanding Pakistan through the clashes between tradition and modernity, religion and secularism, and democracy vs. autocracy have been three pivotal areas that are important to understand in terms of citizenship education. Each of these areas seeks a different kind of citizenship education. The different

"political transitions every ten years" have created a "new education policy (Dean, 2005, p.36)." Even though each political system may have aimed to create "good citizens," the realization of this goal has faltered. The ruling "government's ideology and conception of citizenship education" has modelled citizens within society. (Dean, 2004, p.1; Zia, 2003, p.153; Ahmad, 2008, p.97)

Context of Pakistan

Tradition vs. Modernity

Tradition can be a positive step towards decolonization, but the use of the term tradition has become problematic. For example, tradition has become associated with being backward and uncivilized; the mere reference of it is rooted in a negative connotation. The goal of traditional values has thus been framed to reject western notions of modernity and all knowledge of the West. The *White Paper on Education* was circulated in December 2006 as a pre-policy document created by the National Education Policy Review Team to incite dialogue surrounding major educational issues in Pakistan. After engaging in discussions with various stakeholders a draft policy document was to be presented to provincial governments to instigate a ten-year plan. Within the *White Paper* discussion of the education system, textbooks are said to be "written in a very traditional manner" which is critiqued as being caused by a lack of competition that has not incorporated "innovation" (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.19). In this example, one can surmise that tradition equates to a static and stagnant way of doing things that does not lead to progress. It is interesting to see how this discourse continues to unfold in various facets. Pakistan's traditional perspectives such as school examinations are criticized as not meeting "standardization criteria" (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.20). The traditional teaching style and corporal punishment are two of the reasons cited for children exiting the education system. Furthermore, the traditional approach to measuring academic results in a quantitative way has lead to a decrease in quality. Tradition has become a source of blame for educational factors that may have been related to a wider set of structural causes (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.36; Ghost, Abdu & Nasser, 2008, p.58).

The relationship with traditional knowledge has been referred to, since General Zia-ul-Haq, as the religious madrasah-style education. In this form, the "rigid classification of knowledge based on religious law and dogma" is transmitted from "traditionalists" claiming to be the "final authority on religious and worldly matters" (Nisar, 2010, p.48). Current traditional educational institutions such as the madrasah are viewed as "non-modern and backwards"

because the teachings in traditional languages such as Arabic and Persian exclude students from being a part of the western capitalistic, knowledge-based economy (Nisar, 2010, p.48). In a few examples, it is illustrated that tradition does not hold value for Pakistan to become a more progressive and advanced society. Modernity provides a possibility for change.

Modernity is the assimilation into Western imperialism in which, "everything from the west" is to be integrated and seen as a source of enlightenment (Nisar, 2010, p.48). Education that is situated in English with a British colonial framework is the route to a "modern nation" that sees "tradition as negative" (Qadir, 1009, p.107). Therefore, to "become a modern citizen," Pakistani society needs to shed its "pre-modern narrower identities and loyalties" to open up the opportunity for a "modern consciousness" (Qadir, 1009, p.107). In the move towards modernity, education is seen as a way to create a unified ideology that develops the "subject" inspired by the state (Pocock, 1995, p.38). This does not look at multiple and alternative ideologies that provide varying worldviews as this could fragment society. Creating unity of thought through centralized government power allows society to build a knowledge-based economy in the industrial age, by acquiring global capital such as the universal language of English, to aid in the understanding of modern curriculum and methods that will allow Pakistanis to be on par with others in the global marketplace. Modernity seen from multiple narratives does not have to revolt against all that is traditional; rather, if tradition is seen as fluid and evolving it can be a strength, rather than a barrier to progress (Ahmad, 2004, p.42; National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.16; Pocock, 1995, p.38).

Religious vs. Secular

Islam is the faith of 97% of the country; however the role of religion has become a political ideology (Zia, 2003, p.153). Jamal Khan contends that the impact of colonialism has been instrumental in transforming Islam from a faith to an ideological state apparatus. As a counter-movement to Western domination in the 18th and 19th century, Islam has been revaluated as an ideology. Within the Pakistan studies curriculum for grades IX-X, the study of Pakistan's ideology is referred to as "basic values of Islam" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.2). As each country has an ideological framework to guide its education system, in Pakistan, "Islam is the principal source of values for our life and ethical conduct is an essential precondition for social development" (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.11). The debate regarding the kind of an Islam to be practiced has seen a wide range of perspectives from fundamentalist, conservatives, liberal and moderate interpretations of faith (Ahmad, 2008, p.93).

However, Islam and secularism do not necessarily have to be viewed as opposing forces. As the founder of the nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, stated to the Pakistanis,

> you are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State (Ahmad, 2008, p.99).

Thereby, the liberal notion of citizenship education promoting national unity under the umbrella of respect, equality and "unity in diversity" provided the freedom of religion that was not to guide state affairs (Zia, 2003, p.158). The 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has been the framework for excluding religious minorities from political engagement in leadership roles. The basis of religion as an ideology was seen by some scholars such as Raza to be a strategy for political leaders to consolidate power (Zia, 2001, p.154). Since the term "minorities" was not defined in the constitution, governments have used religion as the differentiation factor rather than taking account of varying ethnic, linguistic and racial background of people. The religion of its citizens has been an exclusionary factor in which the 1973 constitutions amendment to Article 260 states "non-muslims" being defined as "a person who is not a Muslim and includes a person belonging to the Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Parsi community, a person of the Qadiani group or Lahori group (who will call themselves "Ahmadis" or by any other name), or a Baha'i, and a person belonging to any of the scheduled castes" (Malik, 2002, p.17). Thus non-muslims classified by the constitution has provided discretionary frameworks for government to operate their state based ideology rather than focusing on nation building (Malik, 2002).

However, in the general sense, Islamic values coincide with secular notions of equality, religious freedom and good citizenship. Though the motive of a secular notion may be attached to the rights and obligations of the state, Islam surpasses responsibilities and rights to be attached to faith and God. In the sense that being a good Muslim equates to being a good citizen, rewards are connected to a higher moral value (Dean, 2005, p.41). The 1998-2010, National Educational Policy states that Islam is the foundational basis and sole identity of education. This linear objective portrays Islam as opposing secularism. However if one reverts to the past, the first education conference of 1947, Islam was situated as education based on the "universal brotherhood of man, social democracy and social justice" (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.77), which realized that Islam,

democracy, universal human rights and secular beliefs can be intertwined. The dichotomous binary of religion and secularism can be disrupted as the two can coexist.

Democracy and Autocracy

Although Pakistan has a short history since gaining independence, the question of whether the country is a "democracy, autocracy or theocracy" has lingered (Dean, 2004, p.3). Every ten years, the political history of Pakistan has shifted with military takeovers that have implemented a different government system and ideology. Of the 63 years of Pakistan's history, 27 years have been of military rule (Dean, 2005, p.42). In each case, rarely has society felt democracy practiced; rather it has been used as a "propaganda" tool in the education system. The social studies national curriculum for grades IV-V outlines the objective to educate students as "citizens able to participate actively and responsibly in a democratic society ... through being informed about public affairs, act to safeguard their rights, fulfill their responsibilities as citizens and engage in community service and actions aimed at improving their own communities, nation and world" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.1). However, the reality that relates to democratic theory remains disjointed. The powerful elite, being the ruling class, seem to be the only ones who are provided the opportunity for engagement, action and a voice in society (Dean, 2005, p.36).

Democracy provides equal participation for everyone, yet Pakistan can be viewed to be between democracy and autocracy as continous political transitions have left the country in a state of question. Autocracy has effected citizenship education by tailoring the structure to serve the needs of the governing bodies in order to reproduce society which continues to support the amalgamation of power and authority. However, the educational curriculum does not address why "48% of the population-women are excluded politically, economically and socially" (Zia, 2003, p.161) Women have been marginalized from participating in democratic arena, in which small strides are being attempted as 33% of women representation in government systems has been reached (Zia, 2003, p.153). At the same time, minorities have also been excluded from the citizenship in terms of not being able to be actively engaged in political arenas. Yet the discussion of democracy does not address how citizens are to participate when many feel voiceless in being able to assert their basic freedoms. The "commitment for cause of democracy" cannot be created, when citizens have yet to experience it (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.59).

Current Citizenship Education Outcomes

Citizenship education is a political objective that strives to shape citizens for the future the nation seeks to build. It is the "vision of a desirable society", that is ever shifting in the socio- political landscape. Each government will have a different understanding and goal in terms of framing the country; this in turn leads to multiple citizenship education discourses. The following are some of the main citizenship discourses that are prevalent through the Ministry of Education in Pakistan. In an attempt to explore each of these discourses within policy and curriculum frameworks, the need for a "critical and active citizen" discourse will be built upon (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007, p.530).

The Moral, Law Abiding Citizen

The aim for creating dutiful citizens that are obedient to the state is a notion of citizenship education that situates the citizen as a subject that is to be loyal. This does not provide citizens the space to think or question the nation in terms of inequities or points of improvement, as the state is in a naturalized and unquestionable position. In the national curriculum, the objective of students learning the most "appropriate and right" way seems to underlie a disciplining premise, in which knowing the best possible way of answering or doing things creates a sense of unity in obedience (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.17). The citizens should understand their duties to the nation and be ready to perform these responsibilities. An example of the value of law abidingness in terms of gearing citizens towards obeying rather than analyzing or questioning the formulation of such guiding principles is seen in the political science benchmarks for grades 1-3 that emphasize "making rules and identifying the consequence of breaking each rule" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.7). The adherence to rules should be taught as the "consequence of not having or observing rules" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.7). The significance of rules to guide the lives of citizens is established, in which "good moral leaders" of the past are studied so that students can seek role models that engrain such values (Dean, 2004, p.8).

Citizenship education geared toward creating obedient citizens is problematic because rules, duties and responsibilities in relation to the nation are seen to be positive. Positive in this sense means that the rules which are created by the government in power are to benefit the citizens in an ideal society. However, the autocratic and political instability that is coupled by the self and private interests of the elites in power can make the adherence to rules questionable. The structural foundation of the rules that citizens are to abide by

needs to be examined as to what the intention is and who is benefitting from them. One example is the provision that has excluded minority groups that self-identify as Muslims, but because of differing sects have been recognized as non-Muslims by the state as defined in the aforementioned 1973 Constitutional Amendment. This law excludes minorities from political and social positions, as they are not able to engage in deliberations;further marginalizing them. One is not suggesting lawlessness or fracturing the notion of cohesion that is necessary to bind people, but obedience and dutifulness needs to provide space to think critically and act to keep the government in check of unjust practices and laws. As the laws are to benefit the people, they should be publicly deliberated to discuss their impact (Nisar, 2010, p.51; Dean, 2004, p.40).

The Market-Based Citizen

In the market-based framework, citizenship education prepares citizens as objects of the knowledge-based economy to be able to capitalize in the economic sense. The *White Paper* discusses the objectifying of citizens as the "raw human resources of [Pakistan that need] to [be] chiselled and refine[d] into the finest exponents of social and economic power that they can be" (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.3). A citizen is seen as the "economic man," as one who strives for wealth and is able to capitalize on gaining the most efficient means to do so. This perspective is viewed by some scholars as the "modern man's real identity" as the other legal conceptualizations are abstract and not connected to the day-to-day lives of people (Ignatieff, 1995, p.64). However, the marketplace is assumed to provide equal opportunity and accessibility, yet it is a capitalistic system in which resources and wealth distribution is unequal, and some are prospering while many have nothing. Therefore, The capitalistic notion of success is a reality that is not "universally available" and choice and competition further limit the access to economic opportunities for numerous citizens (Walzer, 1995, p.159).

In the national curriculum, the aim of education is to create citizens that are "capable of effectively participating in the highly competitive global knowledge based economy and information age" (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.3). The aim carries the universality that all citizens can realize their potential through education; however, in Pakistan, this is not the case. Women are excluded from various economic sectors in which the highly patriarchal society limits opportunities for mobility; "only 3.74% of women are employed in various formal professions" (National Education Policy Review Team, 2006, p.26). The low participation rate of 3.74% does not allude to women being excluded from work. Rather a significant number of women work in home-

based, family-owned businesses, education and agricultural sectors. However, much of the work performed by women is relegated to less desirable positions as a result of the lack of education and gender stereotypes fuelling the patriarchial system. Much of women's participation in the labour market is unaccounted for since it is hidden or not recognized. Furthermore, the job market is tied to the connections one has, in which it is more important who you know rather than your qualifications. The social capital of individuals becomes important in being successful on the market.

Thereby the market-based education also teaches grade 4 & 5 students in economics to "compare prices, quality and features of goods and services, and weigh/identify alternatives/opportunity costs in personal, local, provincial, and national decision-making situations" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.9). This aims to create smart consumers who are able to make effective economic decisions. The cost vs. benefit decision-making model is seen in the education curriculum objectives, in which reaching the best solution in the most effective and efficient way is an instrumental role of the teacher to guide students to this point. This line of analysis does not question overconsumption or whether citizens have agency in their role as producer or consumer (Soares, 2003, p.211).

The Nationalistic and Islamic Citizen

An important goal of Pakistan's citizenship education is to create nationalistic and Islamic citizens. By relating to a patriotic sense of Pakistani identity the connection to Islam is fundamental to a Pakistan ideology. Since the "Islamisation of Pakistan in the 1970s, the national identity has become synonymous with a Muslim identity" (Dean, 2004, p.9). This framework creates national cohesion of people through the "Ummah" Muslim nationhood (Ahmad, 2008, p.104). Positioning religion as more than faith, but a political ideology can create citizens who believe in only one worldview and are not open to understanding alternative views (Ahmad, 2008, p.100). The goal of education to understand unity in diversity may not be achieved by only learning the Islamic perspective. The Ministry of Education's educational policy from 1998-2010 implicitly states that,

> Education and training should enable the citizens of Pakistan to lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam as laid down in the Qur'an and Sunnah and to educate and train them as a true practicing Muslim. To evolve an integrated system of national education by bringing Deeni

> Madaris (Islamic Schools) and modern schools closer to each stream in curriculum and the contents of education (2010).

In this excerpt, the good citizen is equated to the good Muslim. The value system, beliefs and interpretations of Islam are diverse in that there are varying schools of thought on how the Muslim should be. The white papers on education in Pakistan, reflect that the role of Islamic education should guide towards a "modern Muslim." The modern Muslim follows Islam in essence as a guide to the "modern environmental pressure." Islam and modernity can be interlinked in such a way that one does not clash with the other. The importance of creating Islamic citizens who are "proactive thinking rather than reactive" is to counter the fundamentalist ideologies. On the other hand, extremist groups such as the Taliban believe that Islamic education has not been able to realize the goal of an Islamic republic, so this has become the drive for them. (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.56)

The majority of the population is only learning about Islam, therefore the ethics curriculum can be an element that is made compulsory for all regardless of religion, as it broadens the mental horizon for citizens (Zia, 2003, p.153). In the current socio-cultural climate, citizens need to be aware of the types of Islamic education that they are learning in terms of the multiple perspectives, and also be provided an opportunity to delve into alternative world perspectives. The types of Islamic education refer to the varying spectrum of methodologies referring to modernity, liberalism, fundamentalism, and traditionalism to name a few positionalities. Varying Islamic perspectives as well as alternative religious world perspectives need to be taken in account as the current societal reality that student are living in. The national curriculum of ethics for non-Muslims in its introduction states that "students will realize that all religions teach the similar values and there is no reason to have negative values. The experience of learning common moral teachings will bring people of different faiths closer to each other." This diverse learning of various religions aims to create a society of "tolerant and sound moral character" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.7). If only 3% of the population is comprised of non-Muslims who would be taught the ethics curriculum, how would this have an impact on the nation?

The Future of Critical Citizens

In examining some of the citizenship education discourses, the role of citizens is positioned in a passive state. It does not matter whether one is a moral law-abiding, market-based, or nationalistic Islamic citizen; each of these does not seek to provide an opportunity for the citizen to explore their own social consciousness and "actively participate in society" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.1). Going back to the foundational issues of citizenship education, one needs to look at "who learns what, where, how, when and with what purpose" (Williams & Humphreys, 2003, p.10). Citizenship education needs to be defined by the citizen as to understanding their local and global contexts. Space needs to be provided in understanding multiple perspectives as knowledge is not "the knowledge" but several world perspectives that knowledge is rooted in (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.56). Therefore, any knowledge relationship needs to be seen with an objective and critical perspective, rather than the final truth.

In looking at the national social studies and Pakistan studies curriculum, the approach toward issues is one that does not go into a wider critical perspective. For example, in the Standard 6 Social Studies curriculum, the benchmark of "describing the role of citizens in democracy," can be a platform to discuss Pakistan's democracy and what kind of a role students believe a citizen should have and whether a democracy is being realized (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.8). Instead of only studying the political leaders and eras that Pakistan has gone through curriculums should provide a critical perspective into why military upheavals and democracy are continually unattainable. Reframing the question of democracy into one in which the very notion of democracy in Pakistan is explored can provide an opportunity for citizens to explore what kind of agency they have in understanding different aspects and working toward their own thoughts in formulating a position. One may say that this may be a sensitive topic to explore, as the very government in power can be challenged and evaluated regarding what kind of a political system they are operating. Scarcity is referred to a given state that people should accept rather than question who is constantly facing scarcity and why there is an unequal distribution of resources, both nationally and globally. Looking at how capitalism has fuelled the notion of scarcity, in which many individuals are led to believe they must accept that a lack of resources is important. If one of the key objectives for students through education is to learn to challenge the status quo, how will this be realized if issues and systems are framed in a narrow framework in which words such as "describe, analyze and identify" are used to explain or reiterate

information? (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007, p.56). Education is not a neutral endeavour, but a politically driven mechanism. Challenging the status quo as a goal of education can be instrumental in bringing change to improve the multifaceted societal aspects (Dean, 2004, p.40).

Citizenship education needs to be defined by citizens in which "learning is seen as citizenship" rather than "learning about citizenship" (Istance, 2003, p.48). Instead of placing citizenship education into social studies, Pakistan studies, and Islamic studies, in which citizenship is seen to be boxed into a specific subject for the allotted grade levels, it needs to be ingrained as an underlying foundation of education in all subjects, but in various aspects. This can be achieved in the methodology, teaching perspectives and decision-making processes which seek to instill active and critical citizenship as a lifelong learning journey. Students need to be challenged into thinking that normative assumptions are not neutral; rather than seeking the "right way" or morally good role model, the opportunity to take on a challenge and look at an issue from a critical perspective needs to be recognized as this builds the bridge towards a social consciousness and justice stance (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.26). The morally good role models do not let students explore what morality is and how good is not a definitive line. Rather political ideologies and dominant discourses tend to frame role models for citizens that seek to reach a specific outcome. For example the national curriculum for social studies grades IV-V outlines two themes, one focusing on personalities and the other on the contributions and virtues in regards to the personalities. In both sections the outcomes seek to identify heroes/personalities and their characterisitics which are admired. A surface level understanding is being established that role models or heroes are firstly to be admired in the form of a hero and are classified through specific traits. However, one student learning outcome provides some space to be a further point of critical thought in terms of looking at "individual beliefs, cultures, times and situations that change of our choice of heroes/heroines" (Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007, p.16). This outcome can serve as a stepping stone to becoming more effective in opening discussion of choice, heroes not necessarily being seeing as definitive moral poles of good or bad and how varying factors influence our selection of role models. For students to explore and assess their own role models as well as relate to their personal and societal context is fundamental for such learning outcomes to have a substantial impact. A critical citizen would need to relate learning with wider contexts and the power of discourses (Knight, 2008, p.122; Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007, p.530; Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education, 2007).

The context of citizenship education in terms of tradition, modernity, secularism or religion has bound society in deciding that one needs to choose between these goals. Traditional education systems have value; that is they are a valuable source of identity formation in recognizing and reclaiming spaces that the colonial system has eroded. Rather than looking at tradition as hindering modernity, education can connect both realms in which the western means of modernity may not be fully adequate to the Pakistan context. Instead, Pakistan can develop its own hybrid framework of traditional and modern education. Understanding these stances is important to the creation of active critical thinkers, who are able to find their own place within these contexts. It is not to say that one should disregard some contexts, but one should have the choice to decide whether his or her values and goals in seeking education are aligned with interpretations of tradition, religion, modernity, etc. Only by moving forward from the perspective of seeing conflicts and clashes of contexts can the citizen move forward, bridging gaps to redefine what is most beneficial (Merryfield, 2008, p.93; Richardson, 2008, p.135).

