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Looking at the Punjabi Language through a Researcher's Lens

By Fakhira Riaz and Samina Amin Qadir

It was a cold winter night and the sun had set hours ago, which triggered a desire to have a cup of tea at one of Islamabad's misty tea jungle points. It was the time when I was at the stage of selecting a topic for my doctoral research. Being in the middle of thinking about what could add value to the literature highlighting a key phenomenon which was taking place in society, I heard a conversation between the owner of the tea shop and his son. Their words grabbed my attention because there was not just one language at play. I tried to make sense as to whether it was code mixing/code switching between two languages, or perhaps the dialect of a local language or the words of a dying language. But soon the realization that a predominantly low-income, perhaps uneducated, Punjabi speaker was not having a conversation with his son in the Punjabi language made an imprint on my mind. It was at that moment that I remembered last year's birthday party for my best friend, Aleena.

It was the middle of September and I was anxiously waiting to celebrate the birthday of Aleena. I, along with my friends, made several plans to make it a memorable day for her. Finally, the day arrived when we all gathered in the front lawn of her house which was beautifully decorated for the party. After the arrival of the guests, Aleena cut the cake as all the guests sang the birthday song.

But, all of a sudden, a long, deep silence prevailed at the party when I saw Aleena being scolded by her mother. "What in the world are you doing? How can you speak that word? I just cannot believe that you are so ill-mannered. I always told you to be careful when you speak. You are allowed to communicate either in English or Urdu. Never, ever think about Punjabi language! Not even a single word! Don't you know that Punjabi is the language of uneducated people who live in villages? You have given me the greatest shock of my life by speaking a Punjabi word. I really wonder how and when will you understand!" I will never forget the birthday party of my best friend, Aleena.

Walking with the cup of tea in my hands, I thought about Pakistan, which is a land of linguistic diversity having more than sixty languages (Grimes, 2001). The Punjabi language, ranked in the top twenty of the world's most

spoken languages (Matthews, 2003), is the mother tongue of 54.6% of the population of Pakistan (Baart, 2001; Government of Pakistan, 2001). There are various dialects of the Punjabi language in Pakistan which include Shahpuri, Pothohari, Hindko, Malwi, Jangli and Majhi (Government of Pakistan, 2001; Masica, 1991). The Punjabi language is a rich and diverse language. It possesses a vast corpus of literature in terms of poetry and prose. The works of Waris Shah, Sultan Bahu and Bulle Shah are assets of the Punjabi language, for these great poets have conveyed messages of religious tolerance, mutual harmony, love, peace and dignity with the aim of enlightening the hearts and minds of the people. Apart from the works of famous poets and writers, the proverbs of the Punjabi language are an indication of its richness. The interesting and pithy maxims of the Punjabi language deal with almost every aspect of human life. But, despite its richness, beauty and charm, Punjabi is an unfortunate language in Pakistan (Mobbs, 1991) because it lacks the status and prestige which it deserves. The Punjabi language is the mother tongue of the majority of the population; Urdu is the national language of Pakistan although it is the mother tongue of only seven percent of the population (Government of Pakistan, 2001). English is the official language of the country, yet it is understood by just five percent or less of the population (Rahman, 2002). Because of the dominant place of English and Urdu in Pakistani society, it has been observed that native speakers of the Punjabi language, especially those living in urban areas, are consciously moving away from Punjabi, as it is not the language of communication, even among family members. People are learning and adopting English and Urdu which are considered to be the languages of educated and refined people. Instead of the Punjabi language, English and Urdu are the languages which are in the limelight as they are the languages of formal domains which include government, media and education because these two languages are supported by the government. Because of the state's overt and covert policies, English has become the symbol of the upper and upper-middle class; Urdu is the symbol of the middle and lower-middle class, whereas the Punjabi language has become the symbol of unskilled workers and the rustic, uneducated people who live in villages. Ideas of cultural shame and backwardness are associated with Punjabi (Rahman, 2002). Because of the low status of the Punjabi language in society, native speakers of Punjabi, especially those who are living in urban areas, are abandoning their native language.

For me, a language is a distinct attribute of human beings which differentiates us from the rest of the animal kingdom. The words of Aleena's mother haunted me like a nightmare when I finally decided to embark on an intellectual journey to explore the true status of the Punjabi language in our society in the light of the linguistic attitudes and linguistic practices of its native

speakers. It was at that time when I selected the Punjabi language as the topic of my doctoral research. I decided to conduct an ethnographic study of language desertion and language attitudes of native speakers towards the Punjabi language. During the course of this study, everyday linguistic practices of Punjabi native speakers were observed. The purpose of this study was to investigate whether Punjabi native speakers, living in the selected urban and rural areas, were deserting their native language. In the past, researchers have investigated the Punjabi language from historical, educational and political perspectives (Rahman, 1996; Mansoor, 1993). The uniqueness of this study was in the fact that the Punjabi language was explored from the perspective of language desertion by looking at its use in the informal domain of family conversations by its native speakers.

For my research, I selected Islamabad as representative of an urban area. Islamabad is the capital of Pakistan. It is situated in the Capital Territory on the Potwar Plateau. In 1959, the government decided to replace Karachi as the capital city and the site of Islamabad was selected for the development of the new capital. The construction began in 1961 and was completed in the middle of 1970. The task of building a new capital was given to Doxiadis, a Greek firm. Islamabad was officially declared the capital of Pakistan in 1967. Islamabad is spread over an area of 909 square kilometers. As it is a carefully planned and developed city, it is divided into eight basic zones: administrative, diplomatic enclave, residential areas, educational sectors, industrial sectors, commercial areas, and rural and green areas. Being the capital, it is the hub of government and bureaucracy. Famous buildings include The Presidency, the Prime Minister's House, the Diplomatic Enclave, the Supreme Court, the Shariat Court and many other important government buildings (Government of Pakistan, 2010). According to Gamma World City 2008, Islamabad has been ranked as a global city.

According to the 1998 census, the population of Islamabad is 901,137. It is a cosmopolitan city and people have settled here from different parts of Pakistan. Sixty-five percent of the population belongs to the Punjabi community, which is followed by the Urdu-speaking Muhajirs at around 14%, people belonging to Pashto speaking community account for 10.51%, and others (Sindhi, Balochi, Kashmiri) are 7%. Islamabad is surrounded by various cities, districts and towns from different directions. In the East, there are Kotli Sattian and Murree; in the northeast, there is Kahuta; to its northwest, there are Taxila, Wah Cantt and Attock District; to its southeast, there are Gujar Khan, Kallar Syedian, Rawat and Mandrah; to its southwest, is the city of Rawalpindi; and to its west is the North-West Frontier Province. Islamabad has a connection to the major cities of the world through its international airport. In addition, it has road and air links

to all the main cities and towns by means of the airport and motorways (Government of Pakistan, 2010).

Islamabad is known for its modern architecture, moderate climate, avenues, well- designed buildings, shopping malls, aesthetics and natural beauty. It has a lot to offer to its residents and tourists in the form of Faisal Mosque, Lake View Park, Shakar Parian, Pakistan National Monument, Daman-e-Koh, and Pir Sohawa. In addition to these beautiful sites, the majestic Margalla Hills give the city a fascinating look. It has a moderate climate with temperatures ranging from 45°C in the summer to -1°C in the winter. Islamabad has a high literacy rate of 72.38%. It is the center of a number of renowned and prestigious educational institutions. It was selected as the research site representing the urban side in this study because of its cosmopolitan nature. Five families residing in Islamabad were selected for the purposes of my research (Government of Pakistan, 2010).

The selected rural area includes a village near Gojra, a *tehsil* of Toba Tek Singh. This village was used as a research site to explore language usage among native speakers of Punjabi in rural areas. The name of the location, Toba Tek Singh, has its own historical background and significance. The Punjabi word “Toba” literally means pond and “Tek Singh” was the name of a kind-hearted and generous Sikh who used to provide water to poor people and travelers. Therefore, this place was named as Toba Tek Singh in order to acknowledge his social service and to pay tribute to the Sikh (Government of Punjab, 2010).

The district of Toba Tek Singh is situated in the center of the Punjab province. It is surrounded by Faisalabad, Jhang, Sahiwal and River Ravi. The district is spread over an area of 3,259 square kilometers. The major towns of the district include Pirmahal, Rajana and Sandhilianwali. According to the 2004 census, it is a densely populated district with a population of 17, 6257. According to the 1998 census, the literacy rate in the district is 50.5 percent. It has a higher proportion of males to females, 61.3 percent to 39.1 percent, respectively. It is further divided into three *tehsils*: Toba Tek Singh, Kamalia and Gojra including 539 villages and 82 union councils. Toba Tek Singh has road and rail links with Faisalabad, Jhang and Khanewal. Thirty-nine telephone exchanges operate in the district. As for power supply, there are twelve grid stations in the district. It is known for its fertile and productive land. The main crops grown in the district include sugar cane, wheat, cotton, maize, jawar, bajra, moong, mash, masoor, gram and oil seed. In addition to these crops, it has lush fruit gardens and is renowned for citrus fruits, guavas, mangoes and pomegranates. Vegetables grown in the district include potatoes, onions, cauliflowers, ladyfingers, turnips, carrots, peas, chillies, tomatoes and garlic. Besides an economy which is largely based on agriculture, the industrial sector makes a huge contribution to the local economy (Government of Punjab, 2010).

The village, which was selected for my research, is located in Tehsil Gojra in the district of Toba Tek Singh. The population of the village is approximately six thousand made up of 415 families. The residents of the village are provided with electricity, telephone, water, and roads. However, they are devoid of access to gas. In addition, there is no hospital in the village. Sources of income for the people are agriculture and other jobs. Famous crops of the village include wheat, cotton and sugarcane. The weather remains extremely warm from February to October, whereas the winter months and mornings are mostly foggy with low rainfall. In terms of local industry, there are many villagers who have involved themselves in the art of making carpets, which are sold in various cities throughout Pakistan.

The literacy rate of the village is 45%, including both males and females. There are four schools in the village: two government schools, Community Model Girls School and Government Boys Primary School, and two private schools, Paradise English Medium School and Faria Academy. Both government schools are Urdu medium schools, whereas the private schools are English medium. It was interesting to note the level of discrepancy in terms of school fees and uniforms between the government and private schools. In the government schools, the monthly fee of one student is one rupee, and the books are provided to the students by the government. On the other hand, the monthly fee of one student in both the private schools is one hundred and fifty rupees and the students have to buy their own books. The uniform code in both the schools is also different, as the students in the private schools are supposed to wear black trousers and a white shirt, while the students in the government schools are asked to wear *shalwar kameez* to school.

Before carrying out the main study, I conducted a pilot study. The purpose of the pilot study was to determine the accuracy, validity and reliability of data collection methods and review the process of data analysis, as the aim of a pilot study is not data collection, but to learn and experience the research process as a whole (Glesne, 1999). Three families participated in the pilot study. It was similar to the main study as I visited the people who took part in the pilot study and recorded their informal conversations and interviews.

During the course of the pilot study, I learned the art of interviewing research participants as part of real-life research studies (Roulston, deMarrais and Lewis, 2003) by carefully positioning myself as an explorer and not an imposer, and by providing them with the maximum time and freedom to express their own ideas and opinions (Wolfersberger, 2007). It gave me an opportunity to interview the participants in a natural setting and in a manner in which I made them the focus of the interview. It helped me to assess the accuracy of the interview guide

in terms of wording and content which enabled me to find out any possible loopholes in the wording, format and content of the interview guide, therefore increasing the reliability and validity of the various tools which were employed for data collection (Oppenheim, 1966; Glesne, 1999). The results of the pilot study gave me a better and more realistic understanding of the research process which included the time required for data collection and the techniques used in data collection and data analysis.

My research was an ethnographic study of the linguistic practices and preferences of Punjabi native speakers, living in both urban and rural settings, in their everyday lives. Lodica, Spaulding and Voegtle (2006: 267-268) define ethnography in the following way:

The word ethnography is derived from the Greek words *ethos* (“tribe”) and *graphos* (“something that is written”). Literally, then, ethnography is the science of writing about tribes or, to use more contemporary language, writing about cultural groups. Ethnographic researchers hope to provide rich narratives or descriptions of the communities or cultures under investigation ... It is a research method chosen when questions or topics are embedded in cultural complexities and the researcher wants to come to understand cultural reality from the perspectives of the participants.

Ethnography has emerged from a qualitative research paradigm as opposed to the quantitative research tradition. According to Miller and Brewer (2007: 99-100):

Ethnography can be defined as the study of people in naturally occurring settings or fields by means of methods which capture their social meaning and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting (if not always the activities) in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally... Several methods of data collection tend to be used in ethnography such as unstructured interviewing, participant observation, personal documents, vignettes and discourse analysis. In this way, ethnography tends routinely to involve triangulation of methods.

Fieldwork is at the heart of ethnography, as ethnographers are required to spend a considerable amount of time in the field in order to observe and describe the everyday lives of the participants in the midst of the research setting (Duranti, 1997). Ethnography is famous for its robustness as, “representing range of possible techniques, levels of analysis, and domains of inquiry; ethnography offers a holistic, grounded and participant-informed perspective ...” (Duff, 1995: 507).

On the whole, ten families, five from the urban area and five from the rural area, participated in the study. Ten participants, five representing the urban

and five representing the rural area, were interviewed. The participants were selected on the basis of their educational level, marital status, monthly income, occupation, family background and the amount of land owned. The age of the participants ranged from 33 to 45 years old. All of the participants were married and they all had similar educational backgrounds, as all of them were graduates holding a bachelor's degree.

Selection of participants is always a daunting task in any research project. At the outset, I thought of doing purposive sampling but, being aware of the risk of selecting a biased sample, I went in favour of snowball sampling which highlights the emerging nature of qualitative research design. I consciously tried to include participants who, I believed, would be able to offer diverse views in the light of their educational backgrounds and varied life experiences. Therefore, I contacted my friends and colleagues who identified suitable participants for the study who, in turn, identified other possible participants for my research. Later on, I contacted the identified participants and explained the nature and purpose of the study after which they expressed their willingness to take part in the study. The selection of participants through contacts helped me in recording their informal conversations and in conducting interviews with a certain level of trust and confidence was established between the researcher and the participants.

In accordance with the tradition of ethnographic research, I had to visit the families and spend considerable time with them. The nature of the research demanded that I observe and record the linguistic practices and language choices of my research participants in the domain of family conversations. Visiting the research sites personally allowed me to collect data which was firmly grounded in the participants' natural environments and contexts. It also familiarized me with the setting and background of the families. In addition, it also provided me with an opportunity to communicate and interact with the people of the community who were not a part of this research. At times, the families also invited me as a guest to their family functions and gatherings which gave me an opportunity to observe my participants in diverse natural settings of their everyday lives.

Before I left for the village, I had various preconceptions of it and its inhabitants. I was thinking about a very different lifestyle and, primarily, I was worried about dealing with the villagers. For me, just to think about traveling from the modern city of Islamabad to a village in the district of Punjab was an intimidating thought. When I entered the village, the sharp contrast between the people and lifestyle of Islamabad and that of the selected village was a mixed experience for me. However, the most amazing thing for me to experience was a sense of calmness, peace, serenity and slowness in the environment of the village. In the modern 21st century, technology-driven world, life is fast and many of us

cannot afford to be slow. It was, then, interesting for me to experience the slow lifestyle of the villagers, which was soothing in nature. I spent a lot of time sitting beside the canal listening to the musical sound of flowing water. I saw various of birds which I had never seen before.

The first visit to my participants' home was informal in nature as I introduced myself and I encouraged the family members to talk about themselves and their lives in general. Later on, I explained to them the topic and purpose of my study and their role in it. After discussing the research, I asked them whether they were willing to participate. After seeking their approval, I ensured them that they would be treated with respect and dignity. They would be allowed to express their ideas freely. The interviews would be conducted in a very friendly and cordial atmosphere. Pseudonyms would be used to protect their identities. I sought their permission to record the interviews and informal conversations for my research purposes and all of them willingly agreed. At the end of this initial meeting, I finalized the time to visit their house to observe their language practices and to conduct semi-structured interviews. I selected the venue for the interview after consulting my research participants, giving priority to their comfort and ease. All the participants agreed on giving interviews in their homes although the "informal ethnographic interview," as Agar (1980: 90) terms it, can be held anywhere, as there is no restriction on the setting. In the words of Agar (1980: 90):

You might ask informal questions while working with an informant on a harvest; you might ask during a group conversation over coffee; or you might ask while watching a ceremony. If used with tact, the strategies [...] can add to your ability to give accounts while doing minimal harm to the natural flow of events into which your questions intrude.

When I visited the homes of the research participants for the first time for collecting data, the parents introduced me as a close family friend to their children. They told their children that I would be a part of their family for some time. I noticed that in a couple of rural families, the children were apprehensive at the first. They consciously refrained from talking and playing in my presence which created problems for me, as I went there to see them talk! After a couple of visits, I started taking part in their everyday activities in order to gain their trust. Duranti says (1997: 89): "The observation of a particular community is not attained from a distant and safe point but by being in the middle of things, that is, by participating in as many social events as possible." So, I was a participant in the whole process as well, rather than just a formal, neutral and objective observer/researcher.

During the first phase of data collection, I decided to start with observing the participants in a natural setting because I wanted to look at their language

usage, choices and preferences before conducting the interviews. Observations are either structured according to a predetermined pattern or they are usually open and informal. In informal and open observation, the researcher, first of all, starts with a detailed and comprehensive discussion of the setting, people, events and incidents; thus, he/she paints a general picture of the research site. After painting a general picture, he/she moves on to particular events, actions and behaviors which are closely related with the phenomenon under investigation (Gillham, 2000). I started with informal and open observations in which I noted all the major and minor details about the people and their lifestyle. Later on, I observed the language which the family members used to communicate with one another. In particular, I observed the language which the parents used to talk to their children and the medium of communication among the siblings. I observed and audio recorded their language usage during the dinnertime and teatime settings.

The importance of accurately recording the verbal interactions of the participants in ethnographic research cannot be denied. Johnson (1992) highlighted three main methods: note taking, audio recording and video recording. In the course of my research, I relied on audio recording as a method of recording the utterances of my research participants. A tape recorder was used to record their conversations. I took my research diary with me as well in order to take notes on the details of their conversations and my personal feelings and reactions to various situations. The themes and insights, which emerged as a result of participant observation, helped me in an in-depth understanding of the language choices and preferences of my participants. Observations also proved helpful in verifying the data, which was generated as a result of the interviews, because it clearly revealed what people said and what people actually did. In short, observations helped in highlighting the discrepancy, if it existed, between the actions and thoughts of the research participants (Gillham, 2000).

After recording the informal conversation, I conducted interviews which lasted from one to one and a half hours. I made an interview guide which was in front of me while interviewing. Although the interviews were semi-structured, I still developed an interview guide which aimed at gathering answers to the major questions and concerns of this research. These questions helped me in gaining a better understanding of particular speech events. Furthermore, this approach enabled me to represent, "the world of [my] interviewees accurately, vividly and convincingly" (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 261) and to collect the data from which I could, "select ... many quotes, examples and illustrations that make [my] case most convincing" (ibid: 261). These interviews allowed the, "respondent(s) to move back and forth in time – to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 273). However, I was flexible

enough to allow the participants, if required, to freely share their emotions and experiences. The interview guide served as a regular reminder during the interview so that I would not miss important points.

In each family, the parents were interviewed. The interview questions were open-ended so that the respondents had the freedom to express their ideas and feelings. The interviews focused on the everyday language practices of the research participants in different settings and contexts. Since the interviews were semi-structured, I gave them enough time to share their personal experiences with me. The participants were encouraged to respond in the language with which they were most comfortable. Almost all of them responded either in English or Urdu in the urban setting; conversely, all the participants, except one, from the rural area responded in Urdu. The language which I used during the interview was Urdu. I audio recorded the interviews. After each interview, I wrote notes with the aim of capturing the minutest details of the interview. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995: 40) highlighted the importance of writing notes immediately after each interview saying that doing so results in enriching data. In their words, "Over time, people forget and simplify experience; notes composed several days after observation tend to be summarized and stripped of rich, nuanced detail." I made an extra effort to include all the relevant details in my notes. Later on, I transcribed the interviews for the purpose of analysis.

Interviewing, particularly in the rural area, was challenging for me as a researcher as the people had conventional, traditional lifestyles due to a limited access to education and modern technology. The urban participants were eager to share their views at length, whereas the participants from the rural area were doubtful about the significance and relevance of their answers. They repeatedly asked whether their answers were correct. They were hesitant to open up during the interview as well. As a result, the number of meetings I had with the rural participants for interview was much higher than those which I arranged with the urban participants. But after my explanation of the purpose of the study, they willingly expressed their views. Recording the informal conversation of participants in the rural area was rather complicated due to privacy concerns of the participants. However, once I assured them that the recording would be used for research purposes only, they allowed me to make audio recordings.

During the course of the study, my aim was to find the truth behind the words of Aleena's mother and the conscious effort of the owner of that teashop to speak in a mixed language with his son. After conducting this research, I became aware of how different socio-political ideologies and factors work to change the perspective of people about a particular language---Punjabi in this case---in order to serve the interests of an already privileged group in society.

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- Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)
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Riaz and Qadir

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The Notes of a New Harp: Tracing the Evolution of Pakistani Poetry in English

By Asma Mansoor

Biography

As a Lecturer in the Department of English at the International Islamic University, Islamabad, I have, over the last five years, had exposure to reading as well as teaching both English Literature and World Literatures in English to undergraduate students of English literature. This has enabled me to appreciate the inter-connections amongst different forms of literature, an appreciation that has further been strengthened by my own endeavours to compose poetry in English. Pakistani Literature in English, being a burgeoning field, has offered me an interesting dimension of research because of the plurality of patterns that it offers.

Introduction

Pakistan has been a melting pot of various cultures, religions and ideologies which have all been sublimated into the crystalline residuum of literatures in various languages. With a luxuriant cultural substratum, the literature produced here displays a dazzling variety. Urdu, Hindi, Pashto, Panjabi, Sindhi literature, etc., each in its own right flaunts a rich literary heritage. However, this development has not been restricted to the indigenous literatures of the land alone. Interestingly, Pakistani Literature in English has also evolved into a widening genre that is winning critical acclaim and is also becoming the object of scrutiny under the microscope of various literary theories. While Pakistani writers of fiction in English have monumentally chiselled their names on the international literary scene, Pakistani poets writing in English have yet to crest to the same prominence. However, some poets have left a far-reaching impact on the literary spectrum, enabling aspiring Pakistani poets in English to follow in their footsteps.

