Empty Homogeneous Time and the Narratives of Nationalism and Marxism

A Study of Research Practices in Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

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Muhammad Ahmed Bin Tariq

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Zahid, Muneeb, Baqir, Laraib, Suhail, Baha, Imtiaz and Faheem; all of them, a gem of a human being in their own distinctive ways. You'll forever be in my prayers

Abstract

The temporal dimension of human life and the confines it imposed have been the most theorized-upon elements in the studies of sociality and occupy a central place in the contemplations of the philosopher. This dissertation engages with the temporality following Walter Benjamin's idea of Empty, homogeneous time and its impact on the discourses of Nationalism and Marxism in Pakistani academia in general and Quaid-i-Azam University in particular.

Along the way, the formation of Pakistan, its educational progress and Islamist ideological influences have been discussed in order to properly understand the formation of a peculiar pedagogic apparatus in the institutions of higher education. The shortcomings of the dissertations in QAU are elaborated in order to properly situate the research, its locale and the primary texts. The exposition of the discourse of nationalism is construed by identifying and exposing the central tenets which constitute the discursive formations, alongside a historical polemic which helps understand the background in which these defining elements have brewed.

The theories of Benedict Anderson and historians of Subaltern school have guided the research and tied a theoretical knot which shows the affinities between the discourses of Nationalism and Marxism in Pakistan. The chief actors in offering different interpretations of nationalism are ethno-nationalists; those wretched of the earth who have found a common solidarity with the inferior classes in the hierarchy established by capitalism. Therefore, it is important to read the chapter on Nationalism and Marxism in tandem. Finally, the research does not offer any ready-made solutions to the problems ailing Pakistan; it remains an indeterminate account of a textual politics which tries hard to evade the oft-imposing determinants of research paradigms.

Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction

The idea of empty, homogeneous time has been critically evaluated by many scholars to argue that the shift which has taken place in the early 19th century, not only in the human sciences as Foucault spotted it, but in every other domain of cultural life as well, has appeared to be all pervasive due to the inevitability of temporality in the life-world of human beings.

This idea of time has been appropriated mainly from Walter Benjamin's highly influential 'thesis on the philosophy of history' and has been employed by various writers to deconstruct the seemingly eternal presence of the structures which modernity has installed in the contemporary spaces of human interaction. Though this idea of time has been integral in the so-called civilizing mission of European colonists, the interpretation of Benjamin which permeates a strong sense of the force of a self-reflective Marxist analysis in the face of fascist movements in Europe, not only articulates it better, but also dichotomizes the idea with the notion of messianic time which acts as its nemesis and the raw material for the voices of dissent, those who refused to be homogenized in an empty time to articulate 'wreckage upon wreckage', to build their critiques of modernity.

This wreckage is an effect of the progress, pursued incessantly in the capitalist society and made possible and inevitable through empty and homogenous time. According to Benjamin, "the concept of the historical progress of mankind cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogeneous, empty time. A critique of the concept of such a progression must be the basis of any criticism of the concept of progress itself."[1] Therefore, the idea of progress adopted by the development agencies is itself an accomplice with the capitalist system to substantiate the various exclusionary practices in the typically modern political structures which I will elaborate later.

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[1] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations*. New York, NY: Shocken Books.

Similarly, many other scholars, among them Foucault and E.P. Thompson, have also ruminated upon the time-disciplinary practices imbued within the modern political domains and ideologies which further solidified the class antagonisms and instantiated the illusory aspect of the idea of progress. Also, the boundlessness and irresistibility of the notion of progress, mentioned by Benjamin, is specifically constructed to incorporate the mankind itself as a whole, thereby wrecking the past's vestiges and rendering any possibility of messianic, immediate and ruptural time inconceivable.

These ideas of a non-homogeneous time are used by different scholars of modernity; they have employed it in disparate social settings and in evaluation of various modernizing structures, sometimes radically different from each other. For example, Benedict Anderson has argued in discussing the conception of time medieval period as a simultaneous one; 'a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present', which has been replaced by this empty, homogeneous time which is categorical in bringing about 'a fundamental change in modes of apprehending the world which made it possible to 'think' the nation'.

According to him, in this construal of time, simultaneity is…transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar.[2]

Talal Asad, however, though generally endorsing this conception of time as "a prerequisite for imagining the totality of individual lives that comprise a (national) community in which there are no privileged persons or events, and therefore no mediations", argues critically that "there are other temporalities—immediate and mediated, reversible and nonreversible—by which individuals in a heterogeneous society live and by which therefore their political responses are shaped."[3]

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[2] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
[3] Asad, T. (2003). *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

According to this view, although "homogeneous time of state bureaucracies and market dealings is…central to the calculations of modern political economy", it is not as pervasive as it might seem at first, since, and as has been noted in several ethnographic accounts, the congenital heterogeneity of the society resists to be incorporated and homogenized to be analytically evaluated as though it is the society itself which has been following a linear, unmediated trajectory in contrast to the core modernist and capitalist institutions. People continue regulating their lives and cultures in and through non-calendrical time.

Partha Chatterjee, in a critical review of Anderson's book, has reiterated the same point, though explicating it by establishing a dichotomy of utopia and heterotopia. According to him, "people can only imagine themselves in empty homogeneous time; they do not live in it…Empty homogeneous time is not located anywhere in real space—it is utopian. The real space of modem life is a heterotopia. Time here is heterogeneous, unevenly dense. Here, even industrial workers do not all internalize the work-discipline of capitalism, and more curiously, even when they do, they do not do so in the same way. Politics here does not mean the same thing to all people. To ignore this is, I believe, to discard the real for the utopian."[4]

Here, he not only asserts that the imposition of empty time on the people directly involved in the capitalist system varies in its reception, the ostensible omnipresence of this time can only make sense, to fall back on Anderson's theoretical paraphernalia, in the capitalist imaginings. The everyday life of ordinary people is distributed in several times which, tacitly, make themselves commensurable with the heterogeneity of individuals and societies, despite the reduction of 'the imaginings of nationhood' to 'the institutional grid of governmentality'.

Still, this disregard for the utopia is a bit problematic, as Chakrabarty has stated in discussing the politics of post-colonial Indian state that "historicism remains alive and strong today in the all the developmentalist practices and imaginations of the Indian

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[4] Chatterjee, P. (1999). Anderson's Utopia. *Diacritics, 29*(4), 128-134.

state."[5] This signifies that even if people imagine themselves in empty, homogeneous time, these imaginations have strong repercussions in 'the real space of modern life'.

Similarly, consider this evaluation of Anderson by Chatterjee; "when he chastises the "long-distance nationalism" of Irish-Americans for being so out of touch with the "real" Ireland, he ignores the fact that "Ireland" here truly exists only in utopian space, since the real space of this politics is the heterotopia of contemporary American social life."[6] However, despite the positioning in the utopian realm, this criticism doesn't make it lose all of its meanings in the narrative discussions and polemical politics of Irish people in Ireland concerning Irish migrants in America. Heterotopia might be the real social space, but utopia still encroaches and disrupts the everyday life through its development narratives and nationalistic sentiments which Anderson mentioned. Isn't it the case that almost every attempt for progress, which has its directionality framed as top-to-bottom, is a case for the disruption of heterotopia, or insertion into utopia?

Chatterjee, however, further argues that "empty homogeneous time is the utopian time of capital. It linearly connects past, present, and future, creating the possibility for all of those historicist imaginings of identity, nationhood, progress, and so on".[7]

These historicist imaginings were explained by Dipesh Chakrabarty as "a mode of thinking about history in which one assumed that any object under investigation retained a unity of conception throughout its existence and attained full expression through a process of development in secular, historical time."[8] This retention of unity of an object and its development in a linear, mainly Eurocentric path is only possible in an empty, homogeneous time as an essential element in the legitimation of post-colonial development narratives of nation-states and international capitalist institutions.

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[5] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[6] Chatterjee, P. (1999). Anderson's Utopia. *Diacritics, 29*(4), 128-134.
[7] Chatterjee, P. (1999). Anderson's Utopia. *Diacritics, 29*(4), 128-134
[8] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chakrabarty also explained the reason of denoting this version of time as an empty, homogeneous one; for him "this time is empty because it acts as a bottomless sack: any number of events can be put inside it; and it is homogeneous because it is not affected by any particular events; its existence is independent of such events and in a sense it exists prior to them." This definition is generally inclusive and congruous with the different points mentioned by different scholars, such as Asad's injunction of unmediated events in the political arena, therefore, in this study, I will retain Chakrabarty's definitions of both empty, homogeneous time and historicism, which are almost similar, and use them as the bedrock of the research which I will explain in the proceeding sections.

Here, however, I should mention a dissymmetry in the interpretation of history by Benjamin and Chakrabarty; according to Chakrabarty, whose primary focus in *Provincializing Europe*, besides provincializing Europe, is to trace the genealogy of the discipline of history, "history's own time is godless, continuous and, to follow Benjamin, empty and homogeneous",[9] whereas, on the other hand, Benjamin asserts that "history is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous, empty rime, but time filled by, the presence of the now [Jetztzeit]."[10] Though their objectives in these statements are not similar, yet both these statements construe history contrarily, and these differential construals of history will be an important part of this study.

Despite differences among scholars, it can be argued that this concept of time is a fundamental category of modernity as an epistemological regime and a generalized system of thought through which it constructs, sustains and legitimizes the various utopian structures and institutions, in the sense that they are not really involved with people's lives but somehow affecting them from the authoritative positions, such as nationalism, human rights, secularism, free market and their respective antagonistic counterparts. Nominally, this theoretical injunction has been appertained in several modern discourses, though it remains to be seen the magnitude of its apperception

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[9] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[10] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations.* New York, NY: Shocken Books.

through a critical analysis of the respective genealogy of its formation and positioning in a body of thought. In this research, I will be attempting to do that, albeit in a selective and limited domain.

As far as specifying the research thematic is concerned, the 'notoriety of historicism' to defy theoretical containments is exemplary. We have already seen Chakrabarty's stance.

There is an elaboration on some other directives advanced by different writers. If one of them claims that historicism is the doctrine "to fathom the mental universes of past cultures and societies in order to understand them—and a particular value stance—a belief that each culture and society was a product of its historic circumstance",[11] another would maintain that it refers to "the fact that all human life has always a historical tincture, and that therefore history may offer the key to the riddle of human destiny,"[12] not two wholly mutually exclusive arguments, but certainly emphasizing different aspects more rigorously than the others, which stresses the need to abide by a particular position on historicism/empty, homogeneous time, in order to dispel the ambivalence.

Moreover, the amount of criticism heaped on this idea is also a cause for its relative ambiguity, since every cultural critic has incorporated the critique of this idea in his subjective body of thought for various, disparate purposes. Just as Walter Benjamin has advocated the historical materialism by lambasting historicism, Chakrabarty has castigated the concept of historicism by adducing the inconsistencies of Marxism (historical materialism).

Therefore, despite multitudes of critiques, these terms turn out to be non-monolithic entities and should be treated as one. Consequently, this research follows the critical trajectory of empty and homogeneous time by specifying the genealogy, though admittedly subjective, of its inception and contain the overall framework of research within the pre-established confines.

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[11] Hoover, D. W. (1992). The New Historicism. *The History Teacher, 25*(3), 355-366.
[12] Kroner, R. (1946). History and Historicism. *Journal of Bible and Religion, 14*(3), 131-134.

Furthermore, apart from intra-conceptual differences, the question of the difference of this concept of time with other ones should also be studied extensively, which has been briefly countered in previous pages. In addition to these differences, the question that why linear progress in only made possible through an empty and homogeneous time must also be analyzed and answered, which means an indulgence in its subjective genealogy to make evident its distinctive construction as 'the time of capital'.

After determining the kind of empty, homogeneous time and historicism, it is important to discuss the manner of pursuing this research. The trajectory of this research is an indirect one, following Asad's technique; pursuance 'through the shadows' or rather its traces of various institutionalized philosophies, precisely due to the reason Asad offers in his critique of secularism, that it is 'so much part of our modern life'.

Therefore, to evaluate the persistence of empty, homogeneous time in the research analytics generated at the modern site of academic investigation—university, this research paradigm follows the notion of progress which has been employed to argue, for or against, that the progress only happens in a linear fashion and "concepts such as citizenship, the state, civil society, public sphere, human rights, equality before the law, the individual, distinctions between public and private, the idea of the subject, democracy, popular sovereignty, social justice, scientific rationality, and so on all bear the burden of European (historicist) thought and history(produced on the foreground with the underlying texture being empty, homogeneous construction of time)."[13]

In this research, therefore, the problem of empty, homogeneous time is deconstructed through an exploration of the idea of progress as it has been enunciated through the concepts of *nationalism* and *Marxism* in the social science research at Quaid-i-Azam University, specifically in the disciplines of Anthropology, History and Pakistan

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[13] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Studies. The importance of selecting these particular 'shadows' will be elaborated in another section, here, it will suffice to say that these three concepts have been distinctly contentious in the internal politics of the research being undertaken at the universities in Pakistan and these have already been substantially studied, which is important for the plausibility of the present research.

1.1 Nationalism

The inevitable presence of nationalism as a fundamental category of modern social life has been, just as the case with time, a consistent feature in the scholarly work, though it can be reduced to the fringes of the narrative, yet no description of any modern society is considered fully contextualized without an allusion to nationalism and nation-state. Several authoritative figures on this area have vouched for this constant, surreptitious buzz of nationalism in the narratives concerning disparate walks of life.

For example, a foremost theorist of nationalism, Ernest Gellner, has argued that "nationalism does seem to me explicable—at any rate *ex post*—as the inevitable, or at least the natural, corollary of certain salient and conspicuous traits of modern or modernizing societies."[14]

Similarly, Benedict Anderson claimed that "nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time."[15] Their accounts of the characteristic features of vehicle of nationalism, the modern nation-state, also bear several resemblances, but with differences which must be further explained in a context of the spatiotemporal existence of a nation-state.

According to Anderson, "what, in a positive sense, made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications

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[14] Gellner, E. (1981). Nationalism. *Theory and Society, 10*(6), 1-22.
[15] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.

(print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity,"[16] whereas, for Gellner, modern society is politically centralized, economically specialized, occupationally mobile, individuals here undergo a prolonged technical training (educational machinery) and equality in life-styles (equated with cultural homogeneity), and these are the distinctive features which made it possible for the nation-state to emerge.

Their views on the indispensible language of nationalism, however, contrast a little, where, for Gellner, "it is not the mother tongue that matters, but the language of the *ecole maternele*," Anderson, on the other hand, asserts that "print-language is what invents nationalism, not *a* particular language per se."

However, both the language of the school and print are peculiarly modern inventions, and specially, in post-colonies, their status can be traced back to the colonial regimes. Furthermore, imagined communities need not necessarily refer to and by nationalism, there were several hints in Anderson's book that several other sorts of imagined communities are also possible, and we can extend his thesis to argue, as Chakrabarty has also done, that this (national) community can co-exist with the differentially configured communities.

Moreover, though I have previously hinted on the concept of imagined community, this is not the point of contention in this research project. Here, I will be dealing with the placement of the narratives of nationalism in the broad, fluid contours of empty, homogeneous time.

Nationalistic sentiments have been criticized for their propensity toward the creation of a homogeneous populace, Gellner, nevertheless, argues that "it isn't so much that nationalism insists on homogeneity. It is an objective need for homogeneity which for better or for worse manifests itself as nationalism."[17] It remains to be seen, though,

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[16] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
[17] Gellner, E. (1981). Nationalism. *Theory and Society, 10*(6), 1-22.

that who is the agent cultivating this 'objective' need, can it be another imagined community, another potential nation.

Another distinguishing element must be considered in the discussion of nationalism, raised by Jonathan Culler in his discussion of Anderson's reckoning of the historical place of the novel; he states that "the distinction between the novel as a condition of possibility of imagining the nation and the novel as a force in shaping or legitimating the nation needs to be maintained, not only for greater theoretical rigor and perspicacity but also for the force of the argument.[18] This distinction is important to preserve the aforementioned rigor of the argument while arguing over various conceptual tools and mechanisms in the construction of the phenomena of nationalism, apart from the novel.

Gyan Prakash has also contested, in responding to the issue of post-orientalist historiographies, the use of these blanket categories to not only reify the essentialist arguments, but also issuing these essentialist categories. He, as several other development theorists have claimed, necessitates "the rejection of modes of thinking which configure the third world in such irreducible essences as religiosity, under-development, poverty, nationhood, non-Westerness" for a post-orientalist historiography.

Similarly, as I have already noted, he laid bare, in the case of India, "that which was common to nationalism as a whole: the assumption that India was an undivided subject, that is, that it possessed a unitary self and a singular will that arose from its essence and was capable of autonomy and sovereignty."[19] This is an example of not only issuance of essentialist, imagined categories, but also the continuation and consolidation of colonial structures.

Since here I will be dealing with the narratives constructed in the Pakistani academia, I will be specifically invoking and involving the debates of Pakistani nationalism.

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[18] Culler, J. (1999). Anderson and the Novel. *Diacritics, 28*(22). 19-39.

[19] Praskash, G. (1990). Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 32*(2), 383, 408.

Moreover, as Pakistan is a post-colonial state, and according to Chatterjee "it is there more than anywhere else in the modern world that one could show, with almost the immediacy of the palpable, the presence of a dense and heterogeneous time,"[20] the question become all the more pertinent that why is it that the research taking place here is so oblivious of these dense times in which heterotopic subjects of ethnographies and archival research live and have lived?

1.2 Marxism

The second basic analytical category in this research would be Marxism. Though it has become a virtually inexhaustible theoretical paradigm, here, the primary purpose, again, is not the exposition of supposedly congenital incoherencies in Marxism or to treat it as a monolithic, dogmatic doctrine which it certainly is for many people. This brand of Marxism is the one which is applied as a theoretical framework in the researches, without a critical evaluation, that is, the kind of research which conveniently bypasses "the problem of universalism/Eurocentrism that was inherent in Marxist (or for that matter liberal) thought itself."[21]

The purpose is to identify the simplistic, borrowed connotations of Marxism in the research about a peculiarly configured post-colonial society. Just like the notions of premodern, prenational and presecular are problematic, the concept of precapitalist relations of production also tries to inscribe a certain historicism in its subject matter. A lot of statements by Marx have been employed, mostly out of the context, by several scholars of difference to point out the (alleged) Euro-centrism in Marxism.

Consider the following statement, incorporated by Edward Said in his bid to declare Marx another one in the ranks of Orientalists; "England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of the Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia."[22]

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[20] Chatterjee, P. (1999). Anderson's Utopia. *Diacritics, 29*(4), 128-134
[21] Chakrabarty, D. (1993). Marx after Marxism: A Subaltern Historian's perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly, 28(*22). 1094-1096.
[22] Said, E. (2003), *Orientalism.* New York, NY: Penguin books.

Said's notoriously famous decontextualization of Marx's statement: "they cannot represent themselves, they must be represented", is something which has been discussed by several people and doesn't need further explanatio. However, the nature of this statement by Marx, in the first reading, usually has a sinister effect on the theoretical subtleties of many people but it has undergone a drill of post-structuralist strictures and the various interpretations of 'representation', such as the one presented by Spivak in her article *Can the subaltern speak?*, has purged it from its Euro-centric predilections. Likewise, Said's interpretation has also been rectified by focusing on the dual natured aspect of the original statement of the Marx.[23]

Similarly, Foucault's statement that "Marx doesn't exist…the sort of entity constructed around a proper name, signifying at once a certain individual, the totality of his writings, and an immense historical process deriving from him."[24] These critiques, disparaging the philosophical foundations of Marxism, find their justification from the fact that "Marxism is inconceivable except as a legatee of…rationalist tradition, a critique of this nature must be, at least implicitly, a critique of Marxism as well.[25]

Chakrabarty further contends that "much in Marx is truly 19th-century, gender-blind and obviously Eurocentric. A post-colonial reading of Marx…would have to ask if and how, and which of, his categories could be made to speak to what we have learnt from the philosophers of 'difference' about 'responsibility' to the plurality of the world."[26] Chakrabarty resolves this apparent discrepancy which emerges in the shape of the dichotomy which poses Marxism as a totalistic philosophy and competing with the philosophies of heterogeneity in an ingenious way which is briefly discussed in this research.

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[23] Howe, S. (2007). Edward Said and Marxism Anxieties of Influence. *Cultural Critique, 67,* 50-87.
[24] Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
[25] Chakrabarty, D. (1995). Radical Histories and Question of Enlightenment Rationalism: Some Recent Critiques of. *Economic and Political Weekly, 30*(14), 751-759.
[26] Chakrabarty, D. (1993). Marx after Marxism: A Subaltern Historian's perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly, 28*(22). 1094-1096.

Furthermore, since according to the philosophies of difference, the civilizing-modernizing process is inherently violent and there seems to be a near absolute unanimous acceptance of this violent leanings of the triumph of reason achieved through enlightenment principles, therefore, even if we accept, ephemerally at least, that Marxism is a meta-narrative of resistance against the capitalist-liberal ideologies, since its lineage has been drawn from the enlightenment rationalism, same charge of violence can be leveled against Marxism as well. For example, in the case of a proletariat class which is unaware of its proletarian social bearings and which can only be 'forced' into the class struggle, not only in the narrative discussions about their plight, but also in their life-worlds.

This ambivalence is created primarily by drawing on the notion of empty, homogeneous time and it can be resolved by intercepting it through an analytical coding mechanism which incorporates the heterogeneous temporalities and segmented analysis in the narrative. This consideration for the heterogeneous temporalities also dissolves the discrepant elements in the theoretical formalities.

Consider the fix offered by Chakrabarty in his reading of the concept of pre-capital: "the prefix 'pre' in 'pre-capital'…is not a reference to what is simply chronologically prior on an ordinal, homogeneous scale of time. 'Pre-capitalist' is a hyphenated identity, it speaks of a particular relationship to capital marked by the tension of difference in horizons of time. The 'pre-capitalist' can only exist within the temporal horizon of capital and is yet something that disrupts the continuity of this time precisely by suggesting another time that is not on the same, secular, homogeneous calendar (which is why what is pre-capital is not chronologically prior to capital)."[27]

This is a very unique interpretation offered by Chakrabarty of the term 'precapitalist', whereby his reading has transformed a homogenizing theoretical category into a subversive one. However, if one continues to map this precapitalist set of relations in the backdrop of empty, homogeneous time, then this analytical category would

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[27] Chakrabarty, D. (1993). Marx after Marxism: A Subaltern Historian's perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly, 28*(22). 1094-1096.

assume historicist, chronological aspects which Chakrabarty here wants to avoid. The empty, homogeneous time, labeled by Partha Chatterjee as utopian time, gets all too real because, then, the political transformations, development practices, state interventions etc would be patterned on the thematic of historicism.

Here, again, it is necessary to remind that all of these notions have already been routed quite comprehensively; in this research, the task is not to once again qualify their inconsistencies, but rather, despite all of these criticisms, their mindless incorporation in the social science research that has taken place at research in the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. An analysis of Marxism as a theoretical category and methodological practice would highlight the signposts, along with nationalism, which would point to the direction through which it would be possible to confront the empty, homogeneous time through its intermediaries.

1.3 Significance of the study

Although 'beings in time' constitute the bedrock of social science research, the problem of 'time-in-itself' remains hidden. Therefore, though it is highly unlikely that the anthropological research initiatives in Pakistan have, extensively and exclusively, focused on the problematic of time, considering it has been, in a way, always already there.

In order to pursue and evaluate the analytic of time and the procedures of its production, especially when firsthand ethnographic data of an inward looking, isolated community is not available and when the issue at hand is diverse and dispersed enough, it is pertinent to focus on the evident and manifested notions and their treatment in the respective researches and to use them, as appendages and corollaries, to get to the primary concept of epistemic worth at its archaeological level. This would be "knowledge…at the level of what made it possible,"[28] but since this research is more preoccupied with one of the categories of what makes it possible; time, it is important to identify that which has been made possible for the

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[28] Foucault, M. (2002). *The Order of Things*. New York, NY: Routledge.

purposes of clarification. Therefore, in order to delineate the 'analytic of time' in anthropological research, the narrative account pursues 'an analysis of time by critically evaluating the notion of progress enunciated through peculiarly European concepts of nationalism, democracy and secularism and their uncritical imposition, theoretically at least, on the indigenous realities'. The study, conducted thus, wouldn't only cover the extant of critical consciousness in the researches being undertaken, it would also provide an insight on the indigenous responses to the Euro-centric prejudices.

Chapter 2. Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Considering that this research mainly revolves around the specialists, it can only be operationalize in an exclusive setting. The main tool to dig and inquire the validity of the data will be intensive interviewing, along with an equal emphasis on the textual analysis whereby the traces of these texts reveal their positive unconscious; a level which "reveal a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientist and yet is part of scientific discourse, instead of disputing its validity and seeking to diminish its scientific nature."[29]

Therefore, it will employ *purposive sampling* technique since here "you decide the purpose you want informants (or communities) to serve, and you go out to find some…[T]here is no overall sampling design that tells you how many of each type of informant you need for a study. You take what you can get."[30]

Moreover, intensive case studies will also be a part of this research where "the object is often to identify and describe a cultural phenomenon."[31] Furthermore, "really in-depth research requires informed informants, not just responsive respondents—that is, people whom you choose on purpose, not randomly,"[32] so it goes without saying that the kind of informants upon whom this research is based are *specialized informants*, specifically because this is an inquiry of the people who form a very specialized strata of society.

The heterogeneous temporalities which configure the society in its anti-utopian-ness, its obscurantist constructions stem from a chronology which must be reversed in order to render these multiple temporal versions meaningful. As Foucault has stated it, "instead of deducing concrete phenomena from universals, or instead of starting with universals as an obligatory grid of intelligibility for certain concrete practices, I

[29] Foucault, M. (2002). *The Order of Things*. New York, NY: Routledge.
[30] Bernard, H. R. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology*. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.
[31] Bernard, H. R. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology*. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.
[32] Bernard, H. R. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology*. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.

would like to start with the…concrete practices and, as it were, pass these universals through the grid of these practices."[33]

This research will be an attempt to construe the perfunctory, everyday acts of people living their segmented identities through various segmentations of temporalities, though these heterologous elements of social life which are the subjects of this study have been subjected to a heteronomic process of researched textualities.

Here, again, Foucault would provide assistance to read us through it, he raised an important question which, though addressed to historians, could be presented to anyone engaged in scholarly work, according to him "let's suppose that universals do not exist. And then I put the question to history and historians: How can you write history if you do not accept a priori the existence of things like the state, society, the sovereign, and subjects?"[34]

Foucault's genealogical approach is the guiding principle for this research, because, though this research endeavor has been an attempt to dislodge an enlightenment prejudice, the traces of these anti-enlightenment narratives can still be considered as the illegitimate knowledges, as Foucault himself has described his genealogical project " what it [genealogy] really does is to entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchise and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects…They [genealogies] are precisely anti-sciences."[35]

It will be an objective of this research to recover these anti-sciences in already narrativized textualities which refused to conform to scientificity of a particular episteme and this Foucaultian approach will also theoretically guide this research.

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[33] Foucault, M. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
[34] Foucault, M. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
[35] Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge.* New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

2.1 Research Questions

What has been proposed in the preceding pages is an inquiry, both ethnographic and textual, of dissertations prepared by the graduate students of anthropology, history and Pakistan Studies at QAU, Islamabad and the disparate manners, ways, techniques and strategies they have employed to counter, confront or assimilate this conception of time in their narratives, descriptions and conclusions. Since this research involves a textual analysis of the written dissertations and concomitant interviews of their writers, it is a study gravitating toward specialists and their specific writings. It will be entirely composed of the dispersed points and human beings from different backgrounds, with the university and their social sciences concentration binding them in a congruity.

Considering this decentred and indirect approach of this research, the primary research question must be the one which can act as a balancing anchor for all the asymmetrical and overlapping peripheral questions. Following is the primary question for this research endeavor: *How time is constructed, through the theoretical and analytical categories of Nationalism and Marxism, in the social science researches conducted by students at QAU?*

This question is followed by several other, albeit less important, but it is indispensible to answer these in order to attain at least a semblance of exhaustiveness in the relatively smaller samples and respondents of this research.

These are some of the questions which I have tried to engage with in this research: To what extent the researches consciously confront this incorporation of empty, homogeneous time or whether it is uncritically retained in the written work of the researchers? How far the concept of empty, homogeneous time is entrenched in the former researches? What sorts of resistances have been offered against this construction of time? In what manner the formative process by which an empty, homogeneous notion of time has been crafted as a bedrock of the research? What would be the critical importance for the studies which have been sloppy to let a

homogeneous concept take the reins of their conclusions? The answers to these questions comprise the primary body of this research.

2.2 Research Objectives

The objective of this research is not whether empty, homogeneous time is real or not, or whether it is utopian or heterotopian, what is primarily being inquired here is the fact that despite people not living their actual lives in empty, homogeneous time, as Chatterjee argues, though it could be argued otherwise, but whether, how and why researchers, analysts and theorists in a particular place and time discursively construct their objects in the broader temporal thematic of the empty, homogeneous time.

This study is not about the real people engaged in 'face-to-face solidarities' but the reflection of these solidarities in critical appraisals by the scholars. In light of this deliberation, following objectives could be posited for this research:

1. To summarily develop a general assessment of the empty, homogeneous time in the work of the researchers, mainly students, in QAU and its effects on their narrative developments.

2. To categorize and explain the defining features of the discourse of Nationalism in the research material and present it with a historical context.

3. To categorize and explain the defining features of the discourse of Marxism in the research material and contextualize it with the academic discussions on Marxism.

Chapter 3. Situating a Pakistani University: Historical Lineage and Present Condition

3.1 Historical Background of Universities

University as a modern institution for advance learning is a recent invention, and its mass expansion is more recent still. The same is the case in South Asia; although here the emergence of universities was contemporaneous with the arrival of British colonialism. Though there were a number of religious institutions which, among other things, performed the educational services as well, the characteristic features of modern universities were missing.

"The first institution in India offering higher education in European subjects – as well as Indian subjects – was the Hindu College in Calcutta, founded in 1817."[36] The early colonial institutions were still not degree awarding ones, and their network was extended enough to reach only the aristocratic classes.

The expansion of modern education system in India catered to several purposes of the colonial government and Macaulay's minutes are a famous, rather an infamous, testament to that effect. This British established education system was not only temporally long lasting; it had deeper effects on South Asian cultural landscape where an entirely different sort of educational elite emerged which was, in most cases, completely at odds with the traditional authorities on knowledge and education. Moreover, its development and social depth was regionally uneven and this chapter, by taking Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU from here onwards) as a focal point, is an endeavor to explore some of this unevenness, primarily abetted and sustained by the contiguity of region to the locus of power in a given polity, in the context of Pakistan.