Realizing the goal of active and critical citizens may not be possible with the political instability that faces Pakistan. It may be that the government feels that creating national cohesion through a unified identity is the only way to move forward. Citizenship education can be a stable platform in an unstable environment. However, it is the current instability that requires the stagnant and status quo thinking to be dismantled. This thinking will not be able to empower society through education to provide change. Although the democratic framework, to provide the space for an active citizenship is not present this needs to be challenged to "develop new, creative responses to those occasions where we no longer recognize the context of action" (Isin & Nielsen, 2008, p.5). If citizenship education can provide Pakistanis an opportunity to question and think of the assumptions that they take for granted without realizing the broader context and power relations, then this can be considered a move of active and critical citizenship. Citizenship education teaching students to taking this line of thinking further into life after a formal setting can open numerous possibilities. If even one student realizes this goal, then it can be said that the citizenship education has fulfilled its goal (Ahmad, 2008, p.104; Williams & Humphreys, 2003, p.34).

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Language Skills of PMA Cadets: Insights into Perceptions of Instructors

By Dr. Qamar Khushi

I. Background to the Problem

Pakistan Army has inherited its working system and procedures from the British Army after independence in 1947; hence, the working language has continued to be English. The prospective army officers who get academic and professional training at the PMA, Kakul, come from varied cultural, economic and educational backgrounds. With English not being the first language of the country, the cadets' command of English language has a great deal of variation, with majority of them being towards the lower end of proficiency (Ahmed, 1998; Khushi, 2003). Though the English syllabus taught at the PMA has been modified from time to time according to the changing needs but so far no empirical investigation has been made on cadets' English language needs.

The concept of needs analysis became popular with the emergence of ESP as a new branch of ELT where the focus is on the learner and his/her academic and professional needs. According to Graves (1996:12-13):

> Needs assessment involves finding out what the learners know and can do and what they need to learn or do so that the course can bridge the gap (or some part of it). Thus, needs analysis involves seeking and, interpreting information about students' needs so that the course will address them effectively.

A number of ESP advocates, (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Jordan, 1997; Flowerdew and Peacock 2001; Basturkmen, 2006) have emphasized that needs analysis should be the starting point for devising syllabuses. When the specific needs of a language programme are not well defined, there is always a possibility of dissatisfaction in achieving its aims and objectives and the students will end up the language programme without any proper language proficiency. As a result, the efforts of the course designers, teachers and the learners will go wastage. The rationale of the present study, therefore, emanates from the need to investigate the English language needs of PMA cadets in order to incorporate them into an ESP programme.

II. Review of Previous Studies

A variety of needs analysis have been conducted internationally as well as in Pakistan, to investigate the English language needs of different groups of learners. All these studies confirmed the importance of identifying learners' needs and showed the risk and dangers of ignoring needs analysis in designing ESP courses. The following overview first provides a sampling of studies in needs analysis conducted in different parts of the world and then presents studies in ESP in Pakistan.

For instance, in Jordan**,** there was a study conducted by Zghoul & Hussein (1985) to investigate the English language needs of undergraduate students from different disciplines, including natural sciences, engineering, medical sciences, economics, and arts and humanities. Two separate questionnaires were administered to 90 teachers and 1147 students. The questionnaires explored three major issues: the extent of English language use at Yarmouk University; perception of the students' language abilities; and perception of English language needs. Results obtained from this study showed extensive use of English as reported by both students and teachers. With regard to the perception of language abilities, the study showed that students tend to overestimate their abilities in the different language skills, whereas a more realistic estimate is shown in the responses of the teachers. The students ranked listening as the most important skill followed by speaking, reading, and writing. On the other hand, the teachers ranked listening as the most important skill followed by reading, writing, and speaking. The study concluded that, at the university level, English course requirements should be taught for specific purposes to prepare students for their field of study (e.g., engineering) from when they first join the university.

Al-Gorashi (1988) investigated the English language needs of military cadets in Saudi Arabia as perceived by junior officers. Data were collected through questionnaires from 212 officers representing different branches in the military. The results of the study showed that English is very significant in situations related to the cadets' future jobs and training courses depending on the nature of each military branch. The overall assessment considered reading and listening as the most important required skills. The result also indicated that the English language preparation that the officers received was poor. The study concluded that the language preparation does not meet the English language knowledge that the officers' jobs required.

Serkan (2003) investigated the English language needs of the students enrolled in the office management and secretarial studies departments of Nigde University's Vocational colleges. Data were collected through four different questionnaires, from currently enrolled students, former students, content teachers and employers. The findings of the study showed that a new curriculum was required which should meet the students target needs along with their learning needs. Moreover, the results pointed out that a new course curriculum should focus on improving students' reading and speaking skills as compared to writing and listening skills. Finally, all of the participant groups of the study agreed on the importance of using content-related reading materials from the internet.

Alhuqbani (2008) identified the English language needs of police officers in Saudi Arabia. For this purpose, a questionnaire was administered to 103 police officers on the job. The findings showed that English plays a remarkable role in police department. The participant officers were found to be conscious of the significance of tailoring the language materials they study to their occupational needs. All the officers rated those items that were relevant to their jobs as important. Based on this finding, the study has proposed some general guidelines for the improvement of the English program at King Fahd Security College.

Tamimi and Shuib (2010) investigated the English language needs of Petroleum Engineering students at Hadhramount University, Malaysia. The aim of the study was to identify the students' perceptions of the frequency of English language skills used, the importance of these skills, their ability in performing the skills, the areas of language use that they need training/teaching in, and their preferences for the English language course. The sample of the study was 81 third, fourth, and final-year petroleum undergraduates in the academic year 2006-2007. A questionnaire was used for data collection. The results stressed the significance of English for petroleum engineering students and identified the students' lacks, wants and necessities with regard to English language skills. The study concluded with pedagogical implications that might help to improve the current English language course based on the students' needs.

The previous studies gave examples of different needs analysis around the world. The following overview reviews studies conducted specifically in Pakistan with participants of similar socioeconomic backgrounds to the participants of this study.

Qadir (1988:76) suggested a course of English for MBA students in the light of their communicative needs. Her findings showed that communication skills could be developed if the learners were motivated, so they could relate to the situation and could identify with functional goals of the course. Qadir's research provided useful insights to ESP researchers and course developers.

Iqbal (1998) conducted a study to justify the rationale of introducing a course of English language for the students of Computer Science. In his research, he described the designing features of the syllabus of English for this group of learners, based primarily on their needs and problems at the university level.

Imtiaz (2002) investigated the academic and professional English language needs of M.Com Banking students in Pakistan. Data were collected through interviews and questionnaires. In the light of her findings, she suggested a business communication and report-writing course for the M.Com Banking students.

Similarly, Jabeen (2005) analyzed the academic and professional language needs of the students pursuing their Masters degree in Journalism at Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, and proposed a course outline based on this needs analysis.

Ahmed (2005) carried out an extensive and useful research on legal English. His findings have presented a clear picture of the levels of inadequacy in several areas related to academic and professional situations. In the light of the findings, he recommended a Legal English Course, which could be implemented in various academic and professional institutes of legal education in Pakistan.

It is evident from the research projects mentioned above, that like other parts of the world, there has been a great development in needs investigation projects carried out in different disciplines in Pakistan as well. However, no significant research has been conducted that investigates the academic and professional language needs of the army officers in Pakistan. The present research is an attempt to fill this gap.

III. Research Methodology

This section will describe the research methodology adopted in the present study.

III.1 The Profile of the Instructors': General Information
The participants of this study were eleven instructors from the department of
English. All of them had Masters Degrees in English literature. However, two of
them had an added qualification of M.Phil. Only three of them had an ELT
background. The teaching/service experience of the chosen group ranged between
3 to 21 years. Two of the interviewees (A and B) were Lieutenant Colonels, four
of them were in the rank of Majors (C, D, E,) and the others were Captains. This
group was chosen as population sample considering that the instructors have first
hand knowledge of the level of linguistic adequacies of the cadets.

Table depicts the profile of the five academics from the three faculties in the
university.

TABLE: Profile of the Instructors Teaching at the Department of English

Instructors	Rank	Qualification	Years of Service
A	Lieutenant Colonel	MA English (lit) M.Phil (Lit)	21
B	Lieutenant Colonel	MA, Diploma in ELT	19
C	Major	MA (English lang. and lit) M.Phil (Linguistics)	16
D	Major	MA	14
E	Major	MA	12
F	Major	MA	11
G	Captain	MA	8
H	Captain	MA	6
I	Captain	MA	6
J	Captain	MA	5
K	Captain	MA	3

III. ii Data Collection
Data were collected through semi-structured interviews on telephone from eleven
instructors of the Department of English, PMA, Kakul. The interview questions
of the instructors sought the information related to the following aspects:

1. The reasons for teaching English course
2. The significance of teaching listening, speaking, reading and writing tasks to cadets for academic/professional purposes
3. Difficulties in language skills faced by the cadets
4. Suggestions to improve the English courses taught at the PMA

III. iii Analysis of Instructors' Interviews

First, data collected through semi-structured interviews from the instructors was transcribed. Then for each of the questions in the interviews, all the responses were analyzed qualitatively according to the different themes. The important points from the data of interviews were highlighted. Any interesting insights provided in the interviews were also noted.

III.iii.a Instructors' Perceptions: Reasons for Teaching the English Course

The interviewees were asked various reasons for teaching the English course. The different reasons provided by them are discussed below:

Theme1: English is working language of the Pakistan Army

All of the instructors believed that the main reason for teaching English to the cadets is that it is the working language of armed forces. They pointed out that the medium of instruction in the professional courses is English and written communication in the form of official letters, faxes, memorandums, instructions, and messages is carried out only in English language. As far as spoken English is concerned, presentations, briefings, lectures, meetings, conferences, are conducted in the English language.

One of the instructors (A) stated the importance of English language in these words:

> **[1]Other than an interaction with the soldiers and possibly some Junior Commissioned Officers, an officer's entire activities in his academic and professional fields are conducted in the English language. You can't take a step forward in the army, unless you are well-equipped and   conversant with English language.**

A few instructors (C, D, G, K) also pointed out that the cadets need to learn English for their survival because they are forced to use the English language

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[1] The quotations in the bold letters are the exact words of the instructors in response to different questions asked during the interviews. The language mistakes of the respondents have been given as they were. The reason for presenting the exact words of the interviewees is to make their voices audible. The quotes make the people more real.

within the premises of the Academy and if any cadet is found speaking vernacular, he is punished.

In this context, a young instructor (K) stated:

> **Without English there is no survival. The moment cadets enter PMA, they can't communicate in any other language except English. Once they enter their professional life its importance increases day by day. All the written work is in English. Moreover, you are appreciated if you speak English with a good accent.**

To conclude, all the interviewees strongly believed that English language plays an important role in the academic/professional military settings. Moreover, cadets need English language for their survival at the Academy since they are forbidden to use any other language except English at the Academy.

Theme 2: English is an International Language

Almost all the instructors claimed that one of the major reasons for teaching English to the young cadets is because of its importance as an international language. They mentioned that a large number of Pakistani army officers and troops are deployed around the globe on various Peace Keeping missions. The medium of communication at all these places is English. Almost invariably, the foreign courses and higher studies in reputable universities inside and outside of Pakistan are conducted in the English language. Access to new technology, new training manuals, strategic thinking papers and analyses of tactical situations developing around the world are mostly available in the English language, which further makes the learning of English essential for an army officer. Like the instructor **A** said,

> **…It is critical that our future officers be proficient in English language, else they would be greatly inhibited in their understanding of the modern technology, new weapon systems and the sixth generation inductions.**

Other instructors also shared the view that being an internationally spoken and understood language, English is necessary to compete with the world. With this aim, English is emphasized at the Academy. Instructor **F** argued:

> **The world has become a global village. We can't live in isolation in this fast moving world. Our army officers in order to compete with the officers of other nations need to be   proficient in English in order to read technical instructions.**

III.iii.b Instructors' Perceptions concerning the significance of teaching listening, speaking, reading and writing tasks to cadets for academic/professional purposes

Views of the instructors were obtained pertaining to the language needs of the cadets so that those needs could be addressed in the proposed syllabus. There was no difference of opinion regarding the importance of all the four language skills. However, there was a difference of opinion among them with regard to the ranking of the language skills in order of importance. Some of them believed that proficiency in writing skill was more important for the military cadets, while others felt that speaking skill was more essential. Most of the instructors ranked reading skill as third, and listening fourth, in order of importance. The responses of the instructors showed that writing and speaking skills were more important for the cadets than listening and reading skills.

Based upon the responses of the instructors, the different types of reading, writing, speaking and listening tasks required by the cadets for academic/ professional military settings are discussed below:

Theme1: Importance of Listening Tasks
With regard to listening skill, all the eleven instructors considered 'listening to lectures in classes' and 'listening to Audio Visual Packages' (prepared by BBC, which is part of the English course) important listening tasks required by the cadets at the PMA. The vast majority of the instructors (nine) also pointed out that listening to seminars/presentations was important for the cadets for academic/professional purposes. In addition, four instructors stated that interacting with instructors and senior cadets as well as listening to orders and instructions, were important listening tasks. Two instructors noted that listening to other student' in group discussions was also important for the cadets. Other two instructors also pointed out that listening to guest speakers and then writing a summary of their speech was an important listening task required by the cadets.

Theme 2: Significance of Speaking Tasks
There was a consensus among the instructors that adequacy in spoken English was very essential in the academic lives of the cadets. All the instructors mentioned that the cadets required spoken English for, 'delivering presentations, speeches, conducting and participating in seminars, meetings, conferences and group discussions'. Five instructors (**A, B, C, E, G, H)** also pointed out that the cadets required proficiency in spoken English in order 'to interact with faculty members and foreigners'.

Theme 3: Significance of Reading Tasks
According to the analysis of the responses of the instructors, all of them stated that reading of textbooks was an important academic reading task for the cadets.

The vast majority of the instructors) (ten out of twelve instructors) also stated that reading of professional journals and technical manuals was important for the cadets for professional purposes. In addition, four instructors **(B, C, I, K)** pointed out that interpreting data in tables and diagrams was an important academic reading task required by the cadets.

Theme 4: Significance of Writing Tasks
There was a complete agreement amongst the instructors regarding the importance of writing skill. They identified a variety of writing tasks required for academic/professional purposes by the cadets. Based upon their responses, the different types of writing tasks required by the cadets in the academic /professional military settings are listed below:

- Writing presentations
- Formal/ informal letters
- Report writing
- Book reviews
- Case study
- Research paper
- Tactical appreciation
- Comments (e.g. views on important events, changes in system)
- Minutes of a meeting
- Essays
- Précis writing
- Message writing
- Minutes of a meeting

III.iii.c Cadets' Language Difficulties as Perceived by the Instructors
The instructors were asked to comment on the difficulties faced by their students related to the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. The details are as under:
Difficulties related to listening skill
Overall, most of the instructors expressed satisfaction with the listening skill of their students. They were of the view that at the time of entry level, many cadets face difficulty in understanding spoken English. However, by the time they graduate from the Academy, they do not face any such problem.
On the other hand, a few instructors **(B, D, F, and J)** believed that most of the cadets could not understand the dialogues of the English Audio-Visual Packages shown to them. Some of the problematic areas mentioned by them are,

'understanding the unfamiliar accent in connected speech' and 'understanding slang and certain vocabulary items'.

In this regard, a senior instructor (B) mentioned:

> **Yes, students do face problems in understanding the dialogues spoken by the native speakers because of their lack of exposure to native speakers' accent and unfamiliarity with the typical expressions used by the native speakers…**

Difficulties related to Speaking Skill

The instructors indicated that when the cadets join the Academy, they have inadequate ability to express themselves in speech. They claimed however, towards the end of the course almost all of the cadets can speak English fluently. They stated that this change is primarily due to the teaching of English course as well as the environment at the Academy where the cadets are not allowed to use any other language except English. At the same time they also admitted that fluency is achieved, however, the cadets' speech lack accuracy. Some of the common difficulties in cadets' speech as pointed out by the instructors were poor pronunciation, inadequate grammar and lack of vocabulary. The instructor (A) said in this regard:

> **Most of the cadets at the time of joining the Academy are unable to speak English properly. By the time they graduate from the PMA, they become fluent in speaking English because of the environment at the PMA. But in most of the cases, their speech lacks accuracy…The most common problems they face are in the areas of grammar and vocabulary**.

Difficulties related to Reading Skill

Majority of the instructors seemed quite satisfied with the reading ability of their students However, a few of them pointed out that at times lack of vocabulary affected the reading speed of the cadets. Overall, majority of the respondents seemed satisfied with the reading abilities of their students. They reported that the cadets could read at an adequate speed without much comprehension problem by the time they graduate from the Academy.

Difficulties related to Writing Skill

Inadequacy in cadets' writing was considered as major cause of concern by most of the interviewees. The instructors believed that the writing skill of the cadets was not up to the mark. The format of military writing is different from that of standard English writing. Clarity is very much emphasized in military writings. According to the instructors, the cadets are used to cramming and therefore lack originality of ideas in their written work. As instructor C stated,

> **Most of the cadets have inadequate skills of organization, which result in lack of clarity in texts.**

Grammar was reported as another problematic area by most of the instructors. The reason given for this deficiency was out-dated teaching methodology at school and college level education. The common mistakes reported were mainly in the use of tenses and subject-verb agreement, conditionals, narration and voice. Lack of vocabulary and poor spellings were also reported as areas of concern by some of the interviewees.

III.iii.d Suggestions of the Instructors' to Improve the Standard of English at the Academy

The following themes emerged in response to the suggestions of the instructors with regard to improve the standard of English at the PMA:

> Theme 1: Syllabus should correspond to the needs of the cadets
> Theme 2: More emphasis is required on teacher training
> Theme 3: Cadets' should be placed according to their proficiency level

Theme 1: Syllabus should correspond to the needs of the cadets

Most of the instructors suggested that in order to improve the standard of English at the PMA it was important that cadets should be taught specific language skills, which would help them in their future professional, and everyday lives. One of the instructors expressed his views in these words:

> **The main aim of teaching English to military cadets should be to prepare them to speak and write effectively. The kind of writing tasks required in the army profession should be taught to the cadets. Teaching drama, novel and poetry do not help to improve their language. Literature component should be excluded from the syllabus, as it has no practical value.**

Another senior instructor having an ELT background suggested to introduce ESP syllabus. He stated:

> **It is now high time that we should completely redesign a new syllabus. The need of the time is to introduce ESP syllabus…**

Some of the instructors suggested that instead of teaching stories and articles from the textbooks, authentic material like newspapers should be used to teach various language points. In this regard an instructor stated:

> **…although writing activity is also undertaken, but unfortunately it is not focused. Reading and writing skills are more remotely touched upon as they are left to the discretion of the student and not given the required treatment they deserve.**

> **From the spoken perspective, it is quite impressive. However, the written aspect must concentrate on creative writing… Moreover, listening comprehension and speed reading activities must be carried out more frequently and purposefully.**

An instructor while criticizing the phonetics course said:

> **It is taught at very basic level. Instructors are not trained enough to teach it. Audio visual aids are played without providing any guidelines to the students. Cadets usually sleep during that time.**

The instructors felt that ESP course was required by the cadets in their academic and professional lives, rather than literature oriented syllabus. They lamented the fact that the future professional language needs were not taken into account to a large extent while teaching the English course. Some participants expressed concern of having no say in the designing of curriculum. They mentioned that they had to follow the lesson plans and teaching materials assigned by the Department.

Theme 2: Need for Teacher Training

Emphasis on teacher training was stressed by a number of instructors. Those who expressed this view believed that if the cadets were taught language through new and effective ways then it would certainly have very positive effects on their learning. As a senior instructor pointed out:

> **Although the teaching of English is given a lot of importance at the Academy but due to other heavy professional demands of the PMA on the part of the cadets, the teachers also just try to cover the course without any serious dedication. In my opinion, if the teachers are made aware of the modern concepts of teaching then they would involve the students in learning more effectively**.