While analyzing the development of Pakistani poetry in English, this study will undertake a historical analysis of the evolution of the Pakistani poet's identity and style across the various political and cultural vicissitudes of time up to the contemporary era. In doing so, it will bring to the spotlight the works of not only

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

established and internationally renowned Pakistani poets in English but also the emerging “rhymesters” (Raffat 2) who are molding and re-shaping the English language in conjunction with the various linguistic, regional, political and intellectual alterations that are defining the current times.

The Colonial Past and the Burgeoning of Muslim Exceptionalism

The origins of Pakistani Literature in English go back to the pre-Independence Muslim exceptionalism in the Indian Sub-Continent and its various stages. The War of Independence in 1857 became a litmus test for the survival of the Muslims in India since they faced the danger of a cultural erasure through the policies of Macaulay which disseminated the British culture and traditions at the expense of the indigenous conventions and living paradigms. As Macaulay stressed:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect (qtd. in Patke 57)

This resulted in fears amongst the vanquished Muslim community that their distinctive identity would be subsumed within an overarching *Indian-ness*. The “binary of the Self and the Other”, or the “politics of difference” (Masood. xix) which this newly developing socio-political order was propagating, aimed at not merely nullifying the distinctive history, culture, values, beliefs and traditions of the Muslims but in eradicating them completely. These fears of marginalization lead to the germination of “nationalism” amongst the Muslim community. Nationhood is after all about the self (Nag 4754). The Muslim Self too was constructed on the basis of an “assumed homogeneity” (Nag 4756) and endeavored to highlight its uniqueness vis-a-vis the “Other”.. Considering that they had been the rulers of the sub-continent before the consolidation of the British rule in India, they were naturally eyed with suspicion and disfavor. In order to dilute this scepticism and distrust that was visible in the hearts and minds of the British, the Muslim writers had to adjust and modify their styles of writing to carve a niche within the newly established system. The “public imperative” (Raja xviii) became the primal determining factor that compelled the Muslim writers to modify their language so that it could be accommodated within “the new hegemonic order” (Raja xxi). In the case of the Muslims, the delicate relationship between the colonizer and the colonized had to be cautiously handled as Masood Raja highlights:

This development of a political language also involved developing the concept of the 'other' within the language of Muslim politics. Muslims had to be defined as different from their Hindu counterparts. (Xviii __ xix)

In this backdrop, the "binary logic" through which the "identities of differences are often constructed" (Bhabha 5) had to be modified. The notion of preserving the "Self" as an independent, free, creative and distinctive entity took root and shape in the Urdu literary works where ideas, philosophies and ideologies were moulded within a paradigm of loyalty to the new rulers. The notion of the "Binary" however, underwent refraction as it traversed through the prism of Muslim consciousness and awareness. Their concept of the Muslim Self was based on its being a distinctive, diacritical entity, independent of the Hindus whom they came to see as the "Other". The Muslims viewed this separateness as being imperative for their inclusion in the "New Order". This distinction added plurality to the patterns of colonial literature that was generated by the Muslim literati of the Indian Sub-Continent since their compositions began to highlight the Muslim experience vis-a-vis its past that extended across a wide ranging historical and the territorial canvas. Masood Raja explains: "As Muslim literature took a utilitarian turn in post-rebellion India, it also drew upon the transnational Muslim past to question the present and to articulate a future." (xxiii). Like Janus, the Muslim writer viewed both the past and the future at the cusp of the present and this vision enabled them to recover the resistant voice within the language of power. This period of "unqualified assimilation" (Fanon 377) marked the beginning of a presence from the boundaries (as interpreted from the works of Bhabha and McLeod) with the aim of retrieving a lost history and re-shaping the present according to the requirements of the Muslim community under colonial rule.

Rising from the dialect of acquiescence as portrayed in Ghalib's *Dastanbuuy*, native Muslim literature of the Sub-Continent underwent various phases. Later on, Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan became the spirit behind the production of Urdu literature that endorsed the creation of a comprador class and was involved in the translation of Western works into Urdu to increase the dissemination of modern knowledge amongst the Muslim masses. Later on, through a subtle evolution, some works of Urdu literature devised their own vocabulary of resistance. Some Muslim writers like Maulana Hali highlighted the reformative dimension of Islam and its sempiternal significance in the amelioration of the Muslims while Shibli Naumani places the Muslim subject not only within the outline of a pan-Islamic history, but places him against a global backdrop. In doing so, the "subaltern" voice of resistance against colonial excesses is raised by Naumani but with an

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

intense focus on Muslim exceptionalism that later on led to the creation of Pakistan. The questioning Muslim native thus articulates his mistrust of the Imperial designs of the Raj and challenges its status as the upholder of an ennobled and ennobling civilization in very much the same way as Conrad questions Imperial dogma in his works highlighting the fetid, “imbecile rapacity” (*Heart of Darkness*) that permeated the esurience underlying the notion of the White Man’s Burden. Urdu Literature thus, rose out of dissent and modulated its own language of resistance and exceptionalism. This is, according to Fanon, the final stage when the native goes beyond being “disturbed” (Fanon 377) and finally enters the “fighting phase. The native, after having tried to lose himself in the people and with the people, will on the contrary shake the people... he turns himself into an awakener of the people, hence comes a fighting literature, a revolutionary literature...” (Fanon 377). While Fanon traces the rise of the native intellectual within the framework of Arab nationalism and the rise of Négritude vis-à-vis the works of Senghor and Aimé Césaire (Gibson), one can trace parallels in the rise of the identity-conscious Muslim literature in the pre-partition Indian Sub-Continent also. As Senghor observes that “independence” is in effect the “refusal to be assimilated, to lose oneself in the Other” (the Hindus, in this case), similarly, the Muslim Native refuses to be assimilated in the “Other”.

This resistance becomes more evident in the writings of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal vis-a-vis the connection between the Muslim and the West which gain an added importance as “revolutionary literature”. Through his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* and other works like *Bang-e-Dara* and *Zarb-e-Kaleem*, he is able to express not only of what lies at the core of his people, he becomes the “mouthpiece of a new reality in action” (Fanon 377). This adheres to a pronounced alteration in the “master-native” relationship very much as Gibson shows in the works of Senghor and Césaire. This relationship now advances to a philosophical offensive as the native now questions and criticizes the colonial masters and the inherent brutality of their system. The loss of Self has to be reversed and Iqbal extracts a panacea in the form of Islam as not merely being a set of dogmas but an entire mechanism of existence and conduct set into action. Masood Raja explains this development as:

The native is not just demanding inclusion within the colonial system; he is, rather, offering his own philosophical and political ideology as a solution to the problems of the colonial masters. This alternative against the dominance of the West is presented in the shape of a universal Islamic system. It is this system of politics and culture that forms the basis of his idea of a Muslim Nation. (120)

At this juncture, what makes the anthology of his lectures in English: *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, a pivotal study is the fact that while the Muslim intellectuals in the earlier phases of the colonial rule had allied themselves with their colonial masters to ensure the survival of their cultural identity, and also to gain easier access to the Western reservoirs of knowledge, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal makes a shift from this perspective. Not only able to highlight the flaws in the Western political systems and their clash with religious philosophy, he presented Islam as a system that is not confined within any specific time, “with a view to control the forces of history” (Iqbal: *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*). He, thus, endeavors to prove it as a living force imbued with the spirit of inquiry. In doing so, he does not mythologize his religion, rather he universalizes it as it has the fantastic capability of extending across the “hyperspace movement of our time” (Iqbal). Thus, the Muslim identity is not bound within a circumscribed creed or ideology; it acquires both a temporal and spatial transcendence. In identifying with this religion, the Indian Muslim becomes a part of a matrix that is much more expansive than Imperialism and in doing so becomes a participant of an ideology that is sempiternally creative. Iqbal explains:

As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe, and reaches a dynamic view. As an emotional system of unification it recognizes the worth of the individual as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity. Blood-relationship is earth-rootedness. The search for a purely psychological foundation of human unity becomes possible only with the perception that all human life is spiritual in its origin. Such a perception is creative of fresh loyalties without any ceremonial to keep them alive, and makes it possible for man to emancipate himself from the earth. (Iqbal: *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*)

In defying this earth-rootedness, the Self of the Indian Muslim writer is able to go beyond his colonial circumference and participate in a wider cultural and intellectual heritage: “an international ideal” (Iqbal). An important factor is that Iqbal does not glorify the past, since looking back can petrify: “... a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection constitute no remedy for a people’s decay.” (Iqbal). The Indian Muslim writer thus has to move onwards intellectually by carrying the heritage of the past only to generate a new, constantly mobile and regenerative culture that exceeds national perimeters. He has at his disposal the legacy of a collective will that is equally relevant for a multifarious assemblage and in experimenting with it he could generate vibrant literary combinations, innovative both in technique as well as in content.

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is not only remarkable in its philosophical and scientific approach, it can also be taken as a colonial document in which a native intellectual presents an innovative ideology for the natives couched in the language of the masters without undergoing "Westoxification" (Patke 58). In doing so, his message was able to permeate beyond the boundaries of the Sub-Continent and create ripples in various intellectual nuclei of the Eurocentric world of the 1930s, a time when India's efforts to gain independence had gained momentum.

Interestingly until 1947, the time when the Indian Sub-Continent was divided into India and Pakistan, many fiction writers in English had also highlighted the plight of the Natives under Colonial rule. Ahmed Ali sketched the discrimination that was being generated by the colonial rule and like Maulana Hali, he deplored the inertia that lay at the heart of the Muslim community in his short story 'Our Lane'. As a reader, one notices a blending of both the indigenous and foreign literary trends, since the story is both thematically and stylistically reminiscent of the Modernist trends of writing that were a hallmark of numerous English literary writers like Lawrence and Eliot. Mumtaz Shah Nawaz's novel *The Heart Divided* highlights the heart-wrenching journey that led to the division of the Sub-Continent from an educated, revolutionary woman's viewpoint. This novel too integrates the history and culture of both the Hindus and the Muslims as the writer tries to dissect history and extract an objective understanding of this calamitous event.

However, unlike fiction in English produced by Indian Muslim writers, contributions are negligible in the field of poetry in English written from the perspective of a monumental Indian Muslim minority at the time of the Partition. However, in the future, poetry in English would gradually take wing in the infant Pakistan.

Post-colonial Pakistani Poetry in English

The departure of the British from the Sub-Continent did not mean that the remnants of the Colonial rule would also be erased. While the British left, they left behind a new creed of Brown "Sahibs" to rule and govern the inchoate country. While Pakistan would have invisible, class-based lines drawn across its social topography, a love-hate relationship with the English language would emerge, with some considering English as a colonial hangover and yet coveting the progress and the social elevation an acquisition of this language ensured. As with all post-colonial poetry, this "assimilation and resistance" (Patke 14) led to

the creation of Pakistani poetry in English that was characterised by “care, precision and exactness in every word” (Jamil vii) and yet also absorbed the stimuli provided by the local culture. This literary grafting produced a variant form of writing that at times artistically deviated from the codified English. These trends, in turn, lead to an interesting mutation of the DNA of Pakistani poetry in English that did not only add interest and variety to it but also displayed the internal balance between “dependency” (Patke 4) and the “will to autonomy” (Patke 4). This, in turn, provided a domain to analyse how Pakistani poets writing in English were able to forge a unique sense of identity that graduated out of their colonial and pre-colonial past and was gradually promoted in time. Post-colonial poetry does not merely seek literary autonomy and liberty; it is in search of its own historicity (Perloff 89). This is where Taufiq Rafat’s notion that poetry should be written by those who are rooted in the earth on which it is written gains relevance.

In order to trace the evolution of Pakistani poetry in English, this article undertakes the task of evaluating the works of Taufiq Rafat (1927-1998), Daud Kamal (1935-1987), Zulfiqar Ghose (1935-), Alamgir Hashmi (1951-) and Sardar Aseff Ahmed Ali (1947-). It also moves on to female poets i.e. Soofia Ishaque, Shadab Zeest Hashmi, Shabnam Riaz and Ilona Yusuf since many female poets are currently making their presence felt on the scene of Pakistani poetry in English. Taufiq Rafat, Daud Kamal, Zulfiqar Ghose, Alamgir Hashmi, on the other hand, have an established place and position when it comes to Pakistani poets writing in English. It is important to note that all these writers were born and bred in Pakistan, but Ghose’s poetry falls within the domain of diasporic writings since he has long been settled in the West since the 1940s. Another important fact to be kept in mind is that the rise of Pakistani poetry in English has been slow and gradual, primarily gaining momentum from the 1970s onwards. A brief forty year history defies any effort on the part of a literary critic to compartmentalize Pakistani poetry in English within the parameters of some literary movement. One can say that this genre is currently extremely malleable since Pakistani poetry is still endeavouring to forge a distinct identity which is based on not only its Islamic origins, but also on its colonial past along with its turbulent present. It is probably for this reason that it is difficult to identify the rise of any particular trend of writing in Pakistani poetry in English since Pakistani poets have inherited a *mélange* of traditions and techniques from both indigenous and foreign sources. In an essay ‘Complexities of Home and Homeland in Pakistani English Poetry and Fiction’, Muneeza Shamsie observes:

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

The universal nature of Islamic philosophy has meant that many Pakistani English writers have perceived themselves in international terms, yet identified with Pakistan... They are linked to trends in Anglo-American literature too, and that of Commonwealth countries where English was acquired due to the colonial encounter. So you have a body of work, created by a myriad of influences. Perhaps that cultural synthesis, the blurring of definition, is identity. (256)

This “cultural synthesis” is evident in Rafat’s poems. His first collection, *Arrival of the Monsoon*, appeared in 1985. One notices the simplicity of language encoding a wide range of experiences that branch out from the local to the universal. For example, in ‘Kitchens’ with a subjective nostalgia for a childhood spent in a rural kitchen that is “high-roofed” (Rafat 44) and “spacious” (Rafat 44), permeated with “the pungency/ of smoke and spices” (Rafat 44), he escorts the readers to a contemporary and sterilized kitchen that is both sterile and unreal, just like modern existence:

Chairs are insular;
they do not encourage
intimacy like slats...
We would not dream
of coming to this place
to savour our triumphs,
or unburden our griefs.
(‘Kitchens’ 45)

Needless to say that the vacuum which brackets the lives of the characters of *The Wasteland* seems to have noxiously penetrated the life of this Pakistani narrator as he watches the tradition of a joint-family system undergo deliquescence before the icy radiation of modern independence. Being a “man speaking to men” (Wordsworth ‘Preface to the Lyrical Ballads’), however, Rafat is less verbose and therefore yields a more direct but startling impact. Pakistani village life is featured in innumerable poems but this ‘ecological mimeticism’ or the “will to localism” (Patke 8) becomes an indicator that there is no doubt in the poet’s mind about where his identity is rooted. For iconoclastic “rhymesters” (‘The Time to Love’2)

Asma Mansoor

like Rafat “love is a country/ with its own climate” (‘The Time to Love’ 2) and yet in defining that climate he stands in line with Shakespeare of England as well as Waris Shah of the Punjab. When he admires the ‘Village Girl’ he reminds one of Wordsworth as he observed ‘The Solitary Reaper’, but at no point do the personae of the two poems get juxtaposed in their cultural identities:

there she was
tall and straight
as a sugarcane stalk
and I who needed
a measure of grace...
saw her standing there
straight and tall
laving the air
with such a sweetness
it was almost more
than a man could bear.

(‘The Village Girl’ 5)

Rafat’s poems are freighted with cultural insight. The melody of “red-arsed bulbuls” in Reflections, (Rafat 81) fills the air in his garden featuring shisham and gulmohars as he constructs a verbal monument that goes back to the antediluvian times when myths were constructed to give meaning to life and in going back to those myths, he connects with universal humanity. The same cultural images are found in the philosophical poetry of Iqbal as in his Urdu poems as in ‘Poppy of the Wilderness’ and ‘On the Bank of the Ravi’. This quality of creating cultural hybrids enables Rafat to connect with the bilingual readers in particular. Mina Farid Malik observes:

Audiences for writing in English ...are ones that are bilingual with a heavy tilt towards fluency in English, but nonetheless possessed of knowledge of the cadence and duality of meaning of “indigenous” language ... The bilingual reader

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

is beautifully situated, completely in on the reference, which gives literature in English its sense of deepness, of echoes because it invariably refers to a culture, a language, a context that has nothing to do with the shape of an L or the crisp click of a T. ('Oysters are Poets' 831)

As in all post-colonial poetry, the human past remains immutably immanent in the present. In unsealing it, Rafat transcends the local to tap into the common history of humanity and derives a universal commonality that erases the distinction between the Self and the "Other" even as "the drone of the homing jet/ pollinates all cultures between/ Hong Kong and San Francisco" (Rafat 87) echoes in the background. He thus satisfies Iqbal's criterion of moving through attaining a common, international ideal. It is the power of his words that prompted Carlo Coppola to observe that Rafat's poetry is "full-bodied and rich, direct and readily accessible to the reader's sensibilities and devoid of excessive artifice" (206). What is interesting for the readers to note is that Pakistani poets in English modulated the European models to become synchronous with the inflections of the vernacular. Pakistani poets in English also searched for poetic idioms that were closer to the speech patterns of the vernacular. This call to indigenization yielded interesting results in the domain of Pakistani poetry in English. Direct and simple in address, Pakistani poetry in English displays an interesting study as to how it has been shaped by the English language and is, in turn, giving a new shape to it.

With numerous cultural paradigms being the derivatives of the colonial era, Pakistani poets had an unchartered demesne where they could savour the freedom to experiment with the verse, form, rhythm and language since the English language offered many expressive resources. It is for this reason that one explicitly as well as implicitly notices the presence of a lot of English and American poets in Pakistani poetry in English. Daud Kamal is a case in point since his poetry is discernibly reminiscent of the Imagist tradition as in his poem 'Prayer-Beads':

Under
the shade
of a willow tree
where the river bends
in a rock-pool

prayer-beads rise
to the surface
from the mouth
of an invisible
fish.

(‘Prayer Beads’ 9)

Coppola evaluates Kamal’s poetry in the following words:

Kamal possesses a unique sense of history and recognizes the need for an artist ___ and indeed a country ___ to connect with the past. As if to contradict the notion that Pakistan came into being only in 1947, he links this present-day country to the rich, illustrious history of the area Pakistan now occupies and insists that we recognize the continuity and commonalities between now and then. (‘Some Recent English-Language Poetry from Pakistan’ 206 – 207)

With his first collection appearing on the scene in 1995, he plumbs into the “dumb throat of history” (Kamal ‘The Day Brightens Slowly’ 18) in drawing this historical continuum. That is why Kamal’s poetry is interwoven with local and religious imagery; of kingfishers and monasteries, of Hindu temples silhouetted by the glamour and mystique of the Arabian Nights. Yet his poetry over-arches into the present where the Arabian Nights have twisted endings that reflect the violent contemporary times:

Baghdad
is again on fire
and the leather bags
of merchant princes
trampled and torn
under the hooves of Mongol horses
(‘A Rotting Pomegranate’ 2)

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

Local history permeates the texture of his poetry as he compares huge boulders to “the elephants of Porus” in ‘A Ruined Monastery’ (15). Since words must preserve, that is why Kamal’s poetry displays bravura of references ranging from Pablo Neruda, Akbar Nama, Ted Hughes, Ai Kwei Armah etc as his poetry essays to enshrine the cumulative legacy of wisdom peppered across both the Occident and the Orient. Emanating from introspection and loneliness, his vision permeates the grime of the contemporary times of treachery and betrayal; where “Coke has replaced iced-sherbet” (‘A Street Revisited’ 17); to touch upon “the variety and complexity” (Eliot, T.S: ‘The Metaphysical Poets’) of modern civilization. Patke too iterates upon the “economy of means with which he manages to be suggestive without being tied down to mundane detail” (Patke 71-72).

Dealing with the same variety and complexity offered by the contemporary world, Zulfiqar Ghose, a poet of the Pakistani diaspora, too removes the cobwebs from the tomes of history. Writing from 1959 till date (his latest collection appearing in 2010), his poetry displays a gradual evolution in content, themes and style. His poetry is reminiscent of the Romantics, the Modernists, and moves on to the likes of Lowell, Roethke, Plath and Sexton. Ghose’s poetry displays the rhythms of speech synchronising in chorus with controlled and formal versification. The subject matter too moves from exile, deracination, “love, mutability, religion, politics, the conundrum of reality __ indeed, nothing new, for nothing in the human condition has changed since Homer, or, if you like, Rumi or Kalidasa.” (Ghose ix). For Ghose, poetry emanated as if from a circuit connected between two poles: of the native poets and the attraction for the foreign language. Hanging on the periphery, Ghose is able to penetrate the umbrageous mystery of the politics and culture of the Indian sub continent (including both India and Pakistan).

India was at civil war,
the crow excreted where he pleased. And I ,
reborn from a fairytale, saw bones charred
in mounds on pavements.
(‘The Body’s Independence’. 7)

For Yeats, the contemporary world “was no country for old men” (Sailing to Byzantium); for Ghose, India “was no country/ for princes” (Ghose 7). This sense

Asma Mansoor

of loss brings to mind the sorrow of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal ruler of the Sub-Continent as well as an Urdu poet:

Delhi was once a paradise,
Where Love held sway and reigned;
But its charm lies ravished now
And only ruins remain.
(Dalrymple 26)

Partition and the multiple reactions to it remain an important theme of his poetry. Ghose's identity seemed to have become a conundrum for him. Demanding independence, he was pushed to the perimeter; from a participant he seems to have become a cynical observer, "a stranger" (9)

... The troupe, grown
into a nation, halted, squirmed: the sets
for its act, though improvised, were re-cast
from the frame of an antique, slow-moving dead past.
(‘This Landscape, The People’ 9)

This troupe carried on performing in the social and political political circus. Guns and ammunition thunder in the background in ‘The Attack On Sialkot’ (11 - 12) an attack that was myth-enamelled in Pakistan, but to the narrator __ a sadly alienated observer who no more has a “Mecca to turn to” (‘The Attack On Sialkot’. 12) - the war is a grotesque travesty of the pilgrimage of the Hajj:

... from the air
the jets converged all month on Sialkot
in a massive pilgrimage, bloodier than
the annual sacrifice of goats and sheep.
(‘The Attack On Sialkot’ 11)

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

As Pakistan plummets further into the petrifying whirlpool of poverty, terrorism, extremism, natural disaster, all the time flapping its wings to remain alight, Ghose returns as an expat in ‘Silent Birds’ (63 – 64). Upon his return he notices the sense of loss and terror in bulbuls, eagles and parrots of Lahore: “not even a chicken’s peep now from the eagle’s open beak” to replace the “exultation” (64) that characterised the old days. Lahore is no more the city that inspired Iqbal to claim:

Rapt in its music, in evening’s hush, the Ravi;

But how it is with this heart, do not ask ___

Hearing in these soft cadences a prayer-call,

Seeing all earth God’s precinct...