The expansion of modern education in India was a sine qua non for the colonial authorities; considering the nature of their administration and the number of British

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[36] Shils, E., & Roberts, J. (2004). The diffusion of European models outside Europe. In W. Rüegg (Eds.), A history of the university in Europe: Universities in the 19th and early 20th centuries (1800-1945), New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

personnel in India. The year 1857 was not only important for determining the sustenance of British rule but it also holds cardinal importance in the historiography of English styled education in India. University of Calcutta, established in 1857, was the first university in South Asia which was soon followed by University of Madras and University of Bombay later in the same year, with an explicit purpose of catering to the educational demands of Indians in the respective areas.

It is interesting to note that these universities were established after demands from certain sections of the public. Moreover, the universities were modeled on the administrative structure of University of London; therefore, they were merely a centralizing unit which was mainly responsible for examination of students who studied in various affiliated colleges.

In addition, since "India [was] a conquered country, academic freedom was feared. Hence the universities were not to be governed by academics nor were they completely free of the administrative control, or at least influence, of the higher bureaucracy."[37]

The impetus and rationale for these universities was provided by the Charles Wood, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer during the Great Irish Famine and later served as Secretary of State for India. He sent, in 1854, a dispatch to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General of India, which argued for the expansion of education in India; this dispatch was later dubbed as the "Magna Carta of English education in India." In 1882, in accordance with this dispatch, the first university in Punjab was established which was named University of the Punjab. This university, consequently, is the oldest university of the region which today constitutes Pakistan, though there were two other institutes of higher learning which were working since 1864 in Lahore, Government College and Formans Christian College.

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[37] Sustainable Development Policy Institute. (1993). Pakistani Universities: The Colonial Legacy (Research Report Series # 13, 1993). Islamabad, Pakistan: Tariq Rahman.

At the time of partition, Pakistan only had one university. Now, there are 179 universities across the country.[38] The educational policy of Pakistan concerning higher education is continually influenced by the colonial instructions for higher education and there are some continuities which can be traced in the universities and colleges which were established by the colonial officials[39] but this chapter is mostly preoccupied with the university which was a prototypically Pakistani institute: QAU, Islamabad.

Before embarking on an introduction of the spatial arrangement which contains the paradigmatic orientation of this research, it is better to introduce the general area which it would cover, considering the ambiguities which often pervade any discussion on the discursive formations.

Moreover, it would also bring to fore the general directions this dissertation takes and issues it addresses. The present research studies the trajectories of the discourses of Marxism and Nationalism in the social science graduate research which takes place in QAU by invoking the analytic of empty, homogeneous time.

Therefore, since it is a research conducted in a post-colonial polity, it would engage with the theoretical and empirical arguments forwarded by the South Asian, scholars, mainly the controversies which emerged in the wake of Subaltern Studies Initiative and the various attempts at the construction of Marxism and Nationalism by different scholars preoccupied with South Asia, where Pakistan still constitutes a marginalized periphery, specifically in research outcomes and new ways and models to understand the peculiar condition of a post-colony where the role of religion and other traditional ways of Being-in-the-world are somewhat more emblazoned.

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[38] Higher Education Commission Pakistan. (n.d.). List of HEC recognized universities. Retrieved from www.hec.gov.pk/english/universities/Pages/DAIs/HEC-Recognized-Universities.aspx
[39] Sustainable Development Policy Institute. (1993). Pakistani Universities: The Colonial Legacy (Research Report Series # 13, 1993). Islamabad, Pakistan: Tariq Rahman.

The discursive nature of this research and the reliance on the derivative sources wouldn't let it involve the so-called thick description of human societies or groups,[40] though this research also contain material which has been primarily obtained from the students and the faculty involved in the process of empirical research production. This research is exclusively dealing with the domain of Foucault's method of discourse studies, or rather the "serious speech acts: what experts say when they are speaking as experts."[41]

It is also important to acknowledge the shortcomings of such an endeavor which are numerous and some people might claim it a theoretically unstable way of analyzing social and textual phenomena. The potential incoherencies in the methodological structure of this dissertation are discussed in the later part. Here, however, it is important to outline an exhaustive description of the space whence this research has been organized and aggregated.

3.2 Ethnography—in and of university

Without indulging in the nature, extent and determinants of a society, it can be safely surmised that the universities, as a lot of people have argued, are microcosm of societies. This seems more pertinent in the large-scale, federally managed, ethnically diverse, public sector universities like QAU, which was established as the premier university for the newly build capital of Pakistan.

This university is unique in many aspects, but in terms of ethnographic importance, it surpassed all of the other universities in the country and this is a reason, among many others, that quite a number of student choose to conduct their graduate research on the university. The ethnographic data accumulated through a research conducted in the university reveals not only certain concealed socio-cultural and politico-economic factors which otherwise might remain hidden from the sight of the researcher, but it also helped in corroborating the evidence quite easily and indisputably.

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[40] Dietze, C. (2008). Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of "Provincializing Europe". *History and Theory*, 12(1), 69-84.

[41] Dreyfus, H. L., & Rabinow, P. (1983). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and* Hermeneutics (3rd ed.). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

For example, during my stay at Quaid-i-Azam University, a student who was ethnically a Seraiki but lived in a Pashtun dominated area, told me that the custom of buying a wife is still practiced in the Pashtun areas. Now this statement would have been considered a cultural fact which people don't normally want to discuss. However, there were several other Pashtun students in the university as well and when I met and discussed with them, it soon became clear that the practice which the earlier student quite sweepingly attributed to the Pashtuns was limited to the area where he himself lived and there too, it was not a widespread custom and involved some other, mainly economic, factors.

In the meantime, however, this stereotypical view about the Pashtun people really gathered steam. This incident cautions us to always be on our guards about "the problem of interpretation [which] arises not from an ethnocentric expectation that other peoples are the same, from a failure to predict the local singularity of their manners and customs, but from an assumption that others must be different, that their behavior will be recognizable on the basis of what is known about another culture."[42]

Furthermore, when I asked my respondents, primarily students who had taken university as the locale of their research, about the suitability and legitimacy of the university as the site of ethnography, the foremost reason which they cited was the diversity and heterogeneity which a university can offer, specially the one which has a quota system for different ethnic communities like QAU.

Here is a typical response from a student who worked on the construction of ethnic identity in Pakistani students: "My topic oriented and focused around the individualistic approach for which I needed people from different ethnicities in widely similar environment. The quota system in QAU made it possible for me to extract the data required from the representatives of all four provinces of Pakistan. For me, it was not only a unique but also a very fertile locale as well."

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[42] Thomas, N., (1991). Against Ethnography. *Cultural Anthropology*, *6*(3), 306-322.

This fertility of the locale is marked by the concentration of different people from different sections of the society in an urban space and it has also a lot to do with the convenience for the scholar. Moreover, this search for inter-sectionality and 'difference' is an indication of the penetration of the post-structuralist ideas in the community of graduate students and I will take that up in the latter part of this dissertation

Among the issues pertaining to the academic device of ethnography, the conundrum of representation and ethnocentrism has taken the central position. Modern universities, which can be construed as the factories of knowledge production, are an excellent site to document the practices and rituals of this production process.

Moreover, the graduates of a university, at least in Pakistan, also constitute an imagined community which substantiates itself in the job market by offering and facilitating jobs for the students of the university where employers have also studied. This imagined community also helps people in several other social domains where universities can help them build influential contacts and gain respect.

Therefore, an ethnography of university not only helps us in understanding the discursive formations but also illuminate the power dynamics, various cultural codes, the intricate connections between urbanization and modern education, the extent and liquidity of local market and many other things about a society.

Furthermore, "in order to understand the relationship between the university and the city in terms of knowledge transfer, one has to take into account the specific characteristics of the city, the position of the city in relation to other cities, and, therefore, the inter-dependencies between cities. Interdependencies between cities are expressed by the flows of money, goods, people, and knowledge between them."[43] Therefore, for an appropriate study of a university, it is important to have an elementary understanding of the city where it is located. In this chapter, an attempt

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[43] van der Meer, E. (1997). The university as a local source of expertise. *GeoJournal*, *41*(4), 359-367.

has been made to summarily explain the general structure and history of Islamabad which has inspired most of the research and research areas in QAU.

3.3 Research issues in Pakistani universities

The quality of research in Pakistani universities, specially the public sector universities, has reached abysmal proportions. According to Professor Pervez Hoodbhoy, a well known Pakistani physicist and educationist, "within Pakistani public universities—at least in their present condition—a culture of corruption has made the value of research uncertain at best. Research is a seriously misunderstood concept in much of Pakistan's academia, and the criteria for assessing its worth are often wrong."[44]

During my research, I asked the question about research quality to a number of faculty members in QAU and most of the time, they placed the onus on the colonial administration and its progeny in the post-colonial polity. Macaulay was a preferred name by everyone to censure. The minute of Macaulay was often invoked by the respondents in order to assert the inherently flawed structure of the education system in Pakistan; for them, the system hasn't been changed in a comprehensive manner since the British departure which keeps churning out the obsequious and uncritical students, ready to be incorporated by the existing power structure.

Some, in an underhanded manner, blame the disciplining of society in a military style where the habit of questioning is snubbed and conformity with the dominant narratives is celebrated. However, considering this background, the question might be raised that what good would come out of a study of graduate dissertations when the research quality is highly contentious. There are, however, some very important distinctions which render this research project not only viable but also vitally important to understand the research culture and outcome.

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[44] Hoodbhoy, P. (2009). Pakistan's Higher Education System—What Went Wrong and How to Fix It. *The Pakistan Development Review,48*(4), 581–594.

Among the many methodological fallacies and errors in the dissertations one encounters, the primary one is the simple reproduction of the raw, unanalyzed data which the students have accumulated during the course of their research. This regurgitation of facts and statements not only shows that the students are incapacitated by their methodological and theoretical ignorance, but it also makes it evident that the researcher has gone through the archival or field phase quite efficiently and their real handicap is the analytical ineptitude. The positionality of the writer is usually quite ostensible which helps in determining the general direction of the study.

Moreover, most of the dissertations are based on a specific cluster of topics and thematic areas in which issues of ethno-nationalism and transition from traditional society to a modern society feature prominently. These issues, which I continually confronted in a number of theses, makes it quite easy to understand the direction which a general discourse on ethnicity and nationalism will take in the context of QAU. Additionally, as Sherry Ortner has explained, "the ethnographic stance holds that ethnography is never impossible. This is the case because people not only resist political domination; they resist, or anyway evade, textual domination as well."[45]

I would only add here the fact that just like people, texts also resist textual domination and in this case, despite a cross-examination of the authors of these dissertations, the heterotopic elements in a text are quite difficult to subject to a textual totality. The very next sentence of Ortner's essay deals with the interpretive aspect of the power/knowledge: "The notion that colonial or academic texts are able completely to distort or exclude the voices and perspectives of those being written about seems to me to endow these texts with far greater power than they have. Many things shape these texts, including, dare one say it, the point of view of those being written about." Similarly, if colonial texts are, in some ways, shaped by those who were subjected in textuality, then it is quite obvious that the people on whom the graduate dissertations have been written, must have influenced them in not an uncertain way.

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[45] Ortner, S. B. (1995). Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 37*(1), 173-193.

3.3.1 The matrix of discipline and the production of docility in Pakistan's universities

According to Foucault, "we live in a social universe in which the formation, circulation, and utilization of knowledge present a fundamental question. If the accumulation of capital has been an essential feature of our society, the accumulation of knowledge has not been any less so. Now, the exercise, production, and accumulation of this knowledge cannot be dissociated from the mechanisms of power; complex relations exist which must be analyzed."[46]

It can be safely argued that the space which has been allocated to perform the task of analyzing these complex relationships between knowledge and power is university, although Foucault's interpretation would extend the extent of this space to several other, seemingly innocuous and inconsequential social institutions. For Foucault, in his tripartite formulation of knowledge, power and discipline which codifies the modern society, educational institutions were ranked side by side with the asylums, prisons and factories. "Educational or psychiatric institutions, with their large populations, their hierarchies, their spatial arrangements, their surveillance systems, constituted...another way of distributing the interplay of powers and pleasures."[47]

These hierarchical spatial arrangements were primarily crafted for the production of docile bodies sequentially, and this docility is evidenced in "Pakistani students [who] memorise an arbitrary set of rules and an endless number of facts and say that X is true and Y is false because that's what the textbook says."[48] The absolute authority of the teacher, the subservience of the students and the results of these edifying practices corresponds well with Foucault's characterization of 'Power', which, according to him, "isn't localised in the State apparatus and…nothing in society will be changed if

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[46] Foucault, M. (1991). *Remarks on Marx*. New York, NY: Semiotext(e).
[47] Foucault, M. (1978). *History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An introduction*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
[48] Hoodbhoy, P. (2009). Pakistan's Higher Education System—What Went Wrong and How to Fix It. *The Pakistan Development Review,48*(4), 581–594.

the mechanisms of power that function outside, below and alongside the State apparatuses, on a much more minute and everyday level, are not also changed."[49]

The everyday coercion in teacher-student relation is symptomatic of the dispersal of power in the social body and is usually practiced by invoking the traditional parameters of respect and deference to the one's elders. It is also an effective way of disciplining the students, to mould them into a 'productive and law obeying citizen' and a methodical mechanism to purge the subversive tendencies. Foucault, at least, is very clear on this point. "Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise."[50]

Similarly, a faculty member argued thus when I interviewed him: "[In Pakistani Universities] it is just like an assembly line, there are thousands of people who come into the factory, take courses and get grades. Basically it's very professionalized and the end product is normally a human being; A worker that is supposed to staff the workforce."[51] The Urdu idiom, Lakeer ka faqeer is often mentioned, which is usually attributed to a dogmatic person who follows traditions unflinchingly.

Another faculty member argued that in order to get acquainted with the disciplinary regimen in Pakistani universities, there is no need in indulging ourselves with Foucauldian micro-politics of power, as its macro-level aspects are too immediately present before us. According to her, "The presence of police and rangers and in some universities the military is a very visible, tangible manifestation of a very strict disciplinary regime within the universities. The fact that the administration is building a massive wall around this (QAU) campus. All of this is being done in the name of security. So in the name of security our own guard, who we see every single day, refuse to recognize us until we show them a card."[52]

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[49] Foucault, M. (1980). Body/Power. In C. Gordon (Ed.), Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (pp. 55-62). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
[50] Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The birth of prison.* New York, NY: Vintage Books.
[51] Interview with Aasim Sajjad Akhtar.
[52] Interview with Alia Amir Ali.

In response to a question on class room environment, she said that "the students come into the class like they are passive objects, teachers come into the class like they are automatons and just doing their duty and what is being learnt and talked about is almost irrelevant." So the disciplinarian regimen implemented is not even producing an efficient workforce; it is more focused on docility of the workers rather than their utility.

For Foucault, "discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience),"[53] but in this case, the political obedience is achieved at the cost of economic expediency, so the Foucauldian relationship is basically inversed; Discipline, at least in the context of Pakistani universities, decreases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and simultaneously diminishes and undermines these forces (in political terms of obedience). All of this is made possible to achieve some sort of strategic depth, both within the country (the increasing infatuation with the military) and outside (to attain some obscure geographical and tactical goals).

It is no wonder that for most of the academics, students and teachers, the state is the primary hegemon and the Foucaultian micro-analysis of power and neo-liberal insistence on the primacy of the markets is almost irrelevant for their political analysis.

Another very important aspect of the process of disciplining the bodies, according to Foucault, is the Panopticism: the all-seeing gaze constantly observing and documenting every movement (or non-movement) of its subjects. "The exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of

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[53] Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The birth of prison*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible."[54]

The narrative of securitization with its CCTV cameras and the presence of police and military on campuses, which most of the students and teachers rightly adjudge as the surveilling mechanism is upholding a mechanism reinvigorated by the new technologies of observation. The dress codes, bans on the congregation of men and women and the presence of armed guards are making this disciplinary regime quite visible; however, these were the conditions in other Pakistani universities.

QAU was famous for its free and creative environment and most of the respondents whom I interviewed for this research felt as if it is a last standing barricade against an indoctrinating onslaught by the state. There had been attempts to breach this fortress of liberal values and pluralism but QAU has retained most of its defining characteristics. Interestingly, the faculty, or at least those among them who denounce conservatism, expressed their distress over the construction of the university boundary walls. Previously, there was no boundary wall of the university and it provided a route to the nearby villages and their cattle could be seen roaming around within the university premises, but the skeptics have argued that this wall is a symbolic process of not only 'othering' but also containment of university within itself.

The effects of this containment are quite evident when we look around us, outside the confines of the university. The research, even the one which is not as patchy as in Pakistani universities, is not trickling down to the general society and plays no role in social development and progress. The people in the academia, specially the faculty and graduate students, are a new form of elite completely divorced from the general affairs of ordinary people. This sequestration of intellectuals, who were merely a generation ago at the forefront of public debates and political movements, has taken place under a new form of governmental rationality; the one which Wendy Brown has termed as "Neo-liberalism."

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[54] Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The birth of prison*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

"Warehousing intellectual debates as 'merely' academic implies that the rest of society can ignore all complexities. So, politicians, policy makers, journalists and others can proceed without perplexity, thinking – 'Never mind the scholarly debates, what does the research say? Is it true or false?'"[55] It is this peculiar form of rationality we now turn to, in order to examine the changes and modifications it has wrought in Pakistani academia in general and QAU in particular.

3.3.2 Neo-liberalism and university education

The modern upheavals which have transmuted the entire pedagogic structure and philosophy were part of an absolutist change in the lives of human beings, coinciding with the emergence of capitalism, nation-states and colonialism.

However, a landmark resistance around the world by the suppressed classes of the society, coupled with the inherent inconsistencies in the structure of capitalist enterprise had wrenched many rights and created a number of spaces to politically engage with, and respond to, the profit-making and surplus collecting overlords of humanity. That is how the story of resistance to capitalism generally pans out, and to a large extent, it happens to be correct as well.

Despite these encouraging signs, the ascendance of American hegemony has seen a new development in the emergence of a novel political rationality: Neo-liberalism. Wendy Brown has characteristically defined it as "an ensemble of economic policies in accord with its root principle of affirming free markets. These include deregulation of industries and capital flows; radical reduction in welfare state provisions and protections for the vulnerable; privatized and outsourced public goods, ranging from education, parks, postal services, roads, and social welfare to prisons and militaries; replacement of progressive with regressive tax and tariff schemes; the end of wealth redistribution as an economic or social-political policy; the conversion of every human need or desire into a profitable enterprise, from college admissions preparation to human organ transplants, from baby adoptions to pollution rights, from avoiding

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[55] Boland, T. (2017, January 9). University as an intellectual asylum. Retrieved from http://thephilosophicalsalon.com/university-as-an-intellectual-asylum/

lines to securing legroom on an airplane; and, most recently, the financialization of everything and the increasing dominance of finance capital over productive capital in the dynamics of the economy and everyday life."[56]

For our purposes here, the most obvious instantiation of this paradigm shift is often prominently manifested at the homepage of university websites; for example, the official website of QAU presents this edifying 'vision statement': "Taking Pakistan forward by providing an affordable, high standard education to students from all corners of the country, creating interprovincial harmony, providing solutions through research relevant to the national needs, towards the transformation of the country into a knowledge-based economy."[57]

The insistence on knowledge-based economy, since it is an exercise in the maximization of profits by preparing the students specifically for this purpose, quickly becomes a reductionist approach to education in which the traditional, or one could as well say enlightenment, ideals of education are euphorically ceded to achieve more practical results. "It is wholly unsurprising then that the answer to the question 'Why the university?' is all too readily answered within the 'common-sense' routines of this twenty-first century university culture and here, the usual answer is: 'The purpose of the university is to grow the economy by training a skilled and efficient workforce'."[58]

We can be rest assured reading the signs that the neo-liberal project of transformation from Homo politicus to Homo oeconomicus is almost completed. This project also necessitated the elimination of linguistics department from the said university because according to the administration "the department was no more a profit-making entity and should be closed down."[59] The department was proposed to close down in a

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[56] Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York, NY: Zone Books.
[57] QAU website, accessed: 29/04/2017. 02:12 AM
[58] Vale, P. (2013). The University as a Bombed Town. *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory, 60*(134), 91-98.
[59] Proposal to close QAU linguistics department rejected (2015, May 06), *Dawn News*. Retrieved from https://www.dawn.com/news/1180275

university which is already deficient in quite a number of academic departments such as philosophy, literature or languages.

This instrumental logic inflicted on the liberal arts and social science programs has not only stifled the creative tendencies in the people involved in these subjects, it has also shifted the direction, of both funding and attention, on other disciplines which could help the students in achieving jobs and earning money.

Though the academic conditions in Pakistan are not conducive to natural science research as well, the size of the departments and the amount of funding they receive is simply gargantuan as compared to the other departments. With some minor changes, the judicious verdict of Wendy Brown could be aptly applied to the Pakistani universities too.

According to Brown, "Today, [the] status for liberal arts education is eroding from all sides: cultural values spurn it, capital is not interested in it, debt-burdened families anxious about the future do not demand it, neoliberal rationality does not index it, and, of course, states no longer invest in it."[60]

The only thing which wouldn't pertain to the Pakistani condition is the non-existence of families who were debt-ridden as a result of higher education costs, but that wouldn't alter the fact that families are anxious about the future of their children and they wouldn't want to allow them getting admission in a department which doesn't pay back.

Dr. Tariq Rahman, Pakistan's foremost socio-linguist, in a report on the condition of higher education in the country, writes that, "The Quaid-i-Azam University of Islamabad, meant to be a premier institution when established in 1967, does not have many subjects thought essential in a university -- linguistics, sociology, philosophy, political science, astronomy, cognitive sciences, archaeology, literature and so on. The libraries are sub-standard with very few journals, almost no system of borrowing

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[60] Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York, NY: Zone Books.

theses from foreign or even Pakistani universities, no data bases and insufficient books."[61]

There are two things which are worth examining in this quote; first, the number of key social science and humanities disciplines which does not exist in Pakistan's number one ranked university, and second is the fact that considering this report is almost twenty years old, none of the departments mentioned here are yet established. In fact, a respondent, when asked about this issue, said that some of the students in the university demanded a philosophy department and Vice Chancellor drove them away by asking them to guarantee the jobs for philosophy graduates.

Additionally, as has been insinuated earlier, the surveillance and intervention in the universities is too big a reason in the [imagined] construction of universities by liberal-minded people as the battlegrounds between the forces of conservatism and modernism, though most of the social science student would object to this dichotomy.

A professor rejected my research proposal on historiography on the grounds that it would involve a re-evaluation on the official Pakistani ideology of 'Two Nation Theory' and it might wreck his career. In this case, though, the professor was being paranoid. The university, however, is continually bustling with the stories of students receiving threatening phone calls from intelligence agencies for committing the crime of conducting research on the restive areas of Balochistan or FATA or any other issue in which the state authorities, agencies and institutions have invested.

The general trend in the historiography of resistance is to attribute these interventions to the turbulent decade of 1960's. The 60's was a golden period of political resistance all over the world. Pakistan too saw a movement against General Ayub Khan's dictatorship in the late 1960's, in which popular slogans counted students along with the laborers and farmers among the revolutionary sections of the society. In the West, "following the widespread university upheavals of the late 1960s, the

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[61] Sustainable Development Policy Institute. (1993). Pakistani Universities: The Colonial Legacy (Research Report Series # 13, 1993). Islamabad, Pakistan: Tariq Rahman.

universities…underwent a transformation which changed their role from producers of knowledge to producers of knowledge workers."[62]

In Pakistan, it was neither possible nor desired by the authorities to disturb the already disheveled state of universities, although the ban on student unions in 1984 was part of this global wave of depoliticizing the university campuses. The following reflection is true in the case of Pakistan as well: "the intervention in higher education on the part of state authority might also be interpreted as an attempt to bring the university 'into line' following the social unrest that marked the rise of counter-culture in the late-1960s and early-1970s. It needs to be recalled, especially for a younger generation, that this was the moment in which universities—the humanities, in particular—were in the forefront of the new understandings of the world and its ways."[63]

This repression on student politics was totally in compliance to the new regimes of governance, "[The] neoliberal reason, ubiquitous…in statecraft and the workplace, in jurisprudence, education, culture, and a vast range of quotidian activity, is converting the distinctly *political* character, meaning, and operation of democracy's constituent elements into *economic* ones."[64]

The oft-exclaimed wonder on the enigma of perennially ill-performing academic sector, despite funneling an enormous amount of money and effort during the first decade of 21st century, is thus misplaced and there are various reasons which rendered these efforts futile. For example, according to one researcher, "one of the significant factors which led to the demise of public sector in higher education is the imbalance between the quantitative expansion of higher education and the mechanisms for

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[62] Tarar, N. O. (2006). Globalisation and Higher Education in Pakistan. Economic and Political Weekly, 41(49), 5080-5085.

[63] Vale, P. (2013). The University as a Bombed Town. *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory, 60*(134), 91-98.

[64] Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York, NY: Zone Books.

maintaining qualitative control."[65] That may well be the case. However, that cannot be the primary reason, for it is not possible to cure the effects produced by the neo-liberal governmentality by outpouring more money, that too by a regime which doesn't acknowledge the basic democratic rights of the citizens.

As a respondent argued, "Every student, before getting admission, asks everyone that which department should he or she go to. The reason is not that they are very passionate about learning something, but they are mainly asking it in the context of getting a job after completing a degree."[66] The demonizing of every activity that is not directly linked to class directly corresponds with the desire to transform the universities into "the engines of progress for knowledge-driven economies in the age of rapid globalisation."[67]

The research produced in these knowledge driven economic formations mostly deals with the policy issues, thereby making the relation between knowledge and power all too conspicuous on a macrocosmic level. Not only "the emergence and use of the concept of governance across a range of venues and endeavors signals a dissolving distinction between state, business, nonprofit, and NGO endeavors,"[68] it has also provided a safe passage to these NGOs and corporations to intervene the universities and design the research areas and domains for the students with state-like immunity.

Moreover, "cities in which a university is located would posses one of the key factors in the attraction and sustainment of knowledge intensive economic functions; functions in constant need of highly educated workers and new information regarding production, management and markets." [69]

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[65] Tarar, N. O. (2006). Globalisation and Higher Education in Pakistan. Economic and Political Weekly, 41(49), 5080-5085

[66] Interview with Aasim Sajjad Akhtar.

[67] Hoodbhoy, P. (2009). Pakistan's Higher Education System—What Went Wrong and How to Fix It. *The Pakistan Development Review,48*(4), 581–594.

[68] Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York, NY: Zone Books.

[69] van der Meer, E. (1997). The university as a local source of expertise. *GeoJournal*, *41*(4), 359-367.

Since QAU is located in the federal capital of Pakistan which itself has a unique history, the city plays a very definitive role in the production of knowledge. In the next sections, there is a brief description of the role played by the cityscape in which the university is located and the NGOization of research in the universities, specifically in context of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

3.4 Modern cityscape and the university

Islamabad was built as a capital city to accommodate the business of the state of Pakistan in 1962. This was the justification which the lead architect of Islamabad offered for building a new capital; "Existing cities are old cities and thus, both from the technological and cultural points of view, do not represent the future but the past. If this past has value, it should not be spoiled by the creation of new functions in new buildings and facilities; if it has no value, it does not represent any asset. Seen from this point of view, the creation of a capital city of a newly independent country must either take place in an existing city (whose past is of value and it happens to have ample buildings and facilities), or, if this is not the case (and this was not the case with any city in Pakistan), it is better for it to be created without any commitments to the past. If it cannot represent the great values of the past, it is better to open the road for the future."[70]

As the city was built on the high modernist philosophical notions of order and symmetry, it was inevitable that its construction would involve the social ills which other newly established cities have faced. Most of the elementary characteristics of a nascent, planned city mentioned by James Scott are in-built in Islamabad as well, although there are some peculiarities which are explained below, specifically if they are in any case affecting QAU, which was praised in its early days by an observer in this manner; "Even the name of the institution is indicative: Islamabad—city of Islam—suggests that it will be a center for the new dynamic Muslim culture."[71](QAU

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[70] Doxiadis, C. A. (1965). Islamabad: The Creation of a New Capital. *The Town Planning Review, 36*(1), 1-28.

[71] Liesch, J. R. (1968). Islamabad: Profile of Pakistan's New University. *The Journal of Higher Education, 39*(5), 254-260.

was initially named 'University of Islamabad'.) We will briefly examine the extent to which this prophecy came true in a later section of this chapter.

As Scott has mentioned it, these plans of ordering the societies were not really modern, what makes this possibility to emerge are the changes which have helped governing and regulating authorities to extend their reach to the sectors of the society which were previously too distant, too narrow and too unprofitable. Hence he states that "while factories and forests might be planned by private entrepreneurs, the ambition of engineering whole societies was almost exclusively a project of the nation-state."[72]

The costs nation-states pay for their fetishes with the order are usually too high—or they were at least in the case of Pakistan. "When Sheikh Mujeebur Rehman, the founder of Bangladesh first visited the site of Islamabad, he remarked, "I smell the jute fields of Chittagong," referring to the fact that while development in East Pakistan was limited, extravagant amounts were to be spent on the new capital. Today, that same complaint legitimately echoes from many quarters of modern Pakistan, especially Balochistan.[73]

Also, as Islamabad is geographically located at the crossroads of Punjab and Pukhtunkhwa, people from other provinces not only feel alienation in this city, but also intimidation. But then, the purpose of the city was elitist in nature. For Scott, "It is not a coincidence that many of the high-modernist cities actually built—Brasilia, Canberra, Saint Petersburg, Islamabad, Chandigarh, Abuja, Dodoma, Ciudad Gayana—have been administrative capitals. Here at the center of state power, in a completely new setting, with a population consisting largely of state employees who have to reside there, the state can virtually stipulate the success of its planning grid."[74]

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[72] Scott, J. C. (1998). Seeing *like a state: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

[73] Asghar, V. (2012, June 05). Golden jubilee: From sleepy town to vibrant city, Islamabad turns 50. The Express Tribune. Retrieved from https://tribune.com.pk

[74] Scott, J. C. (1998). Seeing like a state: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

The city Scott referred to and investigated was Brasilia, so obviously the particular inflections of his analysis cannot be exactly borrowed. In Brasilia, there was no room for the people who built the city, whereas for Costantinos Doxiadis, the master planner of Islamabad, "a process often used, especially for capital cities, is to start with the governmental buildings, the monumental areas and the high income dwellings. This process cannot lead to success for it is imperative that the lower income groups—those which can build a city—are settled first. If this is overlooked, the result is a composite settlement consisting of a central monumental part and several other non-coordinated areas, including several with slums. There is only one way to avoid this danger, and that is to follow the natural process of first building for the builders, who will then build the city. This means proper conception and creative control of the overall development—not a negative attitude towards real needs, but full recognition that we must start by covering needs, and not by building monuments."[75]

The most prominent difference in Islamabad and Brasilia was, however, the construction of Brasilia in a completely uninhabited place; whereas in Islamabad, small pockets of people were dispersed in a wide area and their accommodation soon became an issue: "On the original planning maps for Islamabad, the squares of sectors are empty white spaces, and early documents describe the site for the new city as "open land," but officials were well aware that over 54,000 villagers inhabited the area of the future capital."[76]

This issue was also present in Scott's analysis, although the people in Brasilia who couldn't correspond to the required ideals of order were the laborers who built the city, while in Islamabad it was the natives living in the area who now dwell in the slums (locally called "katchi Abadi") and provide an extraordinarily rich

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[75] Doxiadis, C. A. (1965). Islamabad: The Creation of a New Capital. *The Town Planning Review, 36*(1), 1-28

[76] Hull, M. S. (2008). Ruled by Records: The Expropriation of Land and the Misappropriation of Lists in Islamabad. *American Ethnologist, 35*(4), 501-518.

ethnographic and historical data to the social scientists in Islamabad's universities and think tanks.