Another instructor suggested:

> **Teacher training should be given top priority. Interactive training/discussion sessions should be held in the department…The department presently lacks an academic environment. There is no concept of providing guidance to the young instructors by their seniors. No academic discussion is carried out for the standpoint of discussing the prevalent trends in language/literature teaching. If a junior officer's class is visited, hardly any feedback is provided to him with the result that he is unaware of his weak or strong areas.**

Some of the instructors stressed the need for polishing the analytical abilities of the cadets by using suitable teaching methodology. As one of the instructor stated:

Cadets should be taught how to read effectively by making use of newspapers and interesting short stories written by authors of the sub-continent. They should be taught what information to look for. The aim of teaching should be to enhance analytical abilities because an army officer really needs to develop his analytical abilities through various strategies. Grammar and vocabulary should be incorporated into the four skills and taught in context and in a meaningful way.

The main drawbacks of the course as mentioned by the instructors were lack of teacher training in the area and shortage of time. With regard to Phonetics module, one of the instructors expressed his views in these words,

It is taught at very basic level. Audio visual aids are played without providing any guidelines to the students. The time allocated is too short. A teacher hardly gets time to do justice with the individual sounds. The intonation of a complete sentence or passage is often not done either because of limited time or lack of proficiency of the teacher himself. If he is not a role model himself, how can he deliver? Moreover, there is practically no time for interactive practice sessions. Cadets usually sleep during that time.

Another senior instructor pointed out that the attitude of the authorities and the students also has an effect on the teaching of academic subjects. He believed that the PMA is a professional institute so the authorities and the students give more importance to the professional training. He expressed his views in these words:

… the biggest drawback is the yoking together of military and academic training. Secondly, the time allocated for public speaking is too less. Proper feedback by the instructor can't be given due to paucity of time.

**Theme 3: Cadets should be placed into groups according to their proficiency
level**

Some of the instructors indicated that one of the reasons for inadequate language competency of the cadets is that the cadets coming from diverse educational backgrounds are taught the same course without considering their varied language backgrounds. They reported that some of the cadets have very high language proficiency, whereas, quite a large number of them have low language proficiency.

The instructors suggested that placing cadets in the right level will help them predict the language needs and their progress in the program. In this regard one of the instructor's pointed out:

> **Initial division of the cadets should be on the basis of their proficiency so that separate doses of treatment should be given to separate groups. Subsequently they should be amalgamated**.

IV. Conclusion and Implications

The present study was concerned with identifying and assessing the English language needs of prospective army officers at PMA from their instructors' perspective. The findings indicate that knowledge of English is a decisive factor for success as it is the working language of Pakistan Army. In identifying the language needs of cadets, most of the instructors had ranked writing and speaking skill as the most important language skills required followed by reading and listening. The results also revealed that there is plenty of scope for improvement in the present courses that are being taught at the PMA and that a literature oriented general English course does not help the cadets achieve the required proficiency in English language. It was also found out that some changes need to be made in teaching style in order for courses to be more effective.

The findings have important implications for English teaching at PMA, and other Armed Forces Training institutes. First, it is important to take into account the target learners' level of proficiency in English before they may start the English course. This significantly helps in determining the academic linguistic needs of the cadets. Placing cadets in the right level will help instructors predict their language needs and their progress in the program.

Second, while there is a need for improving the cadets' language proficiency in all four basic English skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing), the language materials offered at PMA, Kakul should place more emphasis on teaching the two skills of writing and speaking. All of the participants considered these two skills as the most important skills required by the cadets in academic and professional military settings. Moreover, grammar and vocabulary should be incorporated into the four skills and taught in context and in a meaningful way.
Third, authentic materials should be used to teach language because the real world situations learners will face or are already facing are best prepared for, with authentic texts. The choice of any language teaching materials must be made with the proper context in which the materials will be used. If the learners can see a

close connection between the content of the material and their academic/professional/general needs, then there will be a strong motivating force for the language learners and better results will be achieved. Therefore, instead of heavily literature based content, subject specific/general material should be included in the course.

Fourth, teachers need to be properly trained to teach ESP courses. They should adopt the role of facilitator or counselors for fostering a learner-centered environment, which would help the cadets develop problem solving and critical thinking skills. They may also be trained in new teaching methods and should make use of both mentalist and humanist assumptions about language learning such as problem solving and a student centered approach, as they need to become autonomous learners of English in the future. Maximum opportunities must be provided to the cadets to experiment with the target language in context. Military cadets must be made to think critically and to use both oral and written forms of communication. Although more mature students can learn from lecture formats, other students often do not have the same concentration skills to sit for extended periods. Therefore, multi-tasking and activities using the lessons and materials in a variety of formats and approaches might prove useful.

 It is hoped that the results and implications of this study could serve as guidelines to what should be done in the review and re-development of the English course offered to the cadets at the PMA.

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The Nostalgic Detective: Identity Formation in Detective Fiction of Pakistan

By *Muhammad Azfar Nisar* and *Ayesha Masood*

Various authors have pointed to the importance of popular literature within the social discourses of identity formation because of it being less "manageable" than the official literature (Joshi 2004; Ghosh 2006). There is, therefore, larger room for multiplicity of views within popular literature which makes it an ideal avenue to search for dissenting voices in social discourse.

Detective fiction represents an important facet of popular literature. Ever since its inception in late 18th century, it has been extremely popular in the West and has been an important carrier of modernity (Joshi 2004). Daeshal and Orsini have shown the wide reception of this genre in late nineteenth and early twentieth century India. Their work also contains a discussion of the impact of modernity and colonialism on the detective novels in India (Daeshal 2003; Orsini 2006).

However, there have been very few studies done on post-colonial detective fiction in sub-continent, especially of Pakistan. Recently, Oesheld has discussed the work of one of the most influential post-colonial detective novelists of subcontinent, Ibn-e-Safi (Oesterheld 2009). Her discussion has, however, remained limited to a broad discussion of various themes in his work instead of their importance within the discourses of post-colonial South Asia.

We intend to discuss Ibn-e-Safi"s work as an example of detective fiction which operated within a social milieu and thus, effected and was affected by the discourses around it. More specifically, We will be analyzing the relationship of the major themes in his work with issues of nationalism, religiosity and identity formation in post-colonial Pakistan.

In *The Future of Nostalgia*, Svetlana Boym differentiates between two kinds of nostalgia: restorative and reflective (Boyn 2007). According to her,

> *"Restorative nostalgia evokes national past and future; reflective nostalgia is more about individual and cultural memory…[it] is more oriented toward an individual narrative that savors details and*

> *memorial signs, perpetually deferring homecoming*
> *itself…[it] cherishes shattered fragment of*
> *memory…Restorative nostalgia takes itself dead*
> *seriously. Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand,*
> *can be ironic and humorous[1]"*

Through our analysis of the detective fiction of Ibn-e-Safi, We intend to show that his work indicates the existence of a reflective nostalgia in the popular culture of post-colonial Pakistan. It is important to mention that this nostalgia was not a craving for the return of Colonialism or a negation of partition. Instead, it should be viewed as an attempt at creating cultural continuity and incorporating the cultural memory of the past into the present.

This reflective nostalgia, in our opinion, operates at three levels; firstly, it represents an approach in post-colonial Pakistan that strives to view partition of sub-continent not as a complete break i.e., the geographical separation does not need to stand for a complete socio-cultural break where the entire heritage of India has to be disowned in order to become an "authentic" Pakistani.

Secondly, this nostalgia represents a yearning for a return of an inclusive religiosity which is aware of its religious identity but by being not judgmental, it does not "silence" the dissenting voices which exist in any society because of the inherent multiplicity of thought in human social condition.

Thirdly, this reflective nostalgia stands for a cultural approach towards Colonialism which although deeply affected by modernity, rationality and capitalist ethic represents an approach which is cognizant of its own cultural history. Thus, it actively appropriates certain elements of its colonial past while retaining some critical elements of indigenous culture like family values.

Finally, we examine how the feminist critique and debates of sexuality are involved in post-colonial notions of nationalism and elements of nostalgia. Thus it depicts a movement from a more patriarchal past to post-modern ideals of feminine liberalism.

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[1] For more details on the two types of nostalgia see Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic, 2001)

Personality: Personal history as a glimpse of nostalgia:

Asrar Ahmed[2] (known mostly by his pen name Ibn-e-Safi) was born in 1928 near Allahabad. By the age of eight, he had read Talism-e-Hoshurba, which was to have a lasting effect on him (Safi 1972). His first article was published when he was in the seventh grade. He was amongst the progressives during the independence movement and his poetry, which was his main literary interest at that time, contained social themes (Oesterheld 2009). He also remained a devoted communist for a brief period during his educational life (Safi 1972).

In 1947, when he was studying at Aligarh University, the riots started and his education had to come to a halt because of disturbance at the University. One can feel the gloom and helplessness in Safi's tone when he writes about this time[3]. He had to teach for two years in a secondary school in Allahabad, so he could get a private degree of B.A from Agra University.

Barbaram has argued that the inability of post-Soviet union Russian fiction characters to change the society around themselves is a manifestation of post-Soviet nostalgia. According to her, "Kamenskaia (a Russian detective) perceives the injustice and instability in Russia as failings that she cannot change by herself. She therefore yearns for a world in which there are no such failings or in which the failings are manageable" (Barbran 2005). Ibn-e-Safi also wrote that he was deeply affected by the massacre after independence in 1947[4] and argues that the character of Fareedi was born out of a concern for justice in the world (Safi 1972). This fact is of crucial importance for understanding the phenomenon of post-colonial nostalgia in Safi's writings.

He started writing detective stories in 1952 while still in India. So, the character of Fareedi (details below) was created before Safi migrated to Pakistan later in 1952 along with his mother. His father had already migrated to Karachi. In

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[2]This section is not meant to as a detailed biography. It is meant to show how Safi's personal history affected some of the central themes in his writings. Most of the biographical details are obtained from Ibn-e-Safi's own article "*Baqalam Khud*" in Alif Laila Digest 1972 and Oesterheld, "*The neglected realm of popular writings; Ibn-e-Safi's novels*", Revised version of a paper presented at the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, in March 2007

[3]See "Baqalam Khud" by Ibn-e-Safi in Alif Laila Digest of 1972 for details
[4]It's interesting to note that at no place in his work Safi blames only the Indians as being responsible for the massacre of 1947. He is meaningfully silent about the onus of the crime. It is in marked contrast to other Pakistani authors and textbooks, which put the entire blame on the Hindus and Sikhs for 1947 massacres.

Karachi, he established Asrar Publications, through which he published his novels in Pakistan. The character of Ali Imran (the other hero in Safi's writings) was created in 1955 when the first novel of Imran series came out. Apart from a break of three years in early 1960s, he continued to write till his death in 1980. Safi's oeuvre consists of about 280 novels.

Although Safi has been accused by some critics[5] of copying Western themes and characters, most of the critics agree that most of Safi's characters and themes were original (e.g., Oesterheld 2009; Abbas 1980). In his writings we can see a creative synthesis of Western and Eastern themes, which is also, determined by his simultaneous childhood inspiration from Talism-e-Hoshurba and Sir Henry Rider Haggard's famous novel "She" (Iqbal 1972).

It is interesting to see that Safi's personal life is a manifestation of all the three aspects of reflective nostalgia We mentioned above. We see his helplessness during 1947 riots and his life experience in pre-partition India, influencing his attitude towards the cultural heritage of India. We also observe his communist and progressive ideological interests coupled with the social milieu of Aligarh, as an indication of the inclusive religiosity that once characterized India. Finally, we also see a creative synthesis of Eastern and Western literature as a glimpse of his attitude towards Colonialism and modernity.

MULTIPLE AUDIENCES: CLASS, GENDER AND NATIONALITIES:

> *"For the generations that grew up in the decades between 1950s and the 1980s, Ibn-e Safi was such stuff as dreams were made of. Competing with the ever-growing popularity of radio and cinema until the late seventies (and that of television somewhere in between those years), the wonderful penman kept on churning out ten or twelve novels every year and selling over several thousand copies of them every month"[6].*

This quote from Shafique gives us an indication to the popularity Safi's work enjoyed in Pakistan and India in the decades after independence. Joshi, in her

[5]See for example, Asar, Azhar (2000), Beesween Sadi ka Jasoosi Adab, *Aajkul,* New Delhi, 2000

[6]Shafique, Khurram, "Literature for thrill seekers literati", *Dawn/Weekly Review* (Online edition), 10 July, 1997: 6-8.

study of British novels in India, has shown the importance of readers in understanding the cultural importance of fiction; it is the readers who made something popular (Joshi 2004). Therefore, a study of the readers of Safi's novels is important to get an idea of the appeal his novels had in post-colonial subcontinent.

First editions of all novels by Ibne-e-Safi were published simultaneously from Karachi (Pakistan) and Allahbad (India). The second editions were published from Lahore in Pakistan. At least three editions of all his novels were published which is an indication of their popularity (Abbas 1980). Some even call him the most read author in subcontinent during 1960s (Allahabadi 1972).

First few novels were published in small numbers. So the huge demand led to many incidents of plagiarism and copy right infringements[7]. Later according to one of the sources, around 50,000-60,000 of each first edition were published in 1970s and were quickly sold out (Abbas 1980). When he started writing a serial novel in Daily Huriat on the demand of its editor, there was so much demand that copies of newspapers were sold at exorbitant prices (Khan 1972).

Similarly, when he was taking a three years break from writing in early 1960s, many authors started writing using his characters[8]. Some, like Kaleem, simply used his characters while others, like Akram Allahbadi in India, fashioned their characters as almost exact replicas of Safi's characters but with different names (Allahabadi 1975; Asar 2000). All these facts point to the existence of huge market demand of these novels.

Although it is difficult to access from sources the social strata to which most of his audiences belonged, we can safely argue that he had a wide audience that included many social classes, ethnicities and religions. For example, the covers of his novels published from Lahore were designed by Hanif Ramay who later became Chief Minister of Punjab in Pakistan. Similarly, on the occasion of the release of Safi's novel Derh Matwalay in 1964, the then Law Minister of India Mr. Ali Zaheer and later Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri were

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[7]Safi discusses these infringements briefly in the preface of his novel *Larkyon ka Jazeera* and *Derh Matwalay.* He also mentions a legal suite against one Khalid Mir who was engaged in copy right violations. Abbas also discusses incidents of copy right infringements. For details see his article "Ibn-e-Safi" in Akhbar-e-Jahan 1980.

[8]Some of the authors who have written Imran series include Mazhar Kaleem, Safdar Shaheen, Azhar Kaleem, Ibn-e-Kaleem, MA Rahat, MA Sajid, Ayn-e-Safi and Ibne Rahat

amongst the guests. Similarly, Safi is also reported to have given informal lessons to officers of Inter-services Intelligence (ISI) in Pakistan (Nisar 2000).

Safi was most popular amongst the college students who found his non-polemical writings refreshing and entertaining. According to one of his readers, "Ibn-e-Safi was very popular amongst the students. Many times only one student could grab a copy of his novel. So, he would narrate the novel to his friends[9]".

Similarly, another reader remarks, "Unlike Naseem Hijazi who was mostly read by the youth of religious minded families, Ibn-e-Safi was read by everyone even the religious families[10]". Small local libraries called "*Ana Libraries*" sprang up everywhere because of limited supply of his novels which were a clear mismatch to huge demand. Ibn-e-Safi in one of his articles remarked that he was responsible for the creation of most of these libraries[11].

He was one of the few authors who were "acceptable" to almost all sections of society. Thus, even religious families allowed their children to read his novels. For example, children from a religious family of Faisalabad who had established a local library vividly remind, "While we had established the library for fiscal reasons, we used to read Ibn-e-Safi's novels ourselves instead of lending them much to the dismay of our father[12]". One of these children went on to become a member of the central executive committee of Jamat-e-Islami in Pakistan.

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[9]Interview conducted by author from Mr. N.A Atta who was a college student in 1970s in Govt. College, Lahore. Khurram Shafiqu also mentions this point in his article cited above

[10]Interview conducted by author from Mr. A.D. Raza who was a college student in University of Engineering and Technology, during early 1970s in Lahore

[11]For details see Ibn-e-Safi, *Baqalam Khud,* in Alif Laila Digest 1972
[12]Interview conducted by author with Ms. Abida Masood from Faisalabad
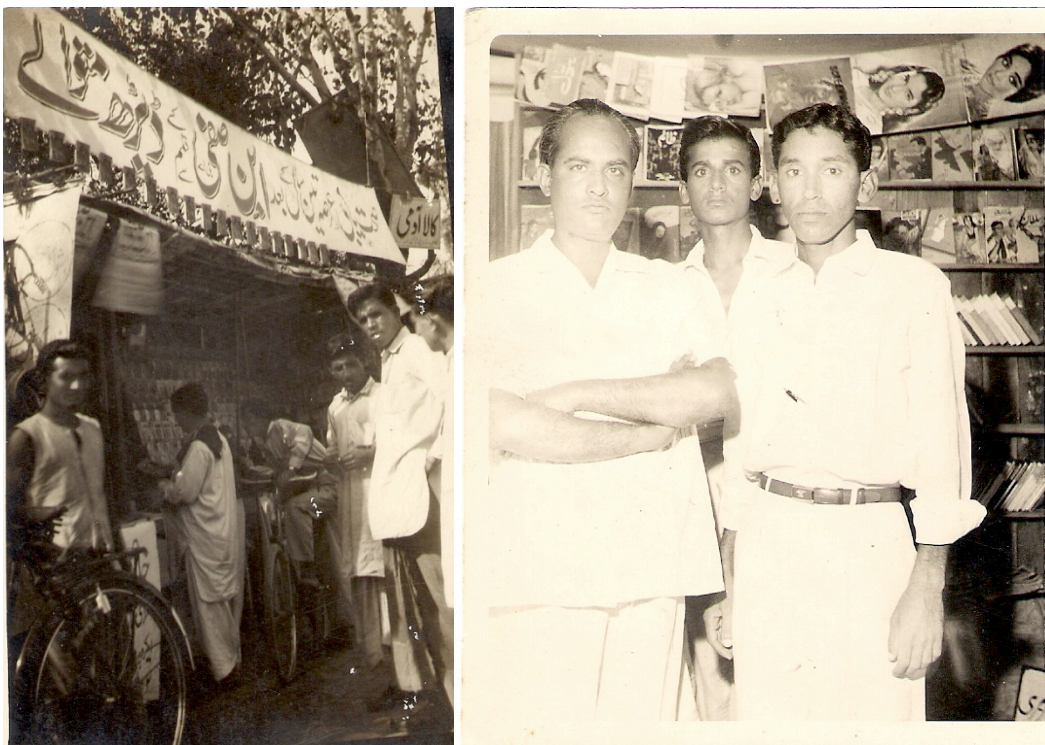
Picture showing audiences belonging to various social strata (Ibn-e-Safi standing in the picture on right at a book store)

Although one would expect that his audience was limited to the Urdu speaking population, sources indicate that it was not the case. Many columnists of his time indicate that many of his readers in Bengal, Sind and other areas of subcontinent, who could not speak Urdu, used to ask their Urdu speaking friends to narrate his novels (Abbas 1980). Ibn-e-Safi himself writes, "The biggest tribute for me is when I hear that some of my fans learn Urdu just to read my novels because they do not get the full flavor of it only by listening to it" (Safi 1972).

Although few sources are available to verify it but it appears that females also formed a sizeable portion of Safi's audience from the beginning. Thus we have the record of first novel of Imran series from 1956 owned by Amina and Zarina Begum (see picture below). In addition, as mentioned above, even women from religious societies used to read his novels. Hence, we can safely assume that his writings were popular across gender lines.