(Kiernan 22)

In Ghose’s time, however, God’s precinct is devoid of spiritual illumination and presents a visage scarred by internecine conflicts, poverty and terrorism:

Bombs suddenly exploded at the World

performing Arts Festival in Lahore. My

family home shook as in an earthquake.

a day later came news from Bombay of

a terrorist attack on the Taj Hotel right

there opposit the Gateway of India.

.... A bulbul hopped across the lawn

and stopped, seeing me, flew away...

(‘Silent Birds’ 63)

The same consciousness of the changes that are taking place in Pakistan permeates the works of other Pakistani poets in English including Alamgir Hashmi, Adrian Hussain etc. A relatively new addition to the emerging corpus of Pakistani poetry in English is Sardar Aseff Ahmed Ali with his maiden anthology

Asma Mansoor

A Book of Verses: High Assembly of Sages. A politician by profession, Aseff Ahmed Ali's poetry lacks the control and power of Alamgir Hashmi's versification and Kamal's skill in constructing images, yet it is an interesting study since it encapsulates an interesting menu that includes politics, Hollywood heroes, nihilism, warfare, capitalism, genetic discoveries, scientific mysteries, existential dilemmas as well as mysticism that originates not only from the Punjab and Sindh but also from the intellectually fertile Khorasan and Andalusia. Like the Sufis of the Middle East he desires an ecstatic union with God. It is well-known that the country's poetic language owes a lot of its energy to the Sufi thinkers. Sufi poetry is imbued with a symbolic vitality of its own. Many critics believe that in Pakistan it has been used as a medium of resistance against authoritarianism.

In addition to the strains of Sufism, his work reverberates with Miltonic, Shakespearean and Shelleyan echoes; yet one cannot help noticing the influence of the Urdu revolutionary poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, as well as Dr. Muhammad Iqbal on his poetry especially when he augurs that "earthling's renaissance is nigh" (47) in his poem '*High Assembly of Sages*' which was published in 2009. The matrix of the East and the West that is energized with the collective energies of the literary works of the two cultures is markedly evident in Aseff Ahmed Ali's work. Intriguingly, his work does not merely absorb its colonial heritage, it also puts on display the influence of the American culture and media on the people of Pakistan.

In the post-Imperial world, where Pakistan is forging new roles and new identities for itself, the Pakistani poet writing in English too has to alter his theme and style in coherence with this global metamorphosis. Being anchored in a rich global heritage his work emanates from a Pakistani consciousness aware of its international connections and historical roots. Like Rafat, he too is conscious of the alienation and nihilism that has become a characteristic of the age, where man entertains "plastic dreams" ('Grand Hope' 63) inhaling the absorbing tylenol amidst "media screams" (Ali, 'Grand Hope' 63). Like Hashmi, Aseff Ahmed Ali tries to bridge the gulfs amongst the human race and tries to reconcile them on the mystical plain. 'In Cordoba', Alamgir Hashmi writes:

Near La Masqita

and let heaven's music fill in for light –

turn the shadows in the nave

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

back to the rows, people.

So you will not avert

the breezes from the Yemen

or your silent prayer

through this watchful arch of time

(to a God who will bless

without design, not convert).

(Hashmi A.)

Asseff Ahmed Ali sketches the same non-discriminatory omnitude of God's blessings in the following words:

Was all emptiness primordial,

First in radiance filled

Of Divine love's seal

Before the universe was willed?

('Dawn'. 136)

A bilingual reader cannot fail to observe that both the poems are vividly reminiscent of Iqbal again. One cannot help recollecting Iqbal's poem 'The Mosque of Cordoba':

Shrine of Cordoba! From love all your existence is sprung,

Love that can know no end, stranger to Then-and-Now.

(Trans. Kiernan 102)

Since the 1990s, Pakistani poetry in English has undergone a dynamic renaissance with many female poets emerging on the scene with powerful compositions and anthologies that illumine the world of the Pakistani experiences from a feminine perspective. These include Soofia Ishaque, Shahbano Bilgirami, Shabnam Riaz, Shadab Zeest Hashmi and Ilona Yusuf to name a few. New notes are added to the

Asma Mansoor

symphony that is constantly being generated by the poetic harp of Pakistan. Soofia Ishaque's poetry is structured in simple language that has the capability of constructing images in the minds of the readers. Reminding one of the imagists, she penetrates the crust of her elite society to reveal the bankruptcy within in her poem 'Dilemma' (99).

Diamonds on my
fingers,
with a bankrupt
soul,
I collide with
reality,
in minute eruptions
of consciousness.

A single sentence alternating in the number of words in every line, this poem reveals a remarkable control over language, its epigrammatic terseness camouflaging the depth of ideas that is conveyed. Social consciousness too permeates the works of Shahbano Bilgiram (born in 1973) and Shabnam Riaz as well. In her poem 'Buy My Flag' that carries Marxist overtones, Shadab Zeest Hashmi demythologizes the glamour attached with the Independence Day celebrations as a poor child sells flags:

Green and white, the colour of
Summer grass and jasmine,
... Contorted into someone else's
Dream of grasping a ten rupee note.
Buy my flag! Buy my flag!
So that I can pull myself out of
Searing flames of engine heat

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

And hellish gnawing need,

(Hashmi, Shadab 88)

In highlighting the ubiquitous pain of poverty, she speaks as a Pakistani disturbed by the vista of chronic poverty and exploitation that has surrealistically come to characterize her world. It seems to be the voice of a Pakistani speaking to a Pakistani about Pakistanis. This again is markedly reminiscent of the Urdu poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, as he highlights the issues of the average Pakistani on the streets. Extracts from his poem 'Dedication' grant this comparison a greater clarity.

Let me write a song for this day!

This day and the anguish of this day

For this wilderness of yellowing leaves__

Which is my homeland.

For the carnival of suffering __ which is my homeland.

(Trans. Shoaib Hashmi)

Ilona Yusuf 's collection '*Picture This Poems*' (published in 2001) is also an interesting addition to the corpus of Pakistani poetry in English. The daughter of a Polish mother and a Pakistani father, Ilona Yusuf 's work also explores the question of identity and self-expression from unique angles as in 'whispers' she tries to place herself in the background of the past:

... what am i but

echoes of moments in my past

vibrating against the clock of time

endeavouring to be freed and heard

to manifest the urgent

whisperings of my soul.

Asma Mansoor

Like many women writers, she also makes an effort to define herself in the light of her personal experiences and perceptions, as the consciousness of womanhood intrudes into her understanding of existence and the imagery of her poems, the way it does in the works of Maya Angelou and the Pakistani poet Perveen Shakir.

i'm like a candle
living in parts
snuffed then lit
then snuffed again
... loneliness wafts through me
Like the scent of roses
Drying on their stems
A whiff caught then gone
(‘prism’ 12)

The consciousness of being a woman is markedly present in her poetry, and brings to mind the Pakistani Urdu poet, Perveen Shakir. An extract from Shakir’s poem “Working Woman” brings this consciousness to the fore:

They all say
I am too proud.
That I bloom and blossom with the
efforts of my own sweat and blood.
Every leaf is watered by the sweat of my brow...
I am like a tall tree.
Yet within me there is an ancient creeper which sometimes ___
when the gales are strong ___
wants to find a strong branch

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

round which to wrap itself.

The speaker of Ilona Yusuf 's poem 'amazons' carries similar feminist overtones:

so can this century of
dissent dissection
discussion
break the charmed circle
of ages gone by
give the phoenix
time to rethink
woman
or will it be just one
forlorn forgotten chapter
in the book of tome
an ephemeral resurrection
of the Amazon?

In the manner of e e cummings, Ilona Yusuf does away with the laws of punctuation and capitalization to stress upon the effacement of her "self" in a chauvinistic society and also the continuity of her experience. There seems to be no beginning and no end to the quandary of existence. But her thematic forte is not merely her individual self and for her "not every poem/ can be a celebration" (Canto. 62). Like Hali, Iqbal and Faiz, she too perceives the flaws of her social systems again in a Marxist way. The Pakistani side of her personality is pronouncedly articulate as she explores the sham that democracy is for most Pakistanis:

so hail here the poor
hoodwinked by governments

that make a mockery of promises
delivered on public holidays
impassioned against the backdrop
of fairy light-draped buildings
bolstered with patriotic anthems
(‘democracy’ 60)

Urchins, beggars, the “persistently poor” (‘city’. 57), crows, monsoon, the Rohtas fort, the Karakoram, the ‘parawaanay’ and the ‘koyal’ (not Wordsworth’s cuckoo): all find a place in her poetry as her vision scours across the psychedelic contradictions of the Pakistani society integrating the local myths and perceptions about things. In ‘parawaanay’ she brings to the fore the traditionally perceived futile love-affair a moth has with a flame:

strange love affair this that brings
them scurrying in myriads from corners
as if beneath the earth they feel
monsoon’s breath caress their bodies
unfurling wings to rise in flight
and dance around the misty lamplight
come morning and drifts of discarded wings
bear silent testimony to their midnight tryst”
(‘parawaanay’ 129)

Shabnam Riaz’s poetry (her collection ‘*The Whispering Wind*’ appearing in 2005) too displays a similar social concern like Faiz, as the hungry “common thief” (‘What Hunger Is’. 59-60) steals leftovers and in the process is manhandled and humiliated. But for him and his, life is to be taken as a moment to moment struggle:

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

When looking up hot tears burned down

For his aching bones he did not care

Even through disgrace and hurt

He rejoiced to see his bag still there.

...All gathered around excitedly

As spilled the contents on the floor

Leftovers of meals so sloppily nibbled,

But a feast for the starving hopeless poor.

(‘What Hunger Is’ 60)

Although slow to rise, Pakistani poets writing in English have generated works that provide bravura of linguistic and thematic richness. These works display a stunning and elastic variety that emanates from the rich linguistic and thematic spectrum of the indigenous cultures of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. The ambit of Pakistani poetry in English is flexible as it osmotically absorbs the multitudinous stimuli provided by the contemporary world as well as its profound reservoir of history. Giving a general overview Mina Farid Malik observes:

We’ve enough poets working their quills to have a spectrum of style, subject and talent to choose from. When it comes to art maybe at the end of the day it doesn’t really matter whether one is part of a Pakistani diaspora... or living the Third World life... or what one’s politics or aesthetic is defined by. What matters is cadence, image texture. What matters is that a piece speak to some part of one’s soul, stir a memory, a smile, a shadow of longing or regret. That it “go where no road goes ... to bring you the sunrise/ the now in eternity”. (‘Oysters are Poets’ 835)

This article has simply endeavoured to highlight the variety of patterns that Pakistani poetry in English exhibits and the factors that have generated these paradigms. The canvas of this domain is expanding and with every passing day, a new note is generated that adds new dimensions to the notions of identity exemplified by Pakistani poetry in English. Starting from a notion of the ‘Self’ in relation to the colonial masters, the British, as well as their communal rivals, the Hindus, this notion of identity as highlighted in Pakistani poetry in English has undergone a monumental development as today’s Pakistani poets writing in

English need to address issues and themes in relation to their own community and also in relation to the global community which has intruded into the national realm of Pakistan. Therefore, the subject invites a continuous analysis and evaluation. As the sand continues to slide through the hour glass the harp continues to sing, inducting greater creativity into the ambit of Pakistani poetry in English.

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Elite Politics in the States: A Study of Bahawalpur Muslim League, 1925-1947

By Dr. Muhammad Akbar Malik

Although sufficient research has been carried out on different segments and aspects of the Bahawalpur State, the role of the elite⁽¹⁾ in the politics of the Bahawalpur State has yet to be discussed in detail. The present research paper deals with the elite politicians of the Ex-Bahawalpur State. An attempt has been initiated to highlight the role of the elite from 1925 to 1947, with an emphasis that how they supported the cause of the All India Muslim League (AIML)

During British India rule in the Subcontinent there were almost 562 princely states instead of any central or provincial administration.⁽²⁾ The States comprised roughly one third of the total area of the subcontinent and one quarter of its population. The supreme authority of the State lay with the British crown. In internal affairs, the rulers of the State were free to decide, abiding by the limits as mentioned in the treaties and agreements signed with the British rulers.⁽³⁾

The Bahawalpur State was considered to be an important sovereign state in Punjab. The Bahawalpur State had a special privilege as it was larger than some states of the present time like Lebanon, Kuwait, Israel and Denmark in respect of area. Its population was two times more than the total population of United Arab Emirates.⁽⁴⁾ Its rulers also enjoyed special protocol and titles conferred by the British since 1866 as they were accorded 17 canons salute and had special access to the Viceroy of British India⁵⁾ Bahawalpur state also had a separate mint to cast coins for its public and the facility remained intact until 1940.⁽⁶⁾

The widow of Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan IV (1859-1866) invited the British to run the State administration and to provide the safety of the sovereignty to her minor son in 1866; the decision to invite the British in this state marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the State administration. So, after the sudden demise of Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan (V) (1903-1907), his son Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan (V) inherited the throne of the state in 1907, at the minor age of just three years. The British Government established a Regency Council under the supervision of Maulvi Sir Rahim Bakhsh (1907-1923) until the minor Nawab grew up as a young man. This Council was responsible for state administration. Special attention was paid to the education and upbringing of Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan (V). He started his education from Atchison College, Lahore and completed in England. He had an aptitude for military affairs

and achieved several military titles, conferred on him by the British Empire. The Viceroy of India, Lord Reading (1921-1926) awarded total authority of the state administration to Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan (V) on March 8, 1924. ⁽⁷⁾

At that time, a political awakening started in the princely states of British India, coinciding with the freedom movement, which had already erupted all over the sub-continent. But the people of Bahawalpur State could not enjoy the political atmosphere in the British governed State, because they were subjected to a dual system of government overwhelmed by the British. They dominated the people of the princely states through Nawabs and Rajas indirectly. The people were forced to abide by the personal rule there. They could not discuss or say anything against the British Government policies and decisions, so the people of Bahawalpur state had to some extent be silent and peaceful, in spite of the political awakening in the Sub-Continent. Nevertheless the state enforced a ban on political activities in view of external affairs. In this condition, a law was imposed in the state on May 14, 1924:

“In the state premises, for any public meeting it will be incumbent upon the people to take a written permission for the same, 48 hours before the meeting, from the District Magistrate in view of the administrative affairs and on condition that the holders of the meeting will have nothing to do with political movements and campaigns, relating to the British Government and the state of Bahawalpur, which may lead to disturbance in law and order, or which may harm the feelings of any community and religion. The meeting holders will be answerable to legal proceedings, even after these conditions, if they break out a law and order situation.” ⁽⁸⁾

In spite of all this, the people of the state could not keep themselves away from being influenced by the wave of political awakening in the sub-continent. Like the movement for silken handkerchief, the Khilafat movement, the effects of Shahid Ganj Masjid at Lahore. The positive effects were also obvious in the political scenario of Bahawalpur. Especially the two elite personalities who showed courage and resigned from their jobs as Maulvi Abdul Aziz, Zila Dar and Ghulam Qadir, Overseer took initiative to show their powerful motives. ⁽⁹⁾ Other illustrious names of this series were Taj Muhammad Khan Durrani who supported the cause of Muslim League and showed their strong political vision. He was educated at Aligarh. They also graciously offered the net cash and food to the refugees for Afghanistan as their train stopped at the Bahawalpur Railway Station. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Master Abdul Hameed was also an enthusiastic worker and supporter of the noble cause as he wore clothes made of raw cotton, khaddar, and rejected the foreign precious clothes. ⁽¹¹⁾ In Bahawalpur State the first ever public movement was launched by the Hindu community in the rule of British Regency Council, when Sir Maulvi Rahim Bakhsh was its president. When the income tax laws

were imposed, the Hindus openly opposed and displayed their power and unity. The leader of this power display was a Hindu dignitary Mukhi Darya Bakhsh. In order to encounter the Hindu power display, the Muslim government officers also formed a reformist party *Moid-ul-Islam*, with a premier objective to launch development activities for the Muslims in addition to issuing a sound reply to the Hindus. The *Jamiat-ul-Muslimeen*, was inaugurated in 1925. Then in 1929, the Muslims launched two reforming movements on a smaller scale namely *Islah-e-Iteffal* and *Islah-e-Rusoom*, so, various political movements began to nurture under ground under the shadow of reforms movements in Bahawalpur State.

According to the prevailing law of the state no branch of any political movement or party of British India was allowed in Bahawalpur State. As a result some religious parties after 1930 A.D. by the Muslims of the state under the banners of *Anjuman Khuddam-ud-Din* (with the merger of the joint reform movements of *Islah-e-Iteffal* and *Islah-e-Rusoom*) in 1932, (which later on was converted into “*Hezbollah*”), *Hindu Sabha* by the local Hindu community and “*Anis-al-Ghuraba*”, “*Anjuman Nau Abad Karan*” and “*Anjuman Isha’at-e-Seerat-un-Nabi* (PBUH)” are worth mentioning.

In 1933 there was an incident involving the slaughtering of a cow and the Hindus arrested a Muslim as a result, which created an inter faith dispute among Hindus and the Muslims in Ahmed Pur East. Both the religious groups accelerated their political activities to raise their voice about their point of view and a grim situation was created among them. The Hindus were led by their frontline leaders Mukhi Darya Bakhsh, Bhagat Kanwal Nain, Lala Anand Verma, Khushi Ram, Girdhari Lal. Kewal Ram, Nemat Rai, Sobhraj and Murlidhar. Similarly, the Muslims had their prominent personalities leading them at this crucial juncture, including Maulvi Abdul Aziz, Maulana Muhammad Dawood, Taj Muhammad Durrani, Allama Arshad, Munshi Abdul Majeed, Hafiz Ahmed Yar, Maulvi Abdul Rehman, Abdul Hameed Rizwani, Faiz Muhammad Choorigar, Abdul Majeed Rehmani, Abdul Rehman, Chaudhary Rehmatullah, Master Abdul Rehman Ghazi, Munshi Muhammad Hassan Chughtai, Allah Diwaya, Haji Mehmood Hajjam and Malang Khan Darzi proved to be the motivational factor at this crucial point. Their sentiments, fervour, enthusiasm and consistency created awareness among the Muslims of the state and they started to raise their voice through the support of the political parties.

After 1933, two other religious groups of *Hezbollah* (earlier known as *Anjuman-e-Khuddam-ud-Din* as mentioned above) and *Khuddam-ul-Muslimeen* emerged and started functioning in their religious jurisdiction.

An attempt was made to establish “*Majlis-e-Ahrar*” in violation of the state laws. An application for its registration was put under suspension by the government. At last, under the pressure of public demands, the Government

established a Reforms Committee in 1939. This committee was assigned the duty of bringing about recommendations for reforms in the state. After 1940 the influences divided the people into two clear cut groups, *Jamiat-ul-Muslimeen* was launched as a representative of the Muslim League on one side, excluding the Nationalists and *Ahrari Ulema*. The supporters of Hindu Congress established a separate association by the name of "*Khuddam-i-Watan*". The state administration had a soft corner for the Muslim League, once the workers of *Jamiat* made an addition of Muslim League in brackets with their *Jamiat-al-Muslimeen*. It was strictly prohibited in the state to name their parties after the major political parties of the sub-continent in those days, but the workers of the *Jamiat* submitted an explanation asserting that the Muslim League was an English translation of *Jamiat-al-Muslimeen*. The government conceded to this argument.⁽¹²⁾ At that time "Bahawalpur State Muslim Board" was established, under the presidentship of Pirzada Salim Aslam, Advocate (1910-1967) and Sultan Abdul Hamid (1908-1951) was appointed its General Secretary. This association gained much popularity among the common public as well as the notables and dignified. It began to set up its branches in the state because sincere people like Mir Zahid Hussain, Hayat Tarin and Noor Muhammad Nutkani joined the board. The "NAWA-I-MUSLIM" of Pirzada Salim Aslam and the "INSAF" of Mr. Hayat Tareen helped the Muslim League to increase its impact on the people of Bahawalpur State.

With the approval of the Pakistan resolution on 23 March, 1940, a fresh wave of enthusiasm and excitement ran through the Muslims of the Sub-Continent and Bahawalpur was also affected with the flood of Pakistan's ideology. The practical reflection of Pakistan's dream was brought to Bahawalpur State by the students who were studying in Aligarh and Lahore.