According to an analyst, writing in 1970, "a comparative analysis of Brasilia and Islamabad brings into sharp focus the fact that the federal governments of Brazil and Pakistan have envisioned the character of their 'created capital' in quite different perspectives. Although both countries have sought an interior location for their new national capital, the form and function of each is very unlike the other."[77]

However, both of these cities, despite divergences in form and function, suffered the same fate as far as the flaws in the planning were concerned. Doxiadis' plan was to build a city which is continually expanding and virtually ever-incomplete: "The Master Plan for Islamabad, designed by the Greek modernist planner Costantinos Doxiadis, called for Islamabad and Rawalpindi to expand indefinitely on parallel rays out from their nuclei but to be forever divided by a green belt, a major transportation artery, and a linear industrial zone."[78]

It was unfortunate that his plan to build an 'ecumenopolis' was thwarted as soon as it initiated its expansion. "The boundless westward expansion envisioned by Doxiadis stalled in the 11-series of sectors, just six miles from the president's house, at the border of the village BQB."[79]

According to Scott, "from the beginning, Brasilia failed to go precisely as planned. Its master builders were designing for a new Brazil and for new Brazilians—orderly, modern, efficient, and under their discipline. They were thwarted by contemporary Brazilians with different interests and the determination to have them heard."[80]

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[77] Stephenson, G. V. (1970). Two Newly-Created Capitals: Islamabad and Brasilia. *The Town Planning Review, 41*(4), 317-332.
[78] Hull, M. S. (2008). Ruled by Records: The Expropriation of Land and the Misappropriation of Lists in Islamabad. *American Ethnologist, 35*(4), 501-518.
[79] Hull, M. S. (2008). Ruled by Records: The Expropriation of Land and the Misappropriation of Lists in Islamabad. *American Ethnologist, 35*(4), 501-518.
[80] Scott, J. C. (1998). Seeing *like a state: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

In Islamabad's case, capital was not moved to Islamabad in one piece "as the absence of structures like markets and housing made it unviable until 1966, when bureaucrats started populating the city."[81] In this period of transition, informal businesses opened which was quite a grotesque sight for the aestheticians of order.

Moreover, as "the unplanned Brasilia—that is, the real, existing Brasilia—was quite different from the original vision. Instead of a classless administrative city, it was a city marked by stark spatial segregation according to social class. The poor lived on the periphery and commuted long distances to the center, where much of the elite lived and worked,"[82] Islamabad too, though perhaps the most organized and disciplined city of Pakistan, is alienating for foreigners and quite a sight for the juxtaposition of structured inequality.

The most developed and posh sectors (F-series) of the city also house slums and the spatial demarcation do not entirely correlate with that of Brasilia. Although it is a city 'marked by the stark spatial segregation according to social class,' these social classes are not horizontally differentiated; rather they exist in a relation of juxtaposition.

Moreover, these slum-dwellers are necessary to maintain the order and beauty of the city, although ironically, they are often depicted as the greatest stain on Islamabad. Merely by existing, the cleaners and the workers of the city who basically run it are tainting the city. A graduate student who wrote his dissertation on these katchi abadis, maintained that most of his respondents denoted these slum-dwellers with the following words: Gangsters, goons, drug dealers, filth, dirt, garbage, danger. This discourse is highly congruent with the high modernism which essentially spawned and nurtured Islamabad.

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[81] Asghar, V. (2012, June 05). Golden jubilee: From sleepy town to vibrant city, Islamabad turns 50. The Express Tribune. Retrieved from https://tribune.com.pk
[82] Scott, J. C. (1998). Seeing *like a state: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

3.5 The general dynamics of social scientific research in QAU

Before embarking on an analysis of the discursive formations and technologies in the research produced at the Quaid-i-Azam University's Anthropology, History and Pakistan Studies department, it is important to briefly depict the peculiar nuances, subtleties and tacit codifications which marked the community of students in QAU as a distinct one, at least as far as these students themselves are concerned since being a Quaidian is generally perceived by the outsiders and a majority of the enrolled students as a great achievement on account of it being the top ranked university in Pakistan.

These peculiarities will also help in understanding not only the reasons why a particular dissertation was produced but also the conditions of possibilities which have determined it in a specific direction. Although every university, or rather every assemblage of people, is distinct for quite obvious reasons, QAU's distinctions which conspicuously exhibit themselves are primarily the quantity of research and an anomalously liberal environment, unlike most of the other places of higher education in Pakistan and this is where we should start our analytical excavation.

The criterion of ranking universities has its own discrepancies which must not distract this research. However, as far as the published papers are concerned, QAU tops the charts. These papers are mostly published by the faculty so it does not reflect the student's output in the research process. Moreover, the quality or veracity of the papers published by the Pakistani research fraternity is seriously doubtful.

The following comment by Pakistan's and QAU's famous theoretical physicist Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy is reflective of the present condition: "Publishing in fly-by-night journals, or arranging for your paper to be cited, is now a finely developed art form."[83]

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[83] Hoodbhoy, P. (2015, November 21). Enough PhD's, thank you. Dawn. Retrieved from https://www.dawn.com/

During my stay, there was at least one case of serious plagiarism by a faculty member in QAU which was suppressed and brushed under the carpet. Apart from the faculty, in the same article which was quite veraciously titled '*Enough PhD's, Thank You'*, Dr. Hoodbhoy, while discussing the unaccountable increment in PhD's argued that "The same dynamics applies to PhD production. The basic subject knowledge of PhD candidates is rarely tested and, if ever, only perfunctorily. Although the referees of a candidate's thesis are supposed to be impartial, they are often chosen by a supervisor for being cooperative. Of course, the reports can be appropriately doctored when necessary."[84]

This article made several rounds on social media and was widely circulated. In an another article, it was contended that "Among the selected top-tier institutes in the country namely: COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), National University of Sciences and Technology Pakistan (NUST), Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU.), University of Engineering and Technology (UET), Lahore, and the University of the Punjab Lahore (PU), more than 70 percent of the publication volume does not meet global high quality standards."[85] It can be argued that the PhD production has dramatically increased since the establishment of Higher Education Commission in 2002, however, the quality has considerably gone down.[86]

The same infestation has swarmed QAU's graduate research process as well. When I read the dissertations for my graduate research, I detected several issues, even in the PhD dissertations, which should have raised some serious objections, if not outright disqualification. The misogyny and sexism was rampant in the dissertations, but these can be exclusively termed as qualitative issues. The abundance of quantitative errors was mind-boggling. The prejudices and biases, mostly against India and even, in

[84] Hoodbhoy, P. (2015, November 21). Enough PhD's, thank you. Dawn. Retrieved from https://www.dawn.com/

[85] Hassan, S. (n.d.). Research Landscape of Pakistan. MIT Technology Review Pakistan. Retrieved from http://www.technologyreview.pk/research-land-scape-of-pakistan/

[86] Khattak, K. (n.d.). Mapping Higher Education in Pakistan. MIT Technology Review Pakistan. Retrieved from http://www.technologyreview.pk/mapping-higher-education-in-pakistan/

quite a large number of cases, against Pakistan and Pakistan army, considering this is a comprehensively liberal campus, were conspicuously present without analytical assessment.

Apart from all of these apparently forgiving offences (at least in the case of Pakistan), the issue of sometimes absolutely unintelligible and illegible language was pervasive. In one M.Phil (Anthropology) thesis, the author had not bothered to analyze anything at all. She had narrated the statements of her respondents which filled almost half of her thesis. In another one, again M.Phil (Anthropology) thesis, there was hardly a sentence without a serious grammatical, spelling or factual error. Ethnic tensions were rife and sweeping statements were numerous. Here are some of the statements and claims presented in the dissertations, these are the pictures of the problematic statements and copied here directly from the dissertations:

farm products while staying at home. Only the women belonging to the Afghan families help in cultivation in the fields. I would like to argue with the writer on his approach towards this fact. He has expressed his concern over women non-participation in farm activities in the extreme conditions. He could have appreciated their husbands for not forcing them to work in the fields in extremely hot and muddy conditions for which a woman is not made for. These feminists are determined not to give any space to the male. Whether he is doing good or bad for his woman, he is criticized and the woman is always supported. Let us assume what could have happened, if he had seen a women working in the field under the sun, he must have uttered out, *"sar gai, sar gai, sar gai"* (burnt). Putting less responsibility on the women is also discrimination with them. Male does the hardship and keeps woman at peace in the house is treated as discrimination. After reading different material written by the feminists, the only thing which comes to my mind about their attitude towards male is, 'don't let him breath".

[87]

This astonishingly misogynistic statement is a plain and simple proclamation of a complete rejection of feminist ideals and is derived from a PhD dissertation. The author is currently a faculty member at the department of Anthropology, QAU and the fact that he is teaching at the university results in the cultivation of an absolute disdain for feminism, even by the majority of the female students as well. This statement is not a solitary one; rather it is generated through a discursive system. Here is another example where the author has tried to explain why women empowerment could deteriorate the economic conditions of the country:

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[87] Anwaar, M. (2013). *Impact of development on socio-economic structures in Zandra Balochistan* (Doctoral dissertation). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Household chores of women play an important part in household as well as overall economy of the society. Let's assume if the women refuse to work at home, men would be left with two options - either to work themselves or hire services. If they themselves start doing all the works, their capability and potential at work would suffer because when people are worried about their home they can't utilize their maximum potential. They always stay in two minds. Working at office with worries of home decreases their efficiency. The deteriorating efficiency is harmful for the personal career as well as the overall productivity. This is the reason why the big multinationals always provide all facilities at home to their employees whenever they hire them, so that the efficiency should be maximized. As for hiring of services is concerned let's assume a person who is working for Rs.10000 per month. When his wife stops doing household chores, he has to hire servants for the purpose and pay a heavy amount to them. In this situation he would not work for the same salary and may demand Rs.20000 per month. When this is the case with everybody, the employer would have no other option but to pay the demanded amount. In this way profit margin will decrease and the prices will go up. This would affect the overall economy of the country.

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On the other hand, consider the scholarly tone of an articulate response by a female student to these champions of misogyny:

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[88] Anwaar, M. (2013). *Impact of development on socio-economic structures in Zandra Balochistan* (Doctoral dissertation). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

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> Women are performing their roles as teachers, doctors, bankers etc, but society is not giving them their legal status and woman is facing many problems in Peshawar. The pushtun women are ignored in decision making process. An attitude change is needed to change these traditions. Though the mindset of the people is changing, even literate people gives u a hard time sometimes, especially when pushtun women do not observe *purdah*, they have the opinion that these women can be have illegal relations with men. The pushtun men do not respect the working women and the women cannot be rude with them as they have to work there regularly but many bold pushtun women tackled them easily.[62] Some pushtun men are good with the pushtun working colleagues but some are plain jerks.[63] Mostly husbands are supportive to their women because they are benefited with them. A high school teacher told the researcher that when a [89]

The next statement sought to explain the changes Islam has brought to an inexplicably cruel world:

> Islam a religion, as a concept or as a guiding path changed the chores of sadistic world. [90]

The same author then makes a strange claim, adding 104 countries in the world:

> Basically a conference was held on 4th of July, 2004 in London. The purpose of that conference was for the protection of hijab in which representatives of JI from 300 different countries were invited. Purdah is a symbolic entity it has certain connotations attached to [91]

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[89] Mehmood, B. (2013).*Socio-cultural status of Pushtun working women in* Peshawar (Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

[90] Shafiq, S. (2015).*Identity dynamics and the Madrassah Narrative: An ethnographic study of Madrassah in Mansehra* (Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

[91] Shafiq, S. (2015).*Identity dynamics and the Madrassah Narrative: An ethnographic study of Madrassah in Mansehra (*Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

These factual errors are commonplace in most of the dissertations. Here are some more evidently false statements:

> upheavals. In a short life of 51 years, Pakistan has experienced two dictatorships. The first began in 1958, when General Mohammad Ayub Khan imposed martial law on democratic political processes. This regime lasted until 1971. The second regime was from 1977 to 1988, and was led by General Mohammad Ziaul Haq. It was during these times that women experienced a definite[92]

> ...ed to middle class. The emperor knew the value of an educated girl e.g. Razia Sultana (daughter of Sher Shah Suri) rule over his father empire after his death. She had knowledge...[93]

> proof of such claim. However it is evident in the pages of history that Muslims have never destroyed any worship places anywhere during their reign. The indigenous people are reinventing tradi...[94]

The description of the 'Others' too, both external and internal was not without its charms. Here is an account of the medieval European people:

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[92] Mehmood, B. (2013).*Socio-cultural status of Pushtun working women in* Peshawar (Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.
[93] Gul, Seemab. (2011). *Relationship of tradition and modernity in the curriculum of female* Madrassas (Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Razia Sultana died 246 years before the birth of Sher Shah Suri, her alleged father.
[94] Sheikh, I. (2010).*Traditional culture as a space for identity: A case study of village Bumburet Kalash valley* (Doctoral dissertation). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

> England was much the same of France English men were also spending their lives on the survival point they were not in the position to worry about luxuries such as fashion. Hair of people filled with lice their teeth were unclean; they had bad breath in mouths. People had died skins with patches running from eczema, women had swear problems vaginal infections etc, ulcers , bleedings which made sexual intercourse difficult, painful. Men and women had venereal diseases who were indulged in sexual relations (Stone, 1977). He continues that

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This next statement, if made publicly, could have initiated riots in the university due to the presence of ethnic student councils:

> The Punjabi Muslims have always found it difficult to come to terms with their history, which is quintessentially one of subservience and kowtowing and the psychological burden of this collective aggage of history manifests itself in the current desire to dominate the other ethnic communities. Neither have they been able to

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Here is a spectacular example of the labels attributed to the slum-dwellers without any merit. Moreover, the tone also depicts the official narrative projected in and through the urban upper and middle classes:

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[95] Chaudhary, H. A. (2006). *Identity negotiation: dissidence between modern and religious dressing patterns* (Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.
[96] Jamali, S. (2006). *Ethnicity and politics of Pakistan: A case study of Sindh 1988-1999* (Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

people is always under pressure. Those who migrate from rural backgrounds and want to established a good life with economic prosperity move with whole of the families and lived in the periphery of the cities, because due to cheap land for residence, and cheap rent of houses, but usually occupy the free spaces nearby developed areas that can affect the city life in two ways, one when they establish in a free space their removal is difficult because they are very organize, secondly, the beggar groups engage their children in begging and collection of garbage, while the adults are engaged in wrong activities like theft and drugs and thus destroying the social structure of the city. They not only use drugs but also sale it to others that is why the use of drug in adult age become the passion. Due to frequent flow of migrants to the cities, the street crimes and theft ration of the nearby areas of sprawl community increase constantly. Females of the sprawling communities also do their part of job in destroying the social structure with cheap domestic labor especially the young women who sometimes engage in prostitution. The use of drugs and availability of sex workers is the major disaster for the city population. Sprawling communities provide such type of services to the youngsters that sometimes turn from pleasure to grief and sorrow when sprawls of *katchi abadies* kidnap the boys and girls.

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These examples illustrate the research quality in the highest echelons of higher studies in Pakistan. There were, quite obviously, some very good dissertations in the sample, but their presence was marginalized by a number of unanalyzed dissertations which were, in most cases, literally a reproduction of the raw, unprocessed ethnographic and archival data.

Considering these examples, a question can be raised on the validity of the propositions which I would eventually make in the latter half of this dissertation about the discourses of Nationalism and Marxism in Pakistani academia; however, there are numerous reasons which render the analysis of these dissertations considerably important. The primary reasons are, in part, facilitated by the lack of the

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[97] Iqbal, N. (2014).*Impact of sprawling communities on urban areas* (Master's thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

interest of the supervisor and consequently, lack of guidance for the students, as far as the quantitative, numerical, grammatical and methodological errors and in some cases, qualitative ones too are concerned.

Nevertheless, the cases of plagiarism in the dissertations are rare and students generally express their own thoughts, which are naively clear and reflective of their inclinations, which render the process of assessing the signs and traces of discursive formation relatively easy to analyze. Moreover, the presence of Marxism was ubiquitous in almost all of the theses, specifically in the theoretical framework and literature review sections.

Similarly, a huge number of dissertations were based on or dealt with the issues surrounding nationalism, the predominant issues being the identity construction, ethno-national movements, regional histories and violation of human rights by the state of Pakistan in the far-flung areas of the country, mainly Balochistan but also FATA, Sindh and South Punjab. In any case, this research is highly relevant and shows the processes which are happening in the academia. One of these processes is the 'NGOization' of the research which is, very briefly, discussed below.

3.6 NGOization of research

NGOization, as a process of social appropriation, is a characteristic product of neo-liberal regime of governance which we have discussed above. For Wendy Brown, "The emergence and use of the concept of governance across a range of venues and endeavors signals a dissolving distinction between state, business, nonprofit, and NGO endeavors."[98]

These NGO endeavors not only include the governance or regulatory issues but it has also taken over the task of social resistance from its traditional claimants: labor unions, student unions, peasant unions, political parties etc.[99] In Pakistan, the

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[98] Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York, NY: Zone Books.
[99] Roy, A. (2005, January). People vs. Empire. Retrieved from http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Arundhati_Roy/People_vs_Empire.html

presence of NGOs generally invites distrust and, in some cases, outright hostility. In most cases, this hostility is attributed to the conspiracy theories and excessive paranoia, however, there are some other reasons as well which are well grounded.

Significantly, "The role played by NGOs in helping Western development agencies to get around uncooperative national governments sheds a good deal of light on the current disdain for the state and celebration of civil society that one finds in both the academic and the development literature right now."[100] This disdain for the state shows that NGOs are one of the primary carriers of neo-liberal onslaught. Just as NGOs have appropriated diverse tasks traditionally associated with the state or other social groups, the education sector has also been pervaded by the NGOs in recent years and this is increasingly evident in the research outputs.

To argue that the contemporary job market is competitive is to state the obvious. As far as social science graduates are concerned, and particularly those among them who do not belong to the landed or business classes, there are usually three routes to the employment.

The first and the most lucrative is being a government employee; a member of the bureaucratic elite. This is not a new phenomenon and Tariq Rahman has noted that in his study of colonial roots of post-colonial contemporary universities: "The aristocratic Indians pined for an officers' uniform and the educated ones for the letters ICS after their names. Thus there was a brain drain from higher education to administration."[101]

The other two options are working in the academia, which isn't a particularly remunerative option in this hierarchical order; for, as Rahman argued, "A self-respecting academic thinks twice before going through this time consuming and humiliating experience (of being an academic). The powerlessness of the academic,

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[100] Ferguson, J. & Gupta, A. (2002). Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality. *American Ethnologist, 29*(4), 981-1002.
[101] Sustainable Development Policy Institute. (1993). Pakistani Universities: The Colonial Legacy (Research Report Series # 13, 1993). Islamabad, Pakistan: Tariq Rahman.

which the colonial bureaucracy had ensured, has only increased in half a century of Pakistan's existence,"[102] or working in different think tanks, research institutes, NGOs etc.

All of this points to the fact that universities are increasingly providing work force to the NGOs, although this point can be stretched to argue that the academic research projects too are influenced by the demands of NGOs. Most of the dissertation topics are determined by 'what's in the vogue these days', which, in turn, could help students land a job in the relevant NGOs.

In her essay on the Public Power in the age of Empire, Arundhati Roy has explained the shortcomings of the research analytics preferred by the NGOs and these analytics have infiltrated the academic community as well. For Roy, NGOs are structured in a way that "in order make sure their funding is not jeopardized and that the governments of the countries they work in will allow them to function, NGOs have to present their work in a shallow framework more or less shorn of a political or historical context. At any rate, an inconvenient historical or political context."[103]

However, as she argued later on, these apparently apolitical and ahistorical narratives are in fact extremely politically and historically relevant in fulfilling a basic condition for the prevalence of neo-liberal rationality. This increasing intervention in the academia is also related with the destitution of the higher education institutions, or if not institutions, at least of those who inhabit them. There is no doubt that Pakistan's Higher Education Commission has funneled a lot of money in the universities, however, students are still waiting for the miraculous 'Trickle-down effect." There is virtually no funding for the graduate students, even during their research, which explains the reason why almost all of my class fellows went back to their jobs as soon as course work was completed.

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[102] Sustainable Development Policy Institute. (1993). Pakistani Universities: The Colonial Legacy (Research Report Series # 13, 1993). Islamabad, Pakistan: Tariq Rahman.
[103] Roy, A. (2004, August 23). Public Power in the Age of Empire: Arundhati Roy on War, Resistance and the Presidency. Retrieved from
https://www.democracynow.org/2004/8/23/public_power_in_the_age_of

During my stay at Anthropology department, QAU, two NGOs were primarily involved with sponsoring the research of students. The problem was that they had their own specific agendas and the students had no choice but to select the areas within which these NGOs wanted to conduct the research. OXFAM sponsored these studies quite generously; however, their area was LGBT rights and most of the students jumped at this opportunity without any regard for their own academic interests.

On a side note, before this augmenting of interest in LGBT issues as a collectivity, transgender and women rights and terrorism were considered the 'hot topics'. Apart from that, a German NGO, Hans Seidel Stiftung, offers grants every year to the student working in the area of 'Nation-building'. I read a number of dissertations which dealt with diverse phenomena as the central object of study, the conclusive chapters of the dissertation, however, suddenly incorporates an odd analysis, shoved in the dissertation to make it appear like a study on the nation-building techniques and policies in Pakistan which was evidently an effect of the criterion established by the sponsoring NGO.

The locale of most of this research on nation-building was, interestingly, university campuses, particularly QAU, where the assemblage of students who belong to different parts of Pakistan provide an excellent opportunity to study the issues of discursive formations of identities, ideologies and nationalisms of various kind and it is this aspect of Pakistani universities in general and QAU in particular.

The narrative of securitization, which has been previously explained, is taking reins of the Pakistani society and universities are no exception. As usually happens in these cases, it is a full-blown program of public harassment with virtually no check on the security institutions. The assault on academic freedom is triumphantly underway and as is the rule in the security states, "freedoms are being curbed in the name of

protecting freedom. And once we surrender our freedoms, to win them back will take a revolution."[104]

In QAU, the pretext ordinarily employed is the elimination of drugs which in effect is curbing the individual freedoms. Moreover, the surveillance effects, whether real or perceived, are making an impact on the student and faculty research. There are various stories circulating in the university, mostly fictional or uncorroborated, that the process of research production is under siege and being constantly under surveillance.

For example, there are stories about the students from Balochistan who went missing and threats to the students who want to study the Balochistan conflict. Similarly, students feel that being supervised by Marxist oriented teachers will hurt them in securing a job. This securitization narrative is also buttressed by the oft-happening occurrences of student violence on the campus, usually perpetuated and extended by and through the presence of ethnic student councils. Every major ethnic community in the Pakistan has an ethnic student council in the university and due to their involvement in the affairs of individual students, things often got out of hand in the cases of any discord.

On the other hand, the relations between these councils are generally amicable and they invite each other on their respective cultural programs. This politics of ethnic councils is an interesting phenomena because here too, just like in the politics at the state level, the election of chairman and his cabinet depends upon his (it's always a male affair) situatedness in a particular class, which alienates most of the students anyway.

This affair of ethnic-driven violence on campus is customarily and characteristically resolved by the authorities by deploying police and rangers which exacerbates the

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[104] Roy, A. (2004, August 23). Public Power in the Age of Empire: Arundhati Roy on War, Resistance and the Presidency. Retrieved from
https://www.democracynow.org/2004/8/23/public_power_in_the_age_of

feelings of political containment in the student community. The authorities are usually construed as complicit in the sustenance of the ethnic councils because it would provide them a cover, whereas a genuine political process which culminates in the emergence of a truly representative student union would undermine their interests. Most of these interests are manifestly financial, as the incidents of land grabbing and fees increments testify.

This highly charged political environment in the university, in some cases due to extreme apolitical conditioning of the students and in others due to a hyper-ethnic consciousness, the power vacuum is filled by these ethnic councils and the liberal-progressive section of the faculty and graduate students have find a chance to collaborate with these students to open the spaces, albeit loosely cohered spaces, for discussion and resistance.

As a faculty member argued during an interview, the ethnic minorities of Pakistan have traditionally been working with the left-wing political activists and this tradition is continued in the university as well where the Marxist study circles and lectures are attended by the students from the minor provinces of Pakistan, mainly Pakhtun and Baloch students.

Moreover, there is a growing realization in the student body that the universities, mainly public-sector ones, are becoming a battleground for the conservative and liberal forces in the country. In Pakistan, the university campuses have been a major center of recruitment for the religious and secular political parties and their student wings are the ones most entrenched in the administrative and student positions. QAU, however, displays a distinct disregard for this religious invasion of the campuses and there had been at least three major strikes in the last two years to oppose the introduction of religious-oriented student unions in the political landscape of the university which, in any case, is highly constricted.

The recent lynching incident in the Abdul Wali khan University, Mardan and some previous incidents in Punjab University, Lahore and Karachi University have not only

attested the perpetuation and rise of right-wing conservatism but has also shown that the left-wing of Pakistani politics, decimated for so long, is being resurrected within the university walls. QAU is perhaps the foremost university in Pakistan as far as the ideological commitment or political orientation towards Marxism or left-wing ideologies is concerned.

The celebration of Hindu religious festivals like Holi certify the liberal credentials of QAU and the continued resistance to the right-wing state sponsored ideology and nationalism by the students has rendered it a politically fertile space for the Left to capitalize on. These discursive constructions which graduate dissertations have articulated are articulated in the next chapters.

Chapter 4. The Discourse of Nationalism in Pakistan

The starting-point in critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, ... as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory, therefore it is imperative at the outset to compile such an inventory.

Antonio Gramsci

The issue of nationalism is difficult to settle in theoretical terms. Each nation has employed different sets of rules to determine the form, contours and vocabulary of the discursive formulation of the narratives of nationalism and there is an immense variety within each collective entity purportedly denoted as a nationality.

It is important to identify the common theoretical signifiers of nationalist discourses, however, the "issue of nationalism is much more difficult to settle, because nationalism is no unitary thing, and so many different kinds of ideologies and political practices have invoked the nationalist claim that it is always very hard to think of nationalism at the level of theoretical abstraction alone, without weaving into this abstraction the experience of particular nationalisms and distinguishing between progressive and retrograde kinds of practices."[105]

A grounded analysis of these particular nationalisms must incorporate the discrete ideological articulations, vying for a particular version of nationalism, and disinterested scholarly research input, apart from the historians' studies on political elites—those who often decide the fidelity of the populace in any one direction among many—and the responses they evoked from their mass bases. In any case, an analysis of a localized discursive formation must try to streamline, evaluate and situate, at least in a perfunctory manner, the most important conditions for making a particular version of nationalist imagining possible.

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[105] Ahmad, A. (1994). *In Theory: Classes, nations, literatures*. New York, NY: Verso.

As will be shown later in this chapter, these conditions can be complicit or contradictory to each other and the presence of industry, school-education, military, socio-political exploitation or cultural marginalization need not necessitate the emergence of nationalist sentiments. These sentiments, once displayed by any given ensemble of people, generate strings of discourses within that community which consequently affect and modify the primordial sense of association which has been manifested by the people, although in most cases, the primary stimulant can be the material conditions which coincide with the real-life requirements which impinges and directs the popular convictions.

Therefore, in order to assess the discursive traditions of Pakistani nationalism, a brief overview of the ideological argumentation which accompanied it is imperative to disentangle the peculiar nature of nation- and nationalism-building practices in Pakistan and its analytical evaluation by graduate students and faculty.

The ideological basis of the Pakistan movement relied, in its elementary sense, on the differences between Hindus and Muslims of India as religious communities, albeit the question of the juridico-discursive status of communitarian religious identity in a broader secular framework of law and politics soon disrupted the straightforward mechanism of using religion as a political ideology "as a way of papering over the cracks in the splintered ranks of Muslim India."[106]

Indeed, as Ayesha Jalal has duly noted "[Jinnah's] use of religion was a political tactic, not an ideology to which he was ever committed,"[107] however, the political mobilization of Indian Muslims, couched in the language of religion, was contested by many ideologues of Islam. Some of them were driven by the pan-Islamist motivations while others were reframing the Muslim Nationalism from the vantage point of pan-Indianism.

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[106] Jalal, A., & Bose, S. (2011). *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, political Economy*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang e Meel Publications.
[107] Jalal, A., & Bose, S. (2011). *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, political Economy*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang e Meel Publications.

However, despite all of these scholarly confrontations, it must be kept in mind that the ordinary basis of associative inspiration for the people remained the ethnic, linguistic and locality-based differences. Among these ideologues, Syed Abul A'la Maududi possesses an influential position considering the ubiquitous presence of his ideas in the post-independence Pakistani politics which practically deterred the state of Pakistan to contrive a composite version of organically developed, inclusive nationalism as compared to the exclusionary, archetypically Muslim one which is characteristically blind to the cultural and religious diversification. Maududi's work is an appropriate frame of reference to investigate the dynamics of nationalism in the circles of *Ulama* and prepare the necessary groundwork for an analysis of present-day reflections on the phenomena of nationalism in Pakistan.