Safi's writings were, thus, an example of popular literature that was unique in its time. His readership indicates that this reflective nostalgia was not limited to a

fictional world created by Safi but that it was given a definite meaning and "reality" through his audience by being equally popular among the different binaries that came to characterize post-colonial subcontinent later on i.e. Male and Female; Pakistani and Indian: Rich and the Poor and Religious and Secular.
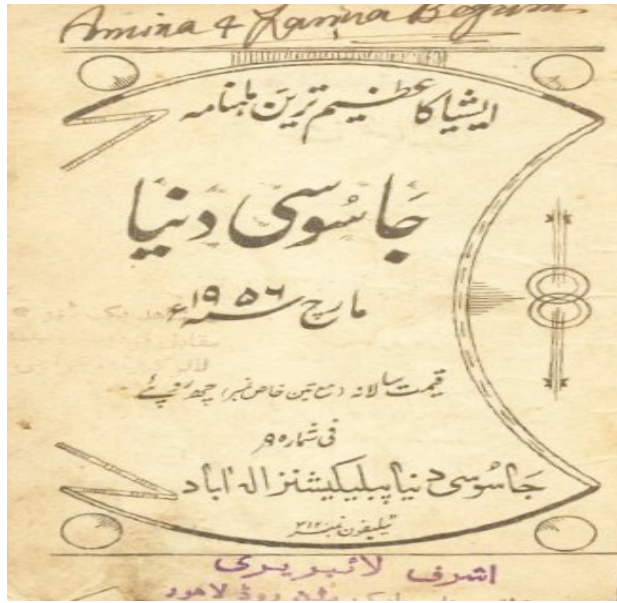
Cover of first novel of Imran series showing the names of its female owners

NATION, INDENTITY AND THE BINARIES OF POST-COLONIALISM:

The clearest manifestation of the post-colonial reflective nostalgia appears in Safi's attitude towards the questions of nationalism, identity and the binaries of post-partition subcontinent.

The most significant indication of this nostalgia in Safi's writing is his refusal to name the country of origin of his heroes, Imran and Fareedi. Indeed, he has gone to extremes in order not to name their country. For example, in *Thnda Suraj* when Imran refuses to answer when asked about his country by a foreigner. When pressed, he eventually replies, "I am from a country in South East Asia"[13].

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[13] "*May janoob mushriqui Asia kay aik mulk say taluq rukhta hoo*" *Thunda Suraj, Safi p136-137*

Oesterheld has rightly recognized that this country appears to be a Muslim country and the action "appears" to take place in a port capital which is similar to Karachi (Oesterheld 2009). While this observation is true, when combined with the overall milieu of this post-colonial fictional world, it provides significant insights about the nostalgia which is inherent in Ibn-e-Safi. In this world, creation of an Islamic country does not mean an implicit refusal of the broad socio-cultural heritage of India.

One is reminded here of Mufti's argument about nostalgia in post-colonial minority authors like Faiz (Mufti 2004). Mufti writes;

> *It is not accidental that neither the criticism nor the poetry itself is unequivocal about what the term country (watan) signifies. It might even be said that to speak of watan and qaum (nation/people) in the context of Faiz is to remain meaningfully silent about the objects toward which they point: does the hubb-ul-watani (love of country or nation, patriotism) of Faiz's poetry attach itself to any one of the postcolonial states of South Asia? Does it represent a hope for dissolution of these states? What is its stance on partition, their moment of coming into being? Does it imply a ''civilizational'' referent? If so, which civilization—Indic, Indo-Persian, or Islamic? Where exactly, in other words, is the poet's home?[14]*

He concludes by saying that, "it is an enactment of the relationship of ''Muslim'' culture and identity to the emergence of a wider ''Indian'' modernity" (Mufti 2004). In our opinion, Safi's treatment of nation and country should be studied in a similar manner.

Thus, in his last novel *Baybakon ki Talash* written shortly before his death in 1980, this nostalgia is still apparent when a foreign agent asks Safdar (a comrade of Imran), "Are you a ruler of a princely state? … I do wish to become a secretary for the prince of one of these state[15]" and he replies, "No, I am only secretary of

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[14]For a detailed discussion of this see Aamir Mufti, *Towards a lyric history of India*, in Boundary 2, Duke University Press, 2004, p 245-274

[15] "Kia tum kisi desi riyasat say taluq rukhtay ho … Mujhay kisi desi riyasat kay shahzaday ki secretary bunanay ka bohut shoq hay" Beybakon ki talash, Safi p296-7

the ruler of one such state". The reference to princely states in this conversation clearly indicates pre-independence Indian society and represents not only the fact that for an "external" viewer the society across borders was still the same but also that Safi wants to remind his readers (from both Pakistan and India) of a society which represents neither of the post-colonial states in South Asia but a past with which a continuity and not a break is warranted.

Reich has shown how the rhetoric of "mob at the gates" is one the fundamental stories of society in United Sates which are used to unify the people (Reich 2000). Similarly, Walter and Kubink have shown that, the "foreign criminal" has functioned in a period of economic instability to consolidate German society (Walter & Kubink in Teraoka 1999). The choice of this "other" and how this "other" is defined, therefore, becomes very important for any society. The choice of foreign criminals in detective novels is, therefore, of significant symbolic value.

In case of Pakistan, most of the authors, intellectuals and politicians have made use of the foreign criminal for various purposes. Almost always, this criminal "other" has been India, which is shown to be responsible for all the ills of Pakistani society[16].

Ibn-e-Safi's choice of this criminal "other" is unique in the sense that it never includes India or Hindus in this category whether explicitly or implicitly. The criminal "other" is mostly a world power conniving against third world countries[17]. In this fictional world, one does not need to blame Hindus (or Indians) for being the criminal "other". Rather they are included in the "I" by the refusal to accept the geographic separation as socio-cultural separation.

The uniqueness of Safi's treatment of nation becomes more apparent when compared with other detective novels authors in Pakistan. Among the authors who started writing Imran series by using Ibn-e-Safi's characters, only Mazhar Kaleem was successful in the long run. He started writing while Ibn-e-Safi was still alive in late 1960s.

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[16]See for example, *May nay Dhaka doobtay dekha*, *Shahbaz* and *Huma yaraan Dozakh by various Pakistani authors*

[17]See for example *Thunda Suraj* and *Aag ka Darya*

Interestingly, Kaleem from the very beginning named the country of Imran as Pakeshia (a clear reference to Pakistan) with its major enemy being Kafristan[18]. It was apparent to all readers that Kafristan was an allusion to India. In another strange twist, Fareedi and Hamid who were the other major characters of Ibn-e-Safi were shown to be residents of Kafristan instead of Pakeshia. This choice was significant at many levels. Firstly, it shows that Fareedi and Hamid, who were created by Ibn-e-Safi in his novels before he migrated to Pakistan in 1952 and were shown to work quite clearly in a united India in the beginning, could not be imagined as Pakistanis by the new generation of authors. It is also interesting to note that while many authors started writing Imran series, almost no one wrote about Fareedi after Safi; again, a clear preference to the "Pakistani" Imran over "Indian" Fareedi. It was a symbolic gesture which indicates that popular culture now disowned the socio-cultural heritage of pre-partition India.

Secondly, it shows that the generation which grew up in a society after independence could not conceive of a society where the boundaries of nationalism did not exist. The national identities were entrenched deep even in popular culture after the 1970s. Finally, by naming India as Kafristan and labeling it as the main enemy of Pakeshia, popular literature was colonized by the rhetoric of "mob at the gates" and "negative nationalism"[19] which could only define itself against some evil "other". The exclusion of the "other" was now complete.

The concept of nation in post-colonial subcontinent is also problematized by the popularity Safi's novels enjoyed in India. Safi was not thought of as an "Urdu writer from Pakistan". His work was labeled as "worthy output in two of Hindustan's major languages" (See picture below).

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[18]Labelling India as Kafristan is also significant since the word "Kafir" in poular Muslim imagery stands for the infidels
[19]See Dorschner and Sherlock, *"The role of history textbooks in Shaping Collective Identities in India and Pakistan"* in Teaching the violent Past; history education and reconciliation, 2007 for a discussion of the concept of negative nationalism in Pakistan and its use in history textbooks

من قبتوں میں ہندوستان کی دو بڑی زبانوں کی اشاعت"
جناب ابن سعید اپنی استقبالیہ تقریر میں محترم لال بہادر شاستری کی تشریف آوری پر انکا شکریہ ادا کرتے ہوئے
ادارے کی گزشتہ پندرہ سال کی ادبی خدمات پر روشنی ڈال رہے ہیں۔
جناب عباس حسینی، جناب رائے امرناتھ اور محترم لال بہادر شاستری جسے غور سے تقریر سن رہے ہیں۔

An Indian speaker at the inauguration ceremony of Safi's novel *Derh Matwalay* in 1963

Furthermore, from the record it is clear that his popularity did not decline in India decades after 1947. For example, in 1963-4 when he came back from his break from writing, this come back was celebrated in India as well and the future Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was the chief guest at one such meeting, praised his work (see picture below). It shows that Safi was not only popular in India but this inclusive nostalgia was part of a larger discourse centered on the questions of nationalism and identity formation in South Asia.

Mr.Lal Bahadur Shastri at the inauguration ceremony of *Derh Matwalay*

Thus, in Safi's writing we see a clear manifestation of the "reflective nostalgia" by which he wanted to establish a creative continuity and not a violent break with colonial India.

INCLUSIVE RELIGIOSITY WITHIN A SECULAR MILEU:

One of the most significant aspects of Ibn-e-Safi's novels is the treatment of religion in Post colonial subcontinent. As mentioned above, he never explicitly treats discloses the nationality of his major characters. Similarly, Imran and Fareedi's country is never shown to be a theocratic Islamic state. However, religion does come up in a variety of indirect ways in his novels which gives us an insight to the imagination of religion as a determinant of national and personal identity in popular culture.

As shown by Aitzaz Ahsan in his book *Indus Saga and the making of Pakistan*, Indian subcontinent is one of the few places where the local converts to Islam changed their pre-Islamic names to "Islamic" ones (Ahsan 1996). Sharma has also pointed out the uniqueness of Islamic names in subcontinent (Sharma 1998).

Names of various characters, therefore, gives a reader fair idea of their religious affiliations in such an environment. In Ibn-e-Safi's novels we find that all the major position holders in the government are Muslims e.g., Sir Sultan is the Secretary of State and Mr. Rahman is the Director General of CID. Similarly, most of the detectives are also Muslims. It is a society, therefore, in which Muslims enjoy social prestige and power.

It is important to remember, however, that religion alone is not the guarantee towards social prestige in this post-colonial world. Thus, many of the major characters of the series Juliana Fitzwater, Joseph and Roshee never convert to Islam; all that matters is their devotion to the nation which is never under question. Their religious ideology is their personal matter which is not a concern for the state.

What sets Safi apart from other novelists of his time, therefore, is the absence of any religious rhetoric for a "governmentalized Islam". By governmentalized Islam, We mean such a state where power relations related to Islam are all mediated through the state. Even where he engages in political rhetoric, we find a third world developing country fighting for its survival amidst a scheming developed world encroaching on its freedom[20]. For example, in the novel *Ashtray House,* the organization responsible for all the chaos is named "*Aath Baray"* (The Big Eight"); a clear reference to the G-8, which represents the developed countries of the world. We never find a Muslim country, which is being contrived against just because of its theocratic status[21].

In some novels, other Muslim countries are directly or indirectly shown to have been engaged in actions against Imran's country. For example, in what is clearly a reference to separatist political movement in Baluchistan in late 1970s the novel *Shahbaz ka Basera* depicts a Muslim neighboring country using a separatist leader from Imran's country to spread regionalism and a separatist movement within Pakistan.

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[20]For more examples *Thanda Suraj, Aag ka Darya* and *Talash-e-Gumshuda* where there are frequent references to the cold war rhetoric and Imran's country is shown to be a victim of a tussle that is not their own but a spillover of the developed world rivalries which are fought out in the developing world

[21]Even in the novel *Ashtray House,* a Jewish organization is shown to be plotting for world domination by various activities in Middle East and other countries, at no place Muslims are shown to be the exclusive focus of domination. It is in marked contrast to traditional writings on Jews by Pakistani authors who generally show them to be against all Muslims. See for example, Ishtiaq Ahmed's Begaal Mission

In this post-colonial world, nationalism, and not religion, is the focus of human devotion. Thus, we never find either Fareedi or Ali Imran fighting for the cause of religion. For them and for everyone else in this fictional world, nation state becomes the dominant ideology. It is a significant historical break in Urdu detective novels genre because even till 1930s, we do not find nationalism as the ultimate motivator of human actions in this genre. Thus, detective novels from 1930s Punjab like *Zalim Daku* while admitting rationalist thought and other facets of modernity are silent on nationalism (Daeshal 2003). Hameed[22] or Faredoun[23], are not fighting for the survival of a nation state; theirs are more mundane ideals.

Even within Ibn-e-Safi's novels, we find a gradual development of this concern with nation state. In his earlier novels, the concerns of characters are more local in nature and the conniving "external" world is only in the background. But towards the 1960s, the exclusive focus of his characters becomes saving their nation from the scheming "other"; in this case the developed world mostly[24].

This break is also significant because the other major popular genre of Urdu novels i.e. historical romances, also saw a surge in its popularity in this time period owing to Naseem Hijazzi who wrote numerous novels glorifying the history of Islam and its accomplishments[25]. Similarly, most other authors of literature like Asfhaq Ahmed, Banu Qudsia and Mumtaz Mufti remained more concerned with religion as compared to nation sate. In such an environment, the nationalism of Ali Imran and Fareedi with its huge popularity becomes much more significant as an indicator of sentiments towards religion in popular culture.

It is important to remember, however, that a total negation of the presence of any religious undertones in this post-colonial fictional world would be missing the point completely. Religion does matter; clearly much more as compared to the detective novels of the colonial era. Thus, we do find references (mostly indirect)

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[22]Detective of *Zalim Daku*

[23]Hero of *Bahri Tufan*

[24]A comparison of his earlier novels like *Khofnaak Imarat* and *Larkioon ka Jazeera* with his later novels like *Bebakoon ki talaash* reveals a clear difference in this regard. In earlier novels, even if there is some external country involved, it is only referred to at the end as being responsible for the plan while in the later novels the action takes place explicitly within a scheming world where balance of power is in question

[25]See *Dastaan-e-Mujahid, Muhammad bin Qasim* and *Shaheen* by Naseem Hijazi; *Mun Chulay ka Soda, Talism-e-Hosh-Afza* by Ashfaq Ahmed*; Raja Gidh* by Banu Qudsia; *Lubbaik* and *Alakh Nagri* by Mumtaz Mufti

to the virtues of being a good Muslim for the individual and sometimes for the nation[26].

However, this religion is inclusive and cognizant of its secular surroundings. No one is there to impose or judge one's religiosity. One is free to choose; and one may choose to follow religion as one understands. Thus, in *Shahbazoon ka Basera* during a conversation with another Muslim colleague, Imran first praises the virtues of being a Muslim and then asks his colleague to feel free to drink (alcohol) his heart out[27]. Thus, in this society, being a Muslim does not mean that one gets a license to criticize others for their religiosity. The question of a governmentalized religion is, therefore, an anathema.

Various authors like Oesterheld have remarked at the significance of the fact that none of the heroes i.e., Fareedi or Imran drink alcohol, womanize or use drugs (Oesterheld 2009). It has been proposed that this concern with religious morality is an important element in post-colonial identity creation because heroes are supposed to act as role models for the readers, especially the youth.

We, however, do not agree with this point of view. While it is clear that Ibn-e-Safi is intentionally building his characters (specially his heroes) to be role models of sorts for the youth, his model is not one of religious morality but a socially conscientious morality[28]. Imran, for example, is often shown to be unconcerned with religion. For example, in *Paharoon kay Peechay* he says, *"I only talk about religion, I don't practice it"*. Womanizing, drinking and drug addiction have always been frowned upon in South Asia; not just among Muslims but in the society in general. Keeping in view the overall milieu of Ibn-e-Safi's fictional world and his own political interests, it is hard to label this morality as being religiously rather than being socially determined.

The position of religion and popular literature in Pakistan becomes clearer when one places the work of Ibn-e-Safi between pre-independence and post-independence detective novelists. Ibn-e-Safi's treatment of religion is similar to the authors of detective novels in the earlier 20th century i.e., religion is irrelevant to the major plot and the social milieu is one of religious toleration.

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[26]For example, in *Shahbazoon ka Basera* Imran says, "at the moment we are only 20% religious, if we were even 50% religious, no one in the world would dare to stare us in the eye"

[27]*"if you want to have drink, go ahead. I don't have any problems with that", Tum ager peena chaho to pee suktay ho, mujhay koi aitraz na ho ga, Safi, 31-32*

[28]*"Mazhab kay baray may may sirf bukwaas kerta hoo amal nahee kerta", Paharoon kay peechay, Safi, 12*

We see glimpses of the nostalgia about which I talked above in Safi's treatment of non-Muslim characters. For example, Juliana Fitzwater who is a major character of Imran series is shown to be a part of a complex love triangle (constituted by Juliana, Imran and Tanveer) but her religiosity or ethnicity is never shown to be a cause of concern for any character or their families[29]. Similarly, Imran's servant Joseph is shown to have love interests independent of religion. One is therefore, reminded of a religiously flexible milieu of pre-independence mystery novels like *Mysteries of Amritsar* (Boyk 2009).

This nostalgia becomes clearer when Ibn-e-Safi's work is compared with detective novelists after him. Among them, Mazhar Kaleem and Ishtiaq Ahmed have clearly been the most successful. Both were clearly influenced by Safi and Kaleem actually continued writing Imran series by slightly modifying Ibn-e-Safi's characters and themes. In both these novelists, one can find the popular discourse becoming colonized by religion gradually but surely. Thus, in Kaleem's novels, Ali Imran who could see a semi-naked married woman in her bedroom in Ibn-e-Safi's novels[30] now turns on his heels even at the sight of such a woman[31]. Similarly, while new characters like Captain Shakeel are introduced, none of the authors writing after Ibn-e-Safi introduce a single character who is not Muslim as their "heroes".

In the same vein, in Ibn-e-Safi's novels Muslims (men and women) are commonly shown drinking alcohol publically. Importantly, alcohol is the norm and not the exception for higher social classes in this fictional world. This drinking while being frowned upon by certain characters is equally enjoyed by Muslims and non-Muslims. Similarly, in various novels Imran acknowledges that he provides six bottles of alcohol daily to his servant Joseph[32].

Drinking alcohol is "silenced" in detective novels after Safi. According to Foucault, "silence and secrecy are a shelter of power, anchoring its prohibitions; but [also] … provide for relatively obscure areas of tolerance" (Foucault, 1978). Therefore, in Kaleem's novels scenes showing Muslims having alcohol are significantly minimized and limited to "bad" Muslims. This discourse reaches its culmination in Ishtiaq Ahmed where alcohol becomes an anathema for all Muslim

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[29]In *Talash-e-Gumshuda*, for example, it is shown that Imran's famiy (which is quite traditional) recognizes Juliana as his girl friend since a long time.
[30]"Imran was staring at Lady Jahangri with his eyes wide open, who was not wearing anything but her sleeping suite" in *Khofnak Imarat*, Safi p27
[31]"Imran and Tanveer immediately turned their eyes away as the door opened; the lady was in a skimpy dress" *Mazhar Kaleem* 1996
[32]See for example, *Thanda Suraj* and *Beybakoon ki talash*

characters (good or bad). This silence over alcohol in popular literature after Safi is, therefore, significant because it refuses to give alcohol a voice or a visibility in popular discourse and points to the gradual encroachment by religion.

MARKS OF COLONIALISM AND MODERNITY:

Cawelti remarked about the popular culture that "one cannot write a successful adventure story about a social character type that the culture cannot conceive in heroic terms; this is why we have so few adventure stories about plumbers, janitors, or street sweepers" (Cawelti 1976). This remark signifies the importance of the choice and appearance of heroes in detective novels because it gives an insight into the prototypes, which are thought of as "heroic" in a society.

Critics have also remarked that detective novels as a genre is white, and masculinist in nature (Munt 1994). Thus, even the early black detectives depicted white values and tastes (Teraoka 1999). British colonization had a huge influence on the collective psyche of Indians. Various scholars have remarked at the changes colonization brought in the popular imagination of the colonized (Said 1978; Chatterjee 1996; Vishwanathan 1989). This impact can also be felt in the novels of Ibn-e-Safi where the heroes depict predominantly Western ideals.