According to the constitution of the All India Muslim League, the party had been organized in British India only. It was not considered necessary to launch it in the Indian princely states. Contrary to this, the Congress did not comply with the rules and it continued to patronize the Hindus of the states through its tributary party, "The State Peoples Conference". Front line leaders like Sita Ram and Jawahar Lal Nehru (1889-1964) used to preside over the meetings of this party.⁽¹³⁾ Under the circumstances, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang (1905-1944) established the States Muslim League after consultation with the Quaid-i-Azam. Its first meeting was held in Lahore in 1940.⁽¹⁴⁾

The representatives of states attended this conference; Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang was elected the president of this organization. The central office of this organization was established at Nagpur.⁽¹⁵⁾ This organization also decided that the conference of the state Muslim League, in the future, would be held in the city in which the annual session of the Muslim League was to be held. A great advantage

of this resolution was that both the Muslim Leagues though apparently separate, became a single entity, in this way, the Muslims of Indian states and British India got one platform of the Muslim League. Accordingly, the Muslims of the state performed a remarkable role in the struggle for the creation of Pakistan under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Within no time the All India States Muslim League established through the good offices of Quaid-i-Azam turned into the voice of the Muslims of the princely states of India. The other associations of the Muslims States started to join it. In this connection the Bahawalpur State did not lag behind. When the delegates of all the States joined the Muslim League, the State represented itself through Abdul Majeed Khakwani, as its first delegate. Similarly, Anwar-al-Rab Gulzar Karimi was also nominated to represent Bahawalpur in the working session of All India State Muslim League (AISML) in 1942. ⁽¹⁶⁾

Hence a race started as a trend among the Muslim princely states to join the AISML after the state of Bahawalpur joined the party. In this connection, Mr. Hayat Tareen wrote a letter to Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang to allow him to open a branch of the Muslim League, or get it affiliated with All India States Muslim League. He received a reply from Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang on 6 Rabi-ul-Sani 1361 A.H. In this letter he asked him if there existed any other Muslim association which might cause a division in the unity of the Muslims of the State. He also advised him to get his party affiliated with States Muslim League, and contact Maulvi Mahmood-ul-Hassan Siddique, Secretary AISML, and get the details of it from him. ⁽¹⁷⁾ Likewise the *Jamiat-al-Muslimeen* attempted to get itself affiliated with AISML through Anwar-ul-Rab. He got a reply from Bahadur Yar Jang on June 4, 1942. In this letter he asked him to contact the Secretary, AISML, Bhopal, ⁽¹⁸⁾ but he did not succeed in his attempt. In the same way Sheikh Abdul Rashid Abdul Quddus Siddiqui from Bahawal Nagar wrote a letter to Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang on May 16, 1944 for assistance of the State Muslims through the platform of the States Muslim League. He received a reply from him on June 25, 1944, “with an exhortation to consolidate the internal unity of his organization”. ⁽¹⁹⁾

During this period, the Bahawalpur State administration issued a Royal command to control the public unrest under Public Societies Act on April 25, 1942. “Accordingly, even any Society could not be established without the permission of the Provincial Government. Even the already established societies would cease to exist from the issue of this act. For the permission of their continuance, a renewal would have to be submitted within 30 days of the Act”. ⁽²⁰⁾

The Bahawalpur State Muslim Board had become a popular organization since its inception. Its founder, Pirzada Salim Aslam applied to the State administration for the establishment of the Muslim League. This application was

rejected due to the newly imposed Societies Act. Another problem for the State was that if the inception of this party was permitted, the Congress could also not be prevented from organizing and establishing its party. It would add to the political unrest in the State. Under these circumstances, the Secretary Muslim Board, Sultan Abdul Hamid wrote a bearing envelope to Quaid-i-Azam on Nov. 12, 1946. The letter ran with the Statement:

“The Muslims of the State had framed a political party with the name of Bahawalpur Sate Muslim Board. It has acted purely as a political party by the name of Bahawalpur Muslim League; and its untiring efforts had enabled it to open its branches in the nooks and corners of the State. We in honour of the State Act requested the State Government to allow them to change the name of the Board as Bahawalpur State Muslim League. But the said permission is being still awaited. It was demand of time that the matter should not be delayed, it is decided by most of the people that without waiting for the Govt. permission, the nomenclature of the Board be changed at once. But as the Muslim League high command do not permit violation of law, it is in the benefit of the Muslims of the State to take no unlawful step. So yours instructions are urgently needed and all the Muslims are waiting for your guidance in this matter”.⁽²¹⁾

This letter was received by the Quaid-i-Azam when the freedom movement was in its last stage in 1946. By that time Quaid-i-Azam considered geographical position along with the importance of the State. In view of these conditions Quaid-i-Azam’s reply was:

“Secretary Muslim Board Bahawalpur, Your letter dated 12 November, 1946. Discuss in a friendly spirit with Bahawalpur Government. Wish you all success”.⁽²²⁾

This was the first contact of Quaid-i-Azam with the people of Bahawalpur State.

On account of its geographical significance, the State had to become a cause of dispute between India and Pakistan on the problem of affiliation. According to the independence Act of 1947, the Indian States were free to decide for their future. Quaid-i-Azam had a cordial relationship with the Amir of Bahawalpur, Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V and the people of the State. On the other hand, the Congress leaders had a keen desire to get the State affiliated with India through temptation and threats even before the partition of the Sub-Continent.

As a last resort, the Congress leadership tried to use the public of the Bahawalpur State for its accession with India. The local newspapers like “*Kainat*” and “*Sutlej*” were at its back. With the support of Congress, the leaders of *Khuddam-e- Watan* Party, Mian Faiz Muhammad Choorigar issued a statement for the accession of state.

“It is not good to announce the accession of the state with a blind emotionalism. The decision must have this consideration in mind as to what effect it may have on the future life of the people of the state. The rulers of the state should see to it as to which dominion will be useful for our future prosperity. We should see to it, how much canal water we shall have in addition to our present availability. Shall we have supply of water from Bhakra Dam; or shall we have our share of income in the railways and post-offices? How much facility shall we have in obtaining the essential commodities like cloth and sugar? We should accede to the Dominion which admits our demands. Whether it be Pakistan or India.”⁽²³⁾

The majority of the people of the state and particularly the leaders of the Muslim League of the State expressed an intense reaction against the intriguing elements. As a result, the *Jamiat-ul-Muslimeen* and the Muslim board were integrated. Both the organizations worked to uproot the propaganda of “*Khuddam-e- Watan*”. They launched a campaign for the annexation of the state with Pakistan. They unveiled the conspiracies of the Congress through meetings, advertisements and posters. The local newspapers “*Nawa-e-Muslim*” and “*Insaf*” played a very effective role in this connection. It was on account of their efforts that the 14 August 1947 became a gala day for the people of the state. They arranged processions and meetings from place to place. Pakistani flags were unruffled on buildings from Fort Abbas to Sadiqabad. In the meeting and procession of big cities, the leaders paid tributes to Quaid-i-Azam, and a demand was placed before the Amir of Bahawalpur to get the state to accede with Pakistan without further delay.

There were some misgivings at the time of the inception of Pakistan because the Amir of Bahawalpur Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V was not present in the State at that time. He came to Bahawalpur in October 1947. The accession pact between the State of the Bahawalpur and the Dominion of Pakistan took place with the signature of the Nawab of Bahawalpur on Oct 3, 1947. It materialized with the signatures of the Quaid-i-Azam on Oct 5, 1947. According to the provision ‘eight’ of this pact, the Quaid-i-Azam accepted the internal autonomy of the Amir of Bahawalpur.⁽²⁴⁾

SET UP OF MUSLIM LEAGUE AFTER 1949 REFORMS

On 8th March 1949, His Highness Amir of Bahawalpuri, Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan (V) announced new reforms, and according to these reforms, a state council comprising of 25 members, out of which 16 would be elected by the had to be elected by the local bodies, while the rest would be nominated by His Highness.⁽²⁵⁾

Two ministers would be elected by the council, while the rest of the cabinet would be nominated by His Highness, and the Prime Minister would be nominated by the Pakistan Government with the approval of Amir of Bahawalpur.

These elections were the first real test of the Pakistan Muslim League in Bahawalpur State, and it convincingly overwhelmed State League with a big margin and won 90 out of 118 seats in the Local Bodies and 44 out of 48 seats in the District Board elections. After these elections, the next phase to elect 16 member State Council. The Pakistan Muslim League once again won 15 out of 16 seats and displayed its superiority in the state politics. The Pakistan Muslim League celebrated this victory with great fervor and arranged a big rally under the leadership of first elected Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State, Makhdoom Hassan Mehmood.

CONCLUSION:

The above-mentioned discussion leads us to conclude that despite the ban on political parties, the educated elite class continued their political activities within the jurisdiction of the law. This elite group of the Bahawalpur State continued their efforts to awaken the people of State. They were successful to force the State authorities to introduce more and more reforms. They launched propaganda for the All India Muslim League and persuaded the public to join those parties supported by the All India Muslim League (AIML). It was due to their day and night efforts that Bahawalpur State ultimately acceded with Pakistan.

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1. Here elite refers to a small group of privileged people dominant at that time in Bahawalpur State, who had recently acquired modern education from English oriented institutions and conscious of their role.
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Agricultural Development in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Prospects, Challenges and Policy Options

By Muhammad Aslam Khan

Objectives

This study is spadework in its nature on agricultural development in the province, with hopes to stimulate the policy makers, practitioners and researchers whose daily concerns bring them in direct contact with the problem of lagging agriculture to do thorough work in KPK in the future.

Introduction

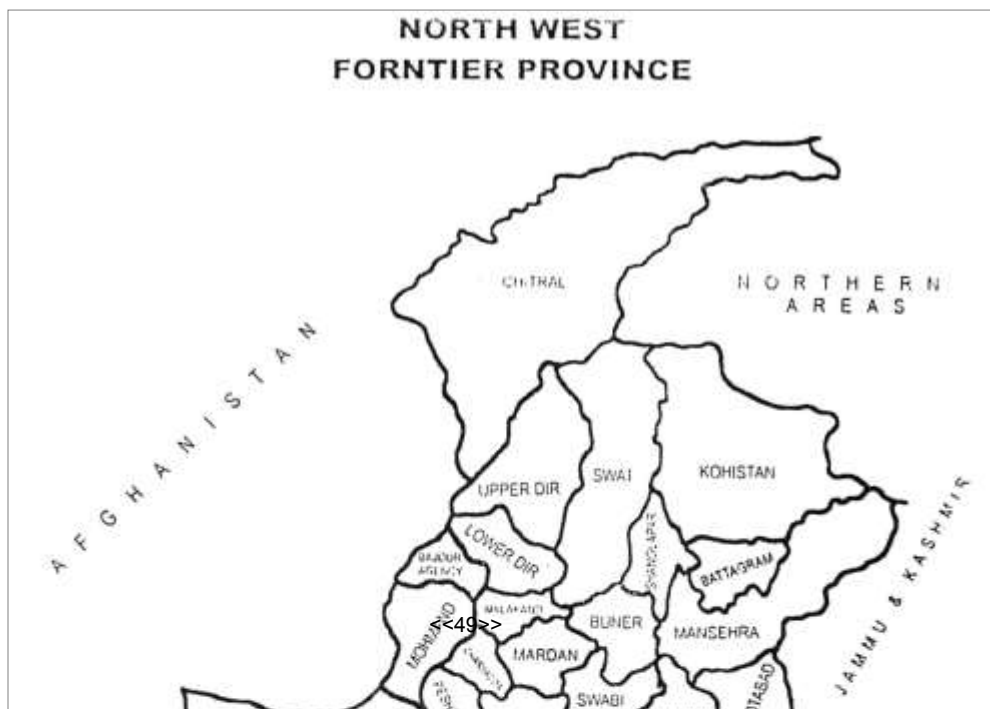
The province of KPK is situated between 31°15' and 36° 57' North latitude and 69° 5' and 74° 7' East longitude. The maximum length of the province between the parallels is 408 miles and the maximum breadth between the meridians is 279 miles (Room, 1991). It lies at the junction of three mountain ranges; Himalaya, Karakorum, and Hindukush. Kashmir and Punjab are located to its east and Afghanistan to its west; Afghanistan also bounds the province on the north, Baluchistan and the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab lie on its south (Gazetteer, 1991:1). It is separated by a narrow strip Wakhan from Central Asia and China (Government of Pakistan, 1991).

The province has three main geographical divisions: (i) the Cis-Indus division of Hazara, (ii) the comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the hills, constituting the settled divisions of Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu and D.I.Khan, (iii) and the rugged mountainous region located between these divisions and the border with Afghanistan (Durand line) known as the tribal belt (Baha, 1978:21).

This area has witnessed the rise and fall of some of the mightiest civilizations. It was the cradle of Gandahara and Hindushahi civilization. It has served as a corridor for countless invaders and conquerors—Cyprus, Alexander the Great, Tamerlain, Mahmood of Ghazni, Babur, Nadir Shah, and Ahmad Shah Abdali all crossed the famous Khyber Pass—and as a result historians and travelers have

taken keen interest in visiting this region. Islam entered the Northwest Frontier regions in 998 AD, with the conquest of the region lying west of the Indus in Subcontinent by Sabuktigin, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty. His son, Mahmood Ghaznavi, retained possession of his father's lands and further annexed the territory of Punjab for the Afghan kingdom in AD 1022. Several Muslim Pakhtun families, including the Lodhis, Suris, and Durani, have ruled the Subcontinent. Always the masses of this region used religion and narrow nationalism against centralist power and the incumbent regimes. Bayazid Answari and Khushal Khan Khattack were from Pakhtun stock and fought with tooth and nail the Mughal emperors. Faqir of Ippi and Haji Sahib of Turangzai were diehard opponents of British *raj* and later vociferous proponents of the Pakhtunistan Bogey. (Jan, 2008). KPK remained part of the Punjab during the Sikh Rule (1818-1849) and British rule (1849-1901). It was made a separate province in 1901, named North West Frontier Province, and became a full-fledged province in 1932. The region played an important role in the movement for independence of the Subcontinent, as well as during the Cold War era on account of its geographical location. It was through this path that the British feared Russian invasion. Perhaps this is why the North West Frontier Province has played the role of a frontline state. NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010.

There are 25 districts in KPK, bordered by seven agencies and five Frontier regions. It has many historical buildings and archeological monuments. Capital and largest city of province is Peshawar and other cities include Nowshera, Mardan, Swabi, Mansehra, Nathia Gali, Abbottabad, Kohat, Karak, Bannu, Tank and Dera Ismail Khan. The most valuable asset of the province is its unique cultural heritage that is thousands years old. Cultural history of the province is enhanced by the natural beauty of landscape. KPK is largely a mountainous region with large variations in the terrain as one move through the province.



Muhammad Aslam Khan

The districts of Peshawar, Mardan, Charsadda and Swabi are fertile lands surrounded by hills. As one moves south, the barren expanse of Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan come into view. Heading north, the mountain terrain grows more rugged, and the valleys more inaccessible. The Kaghan Valley is well wooded. Hazara is also mountainous, with fertile agricultural and forest lands. Dir, Bajour, and Swat are fertile and well wooded. The hilly terrains of Swat, Kalam, Dir, Naran and Kaghan are renowned for its beauty and attract a great many tourists from neighboring regions and around the world. Swat-Kalam is sometimes called ‘a piece of Switzerland’, as there are many landscape similarities between the two. (Wiki, NWFP: 2007) The province possesses fair prospects of becoming a major tourist spot.

The province is known for its devout Muslims who zealously guard their religion and culture and the way of life that they have been following for centuries. The primary language spoken in the province is Pashto and most of its residents are Pakhtun. Hindku and Saraiki are also spoken. Nearly all of the inhabitants are Muslims, with a Sunni majority and significant minorities of Shias and Ismailis.

The Province has a wide range of physical and climatic conditions. Though situated in a temperate zone, the climate of the province varies immensely from region to region. The average annual rainfall varies from 25 to 58 inches (Wiki, NWFP: 2007) Heavy snowfall occurs in Chitral and the Kaghan Valley, and a large glacier is a feature prominently in this landscape. Snow also cuts Chitral off from the outside world for most of the winter. Similarly Dir and Hazara are among the wettest places in Pakistan. The region south of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush foothills has a hot and dry climate, with summer temperatures quite high. This region is both warmer and generally drier than the rest of the province. KPK province is a mountainous region intermixed with the fertile valleys of Peshawar in the center and the dry plains in the south.

Literature Review

There are many works by eminent social scientists on every aspect of agriculture of Pakistan. Most agricultural economists have interpreted data from Punjab and Sind in their works. As observed by Mahmood Hasan Khan ‘the research problems of other areas, particularly Baluchistan and KPK, deserve strong commitment for at least two reasons, firstly its agricultural problems are in many ways more complex and intractable, and secondly there is the problem of grossly inadequate information and data on these problems (Khan, 1991:10). As regards the agriculture of province, aside from a few papers in local journals and a

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

number of reports and monographs from Mian Noor-ul- Islam (Mian, 1980), Muhammad Ahmad Khan (Khan, 1980) and others published by the former Board of Economic Enquiry present Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Agricultural University Peshawar, no thorough work has been done by any social scientists. So there is a need to fill the gap.

Research Methodology

In writing this paper, a descriptive method was preferred, involving the study and understanding of events and drawing conclusions concerning causes, effects, or trends which may be helpful for future planning. Data are reported as they were encountered; no additional data was collected by instruments or individuals. Most of the sources used are government-published or released reports, statistics, surveys, gazetteers, books, magazines, newspapers and periodicals.

Prospects of Agricultural Development in KPK

KPK and FATA constitute 16 percent of the population of Pakistan. Total reported agricultural land in the province is 13.89 million acres. Of this 22.23 percent is forested and 23.90 percent is under crop cultivation in addition to 22.49 percent cultivable land that is not utilized for want of water (MINFAL and JICA, 2002:2) The province and adjacent tribal areas have a unique distinction of highly diversified agriculture. The diversity of agriculture of this region is reflected in the map of agro-climatic zones of Pakistan prepared by Agricultural Research Council, where 6 out of 10 zones appear in the Frontier Province (PARC, 2002). Moreover, the province is capable of producing varieties of crops, fruits, vegetables, sericulture, floriculture, and medicinal herbs which are quite rare in the country.

The Kabul, Swat, Chitral, Kunhar, Bara, Kurram, Touchi, Baran, Harroah, and Siran are the main rivers flowing through the province. Karak aside, all districts in the province have easy access to the water of a river passing nearby or flowing through for irrigation. The Indus travels 200 miles in the province but little use of its water has been made agriculturally. With the exception of the Chasma Right Bank Canal (CRBC) and the Pehur High Level Canal (PHLC), no use of Indus water is being made in KPK (Baha, 1978:79). CRBC's water is partly used for irrigating lands in D.I.Khan and partly in D.G. Khan. It is astonishing that the Pehur Canal project was launched in 1960 and barely completed in 2000. It is irrigating a part of Swabi district.

Muhammad Aslam Khan

A National Water Apportionment Accord 1991 has allocated 8.78 million acre-feet of water for North West Frontier Province. The province utilizes only 5.5 m.a.f. Due to the absence of a canal fed by the Indus, about 3.2 million acre feet of the water of KPK is used by Punjab, irrigating five million acres in the province while not a single penny is paid to KPK as compensation (Statesman: 2-5-2008). The accord also allowed 14 percent of the additional river water supply including flood flow and future storage (Khan, 1994: 11).

Agriculture engages 48 percent of the total labor force and contributes 40 percent to the GDP of province (Nazir and Jalely, 1992:4). Wheat and maize are the dominant food crops of the province. KPK produces 8 percent and 60 percent of the wheat and maize grown in Pakistan. Crop yield per acre of food grain is far below achievable potential levels. Sugar cane and sugar beet are major cash crops. About 15 of the total sugarcane of Pakistan is produced in KPK, in addition to sugar beet production in Mardan and Charsadda. Sugar beet is a very efficient sugar crop and produces more sugar than sugarcane. Tobacco is another cash crop of the Frontier province and it accounts for about 90 percent of the total Virginia tobacco grown in Pakistan. The province has potential to increase its tobacco production. Tobacco is providing sizeable revenue for the government (Mian, 1980:40). The provincial income from tobacco equals Rs.50 billion and central government pays only Rs.7.2 billion out of this lump sum. (Frontier Post, 1996)

The present yield in province is only 23 percent of its potential due to a number of constraints faced by the farmers (Khan, 1994: 38). Climatic conditions and soil of the province are quite conducive for the production of fruits and vegetables. About 30 varieties of fruits are produced in KPK and orchards spread over 74,130 acres (Government of NWFP, 1996: 100).

As many varieties of vegetables are produced at both subsistence and commercial levels. In certain high elevations off-season winter vegetables are grown in summer, making many vegetables available throughout the year. There exists potential to increase per acre production of fruits and vegetables, as present harvests are well below other countries. Per capita consumption of tea in Pakistan is 1kg. Moreover Pakistan is the second largest importer of tea after Britain. The import of tea costs more than Rs. 5.9 billion annually, the second largest import bills after edible oil. (Zarat-i-Sarhad: 2009) Swat, the adjacent area of Hazara, and other areas in tribal belt are the only sites in Pakistan with 0.5 million acres land suitable for tea cultivation (Zarat-i-Sarhad, 2009). Tea cultivation has been started and tea-reprocessing plants were installed in 1990. About 2000 acres land in Shinkhari and Khuzakhela is under tea cultivation. Huge profit could be earned

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

and disguised unemployment could be cured by cultivation of this low cost production crop in the tribal areas, Mansehra and Swat (PARC, 2002). Vast natural groves of wild olives are in the province, which can be converted to improved varieties. This can be converted into a source of high quality oil without scarifying cropped area. Similarly Soya bean can be produced both as a sole crop as well as intercropped in orchards.

The province also has a vast grazing area along with the capacity to produce every kind of feed required by dairy animals. Therefore the livestock sector occupies a key place in agriculture. Its contribution to the agricultural economy is 44 percent of employment and 20 percent total agricultural income in the province (Khan, plan of action under FES). The contribution of KPK to total production of livestock has declined from 19 percent of total production of Pakistan in 1950s to 12 percent in 2005. (Khan, 2005:135)

Despite nearly 70 percent of the land area of KPK and FATA being mountainous and unfit for efficient productive agriculture there are also unique opportunities. KPK is home to about 40 percent of Pakistan's Forest. About 3 million acres of forest land is situated in Hazara, Dir, Swat, Chitral, and Kohistan. A minimum of 3.5 billion cubic feet of timber is obtained from it yearly, accounting for more than 250 billion rupees. (Frontier post, 1996)

The province is blessed with some of the most exquisite areas in the world, where the beauty of the natural environment, the abundance of scenic spots, and a host of recreational outlets attract an ever-increasing number of tourists. There are also a large number of colorful traditional handicrafts based on local raw materials. If the tourism industry is properly developed, large numbers of foreign tourists could be attracted and provincial revenue could be enhanced by millions of dollars (Shah, 1995).

The varied geology provides enormous mineral wealth in the province but the exploration and development work has been very poor. Precious stones export holds tremendous potential for growth in KPK. The export of gemstones could be increased to \$50 million a year if proper modern technologies were used. There are 2 billion tons of marble deposits in Swat, Bajaur, Mohmand, and Khyber (USAID, 1993: 8). 78 percent of the total marble in Pakistan is mined from KPK. (Wiki, NWFP, 2007) Among various kinds of marble the Mullaguri marble deposits of Swat are among the best in the world, ranked with Carrara in Italy and Makrana in India. Due to the use of primitive mining methods, 65 percent of this marble is wasted during extraction (USAID, 1993:10)

There are more than 40,000MW of electric generation capacity in KPK on the Indus River alone. Similarly 20,000MW of potential is available on the Swat River (Dawn, 1998). Cost of production of hydro-electricity in KPK is quite low.