The socio-political backdrop in which Maududi wrote his articles on 'The problem of nationality' indicates that his stance was a nuanced continuation from the pan-Islamist movement in India. He often discussed, engaged and ultimately dismissed the nationalist ideology for a united India held by the old veterans of Khilafat movement, Abul Kalam Azad, Husain Ahmad Madani and Ubaidullah Sindhi, all of whom were later entitled as the 'nationalist Muslims' in historical accounts.

Moreover, Maududi's ideas on nationalism were part of a broader epistemic project, a modern redefinition, reevaluation and reaffirmation of Islamic legal precepts which was completely at odds with the ideals of European enlightenment yet, at the same time, borrowed the enlightenment analytical protocols and remained under the confines of historical a-priori of the time.

For example, discussing the stalwarts of western philosophy like Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Locke, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau and Kant, Maududi describes a progression in philosophical narratives which accounts for its culmination in godless philosophizing. He argues that "the philosophy and scientific rationality which has nurtured the western civilization has been striding toward atheism, irreligion, and materialism for the past five, six centuries. Defiance to religion is congenital in this

civilization; in fact, the genesis of this civilization was the confrontation between reason and religion."[108]

Although Maududi affirms, time and again, the importance of reason and science for his project, his reason and science are structured by Islamic principles: "Islam needs a renaissance. Ancient Islamic research cannot cater to the demands of the modern world…Muslim intellectuals need to construct a natural science which corresponds to the truths of Quran,"[109] therefore, in constructing these binaries, the approach Maududi employed was a classic East vs. West, almost Saidian in its implications.

The insistence on enlightenment categories and modern retrieval of Islam was categorical for Maududi, consequently, for him, "Islam was a "revolutionary ideology" and a "dynamic movement", the *Jama'at-e-Islami,* was a "party", the *Shari'ah* a complete "code" in Islam's "total scheme of life". His enthusiasm [for Western idioms and concepts] was infectious among those who admired him, encouraging them to implement in Pakistan all his "manifestoes", "programmes" and "schemes", to usher in a true Islamic "renaissance"."[110]

The dichotomous approach he employed was propped by a very simple argument. According to him, any Muslim who claims to be a rationalist cannot denounce the principles of Islam or demand rational proof in order to accept religious doctrines, since every Muslim is supposed to profess Islam on the rational basis but eventually he recognize that people are not Muslim because they happen to be satisfied with Islamic canon and regress back to the mainstream argument: if one is Muslim, then it is impossible to contest the written, revealed sources and to demand rational justification for a religious truth can only take place in order to quell the doubts concerning religious commandments.

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[108] Maududi, S. A. (2004). *Tanqeehat.* Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications. Translation mine.
[109] Maududi, S. A. (2004). *Tanqeehat.* Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications. Translation mine.
[110] Nasr, S. V. R. (1996). *Mawdudi and the making of Islamic revivalism.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

The line of reasoning he adopted on nationalism was mainly derived from this project of reinvigorating the Muslim societies through Islamic edicts by contravening the European hegemony, both in the realm of politics and knowledge.

In an essay from 1933, he defined nationalism in significantly unilinear and universal terms: "With the first step of man from barbarity to civility, it becomes necessary for the people to unfold the unity in diversity and cooperate together to achieve common purposes and needs. The civilizational progress extends this collective solidarity in order to make itself conducive to the incorporation of a large number of people. This aggregation is referred as "the nation." Although the words 'nation' and 'nationality' in their specifically characteristic connotation are a modern convention, the meaning they convey is as old as the story of civilization. The structural outlines of "nation" and "nationality" in ancient Babel, Egypt, Rome and Greece remain analogous to the present-day France, England, Germany and Italy."[111]

Moreover, he enumerated six different basis of solidarity among people which nurture the nationalist sentiments; these were the affiliations established on the principles of lineage or kinship, locality, color, language, economic aspirations and form of government, but he also asserted that nationalism, disregarding its internal tensions, can only be preconceived as a partisanship, a philosophy of bigotry. It is important to note here that these essays were written during the decades of 1930 and 1940 and their general tone is heavily tinged by the nationalist wars in Europe.

In fact, Nazism and Fascism are almost exclusively used to censure the depredations of nationalism. Anyhow, after he disqualifies the aforementioned premises for nationalist solidarities, he argues for a humanist and universalist categorization of human beings in two nations, the followers and detractors of Islam. For him, these detractors, despite being equal as human beings, cannot form a singular nationality with the Muslims and there is no possibility for a Muslim "to abandon Muslim

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[111] Maududi, S. A. (2008). *Masla e Qoumiyat.* Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications. Translation mine.

nationality and conjoin with others to constitute a collective Indian, Chinese or Egyptian nation."[112]

Maududi's take on the issue of universalist identity for Muslims grappled head on with the earlier breed of Pan-Islamists, since in their exposition of nationalist identities for Muslims, anti-colonial resistance always took the centre stage and they had no qualms in being identified with the followers of other religions through a common denominator rested on the modern notion of territorial nationalism.

Jalal has attested at least that much in her discussion on Jamaluddin al-Afghani, popularly acknowledged as the progenitor of Pan-Islamism: "Islamic universalism in India is a by-product of European imperialist policies and predated Jamaluddin al-Afghani's efforts to rally Muslims behind the Ottoman bid for the Caliphate…Afghani's posthumous reputation as the intellectual progenitor of Islamist universalist politics in India was not unearned. After all, he had preached Hindu-Muslim unity and waxed eloquent on the virtues of territorial nationalism."[113]

Afghani's followers, prominently Azad and Sindhi, who had been excoriated by Maududi, had also retained this version of territorial nationalism, although their construal of the solution to the problem of religious differences in India took its cues from different sources.

For Azad, the religious seal of approval to politically converge with the Hindus in an overarching Indian nationality is corroborated by the coalition established by the Prophet in Medina, to which Maududi retorted that this was a predominantly temporal military alliance which does not qualify for a composite nationalism in the modern sense of the word, whereas Sindhi's arguments were influenced by Socialist ideals and he argued that the "differences exist not only between these two communities, but

[112] Maududi, S. A. (2008). *Masla e Qoumiyat.* Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications. Translation mine.
[113] Jalal, A. (2008). *Partisans of Allah*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang e Meel Publications.

that each community is itself cleft into various sections on account of national and social divergences."[114]

The empirical stance of these seasoned politician-scholars helped them in locating the spaces where the religious dissidence could be kept in check and their anti-colonial nationalism arbitrated that the socio-cultural, political and economic differences determine the doctrinal landscape of Muslim identitarian imaginings within a general framework of United India.

Contra Maududi, Azad proclaimed that "history attests that apart from its first century, Islam was never able to unite Muslim countries, exclusively, on the basis of religion."[115]

However, Maududi's idea of a universal Islamic community which relies for its identification solely on religion was not only a rejoinder to the Muslim leaders in Congress vying for a composite nationalism, it also became the warranted idea of nationhood for Pakistan, in part accredited by the actions and stance of Muslim League which was entangled in the political expediencies and deliberately oblivious to provide a coherent ideological narrative, or in Ayesha Jalal's words 'logistics of the demand of Pakistan.'

The obscurity of the demand for Pakistan also confounded the Muslim leaders and scholars in Congress as well. Maulana Azad had contended that "Pakistan is a political perspective. It has been demanded in the name of Islam while disregarding the question whether it is the solution of the problems of Indian Muslims or not. The real question is, since when the Islam has demanded the geographical partition established distinctions between the abodes of Muslims and non-Muslims."[116]

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[114] Jalal, A. (2008). *Partisans of Allah*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang e Meel Publications.
[115] Kashmiri, S. (2009). *Abu-al-Kalam Azad*. Lahore, Pakistan: Al-Faisal Publishers.
[116] Kashmiri, S. (2009). *Abu-al-Kalam Azad*. Lahore, Pakistan: Al-Faisal Publishers.

This same argument was promulgated by Maududi in his later writings on the demand of Pakistan and the role of Muslim League leadership;[117] however, since Azad was a prominent member of Indian National Congress and practically calling for a composite nationalism on an all-India basis, Maududi's ideality could not tolerate his viewpoint. Maududi criticized Hussain Ahmad Madani as well, arguing that his perspective solely draws its force from anti-colonialism and he has made a mistake in identifying a tactical issue as a doctrinal one.

The hierarchy of the primary causes of nationalist ideas is specially endearing one for Maududi, for his discussions cannot tolerate a heterotopic assemblage. He denounces Ubaidullah Sindhi's arguments to disseminate nationalism on European principles by arguing that it is an illustration of political expediency rather than moral or religious truth.[118]

Since Maududi had already abandoned both of the imminently viable solutions of the colonial problem, Indian nationalism and partition, exclusively due to their purported unislamic bearings, it is difficult to ascertain his political views on the grounded reality from his writings. Although he initially decried the secular inclinations of Muslim League leaders, after the partition he co-opted them in his narrative. In an essay written after the partition, he contended that "Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam gave you this country on the basis of religion. Iqbal provided the vision and ideology and Quaid-i-Azam lead the movement. The unique characteristic of this country is that that the ideology preceded the formation of the country. Without this ideology, this country will disintegrate."[119]

Despite his discursive critique on the idea of geographical redistribution in the name of religion, "when the subcontinent was divided in 1947, he opted to move to Pakistan, becoming the decisive force that directed the new nation away from the

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[117] Maududi, S. A. (2008). *Tehreek e Azadi e hind aur Musalman: Volume 1*. Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications.
[118] Maududi, S. A. (2008). *Masla e Qoumiyat*. Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications
[119] Maududi, S. A. (1994). *Tafheemat: vol. 5*. Lahore, Pakistan: Idara Tarjumar al Quran.Translation mine.

ideal of a secular state toward that of an Islamic state and infusing his ideas into the constitution of Pakistan."[120] The direction towards which Maududi ushered Pakistan soon became the official ideological narrative of Pakistani state and a mantra to dispel and suppress any form of dissent.

Of course, Maududi was not the only reason for the Islamizing nature of Pakistan's polity, Jinnah's infamous 'two nation theory' might have done the job without Maududi, but he was undoubtedly the foremost ideologue at the disposal of 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan.'

There are several reasons that the version of nationalism which Maududi presented came to define the contours of the Pakistani nationalism, but it should also be kept in mind that there were several reasons behind this version becoming the officially sanctioned and popularly championed one.

Maududi's role was vital in the Objective Resolution, in fact, some would argue that he was the architect of this resolution which is still a part of Pakistan's constitution; he was the central figure in the Anti-Ahmadi riots in 1953 and his party led the political movements against General Ayub Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; the volunteers from his political party, Jamaat-e-Islami, supported and participated in the atrocious attacks against the civilian population of the former East Pakistan, however, it was the arrival of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and his Islamization, coupled with Afghan Jihad, which actually paved the way for Maududi's ideology to penetrate in the school and university curriculum and inundated the general populace through media and mosques, to the extent that there is virtually no dissertation which does not insist on the role of religion as a homogenizing force which is used by the state to disrupt and contain the heterogeneity of people, politics, institutions and ideologies.

The heterogeneity of the people reflects itself conspicuously in the theses which comprise the primary analytic domain in this dissertation. We can generally

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[120] Moosa, E. & Tareen S. A. Revival and Reform. In Gerhard Bowering (Ed.), *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction* (pp. 202-218). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

differentiate between three variants of nationalism, although it is an important to remain mindful of the fact that these neat distinctions probably does not pertain to any real social stratification in the Pakistani society.

These different ideological positions on nationalism can be termed and classified as the official, popular and liberal narratives of nationalism: official nationalism tries to distinguish itself by elaborating the all-too-familiar story of Islamic underpinnings and religion-based construction of the feelings of nationalism for the Muslims of South Asia which we have already discussed; the popular narratives embrace a variety of different mechanisms to express the attachment or detachment with the national polity which in its turn, as per the inflections in the public discourses, corresponds with the feelings of nationalism as a material symbol of nationalistic sentiments and in this category would fall the both the ethno-nationalists and the partisans of officially approved nationalism; the liberal version takes as its central subject the category of Muslims-as-a-community rather than Islam-as-an-ideology and contend that the objective of partition was indeed to build a separate homeland for the Muslims of South Asia but it would also be able to accommodate simultaneously other persecuted minorities.

With minor alterations, almost all of the brands of nationalist discourses swerve one way or another in this tripartite spectrum. The differences, which are numerous, mostly work within an absolute grid, an epistemic modality, which necessitates their discursive enunciation in specific ways.

The affinities between the primary locus of power and the processes of production of knowledge are not a contentious matter; indeed, in Pakistan too, academia and other intellectual circles have been engulfed by the state-issued nation-building programs. However, it is mostly a relation of reciprocity and as Hobsbawm has argued in the European case that "the great proponents of middle class nationalism…were the lower and middle professional, administrative and intellectual strata, in other words

the *educated* classes,"[121] the same is true in the case of Pakistani nationalism as well, but here it is the similar class which has challenged the official, state-issued narrative of nationalism.

The official nationalism, insofar as it is portrayed as resting on the so-called 'ideology of Pakistan' and 'Two-nations theory', initiates its doctrine on primordial underpinnings from a clichéd statement, "Pakistan was created the day the first Indian National entered the field of Islam" and exhaust this narrative by delving in fanciful projections such as the following excerpt from a history textbook: "…during the 11th century the Ghaznavid Empire comprised what is now Pakistan and Afghanistan. During the 12th century the Ghaznavids lost Afghanistan, and their rule came to be confined to Pakistan. … By the 13th century, Pakistan had spread to include the whole of Northern India and Bengal… Under the Khiljis Pakistan moved further Southward to include a greater part of Central India and the Deccan… Many Mongols accepted Islam. As such Pakistan remained safe for Islam… During the 16th century, 'Hindustan' disappeared and was completely absorbed in 'Pakistan'… Under Aurangzeb the Pakistan spirit gathered in strength. This evoked the opposition of the Hindus…After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the process of the disintegration of Mughal Rule set in, and weakened the Pakistan Spirit… The shape of Pakistan in the 18th Century was thus more or less the same as it was under the Ghaznavids in the 11th century."[122]

It not only attests the regressive and exclusive character of nationalism, but also documents the homogenous imposition of Islam on different people from different times. So if Gellner states that "it isn't so much that nationalism insists on homogeneity. It is an objective need for homogeneity which for better or for worse manifests itself as nationalism,"[123] then in Pakistani brand of state-issued nationalism,

[121] Hobsbawm, E. (1996). *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848.* New York, NY: Vintage Books.
[122] Sustainable Development Policy Institute. (n.d.). The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan. Islamabad, Pakistan: (Eds.) A. H. Nayyar and A. Salim.
[123] Gellner, E. (1981). Nationalism. *Theory and Society, 10*(6), 1-22.

homogeneity is not only achieved through and for religion, but nationalism itself has also been subjected to an all-encompassing religion.

Moreover, as Ayesha Jalal has commented on the dubious nature, allegiances and derivations of Indian nationalism, "The pre-eminent view of Indian nationalism has been that of an inclusionary, accommodative, consensual and popular anti-colonial struggle. This has entailed denigrating the exclusive affinities of religion as 'communal' in an imagined hierarchy of collectivities crowned by the ideal of a 'nation' unsullied by narrow-minded bigotry. By implying that religious affiliations are, if not necessarily bigoted, then certainly less worthy than identifications with the 'nation'. Indian nationalism comes dangerously close to trampling over its own coat tails. The cultural roots of Indian nationalism owed far more to religious ideals reinterpreted and reconfigured in imaginative fashion, than has been acknowledged,"[124] religious issues always try to modify and conform the populist sentiments like nationalism, even if the elites steering these movements are avowedly secular.

In contradistinction to Indian case, Pakistan's official doctrine of nationalism reinterpreted and reconfigured the religious ideals in legal fashion, therefore, not only the modern constitution of Pakistan contains contradictions but also xenophobic potentialities which actuates itself in the public domain in various ways.

The ethno-nationalist resistance to this hegemonic indoctrination and exclusionary processes by the state has often been the only platform available to the downtrodden proletariat, subalterns and the wretched of the earth. In some cases, the narrative of nationalism popularly celebrated is the one originated, imposed and sustained by the state through an iron hand on the educational curriculum and its ever increasing powers of censorship. In the hegemonic ethnic communities like Punjabis and Muhajir, the official and popular narrative coalesced to streamline the authoritative powers, but the dissentious heteroclites still found a way to percolate.

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[124] Jalal, A. (1998). Nation, Reason and Religion: Punjab's role in the Partition of India. *Economic and Political Weekly, 33*(32), 2183-2190.

The important points to note, however, is that the ethno-nationalism in Pakistan manifests itself in a number of ways, not necessarily corresponding to an all-encompassing theory of nationalism and the issue of class dynamics within these movements of vernacular assertion. Traditionally, the politics of ethno-nationalism has been working in conformity with the remaining vestiges of leftist politics in Pakistan and this is an issue which will be explored in detail in the discussion of the discourse formation in graduate research processes.

Here, it suffices to mention that these often diverging ethno-nationalisms primarily work in a broader consensus despite internal fragmentation, fashioned by the sequential and developmentalist nature of the notion of empty, homogeneous time and sought to justify its presence by dovetailing the reciprocal interlocution vis-à-vis the state, the dialectical affair of 'being-looked-at by the state' and this is what we will we will examine briefly in the next section.

4.1 Discursive Traditions of nationalism

4.1.1 Walter Benjamin

The idea of empty, homogeneous time was appropriated by Benedict Anderson to explain the distinctive character of nationalism as it spread in the world during the 19th and 20th century at the intersection of several other changes which colluded to configure the modern world. Although the primary premise of Anderson's thesis was generally correct, "In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined,"[125] his illustration of the phenomena of nationalism and its historical antecedents was fractured by many inconsistencies, despite the fact that it is an efficient way to discursively analyze the formation of nations.

The formula he adopted was too broad and universal and it would certainly be a handicap to enclose the analysis to only one sort of description which can be

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[125] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.

punctuated by different empirical conditions in almost every case. Nonetheless, in studying the discursive phenomenon, addressed to investigate the repository of analytical reportage on nationalism in Pakistan, his method can help in denuding not only the conditions of possibility which marked the analyses of nationalism but also assist in understanding the cultivation of nationalism as it actually happened and is still carrying on in the form of various nation-building enterprises.

The issue of heterogeneous temporalities has stirred a fair amount of contentious issues and it has often been employed to advance the framework of 'culturalism' at the expense of class-based analysis; however, Anderson borrowed the idea of 'empty, homogenous time' from Walter Benjamin who was a Marxist and his ideological formulation of this concept stemmed from the radical, class-conscious revolutionary politics instead of a politics emanating from cultural differences, as is evidenced in the later writings of subaltern theorists.

Benjamin elaborated this concept in his 'Thesis on the philosophy of history' where he ascribed this peculiar version of temporality to the ideologies of capitalism, fascism, historicism and progressivism. It is important to note that the critique of empty, homogenous time was a class-oriented critique of the civilizational and cultural story, constantly reminding us that the cultural treasures "owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great minds and talents who have created them, but also to the anonymous toil of their contemporaries. There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism."[126]

Similarly, the idea of historical progress of human society, attributed by innumerable scholars as ingrained in Marxism, was declared inherent by Benjamin in the time of the capital. For him, progressivism was the primary trope of both Fascism, in the historical context of Germany, and capitalism in general, through which the working class is usually reduced to a titular owner of the processes of wealth production considering the strong affinities between these ideas. In equating empty, homogenous time with the modern notions of progress, Benjamin insisted that "the concept of the

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[126] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations*. New York, NY: Shocken Books.

historical progress of mankind cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogeneous, empty time. A critique of the concept of such a progression must be the basis of any criticism of the concept of progress itself."[127]

The opposite of this temporal continuum along which modern societies, or at least the discourses on the dynamics of modern societies, proceed is the messianic time which 'irrupts' and makes headways, ruptures and revolutionary connections across the spectrum of the time of capital. Messianic time makes it possible to construe and decipher the revolutionary imaginings in a non-linear fashion; a mode of temporality which not only maps the past and future in an 'always-already' historical moment but is also the precondition of revolutionary changes in the society. The historical transmutations cannot be explained in a linear narrative since "history is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous, empty rime, but time filled by, the presence of the now[*Jetztzeit*]."[128]

Therefore, it is impossible to contain the revolutionary potential of the 'Jetztzeit' by ascribing and delineating it through the analytics of historicism which "gives the "eternal" image of the past" as compared to the "historical materialism" which "supplies a unique experience with the past."[129] This historicism which is deprecated here by Benjamin is not the variant which Dipesh Chakrabarty criticizes in his '*Provincializing Europe*' but the one which goes back in the history of German historiography, *Historismus*, which can be explained as the method of history writing which involves as its central precept "the refutation of histories of progress measuring the whole world according to some European norms only, on the basis of an interest in and respect for difference."[130]

Benjamin's critique differs from Chakrabarty's by vertically extending the framework of historicism by examining it from the vantage point of class differences rather than

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[127] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations*. New York, NY: Shocken Books.
[128] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations*. New York, NY: Shocken Books.
[129] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations*. New York, NY: Shocken Books.
[130] Dietze, C. (2008). Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of "Provincializing Europe". *History and Theory*, 12(1), 69-84.

cultural ones. He primarily criticized the progressive and causal nature of historical analysis which was inherent in historicism as compared to historical materialism which does not situate the events and causes in an empty repository of historical facts and treats all of them as homogenous in their effects; Benjamin argued that "historicism contents itself with establishing a causal connection between various moments in history. But no fact that is a cause is for that very reason historical. It became historical posthumously, as it were, through events that may be separated from it by thousands of years. A historian who takes this as his point of departure stops telling the sequence of events like the beads of a rosary. Instead, he grasps the constellation which his own era has formed with a definite earlier one. Thus he establishes a conception of the present as the "time of the now" which is shot through with chips of Messianic time."[131]

This conception of history is not unlike the butterfly effect, but it is in an eclectic and autonomous way rather than a determining one. Moreover, the potential messiah whom historians await is "not man or men but the struggling, oppressed class itself [which] is the depository of historical knowledge. In Marx it appears as the last enslaved class, as the avenger that completes the task of liberation in the name of generations of the downtrodden."[132]

This was the theoretical formulation of empty, homogenous time which was conscribed by writers like Benedict Anderson and E. P. Thompson to illustrate their analysis of nationalism and capitalism and the changes that have accompanied them in the modern world.

4.1.2 Benedict Anderson

Anderson contrasted the idea of empty, homogenous time with the notion of simultaneity-along-time in which "a simultaneity of past and future [occurs] in an

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[131] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations.* New York, NY: Shocken Books.
[132] Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations.* New York, NY: Shocken Books.

instantaneous present,"[133] thereby reducing it to Benjamin's conception of messianic time.

Without arguing the convergences between these concepts, it is important to evaluate the directions in which Anderson has coordinated his study of nationalism along the lines of empty, homogenous time. Anderson's construal of empty, homogenous time consults the evidence which is predominantly a discursive one, relying for its existence on the written word and encircling around the paper, or rather more appropriately, graphic artifacts.

The analysis of the discourse of nationalism in the graduate dissertations which is the objective of this study is not a grounded one, it sustains on the secondary material and takes its point of departure not from the primary evidence of people or their statements exhibiting nationalist feelings and attachments but the ways in which scholars have understood and explored them. The two variants of nationalism in Pakistan, official and ethnic, respond to these scholarly interventions in different, peculiar ways.

The subterranean causes of the emergence of nationalism can coincide with the similar phenomena taking place in other parts of the world as well, even if their surface manifestation tells a different story. Anderson has tried to locate the primary agents behind the theatre of nationalism and for him, the temporal context of this play can only be empty and homogenous, in which there is no space for medieval virtues and where "simultaneity is, as it were, transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfilment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar."[134]

The time of the nation is charted through the devices of clock and calendar. The primary agent of this calendrical time is the newspaper which serves multiple

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[133] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
[134] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.

purposes in establishing the hegemony of a particular version of time and narrates it to its audience in order to spawn nationalist yearnings in a populace. This primary agent is vitalized by its connections with the market forces, therefore, for Anderson, "what, in a positive sense, made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity."[135]

All of these attributes are indispensible, even for an inchoate narrative of nationalism. In this way, the characterization of nationalistic bonds was rendered dependent on the written word. There are two historical vectors, both extremely pertinent to our study, which Anderson has regarded as the originary influences for a philosophy of nationalism; the arrival of 'bourgeoisie as the literate class' on the world-historical scene and the standardization of vernacular languages by disrupting the hegemony exercised by the largely ineffective, sacred languages which adumbrate a different sort of affinities between people.

The state-sponsored version of Pakistani nationalism, before and after the partition, was indeed influenced by all of these socio-political and economic transformations, however, the spatial configuration of multiple ethnic communities, divided themselves in their interiority, was complex enough for the liking of Muslim League's cartographers.

As Anderson himself noted in his analysis of the early nationalism in Europe, the languages contain a multitude within themselves and it is precisely the print-privileged language which makes people "aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that *only those* hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged. These fellow-readers, to whom

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[135] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.

they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community."[136]

This elevation and standardization of a vernacular has a precondition though, and this precondition was the production of a literate public which can be imparted in a particular language-field by exploiting their need for print-media. Anderson mentions Eric Hobsbawm's insight here, arguing that "the progress of schools and universities measures that of nationalism, just as schools and especially universities became its most conscious champions."[137]

Moreover, Hobsbawm contended that the initial proponents of nationalism was the educated class and Anderson extended this insight to point towards a general principle; he insinuated the class dynamics of the nature and origin of modern education and consequently, its impacts on the social fabric. Anderson argued that the standard language is issued by the capitalist system via bourgeoisie which needs print-media to sustain its relations of production considering the fact that "an illiterate bourgeoisie is scarcely imaginable. Thus in world-historical terms bourgeoisies were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis."[138]

The Indian historian Irfan Habib endorsed this complicity of bourgeoisie in the formative years of nationalism, he corroborated the fact that "the bourgeoisie trying to create domestic markets behind national walls played the crucial role in creating nations. "The market", says Stalin quite aptly, "is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism"."[139]

However, in the post-colonial states where market was not as extant as its European counterparts and the effects of this market-ideology not as immediate, this process of nationalist imagination doesn't seem as organically developed as in Europe and

[136] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
[137] Hobsbawm, E. (1996). *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
[138] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
[139] Habib, I. (1975). Emergence of nationalities. *Social Scientist, 4*(1), 14-20.

Anderson has conceded that "in the 'nation-building' policies of the new states one sees both a genuine, popular nationalist enthusiasm and a systematic, even Machiavellian, instilling of nationalist ideology through the mass media, the educational system, administrative regulations, and so forth. In turn, this blend of popular and official nationalism has been the product of anomalies created by European imperialism: the well-known arbitrariness of frontiers, and bilingual intelligentsias poised precariously over diverse monoglot populations."[140]

These anomalies, the material artifacts colonists left behind, were not in need of structures which justify their presence because "in a world in which the national state is the overwhelming norm, all of this means that nations can now be imagined without linguistic communality,"[141] due to the sheer weight of history behind the idea of separate, demarcated and assigned nations to every individual and the material manifestation of these imagined communities; in the words of Irfan Habib, "inherent in the concept of the nation is the existence of a popular consciousness of the desirability of a separate entity of that nation as a sovereign state."[142]

Thus, the post-colonial states already had a vintage political model to imitate and a variety of elements to buttress their official propaganda for a specific nationalism, although the technological innovations, such as the mode of transportation, market dependence and the burgeoning state-intervention in the traditional occupations, remained as inevitable for the production of a nation in different forms.

Therefore, insofar as there was no specifically Muslim language, a language (Urdu) was Islamized and imported to the areas which later constituted Pakistan as a symbol of Muslim nationalism in India, at the expense of regional languages; an issue which later spawned innumerable, and often violent, confrontations between champions of official nationalism and localized, ethnic nationalisms.

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[140] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* New York, NY: Verso.
[141] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
[142] Habib, I. (1975). Emergence of nationalities. *Social Scientist, 4*(1), 14-20.

In majority of cases, the terms customarily applied in these scenarios, such as subaltern or proletariat, does not effectively represent the conflicting parties. It was more of a struggle between the elites in the centre and their regional counterparts, both aided by legions of university students, although this was only true in the politics of language. In a largely illiterate country which has not fulfilled the basic linguistic requirement of nation-hood, the abstract issues of language standardization and linguistic rights cannot influence the monoglot speakers of a particular vernacular because they have not been assimilated in the larger language-fold.

A historian of Punjab, while ruminating on the possibilities of Punjabi nationalism affected by the print-media, has suggested "that the effects often assumed to emerge from print cultures are rooted in something other than print itself. Print may not be the harbinger of intellectual and political change that scholarship on print culture and nationalism often presume it to be.

Studies ranging from the rise of European print cultures to work on nineteenth-century India argue that print produces standardized, and in most cases dominant, forms of languages, in terms of both orthography and dialect. This was not the case with Punjabi, despite its vibrant print culture. The history of Punjabi book publishing thus suggests that print, by itself, cannot exact these changes. The Punjabi case indicates the critical role states can play in the standardization and "modernization" of languages. Similarly, print culture alone does not lay the foundation for nationalism.

The colonial period in India did not bring about an ethno-linguistic nationalism based on Punjabi in the way vernacularization processes in Europe did. Nor did it operate in the ways that Benedict Anderson suggested in *Imagined Communities,* where he describes how print cultures in vernacular languages produce nationalist sentiment."[143]

The standardization of vernacular and resultantly, the creation of a homogenous political formation in the form of nation is thus a riddle which can assume different

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[143] Mir, F. (2010). *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

forms in the respective political landscape. This recursive reversion to state in analytical endeavors also suggests that the imposition of the formula of nation-state without a literate public can be counterproductive, inasmuch as the primary relations of production, collaboration and resistance are concerned.