The impact of colonial ideals is felt in the "legitimization" of hero in Ibn-e-Safi's novels. By legitimization, we imply the skill set that is put forth as being responsible for the intellect of the hero. Both his heroes are shown to have a Western education. Both are also shown to be primarily interested in scientific education. For example, Fareedi is shown to have a private laboratory where he conducts his experiments. Similarly, Imran has a Masters and a PhD in Chemistry[33]. Furthermore, his characters are often shown quoting philosophers and scholars from West like Freud and Carl Jung[34].

This focus on Western education is clearly a manifestation of the influences of colonialism. Western education is deemed more "authentic" for the hero. In addition, this literary background is significant because all these characters operate in a modern world. It has been shown by various authors that detective novels have been influenced heavily by modernity (Deashal 2003; Boyk 2009; Joshi 2002). Thus, there is always a simple rational explanation for everything.

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[33]See *Khofnak Imarat* and *Talash-e-Gumshuda* where Imran continues to refer to his Western education

[34]See for example *Khofnak Imarat* by Ibn-e-Safi

There is a demystification of the external world in these novels. Modernity and the belief in a rational world are powered by the supremacy of the scientific discourse. That is why, it is important for the authors in a modern world to show their heroes as being equipped with the repertoire of scientific knowledge (Daeshal 2003).

The impact of colonial ideals of an intellectual are also felt when it comes to the attire of characters in post-colonial detective novels. Fareedi, Hamid and Imran all are always shown to be dressed in Western dress[35] and not just any Western dress but a dress "suitable" for an intellectual. Thus, the heroes are shown dressed up in a necktie, felt hat and a coat. This depiction of the hero as a Westernized individual becomes complete when we combine it with sketches from Safi's initial novels[36]. Although, after the first few novels, the later novels do not have any sketches in them but the ones that do have the sketches are very informative.
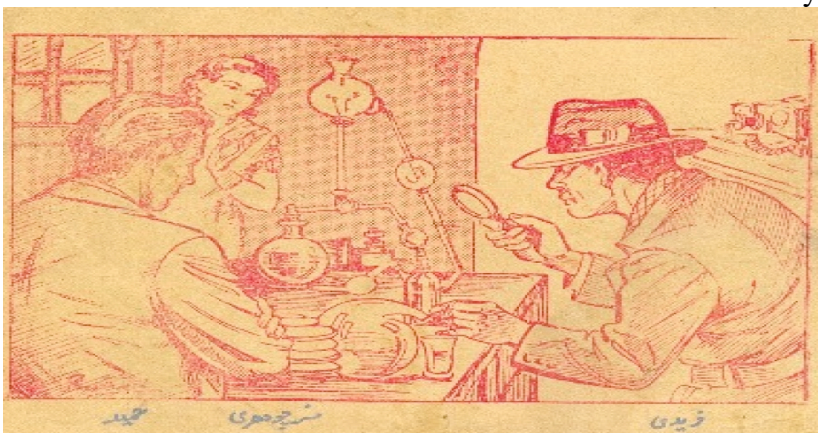
A sketch form *Khofnaak Hangaama* showing Fareedi and Hamid

These sketches show Fareedi and Imran as replicas of Western detectives like Sherlock Holmes (see picture above). The sketches are also mixed up with a few real photographs which are almost always of copies from some Western magazine showing a White male dressed immaculately who is shown to be Fareedi, Hamid or Imran (See picture below). Thus, the appearance of heroes in Safi's fictional world conforms to the ideal detective of Western fiction.

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[35]See for example, *Khofnaak Hungama* for Fareedi's description and *Khofnak Imarat* for Imran's dress

[36]Some of the novels which have sketches of various scenes are *Khofnaak Hungama, Shouloon ka naach* and *Zameen kay Badal*

Pictures from Sholoon ka Nach and Zameen kay Badal showing Imran and Fareedi

Another area where the influence of colonial society is clearly visible is in the language of various characters. The hero is always multi-lingual who mostly speaks English with his colleagues. For example, in Imran series, Juliana Fitzwater and Joseph do not speak Urdu until much later. Therefore, all the discussions are supposed to take place in English. This point is so important that Ibn-e-Safi explains it in the preface of his novel *Paharoon kay Peechay* by explaining that Joseph speaks with Imran only in English and Arabic. Naturally, Joseph speaks English with other characters in the novel also.

It is also interesting to note that the higher strata of the society are shown to speak only English in their social gatherings. Thus, in one of the novels *Raat ka Shahzada* when a rich industrialist speaks to his wife in Urdu, this fact is explicitly mentioned to show that other visitors could not understand what was being discussed between the two. This discussion also alludes to the distinction of language roles in public and private spheres in the post-colonial world. Even the

heroes and the rich speak Urdu at home or when they talk to their wives but English is the norm when it comes to social gatherings[37]. Lower strata of society are, however, shown to speak only Urdu. Thus, the linguistic milieu is deeply influenced by colonial society and its linguistic norms.

Along with representations of enlightenment rationality, we also see the influence of colonial capitalist thought in Safi's fictional world. In capitalist thought, wealth is seen as a manifestation of social realities and its inherent inequalities (Baraban 2005). It is not, therefore, morally condemned and, in itself, is not linked to evil. For example, Fareedi is shown to be an heir of a huge estate and his wealth is shown to be of enormous proportions. Indeed, the style in which his wealth is described is celebratory instead of being neutral[38]. Wealth is, therefore, a virtue and not a vice in Safi's world.

Thus, we see that the hero of Safi's novels is similar (though not identical) to the prototypical hero of detective fiction in West where "he is a celebration of Western individualism and self-reliance, of a rugged and incorruptible masculinity, of a private and puritanical moral code of male friendship, justice, honor, and sacrifice" (Teraoka 1999).

It would be unfair to remark, however, that this world is a mere replica of the colonial ideals and thus a bland depiction of Orientalism as proposed by Said[39]. Oesterhald has also rejected claims by some authors that Safi's heroes were copied from Western prototypes (Oesterheld 2009). Instead, we clearly see an active appropriation of colonial ideals and their combination with indigenous histories to create a new product. While the personalities of Imran and Fareedi are clearly influenced by Western ideals, it is not the complete picture. There are also quite clear imprints of local historical characters. Thus, Imran can be compared to Umro Ayyar of Talism-e-Hoshurba and Fareedi with Ameer Hamza of Dastaan-e-Ameer Hamza. Safi himself admitted of being influenced deeply by Talism-e-

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[37]See for example, *Raat ka Shahzada*

[38]See for example, *Zehreela Admi, Jungle ki Aag* and Bechara for the description of Fareedi's wealth

[39]Edward Said and many other scholars are of the view that Orientalism was a system of knowledge which was "a kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient" and by which "Western Power over the Oriental was given the status of scientific truth" (Said 1976). According to these scholars not only did the British "conquer" India but because of Orientalism, this conquest was never over because even the nationalism project was thought out within this knowledge called Orientalism.

Hoshurba and gave it as one of the reasons because of which he started writing (Safi 1972).

Similarly, the family structure and its power relations with the heroes are traditional. Thus, Imran happily sits at the feet of his mother and receives blows by her shoes when he spends one night outside home without informing her[40]. We, thus have an interesting mixture of colonial and local ideals in the personalities of Safi's characters.

Thus, one can argue that Safi's heroes and novels while being hugely influenced by colonization and modernity are not carbon copies of Western ideals but aim at a creative continuity with their colonial past by actively appropriating selective ideas from West and East.

Nostalgia in Gendered Nationalism

Mufti and Shohat have theorized the inscription of debates of feminism and sexuality within notion of race, nationalism and post-colonial thought (Mufti 2004). The treatment of gender in Safi's work is a much more complex and nuanced issue which needs a more detailed discussion elsewhere. However, the element of nostalgia mentioned above is also apparent from the depiction of gender in his work and is discussed here briefly.

Anne McClintock has shown that ideals of nationalism have sprung from the masculinized memory and hope. Excluded from direct action, women are subsumed in the body politic as its symbolic boundary: they are represented as symbols of nation yet denied any direct relation to national agency (McClintock 2004). In Safi's work, women depict a similar pattern. They represent a nostalgia for traditions of "homeland" e.g. while male characters frequently don western attire, women are always shown in local "native" clothing[41]. They are idealized in very traditional roles e.g. as a mother, sister, a widow taking care of relatives of his husband. At the same time their lack of agency is obvious by their absence from any commanding position in society. This point becomes even more important when the choice of race by author for powerful women is considered: they are almost always foreigner, for example Julia, Roshi, Shahida, Kelly Graham, Adele de Savant, Reena Williams and Theresa[42]. They abrogate the

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[40]See *Khofnak Imarat* for details

[41] For details see *Khofnak imarat*, *Oratfarosh ka* Qatil and *Tijori ka Raz*

[42]Julia is Swiss, Roshi Anglo-burmese, Shahida Spanish, Adele de Savant French, Theresa Bohemian, and Kelly Graham and Reena William are of unspecifie European origin. For details of

native gender hierarchy because they are not part of the society. . This compounding of race with gender further problematizes the issue as the undercutting of their roles carries a double entendre: firstly it is resonant of defeat of colonized power and in this way becomes of part of the third world rhetoric that is prevalent throughout Safi's oeuvre and is characteristic of post-colonial literature. Secondly it acknowledges the (relative) freedom available to women in western civilization and by invoking nationalist ideals and memories, re-asserts and epitomizes traditional gender role definitions for "native" women.

Shohat has asserted the patriarchal basis of colonial regime and the male dominant nature of native and ethnic movements (Shohat 2004). That is why, female characters, although present in Safi's initial novels, always conformed to the conservative masculine nature[43] of society and detective fiction genre[44]. However a significant change took place in mid 1950's and 1960's when Safi introduced his array of powerful female characters. For example, the Swiss-born secret services agent, Juliana Fitzwater[45] and the famous queens of Zero land (Theresa[46], Nanota; and Reema[47])

The reflective nostalgia as it relates to gender is apparent in the treatment of these new female characters. This nostalgia is cognizant of the patriarchal past but wishes to come to terms with the post-modern ideals of female liberalism and the changing social milieu. It represents a society where the unease and anxiety with a powerful feminine figure although reduced is still apparent.

This anxiety manifests itself through two ways: Firstly, by undercutting the role of feminine through romance. This is a different kind of subversion to the authority of gender. On one side this echoes the intellect/emotion binary, in which the femme fatale blinded by her love for hero is lead to destruction while hero uses his supreme intellect to keeps his emotions in check thus reasserting the

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these characters see *Alfansay, Bhayanak Admi, Ashtray House*, *Heeray ki Kan, Bhayanak Jazeera* and *Doosra Pathar.*

[43]For more detailed discussion see Munt, S. (1994). *Murder by the book?: Feminism and the crime novel*. London: Routledge.

[44]For example, Characters of Sarooj, see Safi, Ibn-e-. (1952). *Khofnak jungle*. Karachi: Asrar publications and Shahnaz, Safi, Ibn-e-. (1952). *Orat farorsh ka qatil*. Karachi: Asrar publications.

[45]See Safi, Ibn-e-. (1956). *Dhuain ki Tehreer*. Karachi: Asrar publications.

[46]A former Bohemian spy adept in disguise See Safi, Ibn-e-. (1957). *Alfansay*. Karachi: Asrar publications.

[47]See Safi, Ibn-e-. (1958). *Chandni ka Dhuwan*. Karachi: Israr publications. Another interesting point to note here is that rhetoric of third world country struggling against foreign powers appeared in Ibn-e- Safi with introduction of Zeroland. This happens simultaneously with involvement of Pakistan in CETO and SETO in mid 1950's. This makes clear the popular feeling about Pakistan's involvement in Cold War politics.

supremacy of what would be considered a male-role value. On the other it symbolizes exploitable continuum between, on the one hand, sex and knowledge, and, on the other, knowledge and power (Cooper 1989).

The most important example of this is the character of Theresa, the bumble bee of Bohemia. She is the most powerful of three queens of Zero land and a recurring character in *Imran Series*. She meets Imran and falls in love with him.[48] In *Piyasa Samundar*, when Imran managed to kill four scientists of Zeroland. Theresa lamented,

> *Because of you the precious lives of those men, who were the most important capital of my country, were lost in vain, I am powerless before my heart…otherwise…you would see the result of your actions. You are still in the water; you haven't surfaced. I can destroy you within a blink of an eye….Go…I never want to see you again….Go…I see your face and I feel helpless…I cannot raise a hand to (hurt) you (Safi 1957).[49]*

Character of Juliana Fitzwater leads a different insight into this matter. She is second in command to X2, the main protagonist of Secret Service. She is shown to be an intelligent, capable, professional woman. Although portrayed as a powerful character, her "power" is made more "acceptable" by either curtailing her feminism[50] or by showing her school girl romance with X-2. She is, thus, discredited as a professionally reliable detective. In *Char Lakeerain* and *Larkion ka Jazeera* this is a recurring theme and X2 admonishes her several times for her "foolishness" (Safi 1956). This subversion of feminine through romance is used to sanction and re- assert the national hierarchy of gender (McClintock 2004) Interesting point here is that while other *femme fatales* of Ibn-e- Safi, Reema and Nanota were captured and "put in their place" by Faridi[51], Theresa always defied capture. Eventually Imran and Theresa developed a kind of love-hate relationship where Imran tried to tame her but at the same time, helped her eliminate rebellious factors in her organization while in return she often saved his life[52]. This is resonant of reflective nostalgia typical of Safi's work. It shows a truce of sorts with the new power structure that awards *some* agency to women yet the

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[48]Safi, Ibn-e-, *Alfansay,* Lahore: Asrar Publications, 1957.

[49]Safi, Ibn-e-, *Darindo ki Basti,* Lahore: Asrar Publications, 1957.

[50]It is shown that she is not considered a woman by her team members. As Safdar explains to another character ,"We do not consider her a woman. She is just like us"

[51]See *Chandni ka dhuwan* and *Teesri Nagan* for Details

[52] Safi, Ibn-e-, *Sugar Bank,* Lahore: Asrar Publications, 1968.and Safi, Ibn-e-, *Uqabon ka Hamlay,* Lahore: Asrar Publications, 1957.

unease about this change persists through undercutting of feminine and assertion of traditional gender hierarchy and role definitions.

This introduction of these powerful[53] feminine characters is coincident with significant changes in the society in which Safi was living. During this era, women started to play an important role in government and politics in Pakistan. The social anxiety surrounding the appearance of powerful women is epitomized by the social discourse about the credentials of Ms. Fatima Jinnah, sister of founder of Pakistan and a respected social activist, to become President of Pakistan[54].

The essence of the discussion is that partition as an event not only problematizes the binaries of identity formation, colonialism and modernism but also the binaries of gender. Social milieu of society was unsettling for pre-partition patriarchal ideals. Loss of wealth and male members during migration, for some aristocrat families, meant that female members have to fend for themselves by earning. This in turn translated into increase in their agency and their ability to challenge the existing boundaries of sex roles. This upheaval of former power structure of society and its turn from an agrarian based aristocratic one with a prominent elite to a more industrial society with a rising working and middle class and capitalist ethic translates in elements of nostalgia in Ibn-e-Safi: Its society is sharply aware of its male dominant past but at the same time trying to coming to terms with its present social milieu in which women have much more agency and involvement.

Conclusion: Popular discourse and cultural continuity

We have seen how Ibn-e-Safi's writings manifest a reflective nostalgia in which there was a yearning for a creative continuity with the history. This approach towards history questioned and even challenged the popular imaginations of the concepts of nationalism, religion and colonialism in post-colonial subcontinent. Safi's work when placed alongside his contemporary Hijazi, who was writing Islamic historical romances at this time, indicates a popular discourse in Pakistan by which a society is struggling to carve out an identity for itself. We have, however, seen that this popular discourse was gradually colonized by Islamic influences in such a way that the dissenting voices in popular culture were minimized. The exclusive binaries of nationalism and religion eventually triumphed.

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[53] Here and further in this discussion I use the word "powerful" as a substitute of having agency to act. Note that this can be positive as well as negative.

[54] The anxiety associated with a woman in position of power was such that the issue of choosing between a beloved social figure that promised democracy and a military dictator that abrogated the constitution became a choice between a man and a woman instead.

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   - *Uqabo kay Hamlay*
   - *Khatarnak Dhalaan*
   - *Jangle may Mungle*
   - *Talash-e-Gumshuda*
   - *Thunda Suraj*
   - *Raigum Bala*
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   - *Alfansay*
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   - *Pathar ka Khoon*
   - *Beybakon ki Talash*
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   - *Ashtray House*
   - *Bechara*
   - *Char Lakerain*
   - *Zehreela Aadmi*
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7. Pictures courtesy www.ibnesafi.info

The Role of the Pakistani Mass Media in the Lawyers' Resistance against the Musharraf Dictatorship, 2007-2009[1]

By Zahid Shahab Ahmed

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[1] Note: All the pictures used in this paper are from the author's camera and were captured during research on the lawyers' movement in Pakistan, during 2007 and 2008.

Background

The Arab Spring is a recent prominent example of the strength of the civil resistance. However, the world has witnessed such movements from time to time, for example the Gandhi's movement against the British Raj, and the Orange Revolution of Ukraine in 2004 (Karatnycky & Ackerman 2005:4).

Pakistan has a long history of dictatorships due to which democratic institutions have not been able to develop. Under three different military rules – from 1958-1971, 1977-1988 and 1999-2008 – dictators have ruled the country for nearly 33 years in its existence of 65 years, since 1947. It is in this context that we have to see the value of the lawyers' movement.

In March 2007, Pakistani lawyers initiated a movement for an independent judiciary in Pakistan. The movement was created after President General Musharraf suspended the country's Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry (CJ Chaudhry). Following this, lawyers initiated a non-violent struggle that attracted thousands of political and civil society activists. Prior to this incident, CJ Chaudhry had several important judgments to his credit, the most significant being the case in which he overturned the privatization of the Pakistan Steel Mills – a profit making corporation in Pakistan – and another in which he forced the government to locate "missing" persons, allegedly held by the intelligence agencies of Pakistan. These anti-government judgments triggered this conflict between the Musharraf government and the judiciary. Therefore, the corruption charges against CJ Chaudhry were nothing but an attempt to direct the judiciary, which had gone out of the hands of the ruling elites or specifically the dictator. In addition, the Naeem Bukhari's[2] letter was an egoistic attempt from one of the famous lawyers in Pakistan to revenge his defeats in front of CJ Chaudhry in the Supreme Court. Bukhari's letter became a supporting annex to the government's reference against CJ Chaudhry (Hamid 2007).

During the period between March and May 2007, the lawyers were leading rallies and protesting to get CJ Chaudhry reinstated as the Chief Justice of Pakistan. In response to the growing pressure from the lawyers' community on the government, a full court bench at the Supreme Court was set-up in May 2007. Accordingly, the proceedings of the Supreme Judicial Council commenced to deal with the case of CJ Chaudhry. Then day-to-day hearings started at the Supreme

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[2] Soon after this letter was publicized, Bukhari's membership with the Supreme Court Bar Association was cancelled.

Court. Simultaneously, the lawyers continued supporting the firm stand of CJ Chaudhry and one of the country's famous lawyers, Aitzaz Ahsan, was working hard as CJ Chaudhry's lawyer and a key leader of the resistance (Cowasjee 2008). After hearings in the Supreme Court went on for over two months, on July 20, 2007, the bench headed by Justice Ramday, reinstated CJ Chaudhry. Then, Musharraf had no better option but to accept the decision of the Supreme Court, but this is not where the conflict ended.

After returning to his office, CJ Chaudhry continued his practice in the similar manner by taking up cases against the establishment. Consequently, the Supreme Court became intolerable to the people sitting in the powerhouses of Pakistan. Finally, in November 2007, after finding no other alternative, President and General Pervez Musharraf, in his capacity as Chief of Army Staff, declared a state of emergency. General Musharraf imposed the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) that suspends the Constitution and the fundamental rights of citizens, gags the media, and forbids any form of dissent (Eteraz 2007). This drastically distressed the already fragile political setup prevalent in the country. It was a do or die situation for Musharraf because only a few days after the martial law, a bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan was to decide on a petition challenging the constitutional eligibility of the controversial October 2007 elections that re-elected Musharraf as the president for another term.