Challenges

For the last 150 years KPK and FATA have remained underdeveloped as compared to Punjab and Sind. In 1849 Britain established its hold on Punjab and the present KPK. Security of India from Russia remained pivotal to Britain's foreign policy. British-Punjabi cooperation continued throughout the period of imperialist rule (Ali, 1988:4). The dwellers of KPK and FATA looked upon the arrival and rule of the British as a curse and getting rid of them was considered the sacred duty of every individual, so they engaged in their efforts to expel the British. They resorted to armed resistance, particularly in the tribal areas, so they made slow progress and were less developed in various fields of administration than the cis-Indus districts of the Punjab. Their somewhat neglected condition might be attributed to the British Government being more occupied with the problem of security and law and order in the trans-Indus districts than with their socio-political development. The government used the FATA as a shield by means of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, and increased the effectiveness of both the British Indian Army and the tribesmen by the constant fighting. Thus no invader was capable of finding safe passage to India. The tribal areas were considered part of India but not part of British India, thus absolving Britain of its responsibility to develop and educate the tribesmen (Khan, 2011:49).

After independence the growth oriented policies of the government of Pakistan gave no priority to bringing backward regions like KPK and Baluchistan into the mainstream; instead investments were made on the basis of the proportion of population possessed by the provinces. According to Senator Haji Adeel, the KPK government has no control over its resources and is therefore unable to make progress in education, health, communication, agriculture, or industry. The provincial government has rights over only five percent of its resources, while 95 percent are controlled by the federal government. The province is dependent for 93 percent of its financial needs on federal and foreign support. During the last 62 years KPK has received only 4 percent of public development and financial sector funds, and 95 percent of these funds have been utilized in Punjab and Sind. The provincial annual income from hydro-electricity sums Rs.25 billions while the federal government is paying only Rs.6 billion (Statesman, 2008). The present

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

government, through the new NFC award of 2009, has addressed the problems of smaller provinces to some extent.

Four factors shape the main development challenges for KPK and adjacent Federally Administered Tribal Area.

(i) A front line state role

As a result of regional, national, and international politics, the history of KPK and FATA has been turbulent, which has kept economy of these regions in deficit from the very beginning. Seven agencies and seven frontier regions possessed of over 10 million people and about 27220 sq km comprise the province (MINFAL and JICA,2002:). Strict observance of religion and adherence to cultural codes and values contribute to socio-economic stagnation. The poverty-stricken ignorant masses of the Frontier province, with their warlike temperament, have been always at daggers drawn with the ruling circle at the center. The passes and valleys inhabited by the Pakhtun masses have echoed with the gunfire of freedom fighters and their resistance against central government from the days of Mughals to the present. Religion and self-respect played the role of catalysts in the political affairs of the region and in spearheading their struggles against the rulers (Jan, 2008).

The rigid stance of the tribesmen against the administration has hindered development work in the region. Their behavior towards the construction of canals was not friendly. During the British period while the government was busy digging canals in the province, the work sites were attacked by mobs and the government deployed security guards to these sites. This raised the cost of these projects considerably. The government used force to subdue the uprisings and did nothing to ameliorate the socioeconomic condition of the people, which could have turned the turbulent masses into faithful citizens (Baha, 1978:79).

Pakistan's growth strategy from the very beginning has been to achieve growth by raising the saving level and to increase investment levels. The main source of investment was foreign aid in the post-independence era. They were made in already developed areas (agriculturally and industrially) of the Indus basin leaving only a few projects for the remote agricultural area of KPK and Baluchistan (Zingel, 1982:268). Investments were made on the basis of proportion of population possessed by the province and no priority was given to bringing backward regions like KPK and Baluchistan into the mainstream. According to State Bank of Pakistan data released in the mid-nineties; KPK received only 4.9

Muhammad Aslam Khan

percent of farm and 1.7 percent of non-farm loans, versus 81.9 percent and 88.9 percent of farm and non-farm loans received by Punjab (Frontier Post, 1996).

The perpetual war in neighboring Afghanistan from a sour revolution in 1979 to succeeding civil hostilities has used the FATA and KPK as a base. This creates uncertainty in the province regarding economic conditions. The inflow of more than 2 million Afghan refugees to the province has negative impacts on the environment, law and order, and the economy of KPK. The refugees have put significant pressure on the already less-competitive agricultural sector of the province. It has resulted in uneconomic use of land and deforestation in the province to meet the food and fuel needs of refugees. The Afghan war also flooded the region with a large amount of unregulated and unlicensed weaponry. The present alarming situation engulfing the whole country is in continuation of past practices and intensified after 9/11 (Saif: 2008). The government has launched a war against Talibanization and militancy. The prevailing unrest and uncertainty is affecting every segment of life and development work cannot be carried out in such conditions. When jobless mobs suffer economic deprivation in an environment of total ignorance, they very happily join the ranks of fanatics like Taliban (Jan, 2008).

(ii) Distance from sea port

The province and tribal area is far from the seaports of Pakistan, increasing the cost of imported inputs while making exports more expensive. Though the province cannot be brought closer to the sea, it is possible to improve the efficiency of transport and communication networks. It is also plausible for the province to develop and enhance its trade potential with the countries that are geographically closer to it, such as Afghanistan and other Central Asian states.

(iii) A limited modern private sector

Modern private enterprise is relatively weak in KPK as compared to other provinces of Pakistan. Peshawar ranks the lowest among the major cities of Pakistan for conducting business. Major reasons for the shortfall include uncertainty regarding government policy, weak infrastructure, and institutional impediments

(iv) Weaknesses in human resources

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

In KPK the social outcomes are worse than in other provinces of Pakistan. Poverty is widespread particularly in rural areas of KPK. About 37 percent of the population lives below the poverty line in settled districts. In FATA, the situation is worse, with 60 percent below the poverty line. 40 percent of adults are unemployed in the province (WB, 2005). Literacy in the province is 38 percent, compared to 45 for Pakistan as a whole. 58 percent of households have access to clean drinking water, as compared to 85 percent access for Pakistan (WB, 2005).

GDP growth rate is 4 percent and population growth rate is 2.8 percent in the province. Lack of economic opportunities and absence of the rule of law has pushed and are pushing the work force, the urban elite, and investors to migrate to the urban centers of Punjab and Sind. 30 percent of households in KPK are fed by remittances from within Pakistan and another 8 percent on remittances from Gulf countries (Ikram, 2009:33).

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood in KPK and FATA, but its structure is thin and weak. Within the province the main challenges faced by farming communities are possession of land holdings by landlords and resultant fragmentation of land into small and uneconomic holdings; insufficient irrigation water; lack of technical knowledge, education and extension facilities; wide spread poverty among farmers and inadequate credit facilities; segregation of the sexes; expensive farm inputs and lack of availability of quality seeds, fertilizers and pesticides; lack of roads from field to market; low prices of agricultural output; the absence of agriculture-based industries; and the flood of Afghan refugees. Additionally, the use of modern agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides has led to alarming environmental pollution.

Landlordism and the fragmentation of land into uneconomic holdings

The agrarian structure was predominantly feudal from the time of Mughal rule, when absentee landlordism originated. First were Zamindars, possessed of hereditary rights to tribute from the tiller of the land, keeping 10 to 25 percent for himself and dispatching the remainder to the emperor. Second were Jagirdars who were granted territories for their military services and exempted from payment of revenue. The British established the explicit right to ownership of land. Zamindars and Jagirdars were allotted large tracts of agricultural land, and the latter were exempt from paying agricultural tax. After independence the government of Pakistan introduced land reforms in 1959, 1972, and 1977 to put an end to landlordism, to improve ownership patterns, to stabilize the smaller farms, and to prevent their further subdivision (Ahmad Khan, 1980:63). But due

to numerous exception clauses, all these land reforms were unsuccessful. Only a few million acres were reclaimed as a result of all these land reforms, of which only 50 percent was suitable for farming (Selier, 1988:37).

In KPK the provincial government in its individual capacity tried to abolish the Jagirdari system and the exploitation of tenants by Zamindars. Most important were the abolition of Inamdari and Jagirdari system in 1938 in the pre-partition era. The KPK Tenancy Act 1950 and KPK Protection and Restoration Act 1951 were enacted in the post-partition period. Despite these and the central government reforms of 1959, 1972, and 1977, the results were far from satisfactory. In 1981, 30 percent of all agricultural land was held by 0.5 percent of landowners who owned more than 150 acres per head. (Zaidi, 1999:35). Due to the prevailing Islamic laws regarding inheritance the land was partitioned among the inheritors. Therefore 90 percent of farms in operation in KPK do not meet the official criterion of subsistence holdings. There is a mass of marginal owners in KPK, using mostly family labor and producing for family consumption; holdings fragmented into more than 20 small, scattered packets are common, and the land is not as productive as in Punjab and Sind (Mian and Jalely: 1992:49).

Shortage of irrigation water

The pre- and post-independence agricultural policies of the central government paid the most attention to the Indus basin regions (Punjab and Sind), and the least to the border provinces of KPK and Baluchistan. Irrigation systems in KPK are very poor: of 25 million acres total land, only 2.27 million acres receive regular irrigation water and 3.5 million acres lies un-irrigated due to the absence of a proper canal system. 40 percent of water is wasted in the delivery system due to improper design and unmaintained watercourses. Some work on this was started in the mid-1970s under the 'On farm Water Management Project' (OFWM), with some success, but there is need of further work in this field. (Riaz, 1994:30) Out of the total cultivated area about 90 percent is irrigated in both Punjab and Sind. On the other hand 40 percent and 39 percent of the total cultivated land in KPK and Baluchistan are irrigated, respectively (Kardar, 1987:19).

Wide spread poverty among farmers and inadequate credit facilities

Most farmers in KPK are poor with small landholdings, so agricultural policies in the province should favor poor small landholders. An agricultural credit policy that has to date ignored the small farmers should focus on small farmers providing

them loans on easy terms. Currently the province is spending barely one percent of provincial development outlay on agriculture.

Lack of technical knowledge, education and extension facilities

Policy makers, researchers, extension workers, and farmers are equally responsible for the inefficiency of agriculture in the province. The overarching goal before them is to obtain self-sufficiency in food and fiber production. The existence of research station in each locale of the province is the responsibility of the government. In KPK, there are more than a dozen research stations large and small at various places. Extension programs train farmers about new methods of tillage and inform them of latest development in farming technique. The existing extension programs are inefficient and poor in quality. The extension workers often lack adequate skills, development funds, and facilities, making their task of improving the management skill of farmers difficult. In KPK small farmers prevail and small farmers are ignored in extension activities.

Expensive farm inputs and non-availability of quality seeds, fertilizers and pesticides

A large majority of tillers in KPK are small farmers with fragmented lands, so there is a need for provision of small machinery rather than large. Another problem is quality inputs being unavailable to small farmers at reasonable prices at appropriate times. Big farmers can get these inputs through their own influence and resources, which small farmers cannot meet. Lack of access to inputs hinders any increase of agricultural output. Persistent poverty, lack of capital, and high costs constrain the ability of local farmers to adopt new technologies and properly use modern inputs like fertilizers and pesticides. Additional constraints include adulteration of pesticides and lack of proper knowledge how to use it. The consumption of fertilizer, high yield variety seed, and pesticides is low compared to other agriculturally developed provinces of Pakistan.

Lack of roads from field to market and lack of storage facilities

There is a lack of farm to market roads. There is also lack of storage facilities in KPK. The rural areas of the province are major grower of crops, fruits and vegetables. As most of the regions are backward and lack facilities of black top roads. Therefore farmers suffer physical hardships and financial loss in timely reaching the produce of their land from far of rural cultivated land to market located mostly in urban area at a large distance from their farms. In addition the

province of KPK is major producer of fruits and vegetables which are perishable and need proper storage facilities. It is difficult for poor farmers to arrange storage for preservation of perishable produce of his land because of lack of finances (Bag, 1969:22). Therefore it is duty of provincial government to build cold storage at different places in the province.

Low prices of agricultural output

Proper prices paid for output play an important role in increasing agricultural production. In Pakistan the prices of crops, particularly food grains, were kept below international levels by government to boost the urban industrial workers. At the time of independence Pakistan was strong agriculturally and was weak industrially. An unbalanced growth model was followed by Government of Pakistan to boost large Scale industries It has been remain the policy of Government of Pakistan since 1950 to keep the prices of agricultural crops below the world level and the costs of finished goods above the world level. Also some conceal taxes were imposed on export of agricultural goods and export of machinery for large scale machinery was relieved of export duties.

Lack of attention to Livestock and Forestry

Livestock and forestry have better output and support a high percentage of households. There is a need for development of the livestock sector by providing new breeds for milk and beef. This sector can raise the income level of households in the northern mountainous regions as well as southern rain-fed plains. Approximately 20 percent of the income of farm households and land-less families comes from animal husbandry. A significant population in Hazara, Malakand, and Dera Ismail Khan Divisions depends on livestock for its livelihood. The province also has the largest area under forest in the country (Khan, Plan of action under Fes).

Absence of agriculture-based industries

Industrially, KPK is one of the most backward provinces of the country due to its distance from ports, the nature of the terrain, the alarming lack of law and order, and the lack of skilled labor. The province is unable to attract investment. The existing industries are concentrated in a few areas: Peshawar, Mardan, Charsadda, Haripur, Nowshera and Abbottabad. There is an urgent need for more equal spread of facilities throughout the province. There is no consistency in existing

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

government policy, creating a check on population growth, the transformation of the labor force, and additional investment in the province.

The incentives provided to the Gadoon Amazai industrial estate were suddenly withdrawn in 1990s, doing more harm than good to the industrialists who had invested there. In Swat there were 400 small silk mills in the 1980s finishing raw silk both locally produced and brought via Afghanistan through black market. These mills employed about 40,000 persons and were also earning enough foreign exchange. In 1990, the government of Pakistan imposed a tax on the import of silk and banned silk imports via Afghanistan. Only the Karachi transit trade system via Karachi seaport was to be used for silk import. This raised the price of raw silk considerably for mill owners. Tax and transportation charges of the silk thread were unbearable, and the mills closed within a year. They faced a loss of Rs. 45 billion. The labor and professional working in these Silk mills became jobless (Gillani, 2008)

Militancy in Pakistan generally and NWFP and FATA particularly in the form of Al Qaeda and Taliban activities resulted in death and destruction of civilian including woman and children. Terrorism begets terrorism and results vicious circle and devours thousands of innocent people. The growth of extremism is concentrated in the more backward parts of the country like KPK, FATA and Southern Punjab. Militancy has become an extremely complex phenomenon since 2001 when Pakistan joined the war on terror. There has been a significant deterioration in the security situation of the country. The situations worsen when militants started targeting of mosques, rallies, political leaders, and security person like army and police men through suicide bombings in which more than 5000 precious lives have been lost. The prevailing unrest and uncertainty is affecting every segment of life and development works could not be carried out in such worst law and order situation. The menace of militancy is stalking the security and economy of the country. The presence of terrorism has destroyed the existing thin structure of industry in the province.

Policy Options

The following suggestions are presented for the development of agriculture in the province:

- First of all the Federally Administered Tribal Areas must be brought out of their perpetual turmoil and included in the mainstream by scrapping the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). Promotion of education among the

tribes is necessary. A plan for economic development of the tribal areas is must. Economic development is possible there only through developing agriculture and installing industries. Education and economic amelioration will give the masses of these areas the hope of a happy life, and this hope will keep them away from fanaticism and radicalism.

- The economy of KPK depends on agriculture. The province has a large potential for increased output. As mentioned previously the major barrier to agricultural development in the province is the limited supply of irrigation water. The current supply of water from canals and tube wells is insufficient. There is need for building small and large dams, excavation of canals, and installation of tube wells. The work on Chashma Lift Canal project may be started on emergent basis which can irrigate about one million acres of land that will lead to food self sufficiency in the province.
- As the Province is receiving roughly twice the amount of previous awards in the 7th NFC award, the government should take a bold step and allocate funds for the vital hydro projects that will help in producing hydroelectricity and launching new canals. The budgetary allocation for agriculture should be increased. Government should enlarge the provisions of interest-free loans on easy terms to farmers for the purchase of basic inputs such as seed, fertilizers, farm machinery and for setting up agro-based industries. Government should provide subsidies to small farmers one way or another.
- Government should increase the number of research station in each locality, especially applied experimental research stations, so farmers may be kept informed of new-found high-yield varieties of crops and the latest usage recommendations for pesticides and herbicides. Extension workers should be made mobile to enable them to convey knowledge to farmers at their farms. Information pertaining to extension activities should be spread through the media. The applied research findings should be conveyed to the farmers in printed form in the local dialect (Master Action Plan, 1995).
- As most of farmers in KPK have very small land holdings, agricultural policies in the area should favor small farmers. Agricultural credits which have ignored the small farmers should be refocused on small farmers, giving them loans with zero or minimal interest.
- Another problem that needs proper attention is the availability of quality inputs at reasonable prices. There is a dire need to ensure the availability of inputs at proper times and prices. Big farmers can get these inputs by hook or by crook while small farmers need special attention. Lack of access to inputs creates many hindrances in the way of increasing agricultural output.

- There is a need for farmers' groups or associations at the village level, to create a sense of unity among farmers in trying to solve their financial and social problems, and in approaching extension departments for services. These farmers' associations will mediate disputes regarding water and land. They will maintain watercourses and will arrange quality seeds and fertilizer for the farmers. Moreover, these associations will be able to arrange some funds for needy persons, contact higher officials and ensure the availability of training for their members. These associations will be able to carry out collective developmental works like transport management, roads maintenance, and facilitation of water. They will be beneficial in creating awareness among farmers about their rights. In some places the associations may face political troubles, but with time these can be overcome.
- Proper prices of agricultural outputs play an important role in increasing agricultural production. Government should provide a market system that ensures proper and stable prices. The role of middleman should be abandoned. Government should arrange foreign markets for domestic agricultural products like fruits and vegetables. As these items are more perishable, better storage facilities are must for them.
- The province of KPK, especially the adjacent FATA, has the potential to double its forest area through forestation efforts. Pakistan's forest policy suffers from lack of proper reforms, and maintaining the status quo has been the main theme of the country's forest policy.
- Government should encourage livestock by supplying new breeds for milk and meat, as this sector is playing an important role in raising income levels.
- Black top road facilities from market to farm and improved storage infrastructure can surely help in getting due prices for output and in minimizing transportation costs and minimal loss of perishable produce. Government should provide a marketing system which ensures the proper and stable prices. Government should arrange foreign markets for domestic agricultural produce so that farmers can get better prices of their produce
- Pest, weed s and herbs control systems should be modernized and made effective so that small farmers may be able to use pesticides and herbicides without fear of physical and financial loss.

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British hunters in colonial India, 1900-1947: The Gentleman Hunter, New Technology, and Growing Conservationist Awareness

By Fiona Natasha Mani

British hunters were growing in number in colonial India. Many of them worked for the British *Raj* as forest administrators, military personnel or the like. Hunters relied on *shikaris*, indigenous Indian hunters. This paper surveys the experiences of British hunters and demarcates the main changes that occurred in the 20th century. Distinct differentiation between tribals/poachers and British sportsmen was also clearly defined in the 20th century. By the 20th century, humanitarian hunters appear who only hunted to protect villagers, new technology becomes intertwined with hunting, a greater sense of nostalgia for the past makes its presence, artificial rearing appears on the subcontinent, and *sahibs* emulated *maharajas*. The aforementioned changes along with a strong sense of restraint and a conservationist awareness were some of the markers that differentiated most, but certainly not all, 20th century hunters from their 19th century counterparts. In essence, the British male hunter was simultaneously a gentleman and an imperialist.

Reliance on shikaris & the creation of the gentlemanly sportsman

As Joseph Sramek has stated, although they claimed to be masculine men, the British heavily relied on Indians. As a result, masculinity could not be tailored to the commonly assumed idea that independence was part and parcel of the prowess; instead, it was coupled with the imperialist idea to have free or low-paid help at one's fingertips. In fact, the imperialist idea of being served by others was a middle-class bourgeois an upper-class mentality indicative of the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

The excitement of the hunt remained a constant in both the 19th and 20th centuries. James Best writes of the adrenaline rush that he experienced when out hunting in

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

Kashmir, stating: “my heart in my mouth and all my attention [was] fixed [...] Four of them looked huge heads to me; my wrists froze, my heart pumped and I was overwhelmed by all the symptoms of buck fever. Khuzra held back my rifle until I steadied.”¹ The *shikari* played an important role in breaking the British sportsman away from the trance that often accompanied the excitement and sense of adventure that they experienced when out in the jungles. Indian *shikaris* were no less excited with the prospect of game. The author of *Sport on the Nilgiris* writes of the excitement that most Indians felt when they located a tiger. *Shikaris* literally ran back to their *sahibs* to tell them about it. His *shikari* said “*aiyah, aiyah pillee pille*” roughly translating into “Sir, sir a tiger a tiger.”²

The relationship between the British and Indian hunting partners was full of tension and condescension. The reliance on *shikaris* often meant that British resident hunters’ roles in hunting were limited to simply hiking and pulling the trigger. Anglo-Indian men often got very upset when they had to do more than their fair share of the work, showcasing the imperial nature of their role as premier sportsmen. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hugh Stockley noted that
there are plenty of frauds among *shikaris*, however, none are worse than the man who knows little about tracking and will never admit he is wrong [...] the greatest fraud of all, as a class, is the Kashmiri. He is often a poor climber and indifferent stalker [...] and consequently a lover of villages, with no desire to penetrate the remoter stalks of game.³

Indian *shikaris* were a dying breed in areas where plenty of game could be located, because many local villagers took up hunting as well and were not as skilled as ancestral *shikaris*. Similar to Lieutenant-Colonel Stockley, Wardrop had a very poor opinion of *shikaris*. Wardrop states that “the shikaries and their myriad [illegible] are usually members of criminal tribes, Bhils or Ramses.”⁴ Nevertheless, the British had to put up with these “criminal tribes” because of their ability to track game. On the whole, many British *sahibs* enjoyed the companionship of their *shikaris*.

Sportsmen also recommended *shikaris* to fellow sportsmen. In Chamba, for example, the author of the *Sportsman’s Book for India* recommended Dhassa, Mullah, and Bhagia. To locate these *shikaris* one had to simply write a letter “c/o

¹ James William Best, *Forest Life in India*, London: J. Murray, 1935, 31.

² F. W. F. Fletcher, *Sport on the Nilgiris and in Wynaad*, London: MacMillan, 1911, 194.

³ Lieut.-Col. Charles Hugh Stockley, *Shikar: Being tales by a sportsman in India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1928, 191-192.

⁴ A.E. Wardrop, *Modern Pig Sticking*, London: Macmillan, 1914, 285.

Postmaster, Tissa, Chamba to get in touch with any of these men for the purposes of employment.⁵ Recommendations from British sportsmen allowed a *shikari* to receive a steady income. Positive recommendations also meant that a *sahib* would write a good *chit*, or employment record card, for that *shikari*.