The post-partition emergence of Punjabi nationalism, if it can be called that, was again mainly an elite affair. "The recent history and growth of the Punjabiyat movement in Pakistan is occurring in a space in which print textual forms simply cannot support theories of nationalism's mechanics which posit causality between the expansion of printed texts and the rise of nationalist consciousness, such as in Anderson's print capitalism theory. Given the social statistics obtaining in Punjab— let us recall here that the province has a 47 percent literacy rate, and slightly less than half the population are employed in agriculture—it is very difficult to see how Gellner's industrialization thesis can explain the situation, either."[144]

Accordingly, this insight, based on the Punjabi nationalism, points to another fairly logical conclusion: "While print capitalism as a new form of communication allowed greater connection and a sense of simultaneity to emerge—there is no disputing this point—we must acknowledge that these three [Indian, Pakistani and Indonesian] independence movements, movements that envisioned nations that had never before existed, were able to convert the masses who did not actually read. This suggests that the "meme" of national consciousness can indeed coalesce through oral communication, public addresses, and other forms of non-print communication that can take place in multiple, even mixed, language forms."[145]

The key point here is the role ascribed to the state by these writers whereby only state can put in motion the project of nation-building and in these post-colonial ventures, the analytical primacy must be retained by the state as an entity which "seems to be

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[144] Ayers, A. (2009). *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
[145] Ayers, A. (2009). *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

concerned with *creating* the key tools that theories of nationalism posit as necessary for its emergence."[146]

Moreover, Anderson has also mentioned three 'institutions of power'; the census, the map and the museum, as the devices initially used by the colonial states which helped cultivate the nationalist solidarities. For colonial states, these three institutions signified and rendered visible "the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry."[147]

Now obviously the post-colonial state has retained these institutions and they have helped states everywhere in its cartographic project of reducing everything—from society to nature—to a legible grid of simplifications. However, apart from the first two institutions or devices of power, the third one is an enigmatic entry, at least from a Pakistani vantage point, because the ancestry here is dubious and the ruins of Indus Valley and Gandhara civilization cannot be owned because they are the remnants of a pre-Islamic era. So the official story starts with the conversion of first Hindu in India (even though when Arabs attacked India, there probably was no "Hindu" here.) and progresses with the Turk, Persian and Pakhtun marauders who brought ruin and devastation for the local population and the descendants of those ravaged people are now celebrating the tormentors of their forefathers.

These contradictory characteristics of the narrative of solidarities based on the religion are simultaneously strikingly modern and primitive and adept at forging repositories of traditions through modern technologies. The temporal contextualization of the nation through the idea of 'empty, homogenous time' marks the possibility of imagining a nation amidst these fissures and 'irruptions' as Gyan Prakash has argued in his account of ancient Hindu science and modern Indian nationalism.

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[146] Ayers, A. (2009). *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
[147] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.

Prakash contends that "with science signifying religion, culture, and the nation, not just laboratory practices, the representation of the modern nation as the return of archaic Hindu science became a compelling and enduring trope in the nationalist imagination, a trope that survives powerfully into the present."[148]

The science supposedly reclaimed by Hindu nationalists was indigenous, however in Pakistan, this reclamation process traces its origins from the medieval Persian and Arab polymaths and philosophers who are easier to accommodate and situate in the nationalist discourse. This temporal coincidence, a gaping pit always waiting to be filled and homogenizing its contents, in the process of nation-formation is a form of a 'religious messianism' where heroes are located and garlanded in the name of differences, both cultural and national.

We will briefly navigate the arguments from the Subalternist historians on the issues of temporality and the ways it affects the discourse of nationalism.

4.1.3 Dipesh Chakrabarty

Dipesh Chakrabarty's book, *Provincializing Europe,* was an influential one in the post-colonial oeuvre, highlighting some important aspects in the study of history and unveiling the power dynamics imbued in the disciplinary formulation of the subject.

Apart from being a critical evaluation of the practicability of enlightenment theories, especially Marxism, in the case of India and other parts of the world, the 'hyperreal' role which Europe assumes in the historical studies and an exposition of the distinctive elements in Bengali modernity, the book also critiques the concept of "historicism."

Chakrabarty defined this concept as "a mode of thinking about history in which one assumed that any object under investigation retained a unity of conception throughout

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[148] Prakash, G. (1997). The Modern Nation's Return in the Archaic. *Critical Inquiry, 23*(3), 536-556.

its existence and attained full expression through a process of development in secular, historical time."[149]

Chakrabarty's critique is primarily aimed at the structural configuration of the discipline of history and the modes of thoughts which condition our historical analysis; his argument is framed around the similar tensions which effectuated Benjamin *Theses*, although he criticizes Benjamin for disregarding the historical importance of chronological analysis.

Chakrabarty has fabricated his critique of historicism through different channels which includes inserting a bifurcation in the Marxist conceptions of history and equating the meta-narrative of hyperreal Europe with the empirical data of 19th century middle class Bengali everyday life, as one reviewer of his book suggests, however, here we will discuss his arguments on the secular and progressivist nature of the time of history and the nationalist articulations which takes place within this temporal grid.

Chakrabarty's adoption and use of the word historicism is highly problematic, insofar as it initiates a radical break from the canonical meaning of the term. The idea of historicism was already a radical shift in the discipline of history which designated "the conception that every age must be viewed in terms of its own values combined with a rejection of the narrative of universal historical progress."[150]

This Copernican revolution in history, which can also be declared as the precursor of Boasian transformation of anthropology, already contained within itself significant potential to critically evaluate the allegedly quintessential Marxist unilinear view of history which renders Europe as the only historical entity theoretically knowable. Extending this point forward, Carola Dietze further argued that "Chakrabarty has to be regarded as a thinker of radical Historismus trying to deconstruct the grand

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[149] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[150] Dietze, C. (2008). Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of "Provincializing Europe". *History and Theory*, 12(1), 69-84.

narratives of European Enlightenment/modernity rather than as a critic of the discipline of history. Historismus here has to be understood in its basic meaning as outlined above: the refutation of histories of progress measuring the whole world according to some European norms only, on the basis of an interest in and respect for difference."[151]

In his reply, Chakrabarty seems to have missed the position Dietze has taken in her critique and merely renarrated the her point while trying to make a distinction where none is theoretically viable; Chakrabarty maintained that "what I call "historicism" is more like the intersection of two sets: what Dietze calls "German historismus" and versions of the idea that third-world histories are primarily about the transition from a premodern condition to that of modernity of which my hyperreal Europe remains the original site."[152]

How can these two sets intersect when their contours were drawn so far from each other? The "German Historismus" deconstructs the hyperreal Europe and its universal implications whereas the progressivist idea of history retains it as its 'original site.' It becomes clear that despite being theoretical obscurantist idea, Chakrabarty's historicism, in this specific context is a critique of the idea of straightforward and identical transformation of societies under the aegis of modernity.

By constructing and subsequently criticizing an analytical category, Chakrabarty, following Foucault, tries to underscore the collusion between the discipline of history and the modern institutions, primarily nation-state. He complains about the ascendency of European history in the hierarchy of historical studies and insists that not only this Europe is hyperreal—its reality is based on a contingent analytical use by scholars and layman alike—it also provides the models for progress and emancipation to the people living in entirely different conditions.

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[151] Dietze, C. (2008). Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of "Provincializing Europe". *History and Theory*, 12(1), 69-84.
[152] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). In Defense of "Provincializing Europe": A Response to Carola Dietze. History and Theory, 47(1), 85-96.

The history produced thus always interiorizes the European primacy and seek recognition and legitimacy from a standard determined by the hyperreal Europe. The line between hyperreal and real Europe, as a number of critics have argued, remain blurred in Chakrabarty's narrative, but it is an important theoretical distinction which Chakrabarty himself dissolves, perhaps unknowingly, when counters the effects of hyperreal Europe in the real Bengali middle-class modernity. Here, however, for the sake of analysis, we will retain this distinction.

Now, considering that the overall thrust of Chakrabarty's project is on finding the cultural differences which render obsolete the theoretical categories enlightenment thinkers have uncovered, he finds the cultural religion as the primary source of issuing differences in Indian social realm, therefore, this is the issue he consecrates in his analysis.

He quips on Benjamin's notion of empty, historical time in the context of history by claiming that "History's own time is godless, continuous and, to follow Benjamin, empty and homogeneous. By this I mean that in employing modern historical consciousness (whether in academic writing or outside of it), we think of a world that, in Weber's description, is already disenchanted. Gods, spirits, and other "supernatural" forces can claim no agency in our narratives. Further, this time is empty because it acts as a bottomless sack: any number of events can be put inside it; and it is homogeneous because it is not affected by any particular events; its existence is independent of such events and in a sense it exists prior to them. Events happen in time but time is not affected by them."[153]

What he meant by claiming that Gods cannot claim agency in our narratives is the "assumption running through modern European political thought and the social sciences that the human is ontologically singular, that gods and spirits are in the end "social facts," that the social somehow exists prior to them. I try, on the other hand, to think without the assumption of even a logical priority of the social. One empirically

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[153] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

knows of no society in which humans have existed without gods and spirits accompanying them."[154]

The real question here is; how can we understand and make understandable for others the idea that God is directly involved in the story of history. How else to interpret God other than being a 'social fact' since the task of interpretation can only be taken place if the man is the interpreter and therefore, the centre of his own analysis. This decentralization of man as a category of analysis is not only difficult to comprehend, it is also not feasible considering there is no other option and the examples Chakrabarty has provided in this regard cannot sustain during scrupulous scrutiny of their logical and empirical foundations. Without disregarding the divine and the sacred in our histories and ethnographies, it can be safely surmised that God is only humanly possible.

Similarly, if there is an appropriation of religion or God in the narratives of nationalism, it does not necessarily constitute a radical break from the general premises of nationalism, the difference wouldn't transform the overarching penetration of nation in the lives of individuals.

The idea that cultural or religious differences disrupt the empty, homogenous time of history by propping up other possible temporalities might be true in some cases, although it is pertinent to tread carefully because the modern configuration of religion has also rendered it susceptible and conforming to the legal codes, nation-states and capitalism, bereft of its radical potential, if it ever had any.

To argue that the nation-as-an-imagined-community can be incarnated among people following divergent, heterotemporal traditions is an increasingly difficult proposition to state because "homogeneous time is a prerequisite for imagining the totality of

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[154] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

individual lives that comprise a (national) community in which there are no privileged persons or events, and therefore no mediations."[155]

In an exposition of one of Nehru's episodes with the Indian peasants where he questioned them on the nature of Mother India, Chakrabarty narrated his version of peasant's 'romantic imagination of nationalism' as follows: "Their practice of being in the presence of Bharat Mata was not based on the training of the mind that print capitalism could administer to the formally educated nationalist subject. Nor were they making a claim about having experienced the land as a mother figure."India" or Bharat could indeed be the mother because, long before there were the newspaper and the novel, there was the age-old practice of *darshan* that came to constitute a critical element in the "performative" aspect of peasants' nationalism. As a practice, it bypassed the question of the experiencing subject."[156]

This argument on Indian nationalism is a problematic one. First of all, the attribution of land with the figures of mother or father is specifically a European derivation and whenever Nehru had that incident, the carriers of the slogan 'Bharat mata ki jay' would have been either radio, or newspapers or most probably political activists. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the sacredness of 'darshan' with the peasant nationalism is not only incomplete, its logical connections are also somewhat ambiguous.

At around the same time in India, an overwhelming majority of Muslims responded to the calls of Pan-Islamists, how would we explain this phenomenon in Chakrabarty's analytics? Later on, when those same Muslims opted for the idea of Pakistan, it indeed was inspired by the religious sentiments, but the construction of that idea necessitated the use of modern techniques to transmit the religious vibe in the demand of a separate territorial nationalism as opposed to a unified Indian nationalism.

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[155] Asad, T. (2003). *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

[156] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

This characterization of India's cultural differences, which reduced the hetero-temporality of Indian people to a handful of cultural and religious processes, has invited a lot of criticism, the chief accusation being the retrieval of Orientalism in Subalternist writings.

In their bid to eliminate the unilinear temporality of Marxist, progressivist, determinist historical analysis, they have devised a new form of unilinear conceptualization of society: "the postcolonialists' understanding of Indian time envisioned a linear periodization that, surpassing the crudest Orientalist schemes, privileged the European imperial Self.

Even the Orientalists' triadic formulation of "Hindu-Islamic-British," while blatantly essentialist and statist in nature, had never gone so far as to privilege any one of these "periods" such that the other two were seen in reference to it. But the notion of "postcoloniality" situated all Indian time in reference to the British imperial period: time was either precolonial, colonial, or postcolonial."[157] However, despite all of the theoretical inconsistencies, *Provincializing Europe* remains a hugely popular book among the graduate students in social sciences and the references from this book are ubiquitous in most of the dissertations which constitute the subject matter of this study.

4.1.4 Partha Chatterjee

The primary motive of Benjamin's *Theses* was to highlight the ruptures in history and the possibilities of revolution by discrediting the time of capital, Anderson adopted the idea of empty, homogenous time to illustrate the phenomena of nationalism as arising out of the broader social changes capitalism has brought in its midst.

In the later writings, particularly post-colonial theory, the trope of hetero-temporality was not concocted as a theoretical precursor of radical-revolutionary politics but to accentuate the cultural differences and criticize the Eurocentric theories which were,

[157]Eaton, R. M. (2000). (Re)imag(in)ing Other²ness: A Postmortem for the Postmodern in India. Journal of World History, 11(1), 57-78.

supposedly, homogenizing the diverse social settings studied by western historians, anthropologists and literary critics.

There were many intellectual brands, cherry-picking the cultural traits and essentializing the whole cultures, without a proper understanding of nuances and subtleties involved in the formation and practice of cultural codes. In most cases, these societies and cultures which western scholars encountered during the unbridled colonial ventures were contrasted with the archetypical Europe, a hyperreal Europe in the European imagination, and classified predominantly according to the material scale of progress.

Chatterjee, discussing these hierarchal evaluations, or devaluation, of societies argues that "It is an essentialism which, when imposed on historical time, divides up the history of Western society into pre-scientificand scientific, and casts every other culture of the world into the darkness of unscientific traditionalism."[158]

Ironically, Chatterjee later faces the same charge of 'Orientalism' from his critics who accused him of falling prey to the charms of the 'unscientific traditionalism' and his desire for the recognition of India's differences belies the truth in some of these indictments.

For example, consider the following portrayal by Vivek Chibber of Chatterjee's project of dislodging the enlightenment-conditioned formation of national bourgeoisie and their ideological frameworks which have induced the post-colonial polities in a master-slave dialectic vis-à-vis the West: "In his theory, any nationalist who relies upon Reason— by which he means all those faculties I just listed [rational argument, objectivity, evidence]—remains trapped within colonial discourse. Once again, we see rationality, logic, science, and objectivity as being internal to the West and alien

[158] Chatterjee, P. (1993). Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse. London, UK: Zed Books.

to the East. Chatterjee's theory of nationalism is probably the most thoroughly Orientalist of all the arguments..."[159]

This insistence on the putatively radical nature of cultural difference and indentures in ideological formations of Indian nationalist movement led by the Indian bourgeoisie also characterize Chatterjee's critique on Anderson's application of empty, homogenous time to explain the nature, conditions and emergence of nationalism.

Chatterjee criticizes the Anderson's characterization of the idea of empty, homogenous time by locating a structural incoherency in the argument; he states that "Empty homogeneous time is the time of capital. Within its domain, capital allows for no resistance to its free movement. When it encounters an impediment, it thinks it has encountered another time—something out of pre-capital, something that belongs to the pre-modern. Such resistances to capital (or to modernity) are therefore understood as coming out of humanity's past, something people should have left behind but somehow haven't. But by imagining capital (or modernity)as an attribute of time itself, this view succeeds not only in branding the resistances to it as archaic and backward, but also in securing for capital and modernity their ultimate triumph, regardless of what some people may believe or hope, because after all, time does not stand still."[160]

This is the same line of reasoning which Chakrabarty later adopted, and expanded, in *Provincializing Europe*, however, Chatterjee's contrivance that within empty, homogenous time, capital allows no resistance by ascribing it as a remnant of pre-capital is largely preposterous because despite being constitutive of the imagined, large-scale, nationalist dispositions by employing the modern technological apparatus at its disposal, empty, homogenous time can maneuver and accommodate, just like capital itself, the seemingly pre-modern and pre-capital social relations and solidarities.

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[159] Chibber, V. (2013). Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital. New York, NY: Verso.
[160] Chatterjee, P. (2004). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

The nationalist strategies and policies, whether of emancipation or aggression, with whatever agent or direction, are necessarily contoured by the limitations of empty, homogenous time. Chatterjee further argued that "People can only imagine themselves in empty homogeneous time; they do not live in it. Empty homogeneous time is the utopian time of capital. It linearly connects past, present, and future, creating the possibility for all of those historicist imaginings of identity, nationhood, progress, and so on that Anderson, along with others, have made familiar to us. But empty homogeneous time is not located anywhere in real space-it is utopian.

The real space of modern life is a heterotopia (my debt to Michel Foucault should be obvious). Time here is heterogeneous, unevenly dense. Here, even industrial workers do not *all* internalize the work-discipline of capitalism, and more curiously, even when they do, they do not do so in the *same* way. Politics here does not mean the same thing to all people. To ignore this is, I believe, to discard the real for the utopian."[161]

Now, considering that an overwhelming majority of human beings are citizens of nation-states and bound in nationalist imaginings, it is difficult to even assume that the temporal girdles of capital can ever be so inconspicuous to render them merely utopian and hence, figments of historicist imaginings. Where would Chatterjee locate the people who identify themselves with the grids of identities constructed by and implicated through empty, homogenous time?

Moreover, E. P. Thompson's famous article, *Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism*, has received a fair share of criticism from subaltern theorists, here again Chatterjee mentions him and at the end of the article he acknowledges Dipesh Chakrabarty's analysis of the historical lineage of the resistances to capital from his *Provincializing Europe*. He quotes Thompson: "Without time-discipline we could not have the insistent energies of the industrial man; and whether this discipline comes in

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[161]Chatterjee, P. (1999). Anderson's Utopia. *Diacritics, 29*(4), 128-134. Emphasis mine.

the form of Methodism, or of Stalinism, or of nationalism, it will come to the developing world,"[162] and declare this statement to be a historicist one.

The deterministic impulses of the statement are definitely problematic but to use this article and downplay the coercive and dehumanizing tendencies of capital by disputing the range of its absoluteness amounts to an unabashed overlooking of the constituents of the resistance one is trying to document. Why should it matter that each and every one of the industrial worker 'internalize the work discipline of capitalism' in the same way in order to render empty, homogenous time as the real time of the capital which effects people's lives in an immediate manner.

Chatterjee comments on Anderson's discussion on Irish immigrants in the United States, he argues that "When he chastises the "long-distance nationalism" of Irish-Americans for being so out of touch with the "real" Ireland, he ignores the fact that "Ireland" here truly exists only in utopian space, since the real space of this politics is the heterotopia of contemporary American social life."[163]

However, despite its positioning in the utopian realm, it doesn't make it lose all of its meanings in the narrative discussions and polemical politics of Irish-Americans. Even if we accept that heterotopia is the real social space, utopia continuously encroaches and disrupts the everyday life through its development narratives and nationalistic sentiments which Anderson mentioned.

For example, isn't it the case that every attempt for progress, which has its directionality framed as top-to-bottom, is a case for the disruption of heterotopia, or insertion into utopia? I am merely trying to point out here that although there is no doubt in the resisting capabilities of people, we should account for their miseries as we celebrate their braveries. Chatterjee is absolutely correct in identifying that the

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[162] Chatterjee, P. (1999). Anderson's Utopia. *Diacritics, 29*(4), 128-134.
[163] Chatterjee, P. (1999). Anderson's Utopia. *Diacritics, 29*(4), 128-134.

"other times are not mere survivors from a pre-modern past; they are new products of the encounter with modernity itself."[164]

4.2 Discourse of nationalism in Dissertations

The discourse of nationalism in Pakistan is too broad and accommodates too diverse sets of identifiers that it is nearly impossible to abstractly theorize about its contours, formative structures, configurative modalities and methodologies of enunciation. This conundrum has been faced by everyone who has sought to explain the phenomena of nationalism and almost every analysis has been marred by the inexhaustible repository of nationalist imaginings, even if it has taken great care in situating its subject in a real-life and imaginative geography.

The cadastral map of nationalist investments is always an incomplete one; however, we can still determine the chief constituting factors if we stipulate our analysis with some distinctive conditions. In order to decode the discourse of nationalism in Pakistan as it is dispersed and elaborated in the graduate dissertations produced by the students of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, we need to situate the locality and its distinctive features which we have already done.

The discussion which follows is based on 25 graduate (M.Phil and PhD) dissertations each from the departments of Anthropology, History and Pakistan Studies. In a country of 200 million denizens, it will be ridiculous to claim that this study reflects any sort of generality or even that this description could be replicated by the students in other universities of Pakistan; QAU's preeminence and dissimilarities have been discussed earlier in detail. In this section, I will guide the discussion along two different directions; in the first part, I will discuss the primary focal points of the discourse as they were articulated by different students and their internal discrepancies, if indeed there are any, and in the second part, I will try to briefly elucidate the grounded studies of various ethno-nationalisms, concentrating on their disparate inflections and points of synchronicity.

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[164] Chatterjee, P. (2004). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Although it is indispensible to situate every statement, assertion and conclusion in its ideological, cultural, linguistic and most importantly, economic context and evaluate it against its backdrop, it is humanly impossible to do so and simultaneously maintain a meaningful narrative, therefore, I will try to do that by mentioning the discrepancies in the ethno-nationalist accounts and outright contradictions in the nationalist ones. Moreover, it is important to clarify that the word ethno-nationalist corresponds to the often marginalized constituents of the state of Pakistan whereas the term 'nationalist', as I have used in the previous sentence, would refer to the official version of the national story, composed and issued by the state.

In a discursive study of Pakistani nationalism, the importance of remaining mindful of the two primary distinctions is of monumental proportions. The first, which has been elliptically insinuated in the previous pages, is the distinct variety of nationalist discourse in the pre- and post-partition phases; before partition, the primary responsibility assumed by the nationalism sanctioned by Muslim League on an all-India scale was to differentiate itself from the tidal wave of anti-colonial resistance in which the subjects generally positioned themselves as Indian natives fighting the outsider colonists. Muslim League's position rests on the argument that being an Indian is not a monolithic position and Indian society is fractured by a variety of schisms.

If the demand for Pakistan was really a bargaining chip, then it is abundantly clear that the primary objective was to secure the legal, political and economic rights of a section of the populace which was different from others in their ideological bearings. In the post-partition era, the rationale of this differentiation was forgotten as is often the case in the minority nationalisms and fuelled by an acute sense of paranoia amidst existential threat to the newly founded state, the focus shifted to construct a homogenous identity for the subjects which, consequently, can be positioned as the binary opposite of Indian identity.

The second distinction emerges in the post-partition period as a response to the state agenda of homogenizing local cultural differences and welds a common identity. The

localized resistances usually take the form of movements for cultural assertion and recognition, although the socio-economic disparities played their part as well. These movements later took the form of ethno-nationalist ones, their resistance often aimed at the central government's insistence on prevailing a single hegemonic identity which renders the local identitarian matrices illegitimate.

The statist account is celebrated in the dominant province of Punjab (specifically in the Punjabi speaking areas) and other urban centers of Pakistan whereas the ethno-nationalist ones are located on the fringes of the society, assisted by the other marginalized sections of the society including leftists, socialists and seculars. The language of this confrontation is predominantly religious on the state's part while the resistants' often use ostensibly secular and inclusive signifiers. The history of this conflict often took violent turns, most notably in the case of former East Pakistan and Balochistan.

However, it would be naïve to think that every ethno-nationalist movement's objectives pertain to the calls for resistance to the state's onslaught on their individual, civil and public liberties and simultaneously, the presumption that every resistance movement is vying for a program of social liberties and is completely free of regression could lead to intellectually flaccid positions. Therefore, it is important to study these movements while retaining the proper historical and ethnographic paraphernalia at hand to properly analyze their internal structures and outward manifestations.

Generally, amongst the Quaid-i-Azam University student body, the ethno-nationalist sentiments are counted as an act of defiance, particularly because the state-issued Islamic ideology contend that there can only be one measure of identification for its citizens, at least on an ideological plane, which is quote often and rightly construed as a denial to accept the localized identities by the state. This confusion pervades the discourses generated by and through the graduate research initiatives where a liberal set of values and an affinity for the marginalized people and movements for their rights coexist with an overarching sense of being a Pakistani.

Similarly, state's utilization of religion to cater to the aspirations of political elite is disparaged, but the religion itself is acknowledged not only as a major component in the process of identity formation but also as a deep-rooted set of moral values and practices integral to the life-world of the students. It is from the ruminations on the nature of religion, its position in the hierarchy of priorities, the nationalist motivations it has inspired and the debacles perpetrated in its name that we start examining the primary themes in this peculiar discursive formation of nationalism.

4.2.1 Islam

The religious impact on the doctrine of nationalism in Pakistan has been discussed earlier. In the dissertations too, the religious aspect of Pakistani nationalism is debated in conjunction with the state, specifically the way state has employed the notion of an Islam which seeks to dislodge the cultural ways of life and impose homogeneity which is often assumed to be an imitation of the Arab culture in the garb of religiosity.

Islam is generally construed as a homogenizing force which not only tries to disrupt the cultural identities but is also perceived in a dichotomy which usually takes the form of "religion vs. culture." A nuanced view would attribute this interpretation to the nation-building objectives of the newly formed state which had nothing in common between its two wings except a common religion.

The collusion of religion with the state has also impacted the social fabric of the society in a drastic way, although it can be argued that it has nothing to do with the peculiar nature of the Pakistani polity and the structure of the modern state demands it, as James Scott has argued, to make its subjects legible and the only way it knows how to do it is by constructing binaries and eliminating the grey areas, the immediate spatiotemporal heterogeneity, where people ordinarily spend their lives.

The censuses and legalities of the statist project has intervened in the lives of the people who are highly syncretic in the religious preferences and managed to attain a

heightened sense of religiosity where previously religious identification was not as extant as it is now.

On the other hand, it could also be termed as the success of the nation-building policies initiated by the state in the hope that it might forge a nation out of a truncated and moth-eaten population. In any case, the religious narrative has always been configured as the universal law, equated with timelessness and this theme is continually preserved in most of the studies, especially the ethnographic studies on the Islamic Madrassas which recounts the locale in a manner reminiscent of the old Orientalist scholarship, always equating the places of religious study to be unaffected by the modern developments and advances in science and pedagogic practices.

Moreover, for quite a number of instances, the modern way of life is declared to be in conflict with the tenets of Shariah, without qualifying the use of the word "Shariah" and "modern." This confounding statement gets further confusing when Islam is portrayed as a strictly egalitarian religion, characteristically devoid of nationalist sentiments and indifferent to class distinctions.

The numerous statements on the nature of religion, apparently contradicting each other, can only be reconciled if we analyze them in an epistemic context which could delineate the conditions of possibility for this discourse of nationalism. The universality of religion, conceived in an abstract manner, not only disrupts its ethical life-force but also makes it susceptible to become merely a legal formation specifically designed to control the population.

Not only the legal structures of British Empire formulated the all-India political categories of Hindu and Muslim, they also invigorated the religious categories of Islam and Hindus in the realm of politics; it is not only Islam but the religion per se which is portrayed as universal.

Ironically, the dissertations assert their liberal credentials by attesting the complicity of Jinnah and Muslim League in this project of fashioning out a new religious epistemic regime; Jinnah is accused of promoting the modernist concept of

nationhood and merging it with the traditional, universal model of Islam. Furthermore, as a student presented it, "Jinnah presented the idea of a modern Islamic state, and used religion as a tool to curb the sub-national identities of various minorities in the country," here too the implication is that the founding father of Pakistan laid the groundwork which was subsequently embellished by the latter rulers and elite classes to discredit the aspirations pertaining to the assertions of ethnic identities.

The religious fortification of the state narrative renders it impervious to the secular critiques considering the fact that an overwhelming population is ardent follower of Islam and dealing and indoctrinating an illiterate people makes it an all-too-easy task for the forces of status quo. Meanwhile, the post 9/11 doctrine has also immensely assisted them since it has become quite easy to ascribe any dissenter with the label of terrorism and these labeling practices are vehemently discussed in the dissertations.

Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of students acknowledge that religion and religious motivations, if they are playing out in the social field in an organic manner, can be a legitimate signifier of a nation and the cultural language of nation-building techniques cannot replicate itself in reality without it. The grievances lie with the use of religion by different sections of the society for self-serving purposes and the most prominent of those classes in the dissertations is, unsurprisingly, the class of religious scholars, the clergy of Islam.

4.2.2 Clergy

The demand for the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims in India kicked of a bitter debate among the religious scholars, most of whom, quite legitimately, contended that a secular demand for a separate geographical nation-state could not be made in the religious locution. The internal schisms within Islamic sects coupled with the competition regarding local political influence and outreach determined the support of religiously informed and influential personnel more than merely the ideological affiliations.

David Gilmartin has argued in his discussion on the Brelwi Ulama and Sajjada Nashin (the descendants of the saint who assumed authority of the khanqah) that unlike the Deobandi scholars who primarily sided with the Indian National Congress in the freedom movement, the concept of a distinct secular authority was not an alien one for the Brelwis, who were more in contact with their followers because of their rural settings and commanded more loyalty since their authority was based on descent amongst highly illiterate followers as compared to the more strict doyens of ideological Islam.

Hence "The idea of a state in the hands of such leaders (who were personally secular) was for them perfectly natural, for in the establishment of such a state based on the Shariat, they could see the projection of their local religious work into a larger political arena. This view explains in large part the attitude of these sajjada nashins toward Muhammad Ali Jinnah, which was in sharp contrast to that of the reformist ulama who generally distrusted Jinnah as a political man with little real awareness of Islam."[165]

Recent developments such as terrorism have also culminated in the disparaging analysis of the ideological hardliners such as Deobandis and Wahabis. The general tone of the dissertations also points out to the celebration of the traditions of folk Islam, pitted against the ideological doctrines of the learned and intellectual varieties.

The critical evaluations usually focus on the role of Ulama in the resistance movement against British in the pre-partition era and their involvement in the legal issues after the partition. Their contrivances in the matters of legality have been an attempt at institutionalizing Islam through state machinery which not only distort the nationalist narrative in the directions of exclusion and xenophobia but also undermine the grounded traditions of tolerance, acceptance and heterogeneity firmly rooted in the non-discursive paradigm of Sufism and its extensive impact on the broader society.

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[165] Gilmartin, D. (1979). Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab. *Modern Asian Studies, 13*(3), 485-517.

However, as one moves chronologically from 2000's to 2010's, the change is obvious. Here Mullahs turn out to be the prototypical villains who think that every social phenomenon which can remotely be termed as the Western is dangerous for the ethical values, inherently unislamic and corrupting the society.

Obviously, this change refers to the transformations in the Pakistani social landscape where stern and violent religiosity has been abetted by the state and terrorism has conspicuously affected people's lives. Moreover, the exclusionary laws, ill-treatment of minorities and contraction of public sphere and freedom of speech has also accentuated state's complicit role in the protection of so-called religious values which becomes the most important facet of critiques offered in the dissertations.