The lawyers kept the momentum of the movement steady by transforming under shifting conditions. In March 2007, the lawyers united to reinstate the Chief Justice of Pakistan, but their objectives were transformed in the post-November 2007 era. The *Adliya Bachao Tehreek* or Save Judiciary Movement started after November 3, 2007. Its primary focus was of course the reinstatement of pre-November 3 Judiciary in Pakistan. As far as the movement and its objectives were concerned, it was the continuation of the movement, which started in March 2007 and it was still in response to consistent illegal moves of General Musharraf. The second stage, post-emergency, was certainly on a higher pedestal – nationwide demonstrations against the proclamation of Martial Law under the garb of emergency.

It was clear and understandable that ultimately the masses would determine not only the future of this movement but also that of their country. People made the right decision, as it was observed on the Election Day in 2008 that demonstrated the people's power in Pakistan. Due to fears of unfair elections, the lawyers and their political allies like Imran Khan of the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf, boycotted

the elections. However, the lawyers on this issue were divided because some were demanding people to express their anti-establishment view through the election. Thus, despite the boycott, people voted against the Musharraf regime. This changed the dynamics of the movement initiated by the lawyers, as people voted against the previous government of Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q), Musharraf's ally. Therefore, this vote was also against Musharraf, who supported PML-Q in the election campaigns.

The lawyers' movement achieved what it set out for, the removal of a dictator, and this confirmed the worth of people's power in this country. The lawyers' movement managed to bring together thousands of people from the civil society, media, and politics, and it deserves to be highlighted in the golden annals of Pakistan's history. The following abstract from the statement of the Asian Human Rights Commission is worth mentioning: "The contributions of the lawyers must be treated as a positive direction for the future political and democratic set up. The movement can be termed as a strong foundation stone of future democracy in Pakistan and it should be recognized by the new parliament" (AHRC 2008). The role of the mass media was crucial in becoming a strong pillar of support for the civil resistance in Pakistan, and that shows that the country is home to worthwhile institutions. According a renowned Pakistani scholar (Cheema 2009:133), the movement mainly relied on media, lawyers, NGOs, and international support of the West.

Many factors influenced the people's reactions against the dictatorship and among them, the role of the resistance leadership, particularly Aitzaz Ahsan, and the mass media were significant. The non-violent struggle led by the lawyers, backed by millions of Pakistanis from home and abroad, paved the way for the restoration of democracy in the country by ending the reign of a dictator (Ahmed & Stephen 2010:508). According to a report of a Denmark-based organization called International Media Support, "the Pakistani media, especially the electronic media, played a significant role in mobilizing public support for the demonstrations" during a struggle organized by the lawyers (IMS 2009). However, the role of mass media has not been studied with regard to its contribution towards the success of the lawyers' movement and that is what this paper attempts to explore.

Mass media and its role

The analysis in this section is based on the data collection done by the author during 2007 and 2008 through interviews of 30 active members of the movement who came from all occupations, for example lawyers, NGO workers, journalists, and public servants. Not surprisingly, all of them declared the movement successful.

In South Asia, the Pakistani media has proved to be more vibrant. Irrespective of direct and indirect bans and restrictions from the governments, the media enjoys a great deal of freedom of information in the country. Consequently, the media was able to play its role in one of the successful civil struggles in the history of Pakistan. As shown in the graph below (Graph 1), the majority of the participants (members of the movement) identified saw in the Pakistani media a key partner.

Graph 1: The Key Allies in the Lawyers' Movement
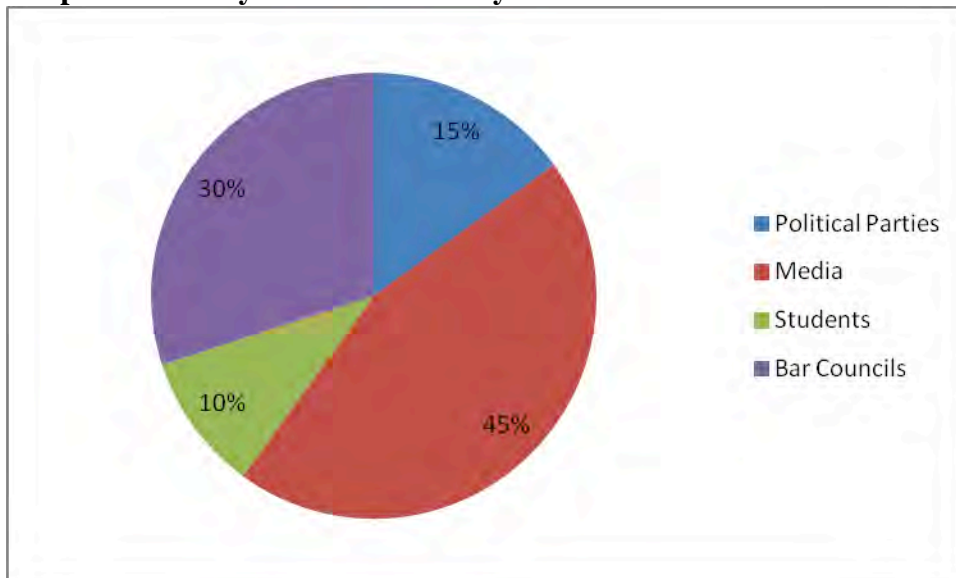
The mass media has been expanding due to technological advancements and after the advent of internet, this field has moved beyond the confines of electronic and print media to internet – an important way of spreading information via e-mails, blogs, and social networking websites. This field is very broad, and considering the limited scope of this paper, the author will examine the role of TV channels,

newspapers and internet with reference to the case under investigation – the lawyers' movement (2007-2009).

Electronic and print media

The role of TV channels in the lawyers' movement was more significant than newspapers due to the obvious limitations of the latter, such as the limited readership due to the low literacy rate. For 2010-11, the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics reported 58 percent literate people in the country (PBS 2011). Consequently, the market for the print media has been decreasing in Pakistan. In 1997, the total number of regular print publications was 4,455, which reduced to merely 945 in 2003 (IMS 2009). It is because people, both literate and illiterate, have found better mediums for entertainment and news – robust TV channels. Therefore, the reduction is newspaper readership is not merely because of the level of literacy rate, because that has been overall increasing in percentage terms in Pakistan. There are other reasons, such as convenience and preferences. Due to the availability of cable operators, it is a lot easier for people to access all the TV channels and that too at a low price.

It is important to underscore that the revolution of electronic media with the help of private TV channels happened during the Musharraf era. This change has transformed the country in many ways, especially socially. Roughly, ten years ago, there was only a state owned TV channel, but now there are over 100. During the time of the movement, 15 out of nearly 49 TV channels were committed to nearly 24-hour news (IMS 2009). In 2002, Geo became Pakistan's first private TV channel (Crabtree 2009). Accordingly, the TV viewership has increased in Pakistan – 86 million in 2009 (GI-P 2009). However, when it comes to the increasing strengthen of TV channels, it is not merely due to the role of electronic media. This is because the prominent TV channels are owned by well-established newspaper agencies, such as the Jang Group, Dawn, Nawa-i-Waqt, etc. Some of these channels have well-established media roots and alliances.

Pakistan's geostrategic interests motivated media liberalization. In the post-Kargil war era, General Musharraf and his comrades wanted to decrease the influence of Indian media and its (India's) propaganda in Pakistan. A dictator did what many of the democratic governments could not due to the fear of media. While reforming media policies, Musharraf would not have imagined that one day these privately owned TV channels would turn against him by avoiding the authority of

his army and intelligence agencies. Nonetheless, Musharraf rightfully claimed the credit for the media revolution, as was the case when interviewed in 2008:

> … the freedom of media. I would like to take the credit for that. Whatever the media says, it is I who gave them the private television channels. Back in 2001, there used to be one – Pakistan Television. Today, there are over 50 channels operating. The media should exercise a check over the government (O'Hara 2008).

There is a strong connection between the tactics employed during the lawyers' movement and the media. A learning curve was witnessed in strategic and tactical knowledge, as far as the leadership and organization of the movement is concerned. With time, just like any other learning activity, the lawyers developed better strategies to bring down a dictator and learned from their experiences over the course of the two years under investigation. Most lawyers were able to consistently go on Thursday strikes and other boycotts irrespective of the financial blows. Thousands of lawyers made many sacrifices for the cause of the movement. The commitment of these strikes was similar to strikes led by Gandhi in the beginning of the twentieth century against the British Raj in the Indian sub-continent. In the case of the Pakistani lawyers, it was the value of their non-violent activism that attracted a wider audience, especially people who were fed up with widespread oppression in the country.

Among some key tactics, the lawyers and their supporters, particularly politicians and NGO workers, effectively used media outlets to spread their messages that helped this resistance a great deal. For example, CJ Chaudhry, when his case was being heard at the Supreme Court, during the period from May to July 2007, decided to embark on a historic series of visits to his comrades in bar councils across Pakistan. It is important to see this as one of the most significant approaches adopted by the lawyers' movement. CJ Chaudhry accompanied by his supporting lawyers started with his visit to Peshawar, followed by visit to Lahore[3], Faisalabad, Abbotabad, Hyderabad, and Sukkur. All of these visits had huge backing of local bar councils, increasing the attention to these events. Thus, these visits of CJ Chaudhry and his debates on constitutional issues further strengthened the lawyers' movement and the civil society. Another strategic aspect of the planning was to arrive in the cities in the evening and continue until

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[3] The 24-hour car ride from Islamabad to Lahore of CJ Chaudhry was broadcasted live on several local TV channels, as were the violent attacks on lawyers and journalists in Karachi on the May 12, 2007.

late night to ensure the maximum participation of the working class. This also helped in obtaining full live coverage via TV channels during prime hours. Then, righty, it was stated in an editorial of *Daily Times* (April 10, 2008) that "without TV coverage the deposed chief justice of Pakistan … would not have become a national figure".

The media, most importantly TV channels, were united to challenge the legitimacy of Musharraf's actions. It is this activism of media that helped the lawyers' resistance in obtaining support to challenge the illegitimate actions of the dictator. In any civic resistance, a key achievement is to gain people's support against the legitimacy of authoritarian leadership; therefore, the media can help "civic opposition movements in making the case that they offer a viable alternative to illegitimate authoritarian rule" (Karatnycky & Ackerman 2005:14). In Pakistan's case, the Musharraf government became the enemy of both lawyers and the media, especially after the regime limited the freedom of media through curbs on TV channels and newspapers. This united the media, especially the prominent TV channels to intentionally challenge and declare the authority of General Musharraf (*Daily Times*, 10 April. 2008).

The modes of communication were diverse and varied under different circumstances during the course of the struggle. However, mainly, messages reached out to masses through the electronic media, especially the famous talk shows of Geo, Aaj and ARY ONE TV channels. It was also through the live talk shows on TV that Aitzaz Ahsan and the Attorney General of that time, Malik Qayyum, challenged each other for a live constitutional debate in March 2008. TV channels broadcasted this constitutional debate. Ultimately, via media many people became aware of the pertinent constitutional clauses vis-à-vis the case of CJ Chaudhry. When asked, who mobilized the people for the resistance, a significant number of the participants said, the media (Graph 2). However, in mobilizing a major role was played by the lawyers themselves through local bar councils.

Graph 2: Mobilizing Factors of the Movement
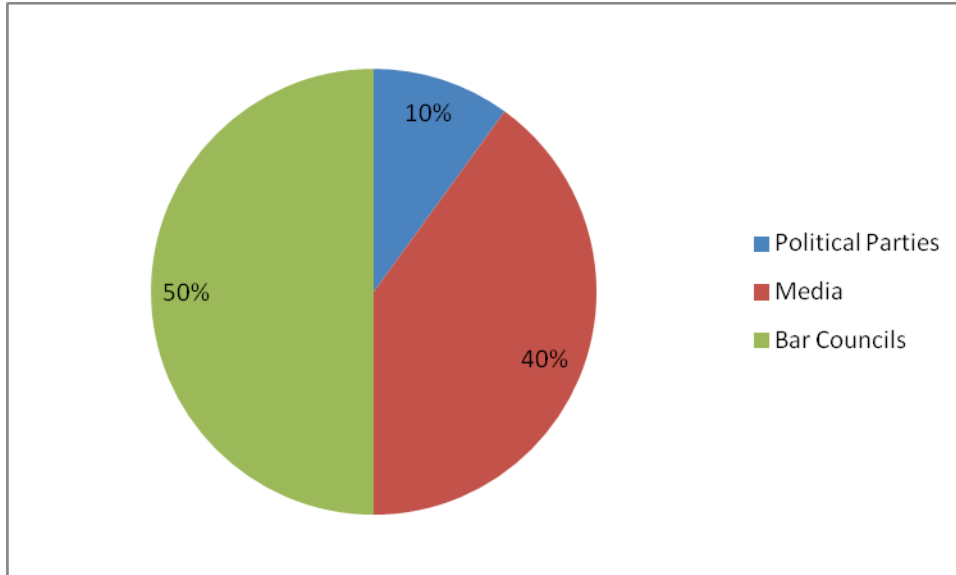
Print media also played a vital role, especially in times when the overall integrity of media was threatened by the Musharraf administration. In June 2008, it was courageous of several English and Urdu dailies to publish paid advertisements calling on the public to join the lawyer's event – the Long March. These advertisements helped to spread the message across the country by decreasing the heavy dependence of the

PML-N rally in Lahore, 2007.

movement on TV channels facing constraints from the administration. For this big event lawyers, generally female lawyers were involved in distributing motivational invitations (posters) to tens of thousands of people in the major cities to increase the participation in the mega event. Importantly, the political alliance for the Long March also influenced the communication within the movement, as the political activists of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) were seen

active to inspire people for this cause. It was a timely event for many political actors, such as PML-N, Pakistan Peoples Party etc., in the country who were looking for a political change through their greater participation in the political process of Pakistan.

Let us examine the Long March episode more closely. The procession gained momentum slowly with an increasing number of public adding into an initial mob of 40,000-50,000. The thousands of lawyers were at the forefront of the Long March, so were people from a variety of other occupations. Predominantly, people who took part in the Long March were lawyers, human rights activists, leading scholars, professionals, retired army officers, religious figures, families of the missing people, and people from the neighboring areas of Islamabad (elderly people, men, women, children, and people with their families). In large numbers, there were political leaders and workers of the PML-N, Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf, Jamaat-i-Islami, Khaksaar Tehreek, National Workers Party, Awami League, and Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party. Irrespective of their diverse backgrounds, the participants of this movement demanded a free and fair socio-political and governing fabric in Pakistan. This event was not an absolute success. Many young lawyers, students and political activists were disappointed at the manner in which the whole event ended. Consequently, many angry protestors approached mainstream TV channels to share their resentment. TV Channels, such as Geo and Aaj allowed some young lawyers to share their disappointment against the leadership of the lawyers' movement. Consequently, a few TV talk shows hosted conspiracy theories against Aitzaz Ahsan – a leader of the lawyers' struggle. However, the media also helped the movement by informing the leaders of the resistance of the massive responsibility for and huge expectations from their followers.

Media was the backbone of the lawyers' movement in Pakistan. While doing its job, media, intentionally and unintentionally, supported the cause of the lawyers. In the beginning, for these TV channels, the CJ Chaudhry's movement was just like another story, but as the time passed, it gained interest of the masses and of TV channels. Some TV channels, namely Geo, Aaj and ARY-ONE had to pay a heavy price of showing programs that triggered anti-establishments sentiments in the country and abroad. For example, the government through the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA), which was established by the General Musharraf's government, harshly dealt with these TV channels. PEMRA executed stringent orders for live shows and forced some TV channels to drop their famous anchors, for example, Hamid Mir, Kashif Khan, Kamran Khan, Dr

Shahid Masood, Asma Sherazi and Talat Hussain. For roughly two months in most cases, people were deprived of the opportunity to watch their favorite talk shows.

During the emergency era, when some of the TV channels were shutdown, lawyers strongly supported their media allies by overtly backing the freedom of media and expression. An example is of a Geo TV anchor, Hamid Mir sustaining his program 'Capital Talk' while knowing that his recordings would not be broadcasted during the emergency era (from November 3 to December 15, 2007). Nonetheless, Mir continued to do his off-air shows from the stairs of the Geo TV office in Islamabad by managing to attract hundreds of people on daily basis. The guests of this program, such as ex-army

Picture of Mir's Capital Talk on November 22, 2007

officers, ex-judges, politicians, civil society activists, lawyers, etc., continued to talk about similar issues, mostly against the atrocious dictatorship.

Throughout the movement, TV channels faced constant challenges from the establishment, especially the regime of General Musharraf. Other incidents were in the form of brutal violent attacks on the Aaj TV's office in Karachi and the Geo TV's office in Islamabad. It was the Punjab Police who attacked the Geo TV office in Islamabad and this episode was recorded by the Geo TV cameras and later on proofs were presented to the then Minister for Information and other relevant authorities (Hamid 2007). No serious action was taken by the government to catch the culprits because it was done through directions from the President House via the Punjab government. The Punjab Police acted accordingly by passing off their jurisdiction in the federal capital. The dictator could not prevent media from its essential job of providing people with timely information. In this regard, the live talk shows were irritating to the powerhouses. Moreover, since March 2007 and even before there were famous comedy shows, such as "*Hum Sab Omeed Se Hain*" (We are all hopeful) of Dr Yunus But, and "Pillow Talk" based on animations; both programs focused on creative criticism of the government's authoritarian policies.

Let us support of a web created by pillars of support for the resistance in Pakistan. Lawyers were supported by variety of actors, as discussed above. Its key pillar of support was media, which was also strongly supported by the civil society. NGOs maintained media's coverage of the movement, which was essential to maintain the momentum of this struggle. The country has a flourishing culture of NGOs doing important development work. There is not exact estimate available of the number of NGOs in the country, but roughly over 100,000 active NGOs. During the struggle, many of these NGOs, such as the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), and the South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA), formed coalitions to support the movements. NGOs generated funds to cover the costs of their activities, for example, intra-city and inter-city rallies, and seminars. In November 2009, when certain TV talk show hosts like Asma Sherazi were banned, the Liberal Forum of Pakistan organized a seminar on "Freed media and social responsibility" in Islamabad to support journalists like Sherazi. In many ways, the changing circumstances generated more support for the movement. For example, the violation of human rights gained the support of human rights groups

SAFMA supporting Geo TV

based in Pakistan and abroad. In addition, curbs on media led to immense backing of relevant groups, such as SAFMA. A strong association among supporting networks provided the movement with greater influence.

Socially, there has been another impact of the movement, which is critical empowerment of the masses, which happened mainly through the live debates during the lawyers' movement and through numerous TV talk shows. Now if something is right or wrong, people are not hesitant to speak out even in front of the TV camera. This change happened during the era of the lawyers' resistance. According to a survey, July 2008, of the International Republican Institute in Pakistan, the people in the country were explicit when it came to restoring the old Supreme Court: 83 percent said that they wanted the court reinstated. In addition, 86 percent described the judicial or judges issue as important to them (IRI 2008).

Social media

The media in general and social media in particular has changed the age-old dynamics of non-violent struggle. Nonviolence rejects violence as a mean of

achieving desired social change. Naturally, digital activism provides a perfect, though less influential, nonviolent way of promoting the cause. This ways, many movements have gained greater participation of people, especially from the ones who do not or cannot participate in activism on the streets.

In recent times, the use of social media for activism has gained prominent and often it is called "digital activism". Digital activism can be described as the use of internet communication, including e-mails, blogs, social networking sites, etc. to bring about a socio-economic and political change at domestic and international levels. In the past two decades, internet's infrastructure has spread across Pakistan with internet access to numerous rural areas. As a result, the country is home to one of the world's largest population using internet – 20 million – and 32.86 percent, roughly six million, of those use facebook (*Tribune*, 2 February 2012). As explored in the study, social media was used affectively for communication in the movement. During the course of the movement, the majority of the participants of this study received messages through social media (Graph 3).