Shikaris and hunters worked together in the 20th century, just as much as in the 19th century. For examples, James Best who worked for the Indian Forest Service stated how his *shikari* told him that he “would watch if I slept.”⁶ He was referring to watching out for game during overnight stays up in a *machan*, or platform in the jungles. By rotating night watchman positions, the *shikari* and the British *sahib* worked together as a team to ensure that each one would get their share of rest while making sure that the other person was not in harm’s way. However, *shikaris* often had a reputation to uphold and therefore sought to bag the biggest game. Therefore, they saw eye to eye with Anglo-Indians who also desired the same. They were frequently treated like equals as most received pay or meat for their services by some British sportsmen. Anglo-Indian hunters advised others to take care of their coolies and *shikaris* mainly because the *shikaris*’ survival and health meant a bigger bag for the *sahib*, or British sportsman. For example, an Anglo-Indian hunter who used the pen name of *Ajax* advised Anglo-Indians to “see that your servant’s tent is comfortable and rainproof.”⁷ This sort of camaraderie was often seen in the British-Indian partnership in the jungles.

British sportsmen emphasized the need for religious tolerance. The hunting arena was a place where religious tolerance occurred. In Burma, *shikaris* performed a *pooja*, or devotional worship, in order to kill lots of game without doing harm to themselves in the process. The *pooja* required coconuts, plantains, spirits, pickled tea leaves, tobacco, eggs, a spoon of cooked rice, and betel nut leaves. Sydney Christopher does not describe what the *shikaris* did with them but we can assume that they were offered to a deity in return for a wish. They may have been offered in a circular motion to the deity. Christopher writes that “this ceremony pleases them immensely and there are no reasons why the sportsman should deny them this pleasure as it costs him very little or nothing.”⁸ Christian and Western ways were not imposed on Indians because most sportsmen respected Hindus and did

⁵ George Aflalo Frederick, *The sportsman’s book for India*, London: H. Marshall and Son, 1904, 89.

⁶ James W. Best, *Forest Life in India*, London: J. Murray, 1935, 56.

⁷ Ajax, ‘*Good Hunting!*’; or, *What to do on shikar and how to do it*, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1913, 25.

⁸ Sydney Albert Christopher, *Big game shooting in Lower Burma*, Rangoon: Burma Pictorial Press, 1916, 69.

not interfere with their prayer customs. This further supports the contention that *sahibs* respected their *shikaris* and believed them to be on an equal plain with them.

Even though there was an aura of equality between the *sahib* and the *shikari*, the law always ruled against the *shikari*. There could be dangers to a *shikari* when hunting, apart from being attacked by wild game. For instance, if a *shikari* directed the European to a *nullah* where shooting is forbidden, the *shikari* would be responsible for this mistake rather than the European. Ajax, a British sportsman, shot an animal in a *nullah* and later found out it was forbidden. Instead of Ajax's sportsmen's license being revoked, the *shikari* was fined four months of wages and his license to accompany sportsmen was cancelled permanently.⁹ The *shikari* would no longer have a way to provide for his family as his career would officially come to an end. The repercussions for the Anglo-Indian hunter was comparatively miniscule. The Indian *shikari* on the other hand had his reputation forever tarnished and his ancestral occupation stripped away. Although it mostly seemed that hunting was a sport where Indians were on equal terrain with British residents, it was not always the case. Indians were therefore ultimately responsible for all the possible pitfalls and dangers associated with the well-being of Anglo-Indians.

Certain *shikaris* had a vested interest in killing game just as much as the British sportsmen did. James Best writes that "Three times in my life I have seen a *shikari* on the verge of tears when luck went really wrong; they were as keen as I was."¹⁰ Actual tears flowing down one's face translated into a lack of manliness, and this was never seen, but the feeling of despair and regret led these men to become teary-eyed and filled with despair. Indians and the British worked in collaboration in the jungles.

Some experienced Anglo-Indian hunters who had been hunting for years were, however, knowledgeable about where to locate game. However, this skill was lacking in many British hunters. Nevertheless, a hunter with the pen name of Ajax noted that "in districts where the buffalo herdsmen having extracted the cream from their milk, throw the buttermilk into a regular place every morning, and bears being very fond of this can be fairly easily shot over a pool [where the cream was dumped] at dusk."¹¹ Milk production was a common activity that

⁹ *Ibid*, 53.

¹⁰ James William Best, *Forest Life in India*, London: J. Murray, 1935, 24.

¹¹ Ajax, 'Good Hunting!', 13.

attracted wild game and it often led to bears terrorizing villages. Wild animals continued to be a disturbance for many Indians and the British in the 20th century. E. D. Miller discusses finding a boar in the sugar cane fields, because it was attracted to sweetness, and was able to arrange for two hundred coolies to kill that single boar. Many preferred to defer to Indian *shikaris* to let them know where these locations were as there are several accounts in which Anglo-Indians applauded their expertise in tracking and their accumulation of local knowledge.

Indian orderlies had an incentive to find game for the *sahib*. Finding game could also supplement a coolie's salary as most reputable sportsmen paid for knowledge about the whereabouts of game, especially if they were unable to find it themselves. Hunting etiquette made the payment of *khabbar*, or news, customary. Frank Nicholls, who worked as an Assam planter, admits to offering a personal reward of two rupees for news of any big game and ten rupees if it was shot by him and twenty rupees for a tiger or leopard.¹² Coolies, when not at work, were presumably out looking for game or keeping their ears open for any sign of game in the area. This made the sportsman's job quite easy as he did not have to be on the lookout himself and news came to him.

Differentiation of Indians

By the 20th century, the British believed they had a duty to instill honor in Indian hunters in order to uphold the worthiness of the title of sportsman. While there was some indifference in the 19th century among British sportsmen on killing female and baby game, most sportsmen did restrain themselves from shooting female and baby game. However, by the 20th century a sportsman's reputation was at stake if he did not follow game laws and the status quo of fixing one's prize of a huge male trophy. Hunting etiquette in the 20th century demanded that only mature male game were killed at the hands of the hunter. E. D. Miller's brother told a *syce*, a horse groomer's son, who had killed a sow that "he was never to kill a sow again if he values his reputation as a sportsman, whereupon he was very sorry."¹³ This exchange shows the remorse of the young Indian man and emphasized the triumph of the British in their teachings that were disseminated to their Indian subordinates. When Indians felt guilt and understood their wrongdoings it represented the success of the imperialist mission.

¹² Frank Nicholls, *Assam shikari; a tea planter's story of hunting and high adventure in the jungles of North East India*, Auckland: Tonson, 1970, 27.

¹³ Lieut. E.D. Miller, *Fifty Years of Sport*. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1925), 107.

It was automatically assumed that tribals did not have a conscience in regards to the killing of game. This was another common tool that the British used to demean tribal *shikaris*. F. W. F. Fletcher states in a letter to Charles Kofoid the requirements for hunting in the Ghat forests. He asserts that in order to legally hunt in the Ghat forests, a license is needed from the collector of the Malabar Coast. Fletcher, who resided in the Nilgiri Hills writes: "I know *shikaris* who are without my scruples, who would jump at the chance of shooting an elephant if you can get the necessary license."¹⁴ The emphasis in this quote is *my* scruples, which helps differentiate Indian *shikaris* from British sportsmen, the latter having reservations regarding some forms of hunting. Indian *shikaris* allegedly did not have second thoughts about killing an animal like an elephant, an animal that did not pose a danger to people, but instead helped with transportation purposes, and was not a "sportful" shot. Hunting elephants was also against the law, unless it was a rogue elephant and permission was granted to shoot it.

In reality, *shikaris* were just like every other human being. *Shikaris* did not just enjoy shooting. They did have a conscience just like everyone else. While that is not expressed in their writings, accounts by British sportsmen relayed the thoughts of some of these *shikaris* and their families. Tribals were often depicted as meat hungry people who had no reservations against killing animals because they were not knowledgeable about religion from the *shastras*, or law books. Christopher writes that "Relatives and friends will try all in their power to dissuade him from taking life" suggesting that they know that it is morally wrong to hurt another living being.¹⁵ Hunting was not a sport to these tribals, for they clearly understood the dangers of what they were doing and what their family members were engaging in.

British sportsmen also differentiated themselves from Indian *shikaris*. British sportsmen emphasized the determination and will that they possessed which made them superior sportsmen because they never gave up on trying to bag an animal (even if they failed to kill the animal the first time). Hunting etiquette did not customarily allow for sportsmen to leave wounded animals because it would ruin another *sahib's* sport. James Best writes of the superior nature of British sportsmen as he states: "I could quote three instances from after years, when by going out myself next day after a wounded beast I succeeded in bagging him,

¹⁴ Letter. FWF Fletcher to Charles Kofoid. 18th May 1916. Charles Atwood Kofoid Correspondence. Banc MSS 82/39cz UC Berkeley Bancroft Library.

¹⁵ Sydney Albert Christopher, *Big game shooting in Lower Burma*, Rangoon: Burma Pictorial Press, 1916, 68.

when all the natives had given up. The reason is that a native's patience is child-like ... It is the will of Allah."¹⁶ Muslim *shikaris* according to Best, believed it was not meant to be if they did not seize the animal as it was their fate. There was no resolve among Muslim *shikaris* who understood that if they did not catch the animal it was because God did not want them to, but there was a great sense of perseverance among British hunters mainly because they assumed that no animal was a match for them.

Poachers, who were mainly Indian, took the wrath for not following hunting etiquette and hunting laws. By the 20th century, hunting associations took up preservation to the best of their abilities without restricting the fun of their members. Poachers were the main target for pigstickers. Wardrop writes: "Now for the poachers; they are the devil [...] kagis, sansis, aherias, ruffians all."¹⁷ Wardrop writes that all these tribal poachers were responsible for the decline of boars and therefore they harm the sport of pigsticking. Wardrop called all members to action. Members and other concerned sportsmen were to lobby the collector of the district and *zamindars*, or landlords, to help catch and reprimand the poachers. Indian elites were for the first time used to support preservation efforts. Pigsticking, or tent clubs as they were called, had a vested interest to preserve pigs for the good of the association. Tent clubs also had the exclusive rights to all pigs in the district in which the tent club was located.

The few villagers that possessed guns for their own defense and that of their agricultural produce and domesticated livestock were often viewed as men who consistently had "bad shots" and only aggravated the game. British hunters commented on how Indians had no sense of etiquette. As Thomas Metcalf states, differentiation was crucial to establishing the ideology of the *Raj* and demarcating the subjects from the imperialists. Hence, by the 20th century, this differentiation was crystallized in the minds of many Anglo-Indian residents. Hunting was part of the identity of Anglo-Indian residents. C. E. M. Russell, a Late Senior Deputy Conservator of Forests in the Mysore service, commented that "Sport, as distinguished from butchery, needs neither apology nor excuse; [as] the former is moderate and [a] humane exercise of an inherent instinct worthy of a cultivated gentleman, the latter the revolting outcome of the undisciplined nature of the savage."¹⁸ The aforementioned statements show how the British constructed

¹⁶ James W. Best, *Forest Life in India*, London: J. Murray, 1935, 27.

¹⁷ A.E. Wardrop, *Modern Pig Sticking*, London: Macmillan, 1914, 214.

¹⁸ Charles Edward Mackintosh Russell, *Bullet and Shot in the Indian forest, plain and hill. With hints to beginners in Indian Shooting.*, London: W. Thacker & Co., 1900, 1.

and displayed themselves as sportsman, while the Indian tribal or village hunter was clearly a poacher. Gentlemen hunt for sport, whereas Indians are constructed as butchers who are not worthy of the title of sportsman. The savage here is implicitly the Indian. Russell states that the poaching native was one that

Generally he possesses a gun – an antiquated, long-barrelled weapon as a rule... With his bare feet he can walk almost as noisily as a cat ; he knows every water-hole, salt-lick, and gale in the jungle near his home...together with his intimate acquaintance with the habits of the game, added to an unlimited store of patience, and a total disregard of the value of time There are many other human poachers, particularly gypsy-like wandering tribes who do not use guns, but who are extremely expert in every conceivable device for capturing game, both large and small...of a tame buck with nooses fastened to his horns ... By this method, bucks only are taken, but another plan for the wholesale capture of the animals, without regard to sex or age, is practiced with only too much success in parts of Mysore. A large number of natives, each with a long cord, to which at intervals nooses of strong gut are attached, proceed together to a place towards which [...] The cords are then firmly pegged down in a long and often double line and the men by making a very wide, circuit, endeavour to get round the herd...should the operation prove successful, several of the animals are often caught by the legs, and promptly butchered by the poachers.¹⁹

These were Indians who, according to Anglo-Indians, did not have any etiquette, moral restraint or display any sportsmanlike character. Furthermore, they did not practice the long, cherished stalking process and the European style of hunting with a gun. Notions of racial difference are quite evident in this passage. The lack of guns, the extreme torture of the animals, and the lack of discrimination of sex were problematic to many Anglo-Indians as the Wild Birds and Animal Protection Act of 1912 stated that female goral, serow, buffalo, bison, deer, antelope and bird could not be killed during some parts of the year.²⁰ Indian poachers on the other hand seemed to ignore this ruling.

The inhumane methods of killing animals broke the unwritten code of etiquette that sportsmen followed. The savage hunter was painted as an Indian tribal or

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 347-348.

²⁰ Augustus Somerville, *Shikar Near Calcutta*, 111.

shikari who tended to “butcher” their game by employing a variety of painful methods: pelting with stones, capturing in snares or nets, using poisoned arrows or bait, and so on. Similarly, excessive shooting of game was seen as a lack of restraint which did not allow the sportsman to hold the title of a “gentle and tender hearted” man.²¹ The gentleman was the new sportsman who was the sportsman that others had to aspire to be. Poachers tended to wound rather than kill the animal. The British did not like to shoot at animals that had been shot at before because it gave the British the upper hand in the hunting arena and fairness was the main motto of the hunter in the 20th century. Poachers had an infinite amount of time to hunt because they had no real job unlike respectable Europeans who did not hunt for a livelihood. Sport did not take up a respectable man’s entire life, however it did take a few hours of his time on specific excursions or several days should he be an enthusiast.

New Technology and Improvements in Hunting

The 20th century was also a time when artificiality was implemented on a wide-scale in the hunting arena to deal with the dwindling stocks of game. The demand as well as the craze for game led to more artificial methods of shooting. In *Fifty Years of Sport* by E. D. Miller, he writes that Moosohurs and Donghurs supply the planters with game birds of all kinds, such as snipe, duck, quail etc., which they capture alive in nets. The duck and quail are put into specially constructed duckerries and quail houses, and are fattened up and till the shooting season is over, so that planters were able to get delicious game practically through all the hot weather.²²

Miller refers to tea estate managers or factory owners living near Motihari, Bihar. Surprisingly, the very people who were providing game to the British were actively undermining the *Raj*. The Moosohurs are described to be low-caste individuals who were active in *dacoity* and petty theft by the Inspector-General of Police Lower Provinces of Bengal.²³ Even though they were *shikaris* in their own right, they also served as beater for pig sticking events arranged by large planters. Moosohurs and Donghurs, therefore, did the hardest work of the shoot by locating game and literally bringing it within arm’s reach for the British. Furthermore, hunting with nets was acceptable provided they were obtaining game for the British and not for themselves. Their “poaching” methods were not denigrated

²¹ Russell, Charles Edward Mackintosh, *Bullet and Shot*, 1.

²² Lieut. E.D. Miller. *Fifty Years of Sport* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1925), 107.

²³ Lt.Col. J.R. Pughe. *Report on the State of Police in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the Year of 1867 Volume 1* (Calcutta: Thomas Smith Press, 1868), 110.

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

because small-winged game was a delicacy for British tables. As big factory owners or managers of tea estates, there were few instances when *shikar* took them far away from their residences. *Shikaris* also did the duties of gamekeepers as artificial rearing of game such as partridge and pheasants occurred. In addition to sport, this artificially reared game from the duckeries and quail houses served the dual purpose of appeasing the stomach and trigger-happy index finger of British males.

In addition to Indian servants, by the mid-20th century, photography was commonly combined with the hunting experience. A camera became a must, because many wished to capture the looks of a *tahr* (Himalayan wild goat) or *gooral* (another type of goat), the scenery, and also the “strange looking natives.”²⁴ Voyeurism of natives was a common activity and photography helped document it for Europeans in Britain. Bernard Cohn states this documentation and classification of objects in the Indian subcontinent was a form of domination.²⁵ Photography was also commonly used to depict the hunt as a “grand experience”, or one that documented man’s control over nature. The most common hunting pose was one in which the foot was placed over the animal’s carcass prior to the skinning process. As Tina Loo has stated in her deconstruction of the trophy, it is a masculine object as well as a masculine project to obtain it.²⁶

Natural history was intricately connected to the hunting experience. Wardrop commented on how pigs had rather good eyesight.²⁷ Discussions of natural history often included informing the reader about the animal’s Indian name, its Latin name, as well as a little background about its species, including its primary habitat and its character. The description often sought to educate and satisfy the reader’s curiosity. A typical entry is appended here:

Pigmy Hog (*Porcula Salvania*): This tiny animal, which is said by Mr. Hodgson to resemble in size and shape a young one of the preceding species[pig] of about a month old, weighs only from seven to ten pounds. Its habitat is the saul forests of Sikkim, and the Nepaul Terai ... The vernacular names for this animal are *Chota-soor*. According to the same

²⁴ Ajax. ‘Good hunting!’, 29.

²⁵ Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, Princeton: University Press, 1996, 3.

²⁶ Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939."

Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Autumn 2001): 297-319.

²⁷ Charles Hugh Stockley *Shikar*, 32.

author, the pigmy hog goes in herds, and the males will courageously attack intruders.²⁸

This information would also be published in the gazette of *Bombay Natural History*. The ordering and classification of animals can be regarded as an imperial undertaking that became part of the Anglo-Indian agenda to understand the world that they were living in. This was another way of controlling the classification of animals.²⁹

By the 20th century, there was a large following of men who had strong feelings of nostalgia for a time in the past when it came to viewing tribals whom they often met when hunting in the jungles. The British had made great advances in education and missionaries had worked tirelessly to convert many tribals to Christianity. Therefore, tribals who still retained “elements of savagery” especially those who had not yet converted to Christianity were often sought after simply for their presence and the educational benefits they garnered about their particular tribe. James Best writes of his time in Bilaspur district in 1905, stating: “I consider myself lucky to have seen as much of these people as I did before they too, are spoilt by our civilizing education and turned from truthful and natural savages into imitation Europeans.”³⁰

Furthermore, being a part of the tribal’s life by participating in *shikar* together made more British sportsmen knowledgeable, some becoming expert anthropologists on tribal customs and languages. James Best writes that “here I was working with a party of Gonds and took the opportunity to learn a few words of their language, which amused them intensely.”³¹ Part of the Anglo-Indian project for many sportsmen was to become conversant in vernacular languages for sporting purposes. Therefore, the quest to become more cultured was a dual-edged one.

Paternalism

Paternalism and a sense of masculine responsibility can be discerned from the Anglo-Indian hunting experience. Mrinalini Sinha writes that “the real test of British masculinity was in the ‘chivalric’ protection of white women from native

²⁸ C.E.M. Russell, *Bullet and Shot*, 345.

²⁹ Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 3.

³⁰ James William Best, *Forest Life in India*, 82.

³¹ *Ibid*, 86.

men.”³² The other test of British masculinity was in protecting Indian men and women from dangerous game. Frank Nicholls, an honorary game warden of Assam’s Forest Department, often had villagers come to him to request a shooting of animals which destroyed the rice paddies or to report *khabbar*, or news of tiger sightings.³³ He was someone who took his rifle out to the aid of many villagers. One of the chapters in *Assam shikari* captures the spirit of how British paternalists felt about dangerous game with the title “Sala Bagh.” *Sala* is a crude swear word and is representative of the certitudes that most sportsmen had towards game, for it was a pestilence for those in tea plantations and those in one’s district as well as for those who had to protect their district or their subordinates from the depredations of wild animals. It was an imperial guarantee that the British promised to their subordinates, however it was one that weighed heavily upon their bodies and minds. An active role in the community as a protector was another facet of the British sportsman.

In order to maintain the honor that a *sahib* must uphold, guns had to be carried at all times. This was recommendation of a well-rounded sportsman in British India. *Sahibs* were supposed to walk around with guns in order to protect the natives from dangerous animals like tigers. Killing a tiger or any other large animal was seen as an honorable thing to do. The *sahib* writes that a man without a gun cannot kill a tiger, and then this incident “greatly lowered [lowers] the *izzat* of the *sahib* in native eyes.”³⁴ *Izzat* translates to honor. Therefore, to uphold the honor that is due to the *sahib*, laziness must never prevail and a gun must always be at hand. By the 20th century several Indians had guns in their possession. Nevertheless Indians were still dependent on the British to protect them from dangerous animals.

Jim Corbett was one of the most renowned gamesmen of the 20th century who was also a paternalistic hunter. Corbett developed a great sense of conservationist feelings and was instrumental in the creation of Corbett National Park in 1935. Although Corbett was a hunter, his views changed radically after witnessing firsthand the depredations caused by tigers on entire villages. Corbett later chose to only hunt man-eating tigers. Corbett, unlike any other British sportsman, was one of the first to attempt to explain why tigers chose to kill and eat humans. This

³² Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Manchester: University Press, 1995, 51.

³³ Frank Nicholls, *Assam Shikari*, 84, 17.

³⁴ Frederick George Aflalo. *The sportsman's book for India*, 19.

approach would later be followed by Indian hunters and Indian conservationists who attempted to give a reasonable explanation that did not brand tigers as bloodthirsty animals, but rather as animals that needed protection. Corbett explains that wounds and old age tended to make tigers man-eaters because they lost their physical strength with the two aforementioned conditions and were forced to rely on easy prey: humans. Other reasons that led tigers to kill men and women are the loss of typical prey like deer because of human encroachments on forest habitat and declines in other fair game. Excessive deaths of humans due to epidemics like cholera also led to man-eating leopards that enjoyed the taste of dead humans and then sought to kill live humans.³⁵ The lack of proper cremation of bodies in times of epidemic led to the piling up of bodies, which attracted other man-eaters like leopards. His reasoning reflects a great sense of moving away from blaming the tiger to understanding the problem by studying the environment as a whole – an approach used by later conservationists. Corbett refers to the tiger as a “large-hearted gentleman” and this phrase is representative of decades of imperial connections to tigers as the rajas of the jungles.