4.2.3 State

The state, the foremost coercive tool of the political elites, is characterized as the primary institution trying to promulgate a Pakistani ethnicity. In a way, states can't help imposing a monolithic identity on its subjects under the pressure from the global market, diplomatic relations with other states and legibility purposes.

However, the point raised here deals not with the creation of a separate category of identity but the deliberate eradication of localized identities. The authority state wields over its citizens is made efficient and pervasive through the educational and technological infrastructure which immediately follows the state annexation of semi-autonomous regions and people.

In an abundant research on the issues of development, state is always recognized as the carrier of development whereas, simultaneously, this development narrative is coupled with the culturalist critiques on the intervention of modernizing elements through government in the lives of the people who are subjected to a subservient role vis-à-vis the state.

Moreover, insofar the NGO's demand a particular type of research, the students will continue to think that "instead of letting local ethnic communities to take their own route, government should bring them in mainstream," which indicates that the state

must, somehow, bring these backward ethnic communities in a vague, unexplained mainstream which, ordinarily, correspond to the market dependence and state-reliance.

In this scheme of things, nation-states, corporate culture, Developmentalism and capitalist modernity are equated almost coterminously while globalization is considered as a by-product of the modern state system for which the construction of a national identity is a prerequisite. This precondition of a nation-state is generally met by welding a heterogeneous society into a linguistically and culturally homogenous entity. This gigantic process which, incidentally, always remain incomplete acquires legitimacy because there is no other apparently viable alternative available to people, especially the urbanized, literate ones, who were made to unlearn "the art of not being governed."

This absence of alternatives results in the situation which renders the following statement possible in a dissertation among a lot other which document the practices of resistance: "The nation-state is regarded as the ideal form of political organization but also as the indispensible framework for the social, cultural and economic activities." Consequently, state discourses are even accepted and lauded by people who are being disenfranchised by those very discourses.

Most of the studies on the statist project of Pakistan start by arguing that the post-colonial polities are marked out by an abstract territorial distinction rather than features which predate them. This insight depicts not merely a cultural statement announcing the different nature of post-colonial states and the influence of Post-colonial Theory in graduate students but it also counteracts the fascist tendencies which are, if not prevalent, sizably present in South Asian polities of colonial descent by insisting that the present-day India is not a continuation of the ancient Hindu Rashtra or Pakistan is not a potentiality awaiting its manifestation since Muhammad Bin Qasim's arrival in Sindh.

Another prominent argument one often encounters in the dissertations on nationalism alleges that in Europe, it was a nation which created a state whereas in postcolonial polities, states created the national consciousness. Both of these arguments complement each other and there are some shades of truth in them. The states of India and Pakistan encapsulates several cultures and languages which are completely different from each other and have no historical connections whereas the European nation-states, despite having internal differences, are considered homogenous entities in the popular imagination although Benedict Anderson has argued against it.

It is extremely difficult to accord the primacy to either a nation or a state from factual evidence and we can argue that nations and states and nation-states have developed collectively over time. In any case, these arguments reflect the highly impactful presence of the state in the discursive studies of nationalism.

The top-down structuration of the state is heavily criticized and attributed as an oligarchic polity. Following is a statement which roams ubiquitously in these dissertations: "Pakistan is not a nation-state, rather Pakistanis are a state-nation." This reversal belies the belief which maintains that the state is the custodian of public liberties whereas in Pakistan, the only valid liberal ideology is the "elite liberties" which can coexist with the martial laws, all-out wars on marginalized ethnic groups and human rights abuses. Almost all of the dissertations try to differentiate between national and ethnic at some level—most of the time national is related with the state or in some cases, with Punjab.

The more critical theses argue that the nation-building initiatives aim to integrate the loosely linked communities even if this process of integration has blood on its hands. Accordingly, they generalize this phenomena by arguing that in the realm of nation-states, it is impossible for anyone to stay apolitical and since everyone has a political opinion, it is important for the state to conform the people's opinion to the already established canons which describe a perfect citizen. The canonicity of these injunctions is achieved by generating the docile bodies through various regimes of knowledge formulation, all of them saturated with the state's ideology.

4.2.4 Knowledge

The realm of social sciences, post-Foucault, acknowledges the correlation between knowledge and power; besides the theoretical niceties corresponding to the microcosmic effects of power which penetrates the social body and generates a distinctive scholarship, there is an invasive awareness that the institutions traditionally perceived to be the locus of power, primarily the state and its appendages, pervades the process of knowledge production in more immediate and vigorous ways.

State figures prominently in the social sciences research and the knowledge systems it has begotten ruminates on the genealogical status of state itself, all the while remaining mindful of their own position in the systemic order of things effectuated by the state. The genealogy of the modern state system is often traced to its European ancestors and the theoretical sensitivities which have been too heightened in the wake of Subaltern Studies have declared the charge of Euro-centrism the most grievous of all intellectual crimes.

The only logical outcome considering the symbiosis of knowledge and power is the assertion that the modern knowledge, including scientific knowledge of nature, is a characteristically a progeny of western knowledge regime and therefore, we must be suspicious of its claims, if not disavow it thoroughly in the bid to indigenize our knowledge systems.

Moreover, the impediments in the way of inundating tide of modernity are proclaimed to be mostly cultural, as compared to the religious one. Here, not only religion is characterized as a dichotomous counterpart of culture, but the defining elements of both of the analytical categories, culture and religion, are also modern/European. An overwhelming number of studies operationalize the three terms: Modern, Western and European, in an identical way, thereby referring to the all-too-real nature of Chakrabarty's 'Hyperreal Europe.'

Two of these terms, Western and European, refer to a geographical entity, albeit it sometimes turns out to be a derivative of the imaginative geographies. On the other hand, "the term "modernity" is typically ill-defined, and its conflation with historical reality is inherent in much of the literature on the topic in and outside Europe, especially in discourse-oriented approaches that focus on philosophical or sociological issues, literature, or art."[166] This feature of modernity, the inherent ambiguity in its definitional proceedings, figure prominently in the discussions on the nature of knowledge and consequently, on the discourse of nationalism.

The form of knowledge which is being discussed here is the knowledge which comes to fruition in the formal institutions and despite all of the critiques on the so-called 'Islamic system of education' which is considered as a hot topic for graduate dissertations, it will still be regarded as a modern variant of the same, strictly rigid and hierarchical nature of the modern epistemic configuration.

A perfunctory study of dissertations reveals an edifying principle which is imbued in almost every research project: "In modernization, traditional knowledge gives way to western scientific knowledge." This traditional knowledge is not the knowledge of religion or any other phenomena which is typically consigned to the medieval, it is the disassembled, living knowledge of the people, sparsely centralized, which helped them in making sense of the world and themselves, akin to James Scott's characterization of Métis.

The displacement, or at least the commonly accepted spurious nature, of this knowledge on the basis of its backwardness, regression and unscientific approach is contradictory to the proclamations of indigenizing missions. This contradiction is underscored by the fact that the European origin of science was considered as the reason enough to discredit the science itself. But this contradiction is a surface manifestation of a problem which is much more common.

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[166] Dietze, C. (2008). Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of "Provincializing Europe". *History and Theory*, 12(1), 69-84.

The plane of these discussions and the one which raged in the subaltern circles is entirely different, here it doesn't deal with the epistemological issues but the utilitarian ones and it is evident from numerous dissertations on medical anthropology. If "state's biomedical system claims to be rational, objective and value-free as compared to others," then it is not merely denigrating the other systems as incompetent and unscientific, but it is also eradicating the grounded traditions which are certainly not objective and value-free.

Moreover, it is a material problem as well. A vast majority of the population has no access to the modern system of healthcare, but once the illegitimacy of the traditional system is established, there is no way that it could revert back to its former status despite a dearth of healing technologies, both social and medical. Without fulfilling the material conditions, rational knowledge will remain the primary difference between East and West will remain.

In Pakistan, the field of knowledge is saturated with the struggles by different ideological groups to create hegemony over the interpretation of Pakistani identity. The religious people argue that it is a theocratic state, the ethno-nationalist maintain that the idea of Pakistan was disseminated at the expense of regional identities and the seculars would contend that Pakistan was a state created to protect the minorities and it shouldn't have any religious bearings.

These differing viewpoints initiate a process of historical revision and fabrication of historical facts which is partly assisted by the state-sanctioned process of writing national histories and due to an eclectic set of preferences and responsibilities, anything can be borrowed from any social groups insofar it retains the doctrinal purity of its narrative. These nationalist histories are devoid of socio-economic causes of any event and absolutely blind to the regional diversity, since an acknowledgement of diversity is antithetical to the propaganda of last 70 years and according to the state ideologues, could lead to the disintegration of the country.

The projection of the indigenous cultures in the nationalist histories as pre-modern, archaic and less civilized betrays the indoctrinating impulse, which some insist to denote as 'nation-building,' on the part of the state because these histories are also required readings in schools, colleges and universities. In the case of Pakistan, education and literacy is not creating a nation, instead it is sustaining one.

4.2.5 Education and Technology

An unwavering belief in the virtues of formal education is a quintessential feature of a Pakistani liberal. Education is declared as "the only way of development and progress in any part of the world." However, while lauding the positive sentiments, we must also be wary of the directives issued by the neo-liberal demagogues, not primarily in the name of preserving the cultural differences from a global onslaught of capitalist homogenization, but to nip the new social stratifications which usually accompany the free-market ideology.

Moreover, as the concerns are growing over the increasing power of Hindu nationalism which is now bordering on fascism, we have seen that the opening markets are justified by a fiery politics centered on a narrow version of nationalism— a nationalism solely focused on designing "The Other", both internally and externally, and cultivating xenophobia under the guise of paranoia. On the other hand, we have seen in the historical injunctions of Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson that the 19th century European middle class, literate and with bourgeois sensibilities, was the flag-bearer of nationalism.

In any case, there shouldn't be any obfuscation on the matter of education because there are clearly distinctive political actions which necessitate a particular outcome in the political realm, irrespective to the literacy rate of the population. Education can only act as a catalyst, either to slow something down or speed it up.

The dissertations opine somewhat differently. They argue that mass education always takes place in a nationalized manner and the importance of education lies in its ability to improve the quality of life. Moreover, the universities are regarded as the harbinger

of development in Pakistan and the technological sophistication is regarded as a prerequisite of socio-economic development.

In the footsteps of Wendy Brown, the failure of democracy and the inordinate balance of power in the political landscape of the country is also interpreted as a direct outcome of an illiterate public, since democratic ideals cannot survive a people who have no sense of political representation and accountability. Furthermore, in the discussions on the bifurcated, secular and religious, educational system, a statement is ubiquitous: "Islamic education focuses on 'character building'."

This instantiation of 'character' is the one which Chakrabarty describes in his account of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a historian of Mughal India. Chakrabarty wrote that "What mediated between the "destiny" of a people and the contingency of their empirical reality, in Sarkar's view, was something called "character," the sheer capacity in humans for leadership, discipline, effort, reason, mastering passions, and self-cultivation. It was what separated destiny from fate and left the former open to multiple possibilities. Take away the question of character, and the revealed greater purpose in human history remains unfulfilled."[167]

This term was analytically appropriate for the historians of Sarkar's ilk because their books were centered on the 'heroes of the history'. The character building of Islamic education is in fact a program in which children are modeled on the heroes of Islamic history. On the other end of the spectrum, a closer inspection will reveal that now the underlying logic might be considered too absurd to be reiterated, but the 'heroes of the history' are still being paraded in the textbooks. Quite obviously, these are the national heroes, not religious ones but their tasks are similar: to fashion out citizens as the regulative authorities want them to be. The formulation of the curriculum by the state necessarily paves the way for striking out a nationalist imaginings.

A post-colonial state like Pakistan does something else too; it not only creates new heroes for the people, it also tries to eliminate the previous ones, specifically those

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[167] Chakrabarty, D. (2015). *The Calling of History: Sir Jadunath Sarkar and His Empire of Truth*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

with the regional orientation, or it appropriates and commemorates them in order to claim the primordiality for itself.

4.2.6 Industrialization

The appropriation of past heroes and the contradictions it entails are reconciled by the characteristic homogeneity which trundled along with the transformations in the mode of production, specifically in a society acutely aware of its punctuated discourse on nationalism where the heroes of one ethnic community are the villains in others' folk narratives.

In the dissertations, the process of modernization is generally described in the broad, universal undertones, which of necessity corresponds with the phenomenon of industrialization, which is unanimously accepted as the pivot around which societies culminate their trajectory of modernization. However, even if there is no possibility of overlooking the fact that "modern nationalism is a phenomenon connected with the emergence of industrial society,"[168] Gellner's exposition of this connection stimulates a vigorous debate in the graduate study and research circles which embellish the dissertations as well.

There are two thematic areas where the confluence of industrialization and nationalism has stirred tensions; the studies on ethno-nationalism in the industrially backward areas of Pakistan and the research on the social transformations from a traditional society to a modern one. Insofar as modernization is concerned, the impact of modern industry and social relations configured by the industrial dynamics form an important evaluative category for analysis, although the general overall conclusion profess that "modernization is an all-encompassing global process of socio-cultural and economic change in which industrialism is the ultimate goal."

The ethno-nationalist accounts, on the other hand, argue that the presence of a fully formed industry, the market exposure and the emergence of completely bifurcated social classes is not an indispensible precondition for nationalist sentiments to

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[168] Gellner, E. (1981). Nationalism. *Theory and Society, 10*(6), 1-22.

emerge; however, the socio-economic, cultural and political exploitation plays a part in bolstering the nationalist discourse.

In both cases, industrialization is regarded as an essential feature of modern societies and various demands for political autonomy and cultural recognition are couched in the terms of social development and progress. Nevertheless, in this scenario, if we classify the dissertations on the basis of their receptivity to the mélange of modernity, there is surprisingly no space for the revivalists or traditionalists.

Modernization is either projected as a positive progress which helps ridding society of its regressive tendencies or castigated as a new phenomenon which conjures up novel social hierarchies and stratifications. Since these stratifications were enacted by the process of industrialization and official reports suggest that it was a process which took place with the assistance of the state, their far-reaching outcomes were studied in conjunction with the state and the privileges it has accorded to a particular region; central and northern Punjab, and the extent of these stratifications was stretched from the immediate neighborhood where the industries were located because within a nation-state, the class-formations determined by industrialization are magnified and reciprocated on the national stage as well.

The micro-analysis of industrial effects on the social landscape is studied within the contours of urbanity, the city which powers the engines of industry with both its material and human resources whereas the macro-analysis deals with the issues of industrial output, economic growth and social inequalities in a predominantly national context.

The analyses of industrialization, in most cases, are vaguely aware of the homogenous time and the corresponding disciplinary practices which insinuated to the imprints of the nation-state and the discourses it generates. The preeminent feature, however, in the discussions on the state-invested industrialization is typically the social hierarchies and unequal infrastructural and human development.

4.2.7 Underdevelopment

In the narration of the story of nationalism, underdevelopment is a central protagonist. The official story of Muslim nationalism in colonial India starts by divulging a conspiracy hatched by the colonial masters and their Hindu puppets, united in their bid to relegate Muslims in the mire of poverty and illiteracy.

Some overtly bigoted dissertations, which are few and far between, have regurgitated the entire story while the others were more scrupulous and sought to delineate the economic and political causes of Muslim backwardness. On the other hand, the research endeavors on ethno-nationalism grudgingly acknowledge the impact of underdevelopment in the political proclamation of the ethnic identity of their interlocutors. The issue of the emergence of new nationalities is subterraneanly accepted as a primarily economic one, although projected in the language of culturalism because the ideological injunctions of these nationalities take their cues from the primordial cultural essences and the hegemony of their monolithic nationalism is no less severe than the one promulgated by the state.

The economic aspect of the problem accentuates the central belief of the ethno-nationalists which convince them that the central government is reducing them to destitution in a distinctly colonial manner; by exporting the raw materials and importing the finished products while simultaneously robbing the people of the natural resources of their land. This is the undercurrent which is consistently maintained in the outward expressions of cultural specificity.

4.2.8 Class

The class-formations instantiated by the capitalism and industrialization in South Asia were different in their outlook and their responses as compared to their counterparts in Europe, but, as Vivek Chibber has convincingly argued, the surface manifestation of these differences doesn't count as type-transforming characteristics which can dissolve the similarities within the monolith of cultural differences.

There had been an enormous amount of studies evaluating the role of national bourgeoisie in the anti-colonial movement and in the construction of the edifice of post-colonial polities, however, in this particular case, it is not the role of bourgeoisie but social classes and their material relations of production which takes the central theoretical stage. In its entirety, the typification of the class in the dissertations is based on the economic and material conditioning.

There are also strong Marxist inclinations among the students and considering the influence leftist politicians wielded in the ethno-nationalist circles in the days of yore, class-based analysis retained its flimsy presence on the margins of dissertations. The hegemonic official version of Pakistani nationalism which strives to consolidate the nationalist imaginings by eradicating the alternative life-worlds is proclaimed to be working in the empty, homogenous time of the capital and state, oblivious to the ruptures in the social fabric.

It has been contended that the ignorance of social diversity and economic disparities run side by side and the way state has been structured renders it incapable of envisioning these discrepancies. Moreover, it is argued that the principle objective of the nation-state is to maximize the economic potential because a genealogical study of nation-states, qua Hobsbawm, would reveal that the emergence of the modern model of states is designed by the bourgeoisie and despite cultural inflections in the process of appropriation of nation-state structure in other parts of the world, this version takes over in order to augment the consolidation of capitalism and market relations. In other words, nationalism is a bourgeois ideology, coinciding with capitalism and always producing two distinct social classes: oppressed and oppressors.

For the Marxist oriented students, loyalties must be determined by the economic realities rather than national demands, just as Islamists argued that loyalties must be adjudicated on the basis of Islam since nationalism is a device of discord among believers, discarded by the canons of Islam.

However, this argument, if analyzed in the case of Pakistan, is not crude economism but rather a shrewd assessment because the national demands are actually not national at all; in most cases, they cater to the purposes of national elite. This elite is a wide-ranging assortment of diverse people representing entirely different ideological orientations; the religious scholar, the Sufi mystic, the liberal general, the conservative politician and the secular civil society activist, all enmeshed in the same elitist, bourgeois grid of profiteering while simultaneously denoting it 'national demands.'

The criticism most often leveled at the leftist scholars and students is the unilinear, developmentalist, progressivist direction of their analysis which renders them susceptible to imagine the nationalist framework as an important step in the chronological build-up toward revolution. We will see below how students have encountered this question in their dissertations.

4.2.9 Unilinearity

The unilinearity of the narratives in the research, assuming human history and societies moving towards a predefined goal, is a common enough feature in most of the social science writings, especially when the debate is centered around the moral, developmental or policy related issues and this issue has devastated human lives in numerous instances.

Some of the dissertations are articulated in a unilinear fashion whereas others criticized this obvious theoretical lapse. A student argues that "the theories of social change assume that all societies develop from simple, small-scale beginnings into more complex industrial and post-industrial societies," however, this statement, apparently a truism of history, is compounded in various different, often coercive ways by policy-makers, autocrats and dictators in order to get to the presumed goal of history.

The direction of nationalism, the way a nation is supposed to cover the distance toward an ideal nation-state in the empty, homogenous time is always construed in a

fashion which incorporates a comprehensive policy of nation-building, which is necessitated by its lexicographical conditions to be a coercive and hegemonic exercise. It was also suggested in some dissertations that nationalism paved the way for capitalism by integrating various locality into one single whole which makes capital's protrusion easier into the previously inaccessible areas.

However, this issue of primacy between capitalism and nationalism is contentious because other dissertations argue that nationalism was caused by the rise of capitalism and the general conclusion usually portrays both of these phenomena taking place simultaneously. In analyzing Gellner's arguments on the effects of industrialization on the emergence of nation-states, several dissertations contend that the developing countries have not passed through the same stages of development which Gellner has mentioned which not only enervates Gellner's argument but also indicate an aversion from the tendentious arguments; the stagist accounts of societies, by equating their progression in the empty, homogenous time of a hyperreal Europe, describe them in a comparative manner by employing a strictly Eurocentrist paraphernalia which convey the image of these developing societies as something inherently incomplete.

The great 'Other' of capitalism, Marxism, is also depicted as anticipating the progress from capitalist nation-state to the socialist world order and this belief is so entrenched that it is represented as a canon of Marxism which must be discarded in order to open multiple, decentralized arenas of resistance. We will discuss this problem in detail in the next chapter. Here, it is important to remain mindful of the vantage point which unilinear and chronological accounts of society and its history have accorded to the 'present' which must determine the future outcomes and past events in its own, distinctive language.

4.2.10 Anachronism

The anachronism in the dissertations is rampant; historical events are described with extreme naiveté and gullibility, religious injunctions are interpreted in the light of modern legal strictures and the traditional way of life is equated with the pre-modern era which is a remnant of previous times in the present society and must be

eliminated in order for society to progress. Specifically, millennial old events are described using the present-day geographical realities such as the depiction of 400 A.D. Kushans as a nation but in the same dissertation, after describing Kushans several times as a nation, the writer argued that "at no time, did that empire resemble a modern nation-state controlling a well-defined domain."

This type of statements abound the dissertations, yet a palpable tension is apparent in the descriptions. Moreover, this anachronism works in both ways and modern phenomena and technologies are often associated with the medieval figures. This is not only true in the case of scientific discoveries as Gyan Prakash has mentioned in his article on the revival of ancient Hindu science in Modern India[169] but developments in social sciences and humanities are also not exempted from this service of evoking and transporting a modern phenomenon in the study of medieval history.

Following is a prime example of these historical entanglements: "Alexander of Macedon invaded Pakistan in 326 B.C." Even in the most nationalist versions of Pakistan history, it begins from 712 A.D. when an Arab General Muhammad Bin Qasim invaded Sindh; this remarkable statement has stretched it back a millennia. These statements also serve an additional purpose of claiming a primordial identity for their respective nations and temporal legitimacy for the nation-state by insisting that a pre-modern code defines the demands for modern statehood.

On the other hand, in a small number of dissertations where this issue has been raised dealt with the Orientlalist constructions of the native societies and criticized the idea that some cultures are backward and the political exploitation their thrust in the modernity can unleash. The idea that traditional life-styles can be equated with the pre-modern era consummates in the rejection of the traditional order and its replacement with the modern one which is based on the ideals of scientific progress and rationalism.

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[169] Prakash, G. (1997). The Modern Nation's Return in the Archaic. *Critical Inquiry, 23*(3), 536-556.

4.2.11 Enlightenment

The popular trope of enlightenment bashing has certainly found a welcome embrace in the post-colonial university and QAU is no exception. The intellectual drive to celebrate the indigenous has categorically turned on the enlightenment ideals since they were construed as the archetypally normative repository of principles which guided 'the benevolent white man', otherwise known as the colonizers. This particular field of receptivity was given currency by the Post-structuralism and Subaltern studies collective as it began to focus exclusively on 'the subaltern', 'the fragment' and 'the cultural difference.'

In the dissertations, enlightenment is mentioned primarily with its appendices such as capitalist global economy, scientific advancement, new concepts of time and rise of nationalism and nation-states, but without much theoretical and empirical engagement. Consequently, enlightenment is generally used as a denigrating label. The following statement will suffice in sketching the categorial use of enlightenment-as-a-label: "Enlightenment is a result of riddance from religion and caused nationalism in Europe—South Asia's case was entirely opposite."So in order to criticize the Eurocentric impositions on South Asian societies, enlightenment is primarily employed as a blanket term.

4.2.12 Eurocentrism

In the dissertations, it is accepted as a truism that nationalism is an alien ideology and the modern, western variant of local solidarities are influenced by their particular historical conditioning, although capitalism as a world historical force might have consolidated and propagated those nationalist prototypical blueprints worldwide.

It sets out a general principle which emphatically argues that nationalism is a result of "Europeanization and modernization of non-western and pre-modern societies." The nation-state is disparaged because it is constituted on the European model which is completely oblivious to the local realities and it has failed to conjoin different ethnic, sectarian and linguistic groups in a homogenous nation.

In the dissertations, the homogeneity of a people is considered integral in the formation of a nation because the prototype of the nationalism, European countries, is thought to be a homogenous whole with very few internal scissions. But after acknowledging these problematic issues, it is conceded that modern age is related with the nationalism and there is no real possibility of life outside the confines of nation for a vast majority of human beings, even if South Asian experiences in nationalism differ from the Western ones. However, soon after this concession, an occidentalist barrage of stereotypes and clichés initiates.

At first, it is usually confined to the technical matters, ones which have been thoroughly criticized by the scholars of international development whereby some practices of pedagogy and scientific advancements are denoted with the prefix 'western'.

For example, when a writer writes without qualifying his statement, that "Western techno-scientific approaches are an insufficient response to today's complex web of social, economic, political and environmental challenges," he is signifying an already established discourse in which his statement can easily be situated. This situation exacerbates when the argument is extended along these lines to postulate that the "concepts such as human rights, citizenship, distinction between public and private, democracy, social justice, scientific rationality, and so on are all Eurocentric terminologies."

Another dissertation argues that democracy is a colonial legacy in South Asia and the concept of one man, one vote is strictly against our customary practices. All of these arguments are in fact valid, but the language in which they are forged is distinctly dismissive of any positive content and chauvinistically culturalist. Moreover, they are also"throwing the cover of culture over material relationships…as if the one had little to do with the other. Such a focus diverts criticism from capitalism to Eurocentricism

as a cultural or ideological problem (reducing it as one of ethnocentricism), which blurs the power relationships that energised it."[170]

Therefore, at the end, the argument against Eurocentrism aggravates to become an argument against anything which originated from Europe; not only western colonization inflicted nationalism on the colonies, it is "the western value system" itself which is "imperialist and hegemonic."

4.2.13 Progress through cultural matrices

The normative evaluation of the progressive claims presented by post-colonial governments which have allegedly been modeled on the basis of a derivative ideological framework is carried out through a culturalist perspective. This all-encompassing cultural system is not only too broad, both systematically and analytically, to meaningfully applied to anything in the society, it is also the most potent force to stimulate the indigenist sentiments and their recapitulation in the guise of an overall thematic of 'understanding culture from within.'

The general principle here argues that modernization doesn't necessarily bring progress and it must be evaluated through cultural matrices, however, it is usually palpably evident in the dissertations whether this progress takes place in cultural or material domain. As is the case in other areas of social inquiry, the debate is riddled with discomfiture and alternative opinions can be unearthed with a little effort.

The statements such as the following one: "Development is empowerment, it is about local people taking control of their lives," are complemented by the statements which consummates the rhetorical engagement with an analytical vitality, consider the following statement: "Development refers to a set of discursive practices and a political program, which works as a label, which imply a set of preconceived notions about the growth sustainability of society." In the second statement, the invocation of the set of preconceived notions in fact refers to an assemblage of cultural codes which

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[170] Bahl, V. (1997). Relevance (or Irrelevance) of Subaltern Studies. *Economic and Political Weekly, 32*(23), 1333-1344.

has the power to legitimize even the most regressive act in the general discursive scheme of thesis writing.

There are some positives in this directive of cultural supremacy in matters analytic, such as the unanimous recognition of folk religion or people's right to follow religion according to the way it has been culturally configured or the derision shown at the state's invective which terms its engagement in Balochistan as an emancipating program which behoove the "demedievalization of Balochistan" by ridding it from its tribal hierarchies; however, it turns infeasible when it insists that the indigenous culture is the primary factor in the non-appropriation of modern knowledge which simultaneously being branded as the western one, even in the realm of scientific knowledge of nature.

This biased turn toward indigenous culture and traditions has let slip a very important advice from its collective memory: "Romanticising the tradition of Indian society (or of any society for that matter) and "village community" ignores another reality of our daily lives that village community is also full of communalism (conflict between religious group), narrowness, hierarchical in structure, and controlling women and their labour. To accept such community as an ideal to solve our modern problems is self defeating."[171]

4.2.14 Tradition and modernity

Since it is a study of discourses, the inherent ambiguity in the various meanings of modernity must be settled for the analysis to proceed. Dipesh Chakrabarty has presented the following dichotomous interpretation; "modernity in the West alludes to two separate projects that are symbiotically connected. One refers to processes of building the institutions (from parliamentary and legal institution to roads, capitalist businesses, and factories) that are invoked when we speak of modernization. The

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[171] Bahl, V. (2003). What Went Wrong with 'History from Below'. *Economic and Political Weekly, 38*(2), 135-146.

other refers to the development of a degree of reflective, judgmental thinking about these processes."[172]

It seems that even if we remove the condition of this statement being applicable only in case of west, we will still be able to explain the dynamics of another symbiotic connection, the relationship between tradition and modernity. The dissertations which discuss the phenomenon of social change induced by the new technologies such as mobile phone and internet always revert back to a particular theme; the modern means to assert traditional identities. These technologies not only help reviving new modalities of regressive ideological formations and social behaviors such as patriarchy or homophobia, they also assist people in reclaiming their traditional identities; accumulative, inclusive and based on their immediate locale.

The ethno-nationalist movements have strengthened their mobilizing campaigns and increased their imperiled connections by proclaiming their right of identifying themselves with other identities in which they have politically invested.

On the other hand, the respondents' understanding of life which forms the central thematic of most of the dissertations reason thus "it has increasingly became obvious that the practical necessities of life in this era of nation-states cannot be attained without linking themselves with the identity narrative popularized by the state as compared to the primordial modalities. Traditional systems lack competence and resourcefulness to cater for diverse and complex needs of modern times which include a comprehensive education system, health facilities etc…Therefore, the importance of belonging to a nation-state that may provide society with all the basic needs of modern times is of greater value."

4.2.15 Heterogeneity

Heterogeneity is the venerated topic and has drawn more attention from graduate students than any other issue. As we have seen previously, Islam is regarded as the

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[172] Chakrabarty, D. (2011). The Muddle of Modernity. *The American Historical Review, 116*(3), 663-675.

premier tool wielded by the state against the heterogeneous elements in the polity. Islam, however, was merely a pretext.

The real objective of the state was to construct a national identity for the nation which was nothing more than a mass of people denoted as a nation because they happen to be living within the boundaries of an internationally legitimated republic, or in pertinent words, an oligarchy.

As it happens, racial, ethnic and national identities continue to emerge to resist assimilation into a homogenized national culture. The response of the state to these demands of political, cultural and linguistic recognition and the insertion of these marginalized identities in the corridors of power was epitomized by a student in his dissertation where he argued that "for the Pakistan state, the pluralism was akin to disintegration."