Graph 3: Modes of Communication
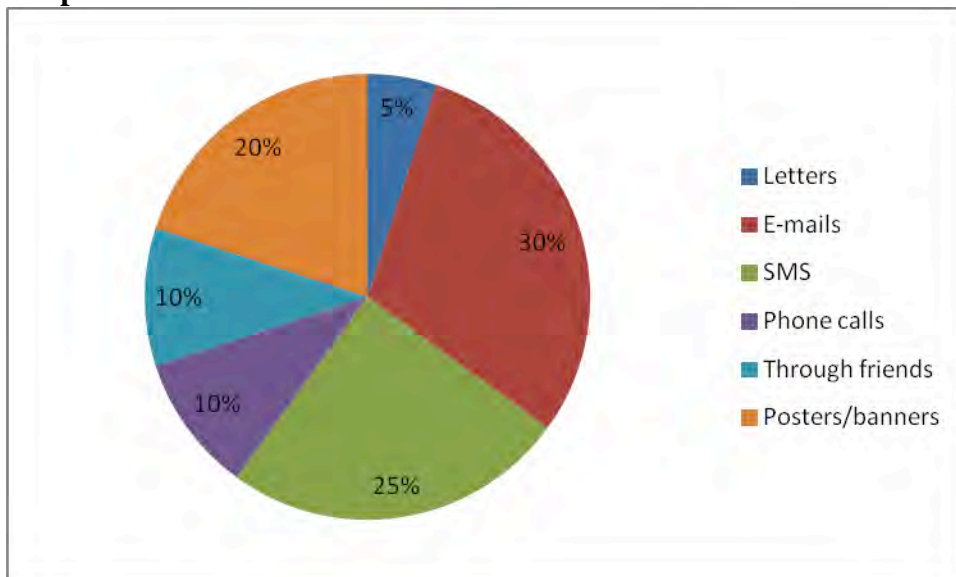
The culture of blogging has been increasing in Pakistan and had a significant presence even prior to the lawyers' movement. For example, since 2004, a site entitled "Pakistan Bloggers" has been a space for writers to share their views on a range of issues from corruption to feudalism, etc. However, the significance of

blogging has increased in the aftermath of the civil movement. In 2011, the first-ever International Social Media Summit was organized in Karachi. A US diplomat, William Martin (2011), then talked about blogging in Pakistan:

> I did not know that Pakistan has such a lively and active blogging community, with over three million citizen-journalists freely reporting on virtually every topic under the sun.

The use of blogs and social networking mediums, such as facebook, was widespread during the lawyers' movements in Pakistan. Many people contributed to the civil resistance either by commenting on existing blogs or by setting up specific blogs and online forums. There was an initiative, a website project called "Pakistan Justice Coalition". Through this people shared reports of events relating to the lawyers' movement in Pakistan during the period between 2007 and 2009. Another example is "*Bolta Pakistan*", meaning Talking Pakistan. Bolta Pakistan was a sort of web portal urging people to sign-in for justice, democracy and freedom in Pakistan by showing their concerns, especially by not putting their lives in danger of street protests etc. Then this initiative had a blog too with the name of Bolta Pakistan Blog. Some students were involved in the movement through internet activism for rousing more people to maintain the momentum of this struggle. An example is of a student from Karachi who created a blog called "Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry's Blog"[4] and co-created a facebook group "Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry".[5] Her facebook group, as of July 16, 2008 had 392 members. This number is very small considering the number of facebook users in the country, but the people who interacted through these sorts of limited groups managed to share the message with thousands of others through e-mails and text messages.

Prior to November 2007, social media in Pakistan was not as effective as other forms of media for the lawyers' movement, but during the 2007 emergency era, this new medium was one of the important modes of communications for the civil society to organize protests. By then, the use of social media was evolving in Pakistan; therefore, the government did not know how to restrain online activism, even after being successful in putting restrictions on other forms of media, both electronic and print. As explored by this research, internet was used by people to get up-to-date information about the movement, especially about the

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[4] http://cjiftikharmuhammadchaudhry.blogspot.com/
[5] www.facebook.com is a website devoted to virtual social networking.

demonstrations against the dictatorship in their neighborhood. It is after the success of the lawyers' movement in which media played a very important role that Stephen P. Cohen (2011) argued: "The press and the new media are … wild card when it comes to mobilizing and potentially transforming Pakistan".

Conclusion

There should not be any doubt that the lawyers' movement in Pakistan paved the way for the present democratic regime by opening doors for the two major political parties to return to politics in Pakistan. As Akhtar writes in one of his articles, "The two mainstream secular opposition parties, the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), have been frozen out of power for almost 8 years when Musharraf has been in power, and have accordingly been prominent supporters of the lawyers' movement" (Akhtar 2007). Later PML-N even became partners in the lawyers' movement. This movement became the only cause of trouble for the Musharraf's regime as explored through this study, as the only initiating force pressuring President General Musharraf to step down from presidency. The mass media, in particular, TV news channels and social media became pillars of support for the lawyers' movement, which without the backing of media would not have become a wide spread civil resistance. The media made CJ Chaudhry and other leaders of the movement saviors of Pakistan and national heroes with a vision of a free and democratic country. The message of the movement challenging the legitimacy of the dictator resonated with millions across the country to end General Musharraf's rule in 2009. As analysed in the study, the lawyers would not have achieved this success without the help of the media, particularly TV channels and social media.

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Violence in Karachi; Is It Political, Ethnic or Religious Conflict?

By Zulfiqar Ali

Introduction

In this paper, I will try to explore the main causes of ethnic conflicts in Pakistan. After defining the term, I will provide a brief review of the history, in the subsequent parts I will focus on main ethnic groups, the major issues in ethnic conflicts in Karachi, the tendency affecting changes in ethnic issues, and the implications of these changes for national integration in Pakistan.

. In the terms of Etymologically, the word 'ethnic' is derived from the Greek word "ethnikos"; which referred to major population groups who share common racial and cultural qualities; "Ethnicity designated to the group behavior of members in quest of a common heritage with inherent individual variations"[1]. It is also an indication of one's own insight as the member of the particular group. According to the Prof. Dawa Norbu, "an ethnic group is discrete social organization within which mass mobilization and social communication may be affected. And ethnicity provided the potent raw material for nationalism that makes sense only to the members of that ethnic group. Its primary function is to differentiate the group members from the generalized others"[2]. In other words, ethnicity provides the fundamentals of nationalism. Nationalism proves to be strong binding force in the nations, comprising of single ethnicity in majority.

According to a survey conducted in 1992, almost a dozen out of 132 countries which could be viewed as homogeneous, twenty five countries have single ethnic group comprising of ninety percent of the total population, whereas twenty five countries have a population comprising of 75 percent single ethnicity. A single ethnic group comprising of fifty to seventy-five percent of total population, resides in thirty one countries. Whereas, in 39countries no single group exceeds half of the total population[3]. It means that a country could be resided by a single large ethnic group or many smaller ethnic groups.

Pakistan belong the third type of country which has a leading ethnic group comprising of fifty to seventy-five percent of the total population, the *Punjabis* are almost fifty-six percent of the total population. In Pakistan, the provincial assertion based on the ethnic distinctiveness became prominent in the decade of 90s. The problem of ethnic isolation has been boiling in Baluchistan and NWFP since the 70s. Likewise, the *Mohajirs* of Pakistan were rising as a distinctive ethnic group with the growth of Mohajir Qoumi Movement (MQM) since the 80s as a major force in urban areas of Sindh, especially in the biggest city of the country, Karachi, and in the adjacent city, Hyderabad.

The ruling class of Pakistan has always wanted to employ the ideology of Pakistani nationalism against the demands of different ethnic groups for enhanced provincial autonomy. The elite class always takes any such demand as a conspiracy to divide and disintegrate Pakistan, and this behavior has also led to assertion of many regional identities.

A Review of the History

Pakistan has been confronted with one of the gravest ethnic conflicts of her sixty-four years life. In 2010 alone, 1,247 people, as compared to 8012009, were killed in its major city, Karachi[4]. Ethnic divergence in the province of Sindh is almost complete, and in Baluchistan it has traumatized the traditional fraternity between different ethnic groups. The situation of law and order due to ethnic clashes have shattered economic activities in urban Sindh where there has been evidence of a transfer of capital to other regions and almost a complete halt on the part of foreign investment. Moreover billions of rupees are lost each year due to recurrent strikes.

The image of Pakistan emerging from its ethnic condition is revealed by its economic and political situation. Conventionally, Pakistan's ethnic multiplicity has been defined in terms of the existence of the four historical "ethnic groups," the Punjabis, the Sindhis, the Pushtoons and the Baloch, the Urdu-speaking people (*the mohajirs*), and many smaller ethnic/ linguistic groups. Recently, though, a political party representing the Urdu-speaking people in urban Sindh has insisted on the recognition of "nationality" status while there has been a constant demand from a part of the population in Punjab for the identification of "Siraiki-speaking people" as a distinct "nationality."

Violence in Karachi; Ethnic, Political or Religious?

Karachi was small village of fishermen surrounded by mud ramparts. It had two doors: towards Arabian Sea was situated the door of salted water (*kharadar*), and facing the Lyari river was the door of sweet water (*mithadar*). "The town of *kalachi-jo-goth* was founded in 1729, in the memory of a local fisherman"[5]. "Karachi's port was an important knot in the regional 'proto-globalized' economy since the eighteenth century, linking Sindh and Punjab with the Persian Gulf and, further, with China and Africa"[6]. Between 1947 and 1951, the enormous migration of refugees (majority of them was Urdu speaking) from India, who also to be known as "Mohajirs", "brought Karachi under intense demographic pressure but it also provided it with a highly competent workforce and an experienced bureaucracy"[7]. On the twenty-second of May, 1948, Karachi was formally made the capital of Pakistan.

To make the citya federally-administered area, the Constituent Assembly separated the Karachi from province of Sindh. This decision stimulate the resentment of Sindhi *ansars* (native) towards the *mohajirs (*migrants) whom they believe as "city-dwellers" full with jealousy for the "sons of the soil". The ethnic frictions were thus started in Sindh, which would soon become a theatre of hostility for distressed "ethnic groups" constructing their identities through their confrontation with the others.

Karachi's history is evident of an obvious economic success mitigate by violent 'ethnic' and 'sectarian'quarrels. However, such classification is deeply challenging mainly because "Karachi's so-called 'ethnic' and 'sectarian' conflicts originally had little to do with ethnicity and religion. They were primarily 'urban struggles' between the opposing local groups for the control of the most affluent city in the country"[8]. These groups include different Mafias, land grabbers and criminals. They fight each other to grasp the control of different parts of the city. Many areas of the city have become 'no go areas' by these groups for rival groups. Residents of these areas are (reportedly) forced to pay ransom for the safety of their homes and businesses.

The Afghan *jihad* in 80s and ongoing war against terrorism in the northwestern parts of the country also brought to Karachi a flow of arms and drugs along with a heavy population influx from those part of the country. The situation produced a culture of violence in the city, especially in its youth "for whom Russian TT-pistols became the hottest commodity in town"[9]. Since the beginning of Afghan

jihad, in the 1990s, and after the fall of the 9/11, Karachi's ethnic conflicts appear to have been succeeded by "sectarian"conflicts.

Karachi witnessed anti-Ahmadi "riots" in the early 50s, anti-Pathan "riots" in 1965, anti-Ahmedi "riots" again from1969 - 70 and Sindhi-Mohajir riots from1972-73. However, the ethnic clashes which occurred in the second half of the 1980s in the city were unparalleled in their scale and brutality. Clashes have occurred between Pathans and Biharis in April 1985, again in October and December 1986, and in February to July 1987 , between the Mohajirs and the Sindhis in May, September, and October 1988, and again in May - June 1990. Karachi's first key "ethnic riot" which claimed at least hundred lives took place in April of 1985 between Mohajirs and Pathan gunmen who were trying to extend their control to areas at the margins of their recently consolidated "territories."[10]

From 1987 to present day , "the MQM strongholds are located in the areas of District Central and District East, such as Azizabad, Federal B Area, Nazimabad, Liaqatabad, New Karachi and Gulshan-e Iqbal. District South has been under the influence of the PPP, which also has existence in the district of Malir. District West, has remained under the control of the ANP, which is particularly influential in the Baldia Pathan and Qasba colonies. Another political force in the city is a rebel faction of the MQM, the MQM (Haqiqi), which is not significant today,,had converted the Landhi, Shah Faisal Colony and Lines Area into "no-go areas" for Altaf Hussain's supporters after the launching of Operation Clean-Up in 1992"[11].

The rise of the MQM in 1984, on the scene national politics was quite swift and remarkable. It is "an urban, youthful and organizationally well-knit party."[12] Its leadership and most of its members belongs to the lower middle class. Since the late 1980s, MQM has remained influential in the urban parts of Sindh. It has achieved significant electoral support in Karachi and Hyderabad, the two major cities of Sindh.

It is noteworthy that 'state' at the "non-policy level" which created a situation of ethnic outburst in urban parts of Sindh. "Various large-scale issues circling the conflicts between politicians and army, federalist and provincial forces, Islamist and secularist elements and, externally, India and Pakistan seriously circumscribed the state's capacity and will to pursue micro-level issues such as urban planning, educational and manpower strategies, as well as rural-urban and interprovincial migration"[13].The state failed on various counts such as legal safety of citizen and protection of life and property. Ethnicity comes out as the new

source of identity formation, definition and categorization of interests. In the words of *Mohammad Waseem*, "it was not too much of the (Jacobin) state, as primordialists would have us believe, but rather too little of it which produced the mohajir ethnic movement"[14].

Political Violence in the Form of Targeted Killings

Karachi has been experiencing periodical and uncontrollable violence, being struck by cruel, targeted killings . The most preferential method has been the "drive-by shootings",where the killers, customarily remain untraced . "Incompatible political, sectarian and linguistic affiliations, marked by intense personal rivalries, are said to be a major cause of the blind murders"[15].The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan reports that in 2009, "the total number of killings was 747, while the number of target killings in Karachi totaled 291." According to police documentation records published in a local newspaper 249 targeted killings took place in Karachi from month of January to August, 2010. In the first 24 days of the March, 2011 two hundred sixty seven people were killed targeted These are certainly shocking figures from an economic point of view as well, keeping in view that "the city accounts for two-thirds of Pakistan's trade and industry and almost half of its GDP"[16].

The rising death toll gives the impression that the instability of Karachi has been gradually ascending. Violence in the city is in effect seems a "socio-ethnic phenomenon," which is intensified by immense weaponization of the city. Efforts for de-weaponization in the past have produced only diverse results, due to variation in demand and supply of weapons.
Although, in the pre-Afghan war era, weapons made in northwestern area of the country were much in demand across the country, with the induction of a legacy of the Afghan war, the lethal assault rifle "Kalashnikov," the law enforcement efforts suffered a serious setback. There is no lack of laws but what is needed is their enforcement in true sense. Secondly, as we discussed earlier, the influx of migrants into Karachi, served to further fuse the situation of group politics in the city (mainly consisting of the ethno-linguistic groups).

If the recent wave of violence and brutality is allowed to continue, peace will become more impossible; keeping in view that the Pakistani Taliban extremists are trying to bring a complete chaos to the country. Moreover, there has been an increase in "sectarian sensitivities" after the attack on the *Ashura Procession*. Interior Minister of Pakistan Mr. Rehman Malik has held that deployment of the army to control the situation is not desirable in Karachi because the government has give powers to the Rangers to deal with the situation. However, there are suspicions about this paramilitary forces' ability to deal with the problem, mainly because the three parties (MQM, ANP and PPP) involved in the situation are in the ruling coalition government. Urgent countermeasures are needed against the elements that are leading these brutal killings. The government should put into effect a course of action without delay in order to restore peace in the city and call in the army if needed. At the same time, it should do long-standing arrangements to keep the state of affairs under control.

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[1] Singh k. Sudhir, *Ethnicity and Regional Aspirations In Pakistan* http://www.jammu-kashmir.com/insights/insight20020101d.html) Retrieved online on 18th march,2011

[2] *Ibid*

[3] *ibid*

[4] http://tribune.com.pk/story/94219/2010-karachis-most-violent-year-since-1995/ Retrieved on 18th march,2011

[5] Sohrab K.H. Katrak, *Karachi. That was the Capital of Sindh*, Lahore, 1963.

[6] Laurent Gayer – A divided city. "Ethnic" and "religious" conflicts in Karachi, Pakistan retrieved online on 13th March, 2011. http://www.ceri-sciences-po.org

[7] *ibid*

[8] *ibid*

[9] Larrry Goodson, *The Talibanization of Pakistan*, New York/Basingstoke : Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002.

[10] Laurent Gayer – A divided city. "Ethnic" and "religious" conflicts in Karachi, Pakistan retrieved online on 13th March, 2011. http://www.ceri-sciences-po.org

[11] *ibid*

[12] *ibid*

[13] MOHAMMAD WASEEM ,Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan: The Case of MQM, *The Pakistan Development Review*
35 : 4 Part II (Winter 1996) pp. 617—629

[14] *ibid*

[15] http://pak-news.net/targeted-killings-in-karachi/) retrieved online on 17th of March, 2011

[16] http://pak-news.net/targeted-killings-in-karachi/) retrieved online on 17th of March, 2011

Guide for studying in Austria for Pakistani students

By Muhammad Adnan and Mashhood Ahmed Sheikh

Introduction

This document contains information on admission and visa process for Austria, for students from Pakistan. The reason to write this document is the lack of information about Austria, as very few Pakistani students come here. Also, Austrian embassy (in Islamabad) does not clarify much about any matters related to the visa process and the residence permit application for students. Apparently, the authorities at the Embassy do not even know about the procedure for proving your financial status to the authorities in Austria. At least, they don't clarify this enough. This makes the visa process more difficult. That is why we decided to write this document and categorically elaborate each step for admission and visa, in Austria.

Step 1: Eligibility

To apply for a Master degree program in Austria, one needs to have 16 years of education. All the examples below are eligible for admission to a Master program in Austria:

- FA/Fsc + Bachelors (4 year)
- FA/Fsc + Bachelors (3 year) + Master (1 year)
- FA/Fsc + Bachelors (3 year) + Master (2 year)
- O-level/A-level + Bachelors (4 year)
- O-level/A-level + Bachelors (2 year) + Masters (2 year)
- FA/Fsc + Bachelors (2 year) + Masters (2 year)

Intermediate (FSc/FA) or A-level degree holders can apply for Bachelor program provided that he/she fulfills language requirements. Almost all Bachelor degree programs in Austria are taught in German, but you can find some in English as well.

Step 2: Note the application dates

Admission/application dates vary from university to university. Most universities intake is annual and it is usually in fall semester. For autumn semesters (beginning in September/October), admission starts usually in February/March. For Spring semester (beginning in March/April), admission dates are usually in October (of preceding year). You have to consult the website of your prospective university to know about the exact dates, and further information about intake.

Step 3: Search for the study program
See these websites to find the study programs offered by Austrian Universities:

http://www.studyguide.at/ ➔ *Particularly for Austria*

The website is in German language but you can use Google Translate. You may not find the details of every degree program at this website, but at least you will see the name of the university, and can find it on the internet to get more information (details about study program, admission procedure fees and everything else.).

http://www.mastersportal.eu/ ➔ *Whole Europe*.

This website also gives some description of the program and in some cases its curriculum with the link to course home page.

Step 4: Prepare the necessary documents for admission

Passport: Passport is needed not only for IELTS/TOEFL as it is also required by every
university for admission.
IELTS/TOEFL: This will make you eligible for admission anywhere.
Document Attestation: Get your academic documents attested from BISE, HEC and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Pakistan). Get sufficient copies attested from BISE and HEC so that you can apply to at least 3 or 4 universities.
Attestation from Austrian Embassy: Get your documents attested from Austrian Embassy; this may not be required for admission but it will eventually be required for visa.

Recommendation Letters: Get some recommendation letters (2 or 3) from your university teachers. Ask them to make general recommendation letter, and not specific to one university, so that you can use them for applying to different universities.

Step 5: Application procedure

Unlike Sweden, Finland or Germany, there is no central authority for receiving and verifying documents in Austria. Each university conducts its admissions separately. Please look at the website of your selected university, to know about the admission procedure and tuition fees. Some universities may want you to apply online and then send your documents along with a printed copy of the online form. In some cases they may defer your documents until you have been preselected. If you are preselected, then they will ask you to send hard copies of your documents. The process varies among universities. In some cases they may conduct an interview as part of the application process.