The distress caused by man-eaters is evident in the many stories that Corbett includes in his book, *Man-Eaters of Kumaon*. The Champawat tigress of Kumaon had killed 200 people in Nepal and 234 in Kumaon.³⁶ Before shooting the tigress, Corbett made it clear that he wanted the government reward for killing the tiger void because he did not want to be “classed as a reward-hunter.” He wanted to be viewed as a hunter who hunted for the good of people, thereby displaying a great sense of hunting etiquette and serving the Empire as a gentlemanly sportsman. The case was so bad that people were scared to go outside into the village. Villagers readily cooperated with Corbett and gave him information about the tiger. He studied the clues the tiger left behind while searching for footprints and other details. Corbett was a godsend to the villagers because of his courage in dealing with dangerous animals and his effectiveness in protecting the people. His presence alone gave villagers the peace of mind to continue their daily farm chores. Wheat was cut by villagers only after Corbett stood among them as a guard.³⁷ The gratitude expressed by Indians for Corbett’s efforts was quite deep and sincere. One woman bent down to touch her hands to Corbett’s feet, a traditional sign of respect and deferment to one’s elders.³⁸

Corbett was not alone in his effort to help kill man-eating tigers. Local elites did

³⁵ Jim Corbett, *Man-Eaters of Kumaon* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1946), xix.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 4.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 7.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 13.

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

their best to assist the sportsman in his efforts. In the case of the Champawat man-eaters the *Tahsildar*, or Chief Revenue Officer, provided Corbett accommodation in a bungalow. Corbett initially began his hunt for man-eating tigers after hearing stories of the deaths of humans and also by request of the Government. The killing of the Champawat tigers began on request of the Deputy Commissioner of Naini Tal. While the *sahibs*, or in this case Corbett, took much of the credit for bravely killing the man-eating tigress, the government did display a sense of appreciation for the efforts of Indians in helping exterminate the man-eater. Sir John Hewett, the Lt. Governor of the United Provinces offered the *Tahsildar* of Champawat a gun and a knife to the village man who assisted Corbett at a durbar in Naini Tal.³⁹

As representatives of the empire, British officials were obligated to maintain the general welfare of their particular district and in many cases they were personally motivated to do so because they genuinely wanted to help villagers who were quite helpless and much more unfortunate than themselves. J. E. Carrington Turner not only helped take revenge against man-eaters, but livestock killers as well. At the death of a pair of bullocks, he bicycled for five miles to his home to get a gun and go after the cattle-killer, for he knew the value of bullocks to a villager and knew that he would be at a loss without them.

A strong sense of personal ethics often restrained hunters from unnecessary killings. J. E. Carrington Turner, the Divisional Forest Officer of Naini Tal, part of Kumaon and home to several man-eaters, was one such individual who had a strong sense of resolve and determination that resembled that of Jim Corbett. Turner states that after asking priests in Mahableswar about whether the tiger lurking in the area was a man-eater that their reply was “no.” He instantly asserted that

in that case I can see no reasoning for killing him. The animal is following the natural pattern of his life, hunting his prey in the forest, and so reducing the damage done to your crops by deer and wild pig. Such an animal must surely be regarded as a protector of your livelihood.⁴⁰

The quick action taken to avenge the killing of a human being was most pronounced by district officials who worked at hasty speeds to catch up with

³⁹ *Ibid*, 32.

⁴⁰ J.E. Carrington Turner, *Man-Eaters and Memories* (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1959), 14.

the man-eater and deliver justice on the spot with a gun at hand. Turner describes how he walked seven miles with two other Indian helpers at an extremely fast pace. Turner did not foresee coming back until the man-eater was gone. After hearing news of a kill, he wrote of how he would “Hastily [pack] some sandwiches and a generous supply of biscuits in my haversack”⁴¹ and proceed with no delay. Upon arriving at the scene, questions were asked to obtain information about the man-eater. Then a general search commenced in the forests to track the tiger.

The presence of a British official in any village led to a bombardment of requests to that said official by local villagers, usually for taking revenge on a man-eater, administering medical care or acquiring meat for them. For example, Turner describes how Maratha villagers who lived adjacent to forests near Mahabaleshwar asked him to shoot a pig for them, so that they could eat it and use its fat for medicinal purposes. Upon its death there was great joy and the task of the British official was to ensure that everyone received their fair share, thereby demanding an equitable distribution of meat. Similarly, if a British man was simply standing in the presence of an animal attack or intrusion, local people expected that he would compensate them for losses incurred by that animal. A bear that had eaten grain in a man named Guman Singh’s house led to great pandemonium; the pandemonium was instantly silenced after Turner offered compensation for the grain that had been eaten by the bear.

As Jim Corbett has often relayed in his man-eating tiger stories, work remained at a standstill when news of man-eating tigers abounded. It was therefore the duty of forest service officials to ensure that felling of trees occurred and construction efforts continued, and that usually meant that the man-eater needed to be killed, so that large cities like Bombay could have their supply of timber and development of new bungalows could continue unobstructed. British officials had an equal interest in stopping the man-eater or cattle killer for the general welfare of one’s district. Just as villagers demanded compensation or revenge and took their loss personally as the rightful owners of livestock or relatives of a person who had been killed, so too did British officials whose sense of ethics and paternal qualities were seriously challenged when nature decided to interfere with a British man’s district. Turner writes that he “was outraged by the sudden loss of this young

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 21.

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

thing and determined to shoot the killer.”⁴² Turner was referring to a baby camel that had been killed, and, as camels were indispensable for transportation, the loss was particularly moving. British men also gave their word that they would find the man-eating animal. Turner gave his word that he would locate and kill a man-eating leopard to Narbat Singh, and upon the death of the said leopard of Chowkooree, was sure that the man’s spirit would rejoice after he killed the leopard.

Sportsmen in the 20th century, similar to the 19th century continued their roles of serving as medical doctors to Indians when on *shikar*. “Kildeer” writes in his *Timely hints to Shikaris* that castor oil, Epsom salts, quinine, permanganate of potash and lime juice are extremely important to keep on hand as medications.⁴³ They should be given to Indian servants if they are sick with such illnesses as bowel disorders or fever. Taking care of Indians was part of the imperial duty that sportsmen encountered and many diligently saved countless lives. Indians typically did not go to the hospital when sick and often died. The British paternalist sportsman made sure Indians were treated and their survival rate rose exponentially.

Paternalism also meant to take care of the Indians and act as a responsible imperial model for one’s subsidiaries. Sydney Christopher writes “you are not expected to regale them with spirits, nor is it a practice I would recommend as a sportsman [...] Shans are particularly fond of strong drinks [...] and will drink themselves to stupefaction if given the opportunity.”⁴⁴ The British needed alert *shikaris* and alcohol would prevent *shikaris* from being alert. The British also believed that they had the responsibility to emphasize righteous behavior among the tribals. Even though tribals in Burma, such as the Shans, drank alcohol, the British had an imperial responsibility to protect the Indians from dangerous behavior and avoid instances where a drunk Indian man might not appear subservient to the British.

Credit for the killing of wild animals was customarily given to the British though Indian *shikaris* and coolies did most of the work that goes into bagging an animal. In *The Asian*, a newspaper that was circulated in Rangoon, Burma, the following was written: “Mr. Christopher Barrister at law has killed another tiger 7th November 1903 Two sportsman went out to shoot bison last Sunday, a few miles

⁴² *Ibid*, 127.

⁴³ Kildeer, *Timely hints to amateur shikaries*, Madras: Higginbotham & Col, 1909, 11.

⁴⁴ Sydney Albert Christopher, *Big game shooting in Lower Burma*, Rangoon: Burma Pictorial Press, 1916, 65.

out of Rangoon, and one of them had the good fortune to kill a fine young male tiger measuring 8 feet.”⁴⁵ *Shikaris* are not mentioned whatsoever in the account even though we know Barrister always used *shikaris*. The shot fired at the tiger takes precedence over tracking the tiger, setting up of a *machan*, and finding the tiger---all activities necessary of an Indian. The British were clearly represented as men who protected the lands and got rid of dangerous animals.

Regal Hunts

Regal hunts flourished during the 20th century, however they can hardly be categorized as masculine, even though they are clearly imperial and ceremonial in nature. One particular royal shoot in the princely state of Bikaner, hosted by none other than the Maharaja of Bikaner, included Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Prince of Wales, as well as Sir Philip Grey Egerton. These important grandees and dignitaries were given royal treatment at hunting camps such as the Nepalese Terai with servants galore.

Because of the large number of servants and the goal of big bags to commemorate a royal shoot, these shoots were often more artificial than regular shoots. For example, during a hunting shoot at Kodamdesar on December 3, 1921, an artificial tank and fake cranes were placed at the shooting site. Real cranes were then attracted to the artificial water source. Servants also informed the shooters when cranes were close enough for shooting so all the shooter had to do was point his gun at the crane and shoot. Men did not have to engage in actual hunting, for when the crane was close enough they could easily shoot as this type of hunting was akin to target practice. For the elites, in the early 20th century, there develops a more civilized or gentlemanly masculinity, which is showcased in the regal shoots. In this manner, shooting commenced in the mornings when birds frequented a pond or stream to drink water. Similarly, when Lord Hardinge shot, an Indian man was placed in his charge “whose task it was to count the birds [he] shot.” There were also some “fine young Indians, almost naked” whose job was to collect all the ducks he shot and give them to the viceroy.⁴⁶ Large bags were obtained during royal shoots, more so than in regular shoots of small game. The Prince of Wales’ party shot 1,006 imperial sand grouse, six duck, and two

⁴⁵ Ibid, 148.

⁴⁶ Baron Charles of Penhurst Hardinge, *On hill and plain*. London: Murray, 1933, 39.

hundred and sixty-two sand grouse.⁴⁷ This was much more than the hundreds which were generally bagged at regular shoots. Shooting was not simply for one day but continued typically for a week. On December 5th 1921 more modest large game bags in Gujner and also in Bikaner were obtained. For example, Lord Louis Mountbatten shot only four *chinkara*, or gazelle, and the Prince of Wales shot two black buck and *chinkara* on December 6, 1921 in Gujner.⁴⁸

In the 20th century, there were changing definitions of masculinity and the ruthless killing of animals was increasingly frowned upon. Therefore, it is difficult to categorize the hunting that they participated in as a masculine activity in a traditional sense. This was generally the case for upper-class hunters, and not so much for hunters who organized their own hunting expeditions. For example, Baron Charles Hardinge noted how he “pursued chinkara [gazelle] in a motor car”⁴⁹ in the princely state of Bikaner in the North. Shooting by motor car became common for the elite in the 20th century. The amount of masculine prowess, muscle, and energy required for the hunt was clearly minimal as humans had an unfair advantage over wildlife. This grand hunt however encapsulated the paternalistic, imperialist trait that was evident in the Anglo-Indian hunting experience. Anglo-Indians, even of the upper-class, tended to detest this organized form of hunting as it took some of the effort and adventure out of the hunt. However, it nevertheless had its own form of excitement as many were amazed by how many animals they could kill in a short time and also the ease with which they were able to get good shots. Ruthless killing was now frowned upon. It was also detested because it was a non-traditional form of hunting. The hunt becomes more staged and orchestrated. However, the royal and elite British accept this because it is viewed as a “civilized way” to hunt in “style.”

Anglo-Indians of the upper class believed that they were skilled in hunting because they knew the methods, procedures and traditions of hunting. It was commonly assumed that Indian servants were not aware of the intricacies related to the hunting experience. For example, a British aristocratic hunter stated that he resorted to having his servant simply carry his rifle because the servant did not

⁴⁷ Cuthbert Ellison Bernard, *H.R.H. the Prince of Wales's sport in India*, London: W. Heinemann, Ltd., 1925), 149.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 143.

⁴⁹ Hardinge, Charles of Penhurst Baron, *On hill and plain*, 8.

understand the “importance of the direction of the wind when stalking.”⁵⁰ The servant’s lack of communication in English and knowledge about stalking procedures helped place Anglo-Indian hunters on a higher pedestal than Indian servants and *shikaris*. Hardinge also had experience hunting in Scotland. This does not contradict the view of Indians as skilled and knowledgeable hunters because one man’s view does not change the majority of sportsmen who understood the knowledge that Indians possessed.

British recreation revolved around *shikar* as a sport as it was an integral part of the identity of British residents in India. While the British, as imperialists, sought to control the Indian animals present in the forests and in other domains for paternalistic and personal reasons, they were nevertheless dependent on the native *shikaris*, servants or *maharajas*. While some British sportsmen praised their native partners and appreciated their expertise, many others did not. In the case of British elites, regal hunts solidified alliances between Indian royalty and privileged British officials. This shows the ambiguity of British attitudes: on the one hand derogatory and distrustful, and on the other praising and appreciative of local knowledge. There appears to be a rise in gentlemanly masculinity that is dependent on Indians so that a British sportsman would simply have to have great marksmanship skills and pull a trigger, albeit outside in the hot weather. British hunters also differentiated themselves from Indian *shikaris*, especially the tribals who were distinguished from British sportsmen. The British sportsman in the 20th century differed from the British sportsman in the 19th century in that there was more restraint as female game were not killed and traditional methods of hunting (with a gun) were customarily used.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 25.

Review, *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*.

Reviewed by David Waterman

Saadia Toor. *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*. London: Pluto Press, 2011. 252 pages. ISBN-13: 9780745329901.

Saadia Toor is Associate Professor of Sociology at City University of New York, College of Staten Island, and her recent book, *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, is a welcome addition to contemporary scholarship on Pakistan, precisely because it insists on the importance of cultural elements as part of the political evolution of Pakistan. From the very beginning of the book Toor takes issue with Salman Rushdie's remark that Pakistan is "a place insufficiently imagined," saying instead: "The problem was not ideological *confusion*, but the active attempts by the Pakistani establishment and its organic intellectuals to marginalize secular and democratic models of the nation-state which they saw as threatening to their interests" (2), the "establishment" being understood as both anti-communist and pro-(radical) Islam (3). After an introductory chapter recalling significant steps in the rise of Muslim nationalism up to and including Partition, *The State of Islam* follows the major periods since 1947 and the role of progressive voices in opposing abusive policies and programs.

National culture(s) come to the fore immediately after Partition, firstly because not all of India's Muslims left for Pakistan, and secondly because of demands from East Pakistan to elevate the Bengali language to the same status as Urdu – both factors were to destabilize notions of national community. Toor cites Aziz Ahmad, arguing that cultural nationalism takes much longer to achieve than political nationalism (23). Indeed, such cultural divisiveness between the East and West wings of Pakistan would ultimately lead to the secession of East Pakistan, largely as a result, Toor reminds us, of notoriously undemocratic treatment by the Muslim League itself, reflected in the shift toward the right just after Jinnah's death, under Liaquat Ali Khan (33). The One Unit scheme was proposed, ironically, as a political remedy to cultural differences, thus highlighting the role of culture as a political tool in fledgling Pakistan, never forgetting Islam as the "glue" holding the two wings together (Toor 46; 49).

The following chapter treats literary politics, specifically the progressive versus the nationalist camps, the Progressive Writers Association (tracing its roots to the 1930s in Oxford) versus the anti-communists – among writers and intellectuals, one was obliged to choose sides, what the APPWA Manifesto called “a new phase of the war of independence” (56; 58; 60). While the nationalists claim to avoid politics in the quest for pure literature, the progressives argue for a political literature which speaks for the people, each accusing the other of disloyalty, a debate which, it must be remembered, took place in a Pakistan still scarred by the recent violence of Partition. Toor refers to many of the progressive writers of the time, most notably Faiz Ahmad Faiz and the allegations of conspiracy surrounding them in the 1950s, at the height of the Cold War (70; 77-79).

Chapter Four traces Ayub Khan’s “decade of development” (1958-1968) and the political unification of the Left under the auspices of the National Awami Party; Toor suggests that Ayub Khan was “allergic” to such leftist solidarity largely because of its international dimension – recalling of course the situation in Palestine, Algeria or Vietnam (80; 81-82). Military and economic control of society were paramount, but so was the control of cultural institutions, especially the press and the creation of an establishment Writers Guild, not to mention the effort at removing Islam from politics (86; 88; 94). Opposition to Ayub’s regime took more organized form in 1965, after accusations of election-rigging and the loss of the Indo-Pakistan war, giving Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the opportunity to prepare his accession to power through the creation of the Pakistan People’s Party (96). Bhutto’s support for Islamic socialism was reaching a wider audience, given the failures of Ayub’s anti-communist program and his attempted marginalization of Islam; indeed, Toor argues, it was the communist poet Faiz who inspired the cultural paradigm – Islamic, but uniquely Pakistani – later adopted by Bhutto (110). An admirable idea in theory, yet destroyed in reality by the Pakistani army’s attack against East Pakistan in the spring of 1971.

Saadia Toor does not mince her words when assigning blame for the current state of Pakistan: “Every aspect of the Pakistani state, society, politics and culture worth noting today bears the scars of the 11 years of martial law under General Zia ul Haq from 1977 to 1988, Pakistan’s longest and most brutal military dictatorship” (117). Zia came to power in the wake of Bhutto’s failed promises and mishandling of the military, while links to the Gulf States, especially Saudi Arabia, were reinforced and religious hardliners within Pakistan were appeased rather than challenged. Zia’s program of Islamization in all areas of life, public and private, has left traces even today – these are the scars Toor refers to in the above citation. Even Benazir Bhutto would not dare confront the

religious parties, and the draconian Hudood ordinances and blasphemy laws, for example, are still in place. Although resistance to Zia's policies was dangerous, Toor rightly highlights the Women's Action Forum as one of the associations which gained widespread public support, not only as a political organization but also in terms of cultural production at a time when culture was forcibly aligned with Maududi's agenda (138-139). Zia's regime was able to endure largely as a result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the massive influx of American aid; when the Soviets left, the Americans also abruptly dropped their anti-communist ally and its battalions of mujahideen warriors, leaving behind a gun-and-drug culture as a souvenir of the war.

The final chapter deals with the situation of women and minorities in the 1990s. Zia's handiwork would not be easily erased, and the aforementioned Kalashnikov culture made for increasing levels of violence within civil society, especially targeting those who were something other than Sunni Muslims (161). Special mention is made of the heroic efforts of the legal activists Asma Jahangir and Hina Jilani in fighting for women's rights and the repeal of the blasphemy laws, issues which continue to occupy activists to this day, not to mention the recurrent problem of honor killings (161). An epilogue brings the reader into the present "security state" of Pakistan (185), dealing primarily with the military's "parasitic" relation to the Pakistani people in terms of land ownership and other corporate ventures (188). As such, Toor is pessimistic about the prospects for Pakistan's democratic future, at least in the short term, and the economic outlook is not much better, as conditions imposed by the IMF and others handicap any real monetary progress (191; 200). Thirty pages of detailed endnotes round out the volume, supplying helpful additional information for the reader who might be a little fuzzy on some of the historical details.

The State of Islam ranks among the finest of socio-historical scholarship to be found among the literature today, and will be much appreciated by teachers and researchers, diplomats and politicians alike for its clear, objective presentation of the complex equation of Pakistani cultural politics. I especially appreciated the chapter on Ayub Khan, who is often presented in historical scholarship as a "good dictator," dragging Pakistan kicking and screaming into the modern era; Toor re-places Ayub's regime within its historical context, thus achieving a more nuanced perspective on the "decade of development." Much is to be learned from Saadia Toor's excellent book, perhaps most importantly the mistakes which have been made throughout Pakistan's short history, mistakes which must be analyzed and understood in order to better plan for the future.

Islam, Women, and Violence in Kashmir: Between India and Pakistan

Reviewed by Namrata Mitra

Islam, Women, and Violence in Kashmir: Between India and Pakistan. Nyla Ali Khan. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (Comparative Feminist Studies Series). 2010. 211 pages. ISBN – 13: 978-0230107649.

While news stories from violence battered Kashmir have appeared in the international pages/ sections of newspapers world over for the last six decades, the dominant tropes of representation haven't changed much; the voice of Kashmiris themselves have been routinely subordinated to India's and Pakistan's resounding claims of entitlement to the civic and territorial borders of Kashmir. Nyla Khan's *Islam, Women, and Violence in Kashmir: Between India and Pakistan* (2010) is extremely significant and timely for two reasons: first, she traces the political and cultural history of Kashmir's demand for self-determination through the category of "Kashmiriyat," which draws on the vibrant diversity of Kashmir's cultural and political heritage, and second, her project is feminist, drawing on the intersectionality of gender, sexuality, religious identity, and ethnicity in discussing the varied forms of resistance in Kashmir.

Khan is writing from a complex social location. Her maternal grandfather Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah spent his entire political career, both as the prime minister of Kashmir from 1948-53 and 1977-82, and during his long periods of incarceration as a political prisoner, advocating Kashmir's independence in the form of a plebiscite so that Kashmiris themselves could determine their political future. Khan re-iterates an impassioned plea for political self-determination. Placing her own speaking subject position under analysis, she cautions herself from "sanctifying the past," while navigating between "personal memories" and the "burden of history" which she has inherited (xvi). What is particularly moving and refreshing about Khan's narrative of Kashmiri history is her feminist methodology and commitment to her subject, in which she not only interrogates her own standpoint but also examines the gap between memories and histories itself. The dominant historical and political narratives of Kashmir rarely include

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

the memories and voices of the countless marginalized women, such as survivors of sexual violence (mostly at the hands of the Indian military and paramilitary forces), currently living in the Kashmir Valley who see themselves as agents of political action. Khan places these voices at the center of her narrative, and what we have as a result is the beginning of an urgent political and cultural discourse of sovereignty starting from the margin. She includes personal interviews with women who have been sexually violated and brutalized by the Indian military forces. Silenced by the government and alienated from their own community for being “dishonored,” some are traumatized and unable to speak while others fight to be heard (121-27).

As the second half of the title suggests, the story of Kashmir in recent history has mostly become a story of an unrelenting and brutal proxy war between India (represented by its military and paramilitary forces for the alleged protection of Kashmiris) and Pakistan (represented by the Pakistani border control forces and militant groups receiving direct and indirect support from Pakistan Intelligence Agencies). Khan complicates this paradigm a step further through a global level analysis by showing how one of the fallouts of the cold war during the 1970's-80's was that the Soviet Union extended its support for India's military presence in Kashmir in 1962 by voting against the plebiscite in Kashmir (84), and in more recent history, the post 9/11 discourse in the U.S. has been also been replicated and deployed by India to bolster the presence of the Indian military in Kashmir (163-64). The demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir which India, Pakistan, and the U.N. have come close to supporting at different times has always been put aside since one of the main conditions for it as delineated by the U.N. is the withdrawal of troops by both Pakistan and India. However, as this condition has never been met by either of the two neighboring countries neither has the promise of plebiscite ever been realized (34). Moreover, Khan provides a fascinating history of every election held in Kashmir since 1948, and we find out that on most occasions the results were engineered through extensive booth capturing and intimidation, often with interference from India.