The dissertations which discuss the coercive nature of Pakistani state have not only critically lambasted its effort in popularizing a national identity at the expense of others but it has also focused on the centralized nature of the state since according to a number of students, centralization cannot achieve national integration and the only possibility for federalism to work uninhibited is to follow the ideals of multi-culturalism, principally in the distribution and decentralization of power.

The rule is simple; heterogeneity, in political contexts, can only be preserved through provincial autonomy and reducing it can be counter-productive. Now, insofar as "the Pakistani identity serves the function for the creation of homogenized culture," it is also indispensible to admit that national homogenization has bred violence, secessionist movement and even a civil war." The argument for heterogeneity acts as a double-edged sword; attempts at national integration can easily fragment nation in a more vehement manner and in other cases, the nation can be homogenized and rendered pliable without much trouble.

4.2.16 Patriarchy

The confluence of nationalist discourse with a predominantly patriarchal social structure has tinged the dissertations in a way where nationalist doctrine is overtly focused on the gendered boundaries and classifications. The invocation of motherland, situating women in predetermined categories and treating them as repositories of male, and by extension, national honor are some of the central feature of this confluence.

Although in the dissertations, most of the problems are not grounded in the patriarchy itself, rather it is discussed through its internal fractures where it was differentiated on the basis of class and ethnicity. Moreover, the different versions of patriarchal values, although explained and commented as if they were produced at the intersection of ethnicity and classes, are not really grounded in an overall analysis of patriarchy which is, primarily, a resort to the visible signs of material culture but the agent of this material culture is not indicated at all. Furthermore, the otherwise liberal ethno-nationalist accounts too are conspicuously silent on the gender divide and there is very little, almost inconsequential material in the dissertations on the politics of gender within the ranks of unyielding champions of marginalized people.

The issue of women is also contentious in the historiography of colonialism since on the one hand, we are told that "the arrival of British becomes a blessing for Indian women and especially for Muslim women as far as their education is concerned," whereas at the other end of the spectrum, the women are exhibited as doubly subjected by the colonial authorities and their endless legalizing tactics which has divested them from their traditional freedoms, if indeed there were any.

4.2.17 Media

The influential outreach of print media was, according to Benedict Anderson, one of the primary conditions which helped the ruling authorities to inculcate the nationalist sentiments in the hearts of the people. Muslim nationalism in India can also boast of numerous newspapers which nurtured and directed several movements for freedom and later, for partition.

The dissertations, principally addressing the case of media in present-day Pakistan, have mainly discussed it in the context of bringing modern changes in the lives of traditional people and how media has the power to cultivate the ground for a warm reception for new ideas, including ideas about reconfiguration of nationalist discourse. Social media and its impact on the society also feature prominently in the dissertations. It has been portrayed as a decentralization of the hegemony of corporate media power houses.

However, the narrativization around media is cryptically bifurcated—on the one hand, media is acknowledged as the chief instigator of change in the lives of indigenous peoples and cultures and on the other hand, media is an agent of capital's universalization which perpetrates the homogenization of culture, mostly in pursuit of an all-too-ready mass of consumers of the capitalist products where previously there had been none—just the people who had spent their lives without states, banks, or even vaccinations and viruses.

The accounts of ethno-nationalist resistance movements are also filled with complaints for the media which has neglected their sufferings and transfigured into merely a mouthpiece of the establishment. The strict control of the state over media is a reflection of the power it posses and the enervating control of the state over its doctrine of national homogeneity in the name of collective solidarity.

4.2.18 Secularism

The case of secularism is inextricably linked with the emergence of nationalism as the emergent philosophy for imagining a community and intensifying solidarities. The project of binding people in national ties is quite inconceivable without the concomitant transformation of the national society into one where everyone has equal rights and an equal claim to citizenship.

Talal Asad, whose writings have been extremely popular in the graduate students of Anthropology and Pakistan Studies, has stated that "nationalism, with its vision of a

universe of national *societies* in which individual humans live their worldly existence requires the concept of the secular to make sense."[173]

The complication, however, emerges when nation-state, infuriated by the disclamation of these equalities by the people who are stratified in complex manners, tries to foist these rights through a procedure of legitimation which, according to Talal Asad, considers the cruelties perpetrated by the nation-state as not gratuitous, or rather, inevitable; as compared to the inflictions imposed by the religious regimes and philosophies. He further argued that "if anything is agreed upon, it is that a straightforward narrative of progress from the religious to the secular is no longer acceptable."[174]

Asad invites his readers to keep an eye on the accompanying category of the secular; religion. According to him, "it is common knowledge that religion and the secular are closely linked, both in our thought and in the way they have emerged historically. Any discipline that seeks to understand "religion" must also try to understand its other", on the other hand, he dissolves this dichotomy by asserting the contingent and fluid nature of the term 'religion' apropos to which he maintains that "there is nothing *essentially* religious, nor any universal essence that defines "sacred language" or "sacred experience."

Nevertheless, the analytical rendition of discrediting the universalism of religion and secularism does not simultaneously dislodge the importance of local secularisms and localized religions. Being non-universal doesn't mean that something is impure or meaningless; all it signifies is that it should be studied in its immediate, local, socio-political and spatiotemporal context. Therefore, notwithstanding Talal Asad's ruminations on the contingency of secularism and religion, their modes of manifestation in a specified locale (primarily nation-state in contemporary world) must be analyzed as real enough factors in realpolitik.

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[173] Asad, T. (2003). *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
[174] Asad, T. (2003). *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Pakistan's case, as has been interpreted, is unique since the state is avowedly religious and the subalterns, at least in the political realm, are secular and in most cases, even staunch Marxists. As a majority of students ruminate the "States have historically been evolved as the forerunners of rationalism and capitalism by giving up religion," we must also acknowledge the quite legitimate status of those who argue differently.

However, it is important to notice that almost all of the arguments which forward their claim in somewhat conclusive idioms such as "secularism has no place in Islamic society" have not only construed religion and secularism as universal categories but have also fixated the determinacy of 'Religion' which is, as Asad has shown, manifestly erroneous.

If, following Foucault, we can argue that the characteristic feature of modern nation-state is its exclusive monopoly over the use of violence, than it is equally true that secularism, in homogenizing the population by making them a legible mass of individuals, has buttressed and supplemented this inherently coercive nature of the state. The exclusive nature of Pakistani state's Islam does not work as counteract, rather, it just makes the nature of power exercise acquiescent for the people and leaves no room for maneuver since religious edicts are now authorized by the state's seal of approval which works in binaries.

4.2.19 Villainization and Othering

"The Hindu" in the official doctrine of nationalism has played the part of a classic villain, always trying to disrupt the Muslim lifestyle and plotting against the Muslims by joining forces with the colonial authorities. However, other versions of nationalism have also formulated their own "Others" in order to commemorate their struggles against a villain which has embellished their resistance movements with its chicanery.

Most of the dissertations, remaining true to their liberal credentials, have treated the official narrative with suspicion, although one may still find the statements such as

these: "The Hindus availed full benefits as collaborator's of the British to harm the Muslims and destroy their culture." These dissertations, which are scarce in numbers and mostly from the students of history, have also misinterpreted a number of statements of Hindu leaders who were the forerunners of freedom movement and a fine example of this phenomenon would be the interpretation of "Swaraj" as the "government based on Hinduism."

In quite a different manner, the dissertations covering the ethno-nationalist movements and their arguments have documented an explicit denunciation of Urdu as a language and Punjabi as an ethnic community. The denouncement of Urdu pertain to the demand of cultural recognition which has stimulated a number of resistance movements, most prominently in the former East Pakistan; on the other hand, the chastisement of Punjabis and its linguistic signifiers are a clear indication of the material demands presented in the culturalist language, an issue which we will examine later.

4.2.20 The question of multi-nationality

The scholarly insights on the nature of nationalism are typically open-ended and the emergence and evolution of different varieties of nationalisms has contributed to a more nuanced and grounded approach in the studies of nationalism. The graduate research in QAU is not an exception in this regard. The confusions arise primarily due to the vast array of the construals of nationalism which often contain mutually contradictory defining features.

An apparent confusion deals with the problem of anachronism which we have already discussed, for example, were the people who inhabited the Indus valley 3000 years ago a nation? This confusion sprouts from the interpretation of nations in an essentialized manner where the researcher doesn't study the nation as an imagined community or takes the aspect of the human choices out of the equation while investigating the historical sedimentations of an inchoate nation.

Moreover, even in the discussions on the really effective historical sedimentations, the question which perturbs most the researcher is to evaluate the proper grid of affinities and solidarities and the receptivity of this grid by the people. For example, is it true, as some of the dissertations argue, that as long as the Baloch society is trapped between the two poles of ethno-nationalism and tribalism, it cannot locate a proper place for its resistance movement.

Here, sub-national identities are arranged in a way which indicates a fractured identity for the Baloch people; which aspect of their identity is the foremost, their subsumption under a broader ethnic identity or their identity as a people belonging to a particular tribe. It is clear from the dissertations that the vantage point whence one lays claim to an identity is politically important but from an epistemological perspective, it amounts to an always-already insistence on the existence of more than one nationality within the folds of every nationalism.

4.2.21 Claims to Primordiality

The nationalist claims to primordiality have been a constant feature in the Pakistan movement in British India and post-partition ethno-nationalist movements within Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, had himself drawn the traces of Pakistan to Muhammad Bin Qasim and the religious divide in the subsequent history of India became a regular trope for the Muslim League nationalists to be deployed in the intellectual debates.

On the contrary, if all of the heroes and symbols of Muslims League were foreign to India, the ethno-nationalists differentiated themselves by locating the sources of their nationalist pride from their respective localities with an intersectional aptitude, as far as religious differences are concerned.

In this way, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a Sikh, becomes the ideal for the partisans of Punjabi nationalism and Nawab Muzzafar Khan, a Pashtun, is appropriated by the Seraiki nationalists. Without a detailed study of the different regions, languages and personalities, their intellectual lineages were drawn from the medieval times.

Consider the following statement from a dissertation on Sindhi nationalism: "These all poets [16th or 17th century] to some extent were nationalists when they preach the cultural values and customs in native languages," so the poetic expressions of 16th century are configured to bolster the modern politics of language.

4.2.22 Political orientation

It can be argued that every textual act is also a political act but the way the dissertations on ethno-nationalist movements are structured blurs the inter-textual conditions of writing. The dissertations are less academic and more like the manifestoes of a political party where they decry the abysmal condition of the people by scapegoating other ethnicities or religions. There is a strong political inclination among the students and their dissertations bear the signs of it.

It is argued that although every identity can be a latently political one, ethnic identity cannot even exist without a politics of ethnicity. Moreover, they also discuss the causal relationship between the invocation of Pakistani identity and mainstream political success since different state institutions actively bend the will of the people and elective processes are never reliable. On the other hand, some students argue that national identity, that is, the officially sanctioned Pakistani identity is "the most elementary and inclusive" and politics must be organized through the institutions of the state. Both narratives show the politically oriented nature of the research work and the different ways it affects the personal viewpoints of the students.

4.2.23 Language

Generally, linguistic issues are probably the most efficient propellers which can set off a group of people on a journey towards nationalism and nation-state. Benedict Anderson's account of the role of language in the transformation of the people in Europe and their nationalist solidarities is an all-too-familiar case in the scholarship on nationalism. South Asian history also bears testament to the impact of language in the identity formation.

Most of the Pakistani history textbooks consider the 1867 Urdu-Hindi controversy to be the first palpable move on the part of Indian Muslims towards Pakistan, although it took place in Benares and had nothing to do with the socio-linguistic aspirations of the Muslims of the regions which later constituted Pakistan. The communalization on the basis of language—initially, in the case of Urdu-Hindi, the script— ultimately turned out to be the decisive factor which determined the future of sub-continent in the twilight of colonial rule.

Finally, once delivered from the colonial yoke, regional agitation calling for the recognition of their linguistic rights shook both the state of India and Pakistan. Just as 1867 controversy was singled out as the defining moment for the designation of Urdu as an exclusively Muslim language, the 1952 protests in Bengal (East Pakistan) for the official recognition of Bengali as a national language are designated, in hindsight, as the first expression of Bengali nationalism.

In the subsequent history of Pakistan, the issues pertaining to the language proved to be decisive in determining the trajectories of ethno-nationalist movements. Language is an extremely important part in the dissertations on nationalism and ethno-nationalism, so much so that it has been argued that "without language it is almost impossible to imagine the formation of an ethnic identity.

However, there are different strategies that have been applied to explain the role of language in the growth of nationalist sentiments in diverse regions and ethnicities. For example, in the most poignant case of ethno-nationalism in Pakistan, it has been contended that "Baloch nationalism is different because most of the dominant conventional and modern theories of nationalism take linguistic homogeneity for granted in, or an essentialized prerequisite for, defining the 'nationhood' of any nation" and contemporary Baloch nationalism, or nationalist movement in Balochistan, is a bilingual phenomenon where members of two linguistic communities, Balochis and Brahuis, are vying for a collective set of demands.

Furthermore, the language movement in Punjab, which is otherwise considered as the hegemon, for the recognition of Punjabi by the state is an enigmatic issue. The partisans of this movement blame the Urduphilia of Punjabis both on colonial and post-colonial governments which has rendered Punjabi alien in its own land where speaking Punjabi is considered, following British officials, as a 'barbaric regional patois' which has been replaced by the more sophisticated Urdu. Both of these linguistic phenomena register considerable variation from the homogenization of language which has been interpreted by Anderson as a defining trait of nationalism and convincingly assert that a grounded study can easily tear the theoretical niceties apart.

4.2.24 Ethnicity

In Pakistan, the debate on nationalism actually means a debate on ethno-nationalism since the state's narration of nationalism is coated in the language of religion and rarely, if ever, refers to the people. In the popular imagination of Pakistan history, the nationalist Muslims were those who agreed with the Indian National Congress in the pre-partitions period or those who remained loyal to their regional histories and imaginings. Ironically, in the case of Pakistan, the state is religious and the subalterns, at least the political ones, are avowedly secular and in most cases, even staunch Marxists. These basic differences in the meanings of basic empirical facts and analytical categories were best reflected in the dissertations in the explication of the term 'ethnicity.'

There is a realization that ethnic communities too are imagined communities and the solidarity in their ranks can be instantiated by the modern nation-state and capitalist system. However, the belief that ethnicity is always potentially ethno-nationalists and that ethnic groups can only be reproduced through political mobilization are the pivotal principles in these discussions. This political mobilization takes its cues from the demands of recognition of some sort, usually based on language and religion and state counters it by promoting the nation-building enterprises which pushed the ethnic diversity to the background.

The term 'nation', wherever it has been used in the dissertations, was always employed in the political language of the state and the impulses often shown by the nation-states were also exhibited in the dissertations with acknowledgement. For example, a student argues that "ethnic dissenters also resort to homogeneity within their folds in response to state-issued programs of homogeneity."

Another unanimously accepted line of thought maintain that the ethno-nationalist movements emerged due to Pakistani state's intransigence to accommodate the ethnic diversity politically and actively inhibited this diversity to reflect itself in the structures of power in Pakistan.

Moreover, the tribal, caste, clan and kinship based identities have been confounding the students since some of them argue that "a tribal society in which one's primary loyalty is to the tribe, would not support nationalism" while others, extending this trajectory, claim that not only "the national movement itself is a challenge to tribalism," but nationalism is also "fundamentally ethnic in nature."Here we can discern a pattern in the explanations of 'the ethnic' which is loosely used to define a phenomena whereby the actions of a nation-state, through its superior technologies, expertise and manpower, generate a feeling of solidarity among people and once this identity consciousness emerges, ethnic nationalism is illegitimated by the nation-state which has helped producing it.

In this way, although the concept of Pakistan sought to transcend cultural and ethnic divisions among the Muslims, it ends up creating more differentiated identities and local solidarities. In any case, the tensions of ethnicity redefine and reconfigure the discourse of nationalism and we will discuss briefly the various ethno-nationalisms and their evaluation in graduate dissertations in the next section.

4.3 Ethno-nationalisms in Pakistan

4.3.1 Punjabi Nationalism

Punjab and its role in the polity is almost unanimously considered as hegemonic in terms of its relation with the other units of the federation; "the structural relationship

of Punjab to Pakistan's other regional ethnicities has been and remains one of overt dominance."[175] Although this characterization is largely appropriate, it ignores the internal fractures in the Punjabi society and presents it as a monolithic entity which is solely responsible for the marginalization of other ethnic communities.

The analytical deliberations on the Punjab issue offer a multitude of ways to balance the equation with other communities; these deliberations usually feature a division of Punjab along the lines of ethnicity, region, language, infrastructural development and administrative efficiency which, obviously, does not sit well with the partisans of a unitary Punjabi identity.

However, the movement these partisans spearhead is not vying for a Punjabi nationalism *per se* but recognition of the Punjabi language by the state which has invested overwhelmingly in Urdu, even if more than ninety percent of the population does not consider it as their mother tongue. The Punjabi language, despite Punjab being a regional hegemon, is contained on the margins vis-à-vis the corridors of power and the Punjabi movement seeks to eliminate the cover of 'a barbaric regional patois' under which Punjabi has been buried by the colonial state. The colonial state adopted Urdu in Punjab by displacing the Persian which was the court language of the former Sikh rulers who were steeped in the Punjabi tradition and the communalization of languages in the late 19th century laid out a neat equation whereby Punjabi was related to the Sikhs and Urdu with Muslims.

Later, after the creation of Pakistan, Punjabi was rendered 'doubly marginalized' since the languages of power were English and Urdu and Punjabi was associated with the ill-mannered, uneducated, rural populace.[176] The researchers argue that the movement for the reclamation of Punjabi cannot be comprehended properly without situating it in its ideological framework. Indeed, they contend that ordinarily,

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[175] Ayers, A. (2009). *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
[176] Shackle, C. (1970). Punjabi in Lahore. *Modern Asian Studies, 4*(3), 239-267.

"language movements nearly always involve a subordinate group acting against a central authority and seeking to gain power,"[177]

Punjabi movement is precisely a counterfactual to most of the sophisticated theoretical models of nationalism and language movements considering its proponents are almost exclusively middle-class, educated, urban people seeking state recognition for a language prided for being a representative of the masses and their resistance. However, even the highly politically charged dissertations acknowledge that there is no grounding of this movement in the general public and the Pakistan project is successfully underway in Punjab with Urdu being the language of prestige and privilege.

Moreover, the discourse on the Punjabi nationalism and language differs sharply from the official narration of the story of Pakistan; the historical outline is inclusive and manifestly secular, Ranjit Singh is declared as the hero of all Punjabis, there is a strong inclination to interpret Punjab in an all-Punjab context, the political and homogenizing roles of Islam and Urdu-as-Islamic-language are denounced, Indus Valley Civilization is reclaimed to establish the primordiality of Punjabi people and Afghan and Central Asian invaders are depicted as ruthless marauders and villains, although this last point doesn't bode well for the integration of a state in which Afghans (Pashtuns) constitute a significant minority. Finally, another controversial aspect of this discourse is the illustration of Saraiki as a dialect of Punjabi, a claim which is vehemently opposed by the Saraiki nationalists.

4.3.2 Saraiki Nationalism

If Punjabi nationalism is an expression of a cultural valuation of symbolic capital, Saraiki nationalism is marked by an acute awareness of material inequalities and political alienation. The proposed Saraikistan generally comprises the southern part of the Punjab province, so a focus on locating the differences with Punjabi culture is commonplace.

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[177] Ayers, A. (2009). *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

However, the Saraiki ethno-nationalism is primarily an identitarian conflict and language takes the key position because Punjabi and Saraiki are mutually intelligible; the onus is placed on insisting that despite a predominantly mutual vocabulary, the peculiar characteristics of Saraiki language constitute it as a complete language in itself.

Moreover, the cultural and physical landscape is invoked in order to claim that the imaginative landscape of a Punjabi and a Saraiki are completely at odds with each other. The language of the discourse on Saraiki nationalism is overtly political and exhibits some ambitious claims to primordiality, primarily in order to manifest the inherent differences between the two people, although the horizon of Saraiki cultural spills over to other provinces of Pakistan as well. Saraiki proponents argue that the historical evidence suggests that the cultural domains of Lahore and Multan were always disparate and the political crossover is of recent origin, specifically after the Ranjit Singh's sacking of Multan in 1818.

Despite these claims which pertain to a projection of a monolithic Saraiki identity and people, the linguistic and cultural differences marked the entire region of Punjab and the differences in various dialects rarely substantiate the proclamations of a distinct nationality.

Consequently, if on the one hand, Punjabis are reluctant to identify Saraikis as a people different than themselves, Saraikis, on the other, maintain that the linguistic differences are not merely a matter of inflections and strategically position themselves on a pedestal whereby they trace their affinities with other marginalized ethnic communities in an otherwise Punjab dominated Pakistan.

Moreover, the condemnation of Punjab reaches extreme proportions in the dissertations which abound the sweeping statements such as the historical lack of valor in the Punjabis who are simultaneously being branded as the stooges of colonial regime.

Just as in the case of Punjab, the ethnicity and its politics is pronounced by an ambivalence, since the hero celebrated as the quintessential partisan of Saraiki cause against the aggression of Ranjit Singh was an Afghan and the historical differences between Multani, Riasti and Derawali have been extensively noted. Furthermore, the word Saraiki itself has been of recent origins and the nationalist baggage which accompanies it insinuate the construction of an identity characterized by the material inequalities.

Keeping in view all of these digressions, it is quite evident that the Saraiki nationalism emerges from the economic exploitation, infrastructural backwardness and the peculiar configuration of the regional political elite which assists the partisans of the Saraiki cause to identify themselves as the victims of a deliberate program on the part of Punjab which reduces their compatriots to the status of serfdom in their relationships with the People living in the northern part of the province, although all of these deliberations are furnished in a language of cultural difference.

4.3.3 Sindhi Nationalism

The politics of cultural difference reign supreme in the discursive traditions of Sindhi nationalism as well, however, there is a strong presence of class analysis and it engulfs a wider section of the society in its approach to the issue of nationalities as compared to its Punjabi and Saraiki counterparts. The Marxist current is generally studied in the context of the Marxist and left-wing political parties which collaborated with the Sindhi nationalists to form a more entrenched threatening political formation in its polemical and political confrontations with the state narrative.

The Pakistan Peoples Party is also depicted as a quintessentially Sindhi political party which espoused the socialist principles, although the betrayal of these principles and ideals is a constant source of disillusionment which also marks the collaborative work of other, more marginalized political parties with the Sindhi ethno-nationalists.

Indeed, there are whole chapters devoted to addressing the perceived failure of the Marxists and their work in bridging the ever-widening gap between the Sindhi serf

and the feudal lord. There is a tendency to retrace the origins of the distinctive Sindhi left-wing political formations in the 17th century movement of peasants led by Shah Inayat, a local Sufi. This genealogical connection exemplifies the correlation between a peasant movement of social reform in Mughal era and its irruption in the discourses of a modern ideology.

Moreover, the accounts of Sindhi ethno-nationalism in the dissertations also points toward the characteristic liberal credentials of this movement which responds to the most primary question of Sindhi identity through an overwhelmingly inclusive approach, albeit maintaining its own designated 'Others.' Sindh's diversity is duly acknowledged and Hindus and other religious minorities are co-opted and appropriated in the nationalist narratives.

Furthermore, the role of Punjab is interpreted strictly in the domain of resource allocation and material exploitation and the cultural accusations of essentialist kind are largely absent. On the other hand, the dispute with the Urdu speaking migrants in the cities of Sindh is vividly portrayed as an onslaught on the values and traditions of Sindhi people and an imposition of alien culture, which also happened to be the one championed by the state. The rendition of Sindh's landscape, poetry, culture and society in the dissertations is a proud one and there is an aversion to interpret the dynamics of Sindh in the context of a nation-state.

Specifically, the issue of language is typically controversial. The denunciation of Urdu and its status as national language is problematic in the context of Sindh, since Urdu speakers are highly concentrated in the cities and this issue usually invites confrontations between two communities, which sometimes turn violent. This situation is diametrically opposite to the one prevalent in the neighboring Balochistan where Baloch nationalists have struck a successful alliance with Brahui speakers; the most violent and entrenched case of ethno-nationalism to which we now turn.

4.3.4 Baloch Nationalism

The Baloch nationalist movement is perhaps the only one in Pakistan which is vying for freedom from the Pakistani polity and its discursive renditions have clearly outlined its historical trajectory and conflicts with the state. Generally, the analysis initiates by poring over the historical conditions which associated Balochistan with Pakistan and locates the causes of Baloch alienation.

The historical evidence suggests that the relations of the colonial authorities with the Khanate of Qalat were dissimilar than its relations with the other princely states in India and Pakistan forcibly annexed Balochistan despite continued exhortations from the Baloch leaders which indicated their will to retain their freedom. The characteristic feature of the annexations, violence, is depicted as the rule of governance for the officials of Pakistan with their Baloch subjects and the atrocious conflict which ensued post-annexation is considered as an instance of a centralizing polity refusing to grant autonomy to its constituent parts. Once the historical study is concluded, the ethno-nationalist movement is featured in a different way than other such movements and their discourses have panned out.

Although Balochistan is a diverse region and a variety of people from different ethnic backgrounds reside there, the deliberate lack of insistence on the insular Baloch cultural dynamics has helped in portraying the movement in a positive way and eliminated the threat of inter-ethnic conflict. Nevertheless, considering Baloch and Pashtun are the two primary ethnic communities in Balochistan, there are cautious instances of skepticism about the way this ethnic harmony is maintained and there are continuous allegations that the state is changing the demography of Balochistan in order to minoritize the Baloch in their own land by keeping a blind eye on the influx of Afghan refugees who are predominantly Pashtun.

The primary focus, however, remains on the material exploitation by the state whereby it maneuvers to extract the mineral and land resources of Balochistan and build the infrastructure, including industrial units, in other provinces while keeping

reducing Balochistan to a den of poverty. The cultural differences fade away in this rhetoric and in the dissertations, the bilingual aspect of Baloch nationalism is a conspicuously noted and widely speculated one.

Punjab, or rather the Punjabi elite, is typically exemplified as the root cause of the miseries of Baloch people, although the Marxist forces in the movement have inclined to associate with their Punjabi compatriots; labor, peasants and ordinary citizens. Recently, this trend has changed and Punjabis, en masse, are portrayed as the classic villains of nationalist movement. Baloch nationalism is markedly different than other such movements in Pakistan in its wholesale Marxist orientation, its mass appeal and an explicit demand for freedom which simultaneously incorporates a demand for a Baloch state. The partisans of the Baloch cause have claims over the territories of three states; Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan, however, their detractors argue that these overstretched ambitions and the nature of tribalism in Baloch society along with the global geo-political situation necessitates the futility of Baloch nationalism as it is presently configured.

Moreover, the presence of Pashtun people in Balochistan which roughly comprised half of its population and terrorists further complicates the already convoluted order of things in the Pakistani hinterlands.

4.3.5 Pashtun Nationalism

The demand for autonomy has been most persistence in the narratives of Pashtun nationalists which relies for its historical foundations in the pre-partition political configuration of South Asia and the role of Pashtun leaders in it and the subsequent degeneration of ideological politics in the pit of religiosity.

The depiction and following of Bacha Khan in the dissertations, the most celebrated Pashtun leader, indicates a secular orientation which tries to explore the conspiring tactics on the part of state in its use of religion. The dichotomy of secular and religious is trenchant in the analysis of the evolution of Pashtun politics and Bacha Khan and his Gandhian ideology is employed to uncover and dislodge the play of

religious forces and their involvement in the state-led proxy wars. The war on terror and Afghan Jihad are synonymously interpreted as Pashtun genocide in both Afghanistan and Pakistan and there is a growing sentiment of mutuality of Pakistani Pashtuns with their Afghan compatriots.

The demand for a united Pakhtunistan is a constant yet subterranean undercurrent which determines the eventual conclusions of the dissertations, although there are some instances of a typically state-sanctioned variety of patriotism which strengthens the state-sanctioned nationalist solidarity at the expense of cultural affiliations. The war on terror and Soviet war, however, has fractured the Pashtun society in Pakistan in various ways which consequently affects the façade of a homogenized Pashtun culture on both sides of the border and emboldened the class hierarchies in a society rapidly exposed towards the waves of conservatism and modernization.

Moreover, the gendered aspect of the nationalism and a thorough analysis of the regressive values inculcated by the patriarchy which have been primarily legitimized through cultural traditions are particularly pronounced in the dissertations. The Pashtun grievances have been aggravated by the continuous presence of military and its investment in different militant groups. The situation of law and order is in tatters and the social fabric has been torn down by the uncertainty in the political climate of the region.

The dissertations also condemn the religious political parties which have traditionally been dominant in the Pashtun areas and colluded whole-heartedly with the state in its ventures in Afghanistan and other places to achieve the strategic depth. Furthermore, the dissertations alleges a racist attitude toward Pashtuns by people from different ethnic communities and the recent incidents of racial profiling have corroborated and confirmed as much, at least from the ruling authorities in Punjab.

There are some other movements in Pakistan which can claim the nationalist title such as the Muhajir, Hazara, Kashmiri and Gilgiti nationalism, however, the studies on them are scarce and sparse. Moreover, there are many illuminating points which

can be taken from an extensive study of graduate dissertations. Other than the usual characteristics of a nationalism such as the effects of industrialization, capitalist relations of production, linguistic similarities etc, among the constants in the various ethno-nationalisms in Pakistan, even in the Punjabi nationalism too, is a derision meted out to Punjab due to its historic role, perceived or otherwise, in the exploitation of other communities. The strong leftist streak is also evident in the politics of these nationalist movements. All of this suggests that the class analysis, generally denoted with the term Marxism which, even in its apparently banal form, has remained a very important tool of analysis and political congregation for many people. We will briefly evaluate the characterization of Marxism in the next chapter.

Chapter 5. The Discourse of Marxism in Academia

Identity Politics: That's ruined a lot of lives, and that's why I'm so resolutely against having this tremendous sense of where you belong. It's overrated. It doesn't give people enough of a chance to feel different, to feel like the other, which is an important feeling to have, and it's slowly disappearing.

Edward Said

The theoretical orientation of the Marxist discourse generally assumes the primacy of particular analytical categories over others and raises the questions over the appropriateness of these categories. Generally, these scattered, multi-directional questions converge upon a single thematic which not only triggers a host of other question over the theoretical validity of the discourse but also congeal itself as a discourse within a discourse.