Document Attestation from Austrian Embassy

Austria Embassy address in Islamabad:

House No: 13, Street No: 1, F-6/3, Islamabad.

TEL: 051-2209710/11

E-mail : Islamabad-ob@bmaa.gv.at

E-mail: austria@isb.comsats.net.pk

Some universities in Austria ask the applicants to send copies of documents, attested by Austrian Embassy. Otherwise, there is no need to send them the documents attested by the Austrian Embassy[1]. Here is a list of documents which Austrian Embassy Attests.

1- Academic Certificate (Metric, FA/FSc, BA/BSc and any other degree issued by a Pakistani University or Institute)
2- Birth Certificate (Embassy verifies your birth by sending an advocate to your local area-union council)
3- Police Clearance Certificate or Police Certificate or Character Certificate (all are same).

First step of this attestation procedure is the verification. Embassy verifies each of your documents from a third party organization linked to the embassy, and you have to pay a "verification fee" for this service. This fee in 2010 was around Rs.

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[1] You will eventually have to get your documents attested from the Austrian Embassy for the visa procedure

23,000. When the documents are verified, the embassy will call you to collect the attested documents. Embassy will stamp at the back of your original documents with the signature of Counselor/Ambassador. They will charge 30-Euros per document for attestation. You have to pay equivalent amount in Pakistani Rupees.

You can go there on Mondays for documents submission without appointment. You have to be there early in the morning to have your name written at the gate. Otherwise your turn might not come on the same day.

Embassy only attests your original documents and not the photocopies. You will send photocopies of these attested documents to your university. In some cases, university may ask you to send them original documents attested by the embassy. In this case, if you are not selected, then they will send your documents back to you. But it's a risky process, because of Postal Service of Pakistan. So avoid such universities, or you can take a risk, if you are sure of your capabilities and luck.

Language Requirements

If your selected program is in German than the university will require you to prove the proficiency in German language. If the program is in English, then they will require you to provide an English language proficiency certificate (IELTS/TOEFL).

Each university has its own requirement. Many universities accept IELTS band 5.5/6.0 or TOEFL IBT score 80. Some require a higher score of 90 (TOEFL) or 6.5 (IELTS).

If you are admitted, you will be notified by email and you will also receive an admission letter. You can start the visa process as soon as you have the admission letter.

Step 6: Visa Process

As soon as you have your documents attested from the Embassy (this process takes 4-8 weeks), and the admission letter from the university, you can begin the visa procedure. Application for visa is called "Application for Residence Permit". You apply for the Residence Permit and once your application is approved (It usually takes 4-6 weeks), the embassy will call you to submit Schengen visa form. After you submit the Schengen visa form, along with your passport and the visa fees, you can get your visa in 10 days.

The form for Residence Permit Application is in German. It has around 10-12 pages. You can find a soft copy of it on the internet[2], and then use Google translate to help you understand it. Otherwise, find someone who knows German.

The fee for Residence Permit Application is around 80 Euros, which you have to submit while submitting your application (along with the proof of finances, proof of accommodation, proof of travel insurance, etc.). You will pay almost the same amount for the application for Schengen Visa, at the last step.

Residence permit application is necessary for students who want to stay in Austria for more than six months. Students who want to come to Austria for less than six months do not need to apply for Residence Permit.

Application Form for Residence Permit and its explanation is available on this site.
http://www.bmeia.gv.at/vertretung/taipeh/ratgeber/formulare-zum-download.html
(This page is in German. You can use Google translate to read it in English.)

Proof of finances

For the Residence Permit, you have to prove that you have sufficient funds to cover the expenses for one year (around 9500 Euros- for age above 24 years). It changes a little bit every year. If your age is below 24 years, then you have to show approximately 5258 Euros).

See this website for updated amount.
http://www.oead.at/welcome_to_austria/legal_practical_issues/entry_to_austria/nationals_of_third_countries/stays_for_more_than_6_months/students_at_austrian_universities/EN/

The bank statement in Pakistani Rupees will not be accepted. Actually, they require you to either open a bank account in some Austrian bank or provide them with equal amount of Traveler Cheques. Both are not possible because you cannot open a bank account in Austrian bank unless you are in Austria, and Traveler Cheques are not available in Pakistan. The solution is to open a Euro Account in an international bank like Standard Chartered or HSBC etc. We are not certain if your account in HBL or any other bank will work.. But above two banks, will definitely work. Transfer this amount of Euros (approximately 9500 Euros) to that

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[2] For example, on the Austrian foreign ministry website.

account, get your bank statement, and attach it to your Residence Permit Application form. Money doesn't need to be there for the last 6 or 12 months. You can open a Euro account just a week before applying for Residence Permit.

Proof of accommodation

When you are applying for Residence Permit Student, you have to show a document proving that you have an accommodation for your stay in Austria. For that, you must have booked a room in a hostel or a student dormitory. Your university will usually arrange the proof of accommodation, if you are admitted. If they don't have student hostel/dormitory than you have to book a hostel/dormitory at your own.

Here are some student dormitories/Hostels in Austria:

1. Home 4 Students   website: http://www.home4students.at/
2. Mozartheim   website: http://www.mozart.uni-klu.ac.at/
3. Studentheim   website: http://www.studentenheim.at/

Book your room there and they will provide you with an agreement that you can submit to the embassy, as a proof of accommodation.

In this case, you will have to pay them, for example, an advance rent for three months or some security. You will transfer this money to their account. Later, if you cannot make to Austria for any reason, they will send you, your money back, while charging you the transaction free.

Proof of travel insurance

Travel health insurance is a must, when you apply for Residence permit from Pakistan. You have to get health insurance of at least 3 months (better to get a 6 month insurance) from your expected date of travel. You will submit this insurance certificate with your Residence Permit Application.

Please check Chartis health insurance and Adamjee health insurance groups for the insurance document. You can Google, their office in big cities of Pakistan and go there to get this health insurance.

Step 7: Life in Austria

Estimated cost of living
Usually, there is a tuition fee of around 363 Euros per semester in Austrian universities.
For single person living alone in single room, the cost will be from 300 to 400 Euros per month (this includes rent, internet, electricity cost and food). Room rent is usually from 200 to 250 Euros/month. But if you share your accommodation, you can reduce your monthly cost to around 250 Euros. Food cost per month is around 50 to 80 Euros.

Health insurance is a must in Austria. You have to get it after you arrive in Austria. It costs 50 Euros per month. You will need to apply for student health insurance at a local insurance company.

Part time Jobs
Due to relatively less number of international students, part time jobs are available in Austria. With odd jobs, you can earn roughly 500-800 Euros a month. You can work in Newspaper in small cities, and on restaurants and pizza shops in big cities. For the newspaper work, you should have a car (and of course a driving license) so that you can easily get his job. And also, easily do this job. An adequate car can be purchases in 800-1200 Euros cost in Austria for this purpose.

Driving License
Driving license is very important to have, if you want to work in newspaper and also, it's good to have it. You should get an International Driving License from Pakistan and bring your local (Pakistani) driving license with you. International Driving License will allow you to drive the car for 6 months. Within these 6 months, you must get an Austria Driving license. For this purpose, you should enroll in a driving school at your town, and they will conduct a test for you. This is the case that you had a license from Pakistan. This conversion of Pakistani license to Austrian License, after a test, cost around 230 Euros. If you don't have any license from Pakistan and want to learn driving in Austria, then this will cost you from 1500-2000 euros.

Please bear in mind that once you apply for the Austrian License, while you have one from Pakistan, they will send your license to Pakistani embassy to verify it.

Useful links

www.studyguide.at → Austrian Universities guide.
http://www.mastersportal.eu/ → Master portal for all Europe.
http://www.oead.at/index.php?id=1916&L=1 → Austrian Exchange Server. This is a very useful and informative link about study in Austria. You will find up-to-date information about financial proof and scholarships available in Austria. It also contains detailed information on visa process, part time work and work permits in Austria.

http://www.bmeia.gv.at/vertretung/taipeh/ratgeber/formulare-zum-download.html. For Residence permit application form and other documents.

Sleep-sill Canvas

By Shadab Zeest Hashmi

The window slams and swings open, nearly unhinging itself. So old,
it opens to the city of Ur, the Yellow river of *Li-sao*,
the great granary of Indus, a *Badhaus*, a sunken garden.
Yet, I am certain it is motorized: all the sepia-hued builders
of the Pyramids, all the ravaging armies of Tamburlane and Xerxes,
could not clamor the way it does. It is powered by a desperate engine.
It will tremor but won't come loose.

I have been running away from a painting.
The canvas, six by six, stretches and stretches.

Wishing a stronger body,
I had painted you
mahogany; rich, impenetrable.

With each brush-stroke, the wood seemed more ready

A perfect world: A working form in silhouette, conical outlines of butterfly-bush,
rosemary and dahlias in a garden.
Not such as that of the dream; the over-grown Eden, with its hissing,
and slithering, its green so deep, I paled and begged for air.
But a garden where terrible mistakes like fear and doubt, avarice
and arrogance, the wish to possess, to live forever, are erased
with one quick spray. I painted a newly grown garden; sharp, mystic, responsive,
where the gazer must bring to it constantly
portions of sunshine, rain, manure.

I have been running away from myself; into magma, into ice, into gesso.
The window, six feet by six feet, stretched, damp, smelling of linseed,
is a composition in eel slime.

I must feed you thick coats of paint, obsess you,
robust you with large doses of lightning.

I have paint enough
for a life-time.

Silences

By Shadab Zeest Hashmi

Downy like falling snow, the silences came with an insulating, protective energy. I drew circles around them. I danced inside those circles, with the whisper of my imaginary pencil the only thing audible. I reveled in the swelling hush when it came, and swam in its womb waters. Silence, like solitude was a fine gift in a world where each sound came with a category all its own: roosters, city traffic, portable transistors, and a myriad languages, each with its own baggage: Arabic was a language of sobriety, understood only in its religious expression— women reflexively covered their head with their trailing *dupattas*, and men fell silent out of respect when they heard the *azaan*. This was the language of the velvet and silk wrapped Quran, kept on the highest shelf. One couldn't imagine, for instance, asking for a pack of cigarettes in Arabic, or talking to one's dog. English was used to explicate, reprimand, show-off and was readily mixed with Urdu as a boosting agent: toddlers were taught not to take their clothes off in public because "*shame, shame ho jai gi*," students were told "*attention kharay ho jain*," "*time waste mut karain*," so on. Urdu was at times a language of nostalgia and at times, full of airs— pretending to be a China shop with the provincial languages (Pushto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi) the bulls smashing around. Urdu had the pride of place as the language of the Mughal empire with all the grandeur of high culture embedded in it, if you chose to care, that is, about the pre-Raj history of India and sought to tether your identity to the cultivated past in the hopes of continuing that legacy.

In reality, Urdu was good for little other than poetry, and for programming on radio and television that followed the ideological agenda of chiseling the new nation's identity. For academic and professional success, or to be considered a person of status, you had to know English. The British had left, it was said, but not without leaving us the noose of the necktie, and their language in our throats. But why blame the British for seeking progress through imitation instead of innovation? Of the many undesirable things, the worst manifestation of linguistic supremacy was the classism and racism that this complex of language engendered. The partition of East and West Pakistan happened in part due to Urdu being imposed as the national language when it was foreign to Bengali Pakistanis who preferred to speak Bangla. Growing up in Peshawar, I sensed the same fervor

for Pushto among the Pathans, few of whom cared for Urdu or for the Mughali *adaab* (etiquette), or the cultivation and power it represented.

Then there was Punjabi, colossally ridiculed for its nasal, slack-jawed, boorish sounds compared to Urdu. It was a little known fact that Punjabi, considered to be the ugly stepsister of Urdu, is a much older language with the richest tradition of sufi poetry in the subcontinent. It also happened to be the mother tongue of some of the masters of Urdu poetry such as Iqbal, Faiz and Noon Meem Rashed.

Up until my grandparents' generation, most well off Indian Muslims were tutored in Persian. It signified supreme refinement as it had been the language of the Mughal court. High Urdu was peppered with Persian expressions. The culture of the Raj replaced Persian as the elite language with English to a large extent: "chehel qadmi" was replaced with "walk," "mehman khana" with "drawing room" – English dignitaries had been depicted in their tailcoats sitting with legs folded court-style in nineteenth century Mughal miniatures, a bit off-kilter in the surrounding regalia. There are no miniatures of the British around the time they departed India in 1947 but if there were, they would show them watching polo, playing tennis, and dancing in ballrooms where dark-skinned people, the "natives" were only seen as "bearers," "sais" and "ball boys," like Kipling's rendering of the noble "mughal" into the savage "mowgli."

The English lexicon borrowed quite a bit from Urdu, mostly topography and culture specific words: *khaki* (dust-colored), *must* (elephant going berserk), *cummerband* (sash/belt), *jungle*, *sepoy*, *chutney*, so on. This aspect of English would strike me as significant as an English major at Reed, writing poems about why I write in English and not Urdu, why Urdu being a hybrid of disparate languages is aptly symbolic of a fragmented sense of identity. Not only would I now learn to pay attention to Urdu in all its musical and metaphorical beauty, its achingly lovely poetry; I would also remember the endearing frankness of Punjabi, at once soulfully innocent and comic; Pushto with its crispness, zest and simplicity; and Pakistani English, the idiom of the suppressed with its own often humorous idiosyncrasies. Mostly, I would embrace all over the intermittent silences of my childhood, the soft padding against the grinding noise of history, the bewildering clamor of conflict.

Poetics of Union

By Sobia Khan and Talmeez Fatima Burney

About Ishrat Afreen

Ishrat Afreen is an Urdu poet and women's rights activist named one of the five most influential and trend-setting female voices in Urdu Literature by NIPA. Ishrat Afreen identifies strongly with the poetic Urdu legends Muhammad Iqbal and Faiz Ahmed Faiz. She uses their polished, traditional style and skillfully redirects it to create defiant progressive messages of individuality and rebellion against patriarchal and oppressive social norms. She was born in Karachi in 1956, Pakistan and completed her Masters of Arts in Urdu from Karachi University.

Afreen has published two collections of poetry entitled *Kunj Peeleh Poolon Ka* (1985) and *Dhoop Apne Hisse Ki* (2005). Amongst others, she has been included in the prestigious anthology *We Sinful Women* and inspired the well-known anthology *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Feminist Urdu Poetry*. *Ishrat Afreen ki Shairi* was a book written solely on Afreen's poetry by respected senior novelist and literary critic Mr. Ikram Barelvi. Additional work has been published on Afreen by Rukhsana Ahmed. Her work has been translated into English, Japanese, Sanskrit, Hindi, Norwegian, and other languages. It can also be found in Urdu literature coursework at universities across the world.

Afreen was honored with many prestigious awards including the Sajjad Zaheer Award in 1986. Afreen received this honor on the 50th anniversary celebration of the Progressive Writers' Association of India in New Delhi. She also received the Ahmed Adaya Award from Urdu Markaz International in Los Angeles, California on December 9, 2006 after her book, Dhoop Apne Hisse Ki was selected by the International Urdu Jury as Best Urdu Poetry Publication of 2004-2005.
Afreen has been invited to attend many International Conferences and Festivals. She was selected to represent Pakistan in the Kavita Asia Asian Poetry Festival of 1988 in Bhopal, India, which celebrated the greatest literary minds from across the Asian continent.
In September 1999, she partook in the International Poetry Festival in Stavanger, Norway. Currently, she teaches Urdu at Startalk a program for international languages by University of Maryland and Department of Education.

Today, she continues to lecture, hold workshops, attend conferences and read her poetry at Mushairas across America, Europe and Asia. She resides in Texas with her husband, Indian lawyer Perwaiz Jafri, and three children.

Ishrat Afreen has graciously given Talmeez Fatima Burney and Sobia Khan Permission to translate her work.

Creative Statement:
The three poems, "Age of Sorrow," "The Messenger," and "Poetics of Union" were chosen by the translators because they reflect a strong feminist voice and a yearning for romanticism. Translating literary Urdu into English was a task that demanded attention to multiple aspects during the translation process. For one, understanding the nuances of Urdu poetry, particularly since Urdu poetry alludes to ideas indirectly by using words of the language that are variations of the original root word. Understanding the implied meaning at the word level, at the line level, and as a whole poem was a taxing task as little punctuation and stanza breaks indicate a shift in perspective and tense. Translating gendered nouns and verbs into English without altering the poet's intent meant that the translators had to decide whether they wanted to remain true to the original gendered source text or privilege conveying the general idea into the reader's target language. For example, "Age of Sorrow" is about menopause, the translators keep this in mind as they translate the poem while also highlighting the nuanced meaning of the poem. In each poem word choices by the translators reflects the overall message and tone of the poem. The translators have chosen to privilege the source text as they felt making too many liberal creative changes would alter the nuances and the implied meaning of the poem.

TRANSLATIONS

Poetics of Union
The poem which I wrote on you
That couplet written with my lashes on the pages of my heart
The poem which you wrote on me

Our relationship grew out of droplets of moist earth
That poem which is our embrace
And when it laughs in our arms—
The couplet at your feet
When it walks in harmony
I think that on this Earth
There is no other poet like us

The Messenger
It is a messenger
It labors to deliver messages
But what of the startled tearful eyes
Stagnant dreams
Placid lips
On which prayers become agony
Which words will transmit that message?

Age of Sorrow
A horrific news
Which I was denying from myself
this strange news
I was hesitant to admit—
a peculiar sorrow awakened within me.
From my beloved,
Avoiding his gaze as if
A crime had occurred within me.
Strange news
which my heart refused to accept
But bowed to reality.
The season of blossoming, the stem of life,
The time to say farewell is upon me,
That time when streams run dry
On the bed of which,
Thousands of creations were hidden beneath
river of life.

That boundless river of happiness and life
Sunken in the waste of Earth, decay of day and night,
Time which passed me by.
So I think as I go on
Let me ask my Creator
My Concealor
Protector of chastity—
One of your attributes is being Just
So why then this difference between me and my beloved?
In the chemistry of being?
Why is barrenness a punishment for me alone?
This proclamation of my destitution
Why this naked decree of my drought for me alone?
Oh, my Concealor, my Alchemist
Why this test of day and night for me alone?

دھوپ اپنے حصے کی ۸۷

نامہ بر

وہ نامہ بر ہے

اس کا کام ہے پیغام پہنچانا

مگر بھیگی ہوئی آنکھوں کی حیرانی میں

ٹھہرے خواب

ساکت لب

دعائیں جن پہ آ کر درد بن جائیں

وہ کن الفاظ میں بھیجوں

سنِ یاس

عجیب سی اطلاع تھی وہ

جسے میں خود سے نہ جانے کب سے چھپا رہی تھی

عجب خبر تھی کہ جس کی بابت

میں خود سے سچ بولتے ہوئے ہچکچا رہی تھی

عجیب دکھ تھا کہ جس کا احساس جاگتے ہی

میں اپنے محرم سے

اپنے ہمدم سے ایسے نظریں چرا رہی تھی

کہ جیسے مجھ میں کہیں کوئی جرم ہو گیا ہو

عجب خبر تھی

جسے مرا دل قبول کرنے سے منحرف تھا

مگر حقیقت کا معترف تھا

کہ شاخِ جاں پر گلاب کھلنے کے موسموں کو

وداع کہنے کی ساعتیں اب قریب تر ہیں

قریب تر ہے کہ خشک ہو جائیں گے وہ سوتے

دھوپ اپنے حصے کی   ۴۶

ایک مشترکہ نظم

وہ نظم جو میں نے تم پہ لکھی

وہ شعر جو میں نے پلکوں سے دل کاغذ پر تحریر کیا

وہ نظم جو تم نے مجھ پہ لکھی

جو بوند برابر رشتے سے نم مٹی میں پروان چڑھی

وہ نظم ہماری بانہوں میں

جب بانہیں ڈال کے ہنستی ہے

وہ شعر تمہارے قدموں سے

جب قدم ملا کر چلتا ہے

میں سوچتی ہوں اس دھرتی پر

ہم دونوں جیسا شاعر کوئی اور نہیں