Where then does Khan locate a resource towards cultural and political self determination in Kashmir? We get her response through the course of the book, in terms of how she unpacks “Kashmiriyat”: a modern national consciousness first forged by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Since the thirteenth century Kashmir has been placed under Hindu rule, Buddhist rule, Muslim rule and Dogra (Hindu) rule (1-2). While each rule brought its own share of violence and political exclusions, perhaps most so under the last Dogra rule during which the Muslim majority population in Kashmir were excluded from most governmental, police, and

military offices, the effect of the varied cultural and political histories in the region has culminated in a syncretic cultural ethos powerfully present until the 1970s and in decline ever since. The particular formulation of Kashmiriyat that Khan inherits from her grandfather is not one of abstract ideals but rather comes in the form of very specific political measures:

[...T]he eradication of a feudal structure and its insidious ramifications; the right of the tiller to the land he worked on; the unacceptability of any political solution that did not take the aspirations and demands of the Kashmiri people into consideration; the right of Kashmiris to high offices in education, the bureaucracy, and government; the availability of medical and educational facilities in Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh; the preservation of literatures, shrines, and historical artifacts that defined an important aspect of Kashmiriyat[...] 40

At the same time, it is also a cultural consciousness whose defining characteristic is that it celebrates the plurality of religious and ethnic identities in Kashmir (R.L. Hangloo qtd. in Khan 42). Khan invokes the poetry of Lalla-Ded, a fourteenth century ascetic poet, whose works have come to signal the long history of the cultural syncreticism in Kashmir. She shows how Lalla-Ded's works perform a powerful critique of patriarchal structures and traditional gender norms while calling for religious and political enlightenment.

For Khan the freedom of Kashmir and the emancipation of its women citizens are not two separate issues but very much a part of the same. One of the most compelling chapters in the book titled "Negotiating Boundaries of Gender, Community, and Nationhood" focuses on the lives of women currently residing in Kashmir. As she tells us, the study of escalating violence committed against women by the Indian military especially in last three decades (123-27) and by Pakistan-backed militants during 1940's and 1990's (29-30 and 107-08) has to be undertaken through an intersectional analysis of nation, womanhood, sexuality, religious identity, and "communal honor." In offering us a vision of women's agency in contemporary Kashmir, Khan takes us through their multiple different forms of political participation; ranging from *Dukhtara-e-Milat* (Daughters of the Nation) a reactionary group policing women's behavior, clothing, and company, to survivors of sexual violence and intimidation who refuse to stop seeking justice, and figures such as Begum Akbar Jahan and her organization *Jammu and Kashmir Markazi Behboodi Khwateen* (1975).

In her conclusion, Khan re-invokes her maternal grandfather's demand for a Kashmir that is determined by its own citizens and not the military strengths and garrisons of its powerful neighbors. Ashish Nandy's Afterword titled

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

“Negotiating Necrophilia” draws our attention to some of the terrible outcomes of the years of violence in Kashmir, such as the vast human rights abuses in Kashmir, the high number of casualties, comprising not only those whose deaths are officially recorded but even higher numbers of “unofficial dead.” Showing the historical turn of certain political formations, Nandy comments on how the Kashmiri Pandits driven out of their ancestral homes have since joined hands with Hindu right wing parties in India. As Nandy says, the fallout of the sixty years of direct and proxy war between India and Pakistan has led to an intensified militarization of the two countries contributing to a culture of impunity in both states and escalating violence in other regions of the two countries. Khan’s book makes an important contribution to postcolonial and feminist scholarship on South Asia and it would be of significance to both scholars and non-specialist readers interested in the history and current reality of the growing violence against Kashmiri citizens today.

Admission and Visa process of Norway for Pakistani Students

By Mashhood Ahmed Sheikh

Norway and Iceland are probably the only countries in the world where the higher education is free of cost for citizens of other countries, including Pakistan (earlier Sweden and Denmark used to offer free education as well, but now they have imposed tuition fees for students from outside of European Union). Therefore, many Pakistani students may find this short guide useful for study in Norway.

The process of admission to Norway is as follows:

1 - Visit <http://www.studyinnorway.no/> to search for Master programmes and Bachelor programmes taught in English and their institutes. The requirement for admission into any master degree in Norway is 16 years of education from Pakistan¹, and the requirement of admission into Bachelors degree is at least one year of university education from Pakistan^{2, 3}.

2 - Read the requirements of the programmes you are interested in.

3 - Apply in at least 8 Programmes, since the admission is getting more competitive every year now. Send application by regular Pakistan Post (<http://www.pakpost.gov.pk/>). Do not waste money on DHL, Fedex, TCS etc. All your documents should be attested. Preferably, the documents should be sent by your institution in Pakistan. You only need to send the attested copies (from IBCC, HEC, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and not the original degrees, transcripts and certificates.

Recommended list of required documents for admission

- You need your bachelors degree + transcripts and copies attested from HEC⁴ and also from Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁵.

- Matric and Intermediate (F.A⁶/Fsc⁷) degree + transcripts and copies attested from relevant board, IBCC⁸ and also from Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁹.
- English translated Birth Certificate from Union Council/Municipality and attested from Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹⁰. Copy certified by Notary Public.
- Family registration Certificate from Nadra¹¹. Copy certified by Notary Public.
- Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC). Copy certified by Notary Public.
- Valid Passport. Copy certified by Notary Public (only first page).
- Experience letter (if any). Copy certified by Notary Public.
- Recent passport size photo.
- IELTS (5.5 or 6.0 over-all-band, depending on the requirements of the institute). Certified by Notary Public.
- At least two Reference letters/Recommendation letters from teachers and employers. (*at least one from your former teacher*). Certified by the institute. Make sure that the name of the recommender, his/her email address and/or phone numbers are indicated on the letter.
- Motivation letter/ Statement of purpose.
- Bank statement of around 13 Lac Rupees. It could be a one day statement--no need to show history in transactions, you only need to show that you have this amount of money in your account, or your sponsor's account (with an affidavit).
- You may also get the English Translated Marriage Certificate/*Nikah* Form+photocopies, attested, or English Translated Un-Married Certificate +photocopies, and attested.
- If any document is not in English, then submit the official credentials in original language and a certified translation in English as well.
- Resume/CV.
- Any Educational or Training Certificate that will maximize your chances to get admission.

4 - If you get the admission then transfer the required money (89,000NOK) in your University's bank account. This money is only to prove that you are able to cover your living expenses in Norway for a year. This money is returned to the students after arriving in Norway.

5 - Apply for visa at the Norwegian Embassy in Islamabad with the required documents mentioned at the website of Norwegian Embassy in Islamabad (See ¹²).

6 - Come to Norway, save money, and get higher education for free.

¹ Four years of university education.

² you need to have passed at least one year of University studies (One year of B.A/BSC/B.com, or any other One year Diploma from any HEC recognized University, which is above the Intermediate (F.A/Fsc) level, and equivalent to one year of bachelor studies).

³ See further details at <http://www.nokut.no>

⁴ Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. URL: <http://www.hec.gov.pk/InsideHEC/Divisions/QALI/DegreeAttestationEquivalence/DegreeAttestationServices/Pages/Default.aspx>

⁵ URL: http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Pages/Attestation_Documents.htm

⁶ Fellow of Arts.

⁷ Fellow of Science.

⁸ Inter Board Committee of Chairmen. URL: <http://www.ibcc.edu.pk/Attestation.htm>

⁹ URL: http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Pages/Attestation_Documents.htm

¹⁰ URL: http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Pages/Attestation_Documents.htm

¹¹ URL:

http://www.nadra.gov.pk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11&Itemid=14

¹² <http://www.norway.org.pk/Embassy/visa/RESIDENCE-PERMIT/What-documents-should-I-bring/When-I-wish-to-study-in-Norway/>

An Escape to Takht-e-Bahi (Mardan)

By Shaikh Muhammed Ali

“Do they not travel through the land, so that their hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear?” - Juz 17, Sura Hajj (XXII), Verse 46, Quran.

I have been trying to find the reason I am so fond of traveling since I was a child. The first answer I found when I was around seven years of age and happened to read my horoscope—a science which I hardly understood at that tender age—and discovered to my astonishment that I was a Capricorn. Yes, a mountain goat which rises to splendid heights up in the mountains.

Another reason I found recently around 4:30 in the morning, when I happened to read the above verse in the Quran. It somehow captures my thirst for traveling and knowledge: the ‘wandering dervish’ I have come to be known as by my friends. I realized that my heart pumps with fresh blood during each newer and crazier escapade down un-beaten tracks to remote locations within the land of the pure: Pakistan.



(On the Grand Trunk Road headed for Nowshera)

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

Ishfaq Anwar, a much younger former colleague, once said that since I really was crazy about visiting the ruins in this country, I must visit Takht-e-Bahi, one of the oldest Gandhara period sites in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). This notion somehow got stuck in my eccentric mind, and a visit to Takht-e-Bahi ruins had been on my travel list for some years, but with the political, ethnic, and religious upheaval in NWFP in general and the close proximity of this district in particular to Malakand Division where Taliban abound, I put it off. As it now seems that the Taliban are here to stay and the situation is not getting any better, I decided to take the long awaited journey. Of course, I could not have travelled without my family and so I had to be more cautious this time around.



(Detour off Nowshera toward Mardan)

The pilgrimage

The first Saturday of the month came as it usually does. It was a holiday, Saturday being lately declared a non-working day by the government of Pakistan, so we packed our bags with “hit the road Jack” written all over our faces. We took the Grand Trunk Road north from Islamabad, passing through Taxila, Hassan Abdal, Attock City, Attock Khurd, Khairabad, and finally taking the detour off Nowshera through Mardan to reach Takht-e-Bahi, a cool 163 kilometers from our house in Islamabad.



(Twelve more kilometers to go)

By the time we reached Mardan, we were almost starving and thus stopped at a famous roadside hotel the Mardan Restaurant serving the local Mardan Nan (Bread) and their famous Chapli Kebabs. Although children were searching for the likes of McDonalds or Pizza Hut, we had to make do with what was available. The food was sumptuous indeed, later topped with the local Qahva (Green tea) to wash all the meat (did I forget to mention the lamb?). Before we ate ourselves to intoxication, we decided to hit the road again and reached our actual destination, Takht-e-Bahi.



(Almost there)

We reached the Takht-e-Bahi ruins around 4:00 p.m. and simply started climbing the mountain, the views growing ever more awe-inspiring as we rose to higher

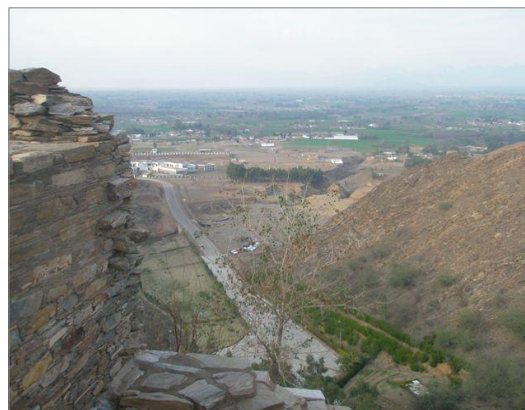
Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

altitudes. What one can find in the Taxila museum is in no way close to what we saw on top of these hills. We were actually walking through, breathing in and visualizing history when we visited the huge stupas, amazing chapels, monk's quarters, study chambers, meditation rooms, refectory etc. The views across the plain, south-west to Peshawar and north to Swat, were an added bonus.



(The history of Takht-e-Bahi at the entrance of the ruins)

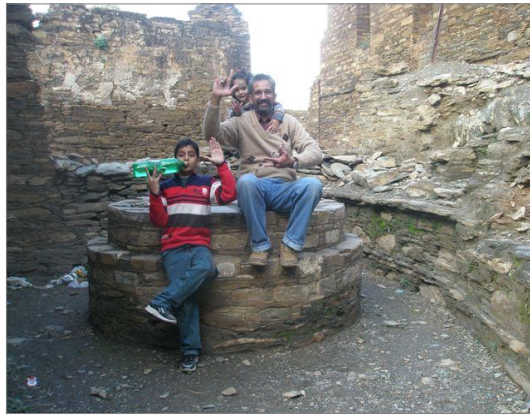
After spending almost two hours in the mountains thoroughly appreciating the peace and serenity of this wonderful heavenly abode, we decided to descend before the Maghreb prayers. I hasten to add that Mardan is rather safe and, as of this writing, there was no news of the Taliban or any other force taking over this beautiful mountain town.



(A beautiful view from the top)

A little bit of History

Mardan, 60km north-east of Peshawar, is famous as the birth place of the ‘Guides’, the Queen’s Own Guide Corps, an elite British regiment of North West Frontier soldier-spies founded in the 1840s. The local people here are predominantly Yusufzai Pashtuns. The town itself has little to offer but it’s a base for seeing a concentration of Buddhist and other ancient sites of Gandhara. ¹



(Modern day Stupas, the author with Adil and Ayesha)

Takht-e-Bahi, by far the best and most complete of all Gandhara’s ruins are of this 1st to 7th century AD Buddhist monastery, spectacularly placed on the rocky hill 15 km north-west of Mardan. It was excavated from 1907 to 1913 and later reconstructed. ²

Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012)

Getting there & away

Takht-e-Bahi is approximately a one hour drive from Peshawar (N5 east to N45 north), three hours from Mingora (N95 south to N45 south), Dir (N45 south), Rawalpindi or Islamabad (N5 west to N45 north).



(A beautiful view of the passage way where Buddhist monks once strolled)

References

1. The lonely planet, Pakistan, John King, Bradley Mayhew, David St. Vincent, 5th edition, July 1998.
2. *ibid.*

A Tribute to Pathanay Khan Part – II

By Waqar Haider Hashmi

Akheen ku deikh akhi khush theewan...

Inh akheean naal dikheenda...

Inh akheean de naal jhirri de jhaire...

Iee akhhi likhen dard firaq walay...

Wul akhian naal parheenda...

Yaar Fareeda akhian ku kujh na theeway...

Inh akheean naal channan vikhhinda...

Line by Line Translation:

1st Line: Eyes of the lover glow with happiness when they embrace the Beloved's (God's) vision... [Joy of contemplation & connection with the divine grace]

2nd Line: With these eyes one visualizes... [Inner sight or insight to contemplate or to meditate – *me-contemplates!*]

3rd Line: These eyes reveal the ordeal of the lover or depict the patterns of longing...

4th Line: And with these very eyes the Beloved reads the pains the lover has gone through... [Signs of love labor become evident with these eyes]

5th Line: And with these eyes one reads... [Understanding the esoteric meanings with this insight]

6th Line: Dear Fareed, may nothing happen to these eyes... [Nothing shall befall on these eyes...]

7th Line: As with these eyes one sees the light... [This sight gives insight to the divine wisdom or intellect...]

Pathanay's patch work with Baba Fareed's & Shah Hussain's *kafis* [a classical form of Sufi poetry] is like a signature dress of a *faqeer* [saint] on which different patches add value and color, and hence is in fact the high point of *Meindi uj kul ukh phurkaandi hey...* [My eye these days has started flickering or in other words the end of temporary life is near...] *Pai khabar visaal di aandi hey...* [Seems it is a sign of apparent communion... unification...]

Flickering eyes refer to the fading light and also stand for an omen. Ghulam Fareed, uses the delicate expression to rejoice his inner spiritual mood which anticipates the prospects of an earlier communion with his Beloved.

It is a testimony to Pathanay's touch and class when he flames this Kaafi with a raag darbari alaap in a pensive and authoritative mood subsequently gaining fast momentum when he says '*ukh pharkaandi he...*'. Pathanay truly knew how to portray depth of a dark shale well and how to embrace the heights of heavens in a flick of a second.

'*Khushian kurdi maa peyou jaai hey...*' [Refers to the joy of parents of a girl who celebrate birth; bring her up and then also feel happiness with each approaching moment before the wedding day... body shall dissolve in the dust, as it was from where it was derived, but purified souls & spirits belong only to heavens indeed. It is pertinent to note that there is a word '*Urs*' [communion] a sufi philosophy which relates to the context.

The connection Pathanay creates when he renders the *Meinda dil Ranjhan rah wal munge...* [I long for my Beloved...]. The requirements of the raag; the urge of the lover; and prayer like style of making the request gels well with the Poet's mood and writing style. It can never be anything other than a divine inspiration to make it easy for the mortals to understand the esoteric meaning of

the verses infused with so much pain, love and affection. This is what Pathanay managed to create with his passion for singing in the subtle Sufi genre.

The kafi fades away sublimely with the following enchanting verses:

Jungle baille phiraan dhudhaindi... [I roam one wilderness after another searching...]

Ranjhan meray sang hey... [whereas my Beloved is with me...]

Mahiyaan aaiyaan, mainda Dholan na aaya... [Fellows came, but Beloved did not come...]

Heer kooke vich Jhange... [Lover cries in the wilderness... Heer is a popular folklore heroine]

Kahe Hussain faqeer sain da... [Says Shah Hussain the faqeer of Lord Almighty...]

Ranjhan mille kithe dhange... [Where & how can the Beloved be found?...]

Theia Fareed suhag sawaya... [Fareed's cherishes his festive mood...]

Moula jhok nu aan wasaya... [My Friend has arrived to please me...]

Ranjhan maida mein ghar aaya... [My Beloved has graced my abode with His presence...]

Jein kaarun dil mandi hey... [My heart is merry because of this...]

Khawaja Ghulam Fareed's *Kiya haal sunawan dil da...* [what shall I say about the state of my heart...] sheds light on the hardship a Sufi goes through while amassing the mystical experience. Baba Fareed says that the way is very

hard and harsh. That no one knows the experience a mystic goes through in order to negotiate the maze of heart leading to the signs of the immortal Beloved.

There is a nostalgic aspect to Pathanay's rendition of Shah Hussain's *Mein vi jaana jhok ranjhan di...* [I also have to reach the Beloved's place...] What Pathanay adds to the words '*mintaan*'; '*Ranjhan*' and '*Kahay Hussain*' is unexplainable. One can only say it is sheer magic. Even demystification of the following verses does not take away the charm:

Perian poundi; mintaan kardi; jaana taan peya kallay... [Urged many to accompany me but ultimately I had to reach destination...]

Ne vi doonghi; tilla purrana, sheehaan pattan mallay... [The river is deep and also the bridge creaks as people step on it, and tigers have occupied the banks...]

Ranjhan yaar tabeeb sureenda; main tan dard awallay [Though my Beloved is known as a great healer; but I doubt if my pains are curable...] *Je koi mitran di khabar le aaway; huth de daindi aan challay...* [Whosoever brings any news of my companions; I shall give him my rings...] It is not clear if Shah Hussain is referring to the incidence that took place when Hazrat Ali (Karam Allah Wajhu) was in prayers and while in prostration he advanced his hand towards a beggar to take away his precious rings. *Kahay Hussain faqeer nimana; sain sinhyore ghallay...* [Shah Hussain the naive faqeer says O'Beloved! send me a message for communion!...] Pathanay spellbinds the listener with his magical touch.

Dilri lutti... [surrender of heart...] is another classic of quintessential Pathanay's - one which after listening to; makes you feel as if it was always a part of your soul.

Just consider the changes in mood, Pathanay had to keep in mind while rendering these lines:

Dilri lutti tain yaar sajan... [O Friend and Beloved, I surrender my heart to you...]

Kaddi maur moharan aa watan... [Please grace my abode with your presence...]

Pathanay does not fail to hint out the touch of affection the poet depicts in the opening line and for that matter captures nostalgia associated with the second line. The tough terrain of Rohi is significant for the mystic poet as well as Pathanay. The experiences a woman in love comes across are symbolically employed in the following lines and Pathanay's natural accent portraying the true meanings in delicate manner adds brilliance to the piece of written art.

Rohi de kandre khandi aan... [I get the thorns of Rohi...]

Mendi dukhan kanaan di aan waliyan... [My ear rings have started aching my ears...]

Assan raatan dukhan vich jaagian... [With this pain I could not sleep for several nights...]

Rohi banaya eei cha watan... [You have made Rohi my homeland...]

Rohi di ajab bahar disse... [The spring in Rohi is awe inspiring...]

Jithe main nimaani da yaar wasse... [Where my Friend dwells...]

Uthe aashiq bhi lukh hazar tasse... [Where plenty of lovers dwell who could not quench their thirst yet...]

Hik mein musafar be watan... [And I am the solitary wanderer sans homeland...]

Another of Pathanay's masterpiece is based on a dialogue between *Sohni*, a famous folklore character and her clay pot. The legend has it that Sohni used to swim using clay pot, so that she might not drown while swimming across the river, to the place her beloved *Mahiwal* used to graze buffaloes.

Waqar Haider Hashmi

Sohni ghare nu aakhdi, uj mainoo yaar milla gharia... [Sohni urging her clay pot and says *O'ghara* take me to my Beloved...]

Keewain millan mahiwal nu, darya zouran na uj charia... [How would I be able to meet my Love, as the river flows savagely...]

Music was at its best when Pathanay sings Sufi poetry. It would without doubt take hundreds of years for music lovers to get out of the Pathanay's trance. His magical touch would live for all times to come.

Lahore Evenings

By Rizwan Akhtar

Only there, the evenings could have sounds
and when I stared back adjusting my hood
an old tree stooping over me in the Jinnah Bagh
at a blessing distance; a vendor slinked past.

On the Charing Cross I saw the colonial structures
oddly brushed by the five o'clock faces
So I let my cycle waddle on the pavement
and invented, in their noise, an obscurity.

In a t-shaped alley, a beggar threw his patience
I sneaked through a gap in the broken wall
at the edge of a small bush, lonely and evoked.
The brown silence scraped my knuckles.

I knew it was irritating. The way decrepit houses
drew subtle shadows from dusty light, the bush
let out its foul smell on my nostrils
I gulped the spit of my grown tongue.

Too smart, said a skeletal woman with a trunk
of her arm poking with sticks of her fingers,
clueless, and coiled in stares; a primitive snort
in her grating gutturals.

And I paddled all the way home, saw children
scattered in a strange harmony over the city
the time hissed from the November twilight,
yip, yip, yip.