This thematic pivot around the discussions on the stagist character of Marxism and the predetermined forms of the progression of human societies it inflicted and imposed which have manifested themselves in a violent reification and exploitation of the people in whose name Marxism initiates its humanistic philosophy. This developmentalism in Marxist philosophy is complained by various scholars who sought to eradicate these requirements of conditioning of the socio-economic forces through their analytical purgatory in order to materialize the truly radical potential of Marxism; these scholars argue that "the Marxist and progressive writings tended to proceed from the presumption of a unidirectional, unilinear process entailing dissolution of all precapitalist social relations and eventual clarification of class relations, that is, capital-labour relations."[178]

Marxism is portrayed as a philosophy which undermines the cultural differences and proposes supremacy of economic structures over other areas of social life. The Marxist claims, exhorting the backward countries which have been left behind in the

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[178] Gupta, R. D. (1996). Indian Working Class and Some Recent Historiographical Issues. *Economic and Political Weekly, 31*(8), 27-31.

material progress and failed to consummate their historical destination in a capitalist economy, such as the following one which has caused its fair share of controversies: "The country that is more developed industrially only shows, *to the less developed*, the image of its own future,"[179] are thoroughly denounced as projecting the history of one nation over the other and praising some despicable acts of wanton barbarism such as colonialism since it was performing an inevitable role in the progress toward socialism.

However, those on the other side of the barrel often argue that there are indeed some theoretical inconsistencies in Marxism but developmentalist thought is not one of them. Moreover, the Marxist canon is too broad and too diverse to be homogenized in this manner. The disputations, in any case, persist. This question inevitably generates several other issues in the Marxist order of things and this line of argumentation ordinarily culminates by the detractors of Marxism in the assertion that "the problem of universalism/Eurocentrism was inherent in Marxist thought itself."[180] We will see in the proceeding pages whether this really is the case and how Pakistani students grapple with this supposedly ubiquitous problem in the Marxist writings.

5.1 Colonialism: Universalization of Capital and Enlightenment

The rhetoric on Marxism or other 'radical' philosophies is increasingly becoming a product conditioned by the Post-structuralist philosophies where the truly radical potential of the original philosophy is merely reduced to an analytical exercise of discursive strategies for subverting linguistic imperialisms and textualized rebellions. The structure of this critique is modeled on "the intellectual trend currently very much in vogue which discards Marxism or historical materialism on the ground that it is based on the Enlightenment belief in progress and rationality.

But, although Marx did never give up the Enlightenment faith in the potential for human development, a point missed or ignored, willfully or otherwise, by the post-

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[179] Marx, K. (1990). *Capital: vol. 1*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
[180]Chakrabarty, D. (1993). Marx after Marxism: A Subaltern Historian's perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly, 28*(22), 1094-1096.

modernists and some of the Subalternists and post-Marxists is that most of his intellectual energy was devoted to a monumental critique of the Enlightenment thought itself."[181]

After all, a critique of the enlightenment ideals could not be predicated on the depredations perpetrated in the name of those ideals. Without doubt, the philosophical bases of enlightenment were indirectly supplemented by the capitalist enterprises and colonial structures and its humanist ideals too get enmeshed in the devious intricacies of the power games played by the empires, but criticism on enlightenment must be evaluated in its totality; the hegemonic structures it inflicted, legitimized and normalized on the one hand and the viable alternatives it has provided, both to the system and individual, in its bid to alleviate the sufferings of humanity and transform the human condition for better.

After all, the 'improvement in the quality of life' is the central premise on which all philosophies of humanism are based; the differences arose in the selection of the methodologies of execution because the implementation not only involves coercion but also directly abets colonialism. The equation ultimately turns out to be an equation of power and "modern power is distinctive for its point of application. And the point of application of modern power is not so much the body of the sovereign's subject (we are all familiar with the stunning image of Michel Foucault's "body of the condemned") as the conditions in which that body is to live and define its life. This is of course because of modern power's relation to Enlightenment reason. As we know, the Enlightenment belief in progress rested on an idea of reason which was irreconcilably opposed to forms of understanding and action that depended upon what is called superstition and prejudice. For these, the argument went, disabled individual rational judgment and encouraged timidity and fear, thereby leaving people in blind obedience to the capricious tyranny of despots and priests. However, the emancipation from this moral slavery and the eradication of benighted ignorance could not be carried out by the mere alteration of a few false notions and the

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[181] Gupta, R. D. (1996). Indian Working Class and Some Recent Historiographical Issues. *Economic and Political Weekly, 31*(8), 27-31.

superficial tinkering with behaviors. Rather, what was required was, first, their fundamental uprooting by means of a broad attack on the conditions that were understood to produce them, and second, their systematic replacement by the inducement of new conditions based on clear, sound, and rational principles."[182]

The enlightenment's portrayal of reason is often depicted as an instantiation of justifying the modern regime of power which has debilitated the insurrectionary capabilities of innumerable people around the globe and at a later stage, this depiction turns out into a wholesale onslaught on the nature of reason itself which is projected as an accomplice in the business of colonialism and capitalism.

The accounts of modernity and the changes it has brought in its midst are themselves laden with the accusations of this complicity whereby "rationality becomes the normative principle of a certain way of life which is said to promote a certain way of thinking, namely, science," and this shift in the patterns of thinking about human beings are regarded as "an essentialism which, when imposed on historical time, divides up the history of Western society into pre-scientific and scientific, and casts every other culture of the world into the darkness of unscientific traditionalism."[183]

Simultaneously, reason is castigated in the name of local, particular and the fragment. The universalization of reason was an event which took place with the universalization of capital, but eventually both turns out to be empty ideals; Capital brings into every history some of the universal themes of the European Enlightenment, but on inspection the universal turns out to be an empty place holder whose unstable outlines become barely visible only when a proxy, a particular, usurps its position in a gesture of pretension and domination."[184]

In the academic sloganeering, Marx too is inundated with the charges of being a representative of all the evils enlightenment thought has foisted, although

[182] Scott, D. (1995). Colonial Governmentality. *Social Text, 43*, 191-220.
[183] Chatterjee, P. (1993). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London, UK: Zed Books.
[184] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

occasionally one encounters some positive analysis where the discourse of Marxism is delineated in its totality while maintaining the distinctions between Marx's oeuvre and the Marxist discourse and the chronological changes within the writings of Marx.

Consider the following paragraph where Partha Chatterjee, after a series of denunciative claims leveled on the modernity based on culturalist assumptions, tries to exonerate Marx by arguing that "Inasmuch as he was a child of the Enlightenment, Marx retained his faith in Reason. But in his life-long critique of Hegel, he also pleaded that Reason be rescued from the clutches of capital. In the process, he provided the fundamental theoretical means to examine and criticize the historical relation between capital and Reason. And this relationship, as he repeatedly pointed out in the final, mature phase of his work, was no simple process of unilineal development.

Correcting many of his earlier formulations, Marx in his last years saw little regenerative value in the depredations of colonialism in Asian countries. And it was in Russia that he saw in 1881 'the finest chance' in history for a country to pass into a phase of socialist development without first submitting to capital and thus 'committing suicide'. Marx was convinced that capital in its global form had reached a stage where it was definitely 'against science and enlightened reason' and he saw even in the 'archaic' resistance of the popular masses in countries still not enslaved by capital the possibility of a new beginning."[185]

However, it is quite evident in Chatterjee's writings that his theoretical formulations emanates from a thoroughgoing philosophy of cultural supremacy which eventually forced him to dissolve the 'fundamental theoretical means' provided by Marx in an extraneous focus on the cultural differences of the East. Moreover, as Terry Eagleton has noted in his critique on Post-modernism, "culture is always either too unworkably narrow or too embarrassingly wide a notion: if it is "elitist" to identify it with minority art, as all good postmodernists agree, it is also shoddy, amorphous, and

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[185] Chatterjee, P. (1993). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London, UK: Zed Books.

ultimately meaningless to view it as coterminous with the whole of human life, as all good postmodernists by no means agree."[186]

Marx's writings have also been taken into account for the treatment that has been meted out to colonialism and the possibilities it contained in transforming the world in order to get it ready for a socialist future. Marx's early writings indicate a belief in the transformative capabilities of capitalism and appreciate the role of colonialism as a carrier of this change; indeed, "in the *Manifesto*, Marx greeted capitalist modernization enthusiastically. In "The British Rule in India," his first major article on that country, he viewed more closely capitalism's effects on India. At that time, he still held that the "social revolution" the British were bringing about in India was necessary and would be ultimately beneficial, despite its horrific destructiveness."[187] However, this appreciation gradually receded and in the later writings Marx had been utterly dismissive of any theorization which proffers the notion of positive residual content in the world-transforming changes capitalism has performed.

Moreover, the role of colonialism is of central important in establishing a worldwide hegemony of capitalism and that much has been recognized by the Marxist writers. Irfan Habib, a prominent Indian Marxist historian, argues, taking the example of England as the progenitor and prime instantiation of capitalism that "the history of primary accumulation thus establishes beyond any doubt that capitalism could not have arisen in England without (a) destroying its peasantry, and (b) subjugating and exploiting external economies all over the world. The arrival of capitalism was not a natural internal process: Subjugation of other economies was crucial to the formation of industrial capital within it. In other words, colonialism, in its harshest forms, was not a mere attendant process to the rise of capitalism, it was one of its basic, inescapable premises."[188]

India was not merely the crown jewel of British Empire, it was also the primary source of capital which ignited the engines of capitalist production. However, the

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[186] Eagleton, T. (1997). The Contradictions of Postmodernism. *New Literary History, 28*(1), 1-6.
[187] Anderson, K. (2010). *Marx at the Margins.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
[188] Habib, I. (1995). Capitalism in History. *Social Scientist, 23*(7/9), 15-31.

universalization of capitalism doesn't necessarily means that the relations of production were similar in both the center and the colony. The 'provincialization of capitalism' means that "in considering the growth of capitalism in India, it has to be borne in mind that bringing about capitalist production relations was not an integral part of the design of capitalist colonialism. The British were themselves capitalists. But they were interested in introducing capitalist relations into India only in so far as they would increase the revenue and profit that would be gathered by the British tributary state and by the British or the European capitalist class in general."[189]

Another example of the apparently regressive workings of the capitalism in the colony which in fact aggravated the condition of global capitalism is the changes British administrations has implemented in India which altered the entire façade and social fabric of Indian society furnished by David Washbrook when he proclaims that "because the British Empire was the principal agency through which the world system functioned in this era, the Indian army was in a real sense the major coercive force behind the internationalization of industrial capitalism. Paradoxically (or not!), the martialization of north Indian society and, in many ways, the "feudalization" of its agrarian relations, were direct corollaries of the development of capitalism on a world scale during the nineteenth century."[190]

So the social change in the Indian countryside which has taken the productive capabilities of the colony backwards was essential for the capitalist structure to sustain itself worldwide. These contradictions were completely compatible with the logic of capitalism despite an insistence from various theoreticians of modern capitalism that "modern capitalism's global spread can produce only homogenization, just as any history focusing on the theme of capitalist transition can recognize only homogeneity to the detriment of other and different histories. We see here the postmodernist misconception…that systems can only generate sameness. This makes

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[189] Bagchi, A. K. (1991). Reflections on the Nature of the Indian Bourgeoisie. *Social Scientist, 19*(3/4), 3-18.

[190] Washbrook, D. (1990). South Asia, the World System, and World Capitalism. *The Journal of Asian Studies, 49*(3), 479-508.

it possible, within a culture deeply antagonistic to any kind of materialist historical explanation, to dismiss suggestions that the local differences we see emerging in postcolonial societies might have something at least to do with logics of differentiation intrinsic to modern capitalism, since it is against and in spite of such logics that these local cultures invent themselves."[191]

So there is a strong possibility that cultural differences, which have occasioned a number of scholarly controversies, were themselves a result of capitalist transformations in the society and this fact has been unearthed by various scholars, some of whom had been steadfast members of subaltern studies collective.

As far as Marx and the question of colonialism were concerned in the later stage of his productive life, he "did not even bother to address the issue of whether colonialism benefited the colonized. Moreover, he denies that colonialism bettered the lot of the working people of the Mother Country either: (Marx proclaimed) "Holland, which first brought the colonial system to its full development, already stood at the zenith of its commercial greatness by 1648," by which time its people "were more over-worked, poorer, and more brutally oppressed than those of all the rest of Europe put together"."[192] There can be no better exposition of Marxist position on the question of colonialism.

5.2 The Cultural Wars

In the wake of an overwhelming reception of Edward Said's Orientalism, the scholarship on Marx once again found itself in a whirlpool of representations of Marx as a classic example of Orientalist. Said himself carried out a sustained onslaught on Marx and his conjectures on the non-western societies and the possibilities of socialism.

According to Said, "Marx's economic analyses are perfectly fitted thus to a standard Orientalist undertaking, even though Marx's humanity, his sympathy for the misery of

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[191] O'Hanlon, R. & Washbrook, D. (1992). After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 34*(1), 141-167.
[192] Anderson, K. (2010). *Marx at the Margins.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

people, are clearly engaged. Yet in the end it is the Romantic Orientalist vision that wins out, as Marx's theoretical socio-economic views become submerged in this classically standard image: "England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of the Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia."[193]

Said's approach here is not only logically fallacious but also indicates his own affinities with the Orientalist methodologies. Moreover, as a number of theorists have pointed out, "Said's concept of 'orientalism' is both far too general and far too restricted, and the limits of his definition are so set and the actual selection so executed that his conclusions are thereby simply pre-determined."[194]

The undefined contours of Orientalism have resulted in the projection of Orientalist charge as far back as Homer despite a persistent critique that the Foucaultian notion of discourse requires some prerequisites for its materialization and without those prerequisites, discursive technologies cannot penetrate in the state machinery and society. The theoretical inconsistency has resulted in the fact that "despite Said's denials that it was not his intention to protect chauvinistic or conservative beliefs in Asia, especially in relation to Islam, one could see that any critical or historical view of any aspect of Islam by any western scholar is yet taken by him as reflective of a sense of western superiority and so a kind of 'orientalist', colonial discourse."[195]

The same happened with Marx as well, although it must be maintained "that while Marx necessarily relied on (the quite extensive) European reports on India, the picture that he drew out of it of the social and economic devastation that British rule caused

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[193]Said, E. (2003), *Orientalism.* New York, NY: Penguin books.

[194] Habib, I. (2005). In Defence of Orientalism: Critical Notes on Edward Said. *Social Scientist, 33*(1/2), 40-46.

[195] Habib, I. (2005). In Defence of Orientalism: Critical Notes on Edward Said. *Social Scientist, 33*(1/2), 40-46.

in India, was largely his own - and this was hardly an 'Orientalist' enterprise under Said's definition."[196]

Said's reliance on Marx's 1853 writings on India and selective readings have paved the way for a distinct brand of colonialism studies whereby the focus shifted from the socio-economic changes which colonialism has wrought in India to the discursive and textual alterations which initiated and corresponded the social changes. According to Aijaz Ahmad, "Communalism…can now be laid entirely at the doors of orientalism and colonial construction; caste itself can be portrayed as a fabrication primarily of the Population Surveys and Census Reports. Colonialism is now held responsible not only for its own cruelties but, conveniently enough, for ours too."[197]

There is an impulse in some of the Pakistani students who are inclined towards leftist ideology to declare the emergence and popularity of regressive and reactionary forces on this brand of scholarship which promotes the local and native even if it is deeply racist, sexist and misogynist but that would be erroneous on the same lines which have been laid out by the philosophers of cultural differences.

Alongside Orientalism, an implicit Eurocentrism in Marx is also a contentious area which has been evaluated and criticized disproportionately, to the extent that Marxism and other materialist philosophies are discredited solely on the basis of their implicit role in the wars of cultural hegemony and imperialism. The focus of these critiques "diverts criticism from capitalism to Eurocentricism as a cultural or ideological problem (reducing it as one of ethnocentricism), which blurs the power relationships that energised it."[198]

The diversion of focus from the class antagonism in capitalist societies to Eurocentrism in Marxist writings has also goaded the analysis to locate the positive

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[196] Habib, I. (2005). In Defence of Orientalism: Critical Notes on Edward Said. *Social Scientist, 33*(1/2), 40-46.
[197] Ahmad, A. (1992). Orientalism and After: Ambivalence and Cosmopolitan Location in the Work of Edward Said. *Economic and Political Weekly, 27*(30), 98-116.
[198] Bahl, V. (1997). Relevance (or Irrelevance) of Subaltern Studies. *Economic and Political Weekly, 32*(23), 1333-1344.

changes which capitalism has induced in the human societies. So on the one hand, it is argued that "Capitalism (which was not—and here, pace Marx—an exclusively European phenomenon), for all its tyrannies, brought with it the means of conquering scarcity and a modern ideology of universalistic equality and freedom. Those remain significant. Capitalism's social system is contradictory and fails to live up to its ideological promises. The way forward towards a meaningful socialism may be to confront those contradictions and to seek to transcend them-not to retreat into a precapitalist past, which is dead."[199]

The traditional structures and social arrangements are quite emphatically declared dead because the phenomenal changes which capitalist transformations had implemented were designing the outlooks of 'traditions' for the people. However, on the other hand, Marxist scholars argue that "the serpentine history of capitalism does not permit the illusion that its destructiveness could be eliminated by some optimal social arrangement or development sequence. There is no such entity as optimal capitalism. Capitalism has always been a horrible system full of very peculiar social formations. And capitalism as it has existed on earth has to be seen as full of these contradictions."[200]

The nature of all these debates ultimately shows a picture of a dichotomy which is constituted by an overwhelming focus on the culture as the primary site of resistance or class as the primary analytical tool and social sensibility. Despite all of the claims that these controversies are directed toward the discursive issues and a 'hyperreal' conception of Europe and asymmetry in its relationship with the rest of the world on an epistemological level, the empirical evaluation becomes necessary and 'the bogey of hyperreal Europe' often find itself face to face with the empirics of the middle-class Bengali version of sociality in the early 20th century. (The insinuation, obviously, is toward Dipesh Chakrabarty's "Provincializing Europe")

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[199] Washbrook, D. (1990). South Asia, the World System, and World Capitalism. *The Journal of Asian Studies, 49*(3), 479-508.

[200] Bagchi, A. K. (1991). Reflections on the Nature of the Indian Bourgeoisie. *Social Scientist, 19*(3/4), 3-18.

Aijaz Ahmad quite reasonably concludes the outcomes and conclusions of the theoretical wars: "The theorist spoke often enough of imperialism and nationalism, sometimes as dialectical opposites but increasingly as twin faces of the same falsity, but the main business of radicalism came to reside in the rejection of rationalism itself (the Enlightenment project, as it came to be called). Only Power was universal and immutable; resistance could only be local; knowledge, even of Power, always partial."[201]

This rejection of rationalism usually takes place in the guise of a radical act of discarding bourgeois rationality, but eventually reason itself is denoted with the adjectives such as hegemonic and despotic, in itself, and this culturalist project has taken place in the name of 'subaltern', 'fragment' and 'the Other'. The trope of the differences of Eastern cultures sometimes bordered Orientalism, such as in Partha Chatterjee's characterization of Indian nationalism where he proclaimed the uniqueness of India because of the responses generated by some of the social sections in its confrontation with the modern changes.

Vinay Bahl, in her critique on Subaltern studies and the impact Subalternists have effectuated on the discourses of social sciences, disparages this claim based on uniqueness in quite a rhetorical language; quoting Gerald Berreman extensively, she notes: "Is India unique? If so, then, everything in the world is ultimately unique. As Berreman has rightly said: "Without denying the uniqueness of every culture, every institution, every object and every event, one can extract aspects, elements, principles or relationships which are (or are thought to be) common for purposes of comparison. In fact this is the only way to determine what is specific to one's culture, society or situation and what is common to recurrent processes and historical circumstances. Science, including social sciences, depends upon identifying and comparing common phenomena in the universe of unique elements. Whether and in what ways phenomena are 'the same' must be carefully specified but to require that they be in all

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[201] Ahmad, A. (1994). *In Theory: Classes, nations, literatures*. New York, NY: Verso.

respects identical is to deny the possibility of a science of society. In fact unique is scientifically incomprehensible"."[202]

Moreover, in response to some of the post-colonial arguments discussing the rise of native ideological formations and defending their fascist predilections, she argues that "India, as an entity known to us, today, is a modern phenomenon, and India's industrialisation and its working class is a product of modern capitalism. Should we insist on cultural differences only and find our history in cultural context alone, just to establish a distance from European thought and history, but sacrifice our politics of liberation in the process?"[203]

The Marxist claim besides which these scholars stand insists on the analytical and tactical primacy of class and class-antagonism and in the next section we will examine the relationship of Foucaultian and Marxist constructions of power and its workings in the society to argue that despite Foucault's claims on the decentralization of power and his impact on the subsequent theorization on the issues of class, ethnicity and socio-cultural differences, it is possible to align his conclusions with the general core of Marxist arguments.

5.3 The Intellectual Orientations and Trajectories to Marxism

5.3.1 Foucault and Marx

Foucaultian and Marxist frameworks have generally been depicted as mutually contradictory to the point of exhaustion. The endless controversies centered on Foucault's characterization that "Marxism exists in nineteenth-century thought like a fish in water: that is, it is unable to breathe anywhere else"[204] are conclusively interpreted as Foucault's final verdict on the radical potential and theoretical feasibility of Marxism and culminated in a final assertion in which Foucault "radically denies that narratives of history can be assembled at the twin sites of the

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[202] Bahl, V. (1997). Relevance (or Irrelevance) of Subaltern Studies. *Economic and Political Weekly, 32*(23), 1333-1344.

[203] Bahl, V. (1997). Relevance (or Irrelevance) of Subaltern Studies. *Economic and Political Weekly, 32*(23), 1333-1344.

[204] Foucault, M. (2005). *The order of things*. New York, NY: Routledge.

state and economic production, which he deems to be the exclusive originating sites of Marx's historical narrative."[205]

Despite Foucault's proclamation of Marx as a 'founder of discursivity', Marxist writings continually portray his work as a paragon of pseudo-liberal, Avant-garde French intelligentsia without quite realizing the kind of break Foucault himself instantiated in the studies of political economy of state amidst the paradigmatic changes effected by neo-liberalism.

In most of the studies, Foucault is said to argue that "the way to get rid of Marxism was not by adopting the typical tactic of sociology - discounting Marx's empirical predictions - nor by adopting the tactic of Althusser - extracting the 'one true Marx' through textual analysis. Rather, one needed to displace the analysis of social class through the use of other categories and other tactics. Foucault proposed that political analysis listen to all those voices subjugated by the authority of the Party. In modern liberal government, individual conduct and comportment have become directly implicated in the operations of power. Government focuses on the 'conduct of conduct,' and the state has been de-centred. The totality of subjugated voices exists as the population of the governed."[206]

This statement clearly indicates the textual and socio-political context in which Foucault might have argued to rethink the possibilities in which the social classes can be reinterpreted. The regime of discipline initiated by the modern governmentality cannot be explained through the tactics of Marxist philosophy and the neoliberal ascendency of the market and displacement of the state itself is a break away from the prominent role played by the state during the height of cold war. Moreover, Foucault's alienation with the party discipline and the role of French communist party is well-known and don't need further elaboration.

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[205] Ahmad, A. (1992). Orientalism and After: Ambivalence and Cosmopolitan Location in the Work of Edward Said. *Economic and Political Weekly, 27*(30), 98-116.
[206] Curtis, B. (2002). Foucault on Governmentality and Population: The Impossible Discovery. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens de sociologie, 27*(4), 505-533.

The conflict over the role of state in the modern society holds central importance both for the detractors and advocates of Foucault's methodology to study power and locate it in the farthest reaches and relationships in the society. The influence Foucault exerts over the modern social science has been in a direction of rethinking the modern truths by situating them in their discursive fields.

As David Scott argues, Foucault's work "invite us to rethink the story told by liberalism and Marxism alike, according to which the state is the privileged site of an immense and magical power standing in opposition to a civil society imagined as the absence of power and the fulfillment of freedom. What interests Foucault is the emergence in early modern Europe of a new form of political rationality combines simultaneously two seemingly contradictory modalities of power: one, totalizing and centralizing, the other individualizing and normalizing."[207]

However, Foucault's work has largely dealt with the disciplinary power, therefore, it is easy to label his work as an instance of overlooking the enormous impact state can have in the lives of the subjects. In any case, the notion that Foucault's scholarship leads to a predetermined view of human history clings on. Edward Said, one of the earlier followers of Foucault's genealogical work in the Anglo-American academia, argues in response to a question related to his discursive methodology in 'Orientalism' that "Orientalism is theoretically inconsistent, and I designed it that way: I didn't want Foucault's method, or anybody's method, to override what I was trying to put forward. The notion of a non-coercive knowledge, which I come to at the end of the book, was deliberately anti-Foucault."[208] However, it might just as well be symptomatic of an age-old syndrome of understanding power only in negative terms.

Foucault's understanding of Marx and the importance he wielded in the discourse of human sciences was evident from his statement that "It is clear, even if one admits that Marx will disappear for now, that he will reappear one day. What I wish for... is

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[207] Scott, D. (1995). Colonial Governmentality. *Social Text, 43*, 191-220.
[208] O'Hanlon, R. & Washbrook, D. (1992). After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 34*(1), 141-167.

not so much the defalsification and restitution of a true Marx but the unburdening and liberation of Marx in relation to party dogma, which has constrained it, touted it, and brandished it for so long."[209]

The statement in 'The order of things' was also clarified by Foucault, "we can assume that Marx inserted a radical break in people's historical and political consciousness, and that the Marxist theory of society did inaugurate an entirely new epistemological field. My book carried the subtitle An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. It implies a second one that would be An Analysis of Knowledge and of Historical Consciousness in the West Since the Sixteenth Century. And even before I've advanced very far in this work, it looks to me as if this time the great break should be situated at the level of Marx…the periodization of fields of knowledge cannot be carried out in the same way according to the levels at which one is placed. One encounters a kind of layering of bricks and what is interesting, strange, curious, will be to find out precisely how and why the epistemological break for the sciences of life, economy, and language is situated at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for the theory of history and of politics in the middle of the nineteenth century."[210]

Moreover, not only Foucault acknowledged the presence and impact of capitalist transformation of the society and the discourses prevalent in that society, albeit it was not the primary point of his histories that "the rise of disciplinary power as a central feature of modern society went hand in hand with the development of the capitalist mode of production which needed for its burgeoning factory system a labor force both subjected and better utilized,"[211] he also recognized the importance of Marx's work in the broadest terms possible when he argued that "it is impossible at the present time to write history without using a whole range of concepts directly or indirectly linked to Marx's thought and situating oneself within a horizon of thought which has been defined and described by Marx. One might even wonder what

[209] Macdonald, B. J. (2002). Marx, Foucault, Genealogy. *Polity, 34*(4), 259-284.
[210] Macdonald, B. J. (2002). Marx, Foucault, Genealogy. *Polity, 34*(4), 259-284.
[211] Macdonald, B. J. (2002). Marx, Foucault, Genealogy. *Polity, 34*(4), 259-284.

difference there could ultimately be between being a historian and being a Marxist."[212]

5.3.2 Subaltern Studies and Marxism

The trope of cultural differences and the inadequacy of the universalization inherent in enlightenment theories have been the central focus of the scholarship which emanated from the Subaltern studies, although they have retained the aura of being the most radical and emancipating theory around. Ranajit Guha, the founder of this intellectual movement based his premises on a counter-factual representation of historical formations and transformations, he explained subaltern studies to be "the study of this historic failure of the nation to come into its own, a failure due to the inadequacy of the bourgeoisie as well as the working class to lead it into a decisive victory over colonialism...it is the study of this failure which constitutes the central problematic of the historiography of colonial India."[213]

The historic failure of the nation is studied primarily in "three domains…where Subalternist theorists stress a fundamental divide between East and West. The first is in the nature of the *bourgeoisie:* the Western bourgeoisie carried forth capitals universalizing drive while its descendant in the East did not. Second, the *power relations* produced by Western capitalism were unlike the power relations capitalism generated elsewhere. Third comes the question of *political psychology:* political actors are motivated by a different set of concerns in the East than they are in the West."[214]

Vivek Chibber, in his critical evaluation of subaltern studies, denudes the contradictions within the oeuvre of subalternists. In his discussion on Guha's analysis of the role of labor in the nationalist movement and its characteristic failure, he argues that according to Guha, the reason of the nation's failure "was that "the

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[212] Foucault, M. (1980). Prison Talk. In C. Gordon (Ed.), Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (pp. 55-62). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

[213] Eaton, R. M. (2000). (Re)imag(in)ing Other²ness: A Postmortem for the Postmodern in India. Journal of World History, 11(1), 57-78.

[214] Chibber, V. (2013). Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital. New York, NY: Verso.

working class was not sufficiently mature in the objective conditions of its social being and in its consciousness" to pull the movement in a different direction…What, in any case, does it mean for conditions to be "mature"?"[215]

This statement is strictly historicist apropos to Chakrabarty's construction of historicism, who is a very prominent and prolific member of the collective. Chakrabarty himself argues that "Difference is not always a trick of capital. My sense of loss that ensues from my globalization is not always an effect of somebody else's marketing strategy. I am not always being duped into "mourning" by capital, for mourning does not always make a consumer of me."[216]

Although here Chakrabarty's tone indicates that he acknowledges the capability on the part of capitalism to constitute and promote 'the differences', he later argued, invoking a statement by another historians; "Patrick Wolfe spoke for many historians when, sweeping aside all discriminatory divisions between the premodern and the modern, he asserted that "colonialism's centrality to the global industrial order…means that the expropriated Aboriginal, enslaved African American, or indentured Asian is as thoroughly modern as the factory worker, bureaucrat, or flaneur of the metropolitan center." The sentiment is noble, but if these disparate figures are all equally modern, and thoroughly so, then clearly their "modernity" has little to do with differences in their levels of education, urbanity, or any other forms of cultural capital. In what sense could they then be equally modern? Is "modern," then, simply a synonym for the "global industrial order, and is anybody caught up in it modern by definition?"[217]

However, despite Chakrabarty's attempt to downplay the importance of 'global industrial order, it can be safely argued that the different social groups mentioned are absolutely modern as far as the primary effect of modernity—the continued class

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[215] Chibber, V. (2013). Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital. New York, NY: Verso.
[216] Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial though and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[217] Chakrabarty, D. (2011). The Muddle of Modernity. *The American Historical Review, 116*(3), 662-675.

stratifications and antagonism—are present. The universalization, or penetration, of capital and capital-effects has subjected almost every human being to its iron rule.

Moreover, to Partha Chatterjee's claim that it was the enlightenment oriented modernizing ideology of the nationalist bourgeoisie which made sure the subservience for the colony in its relationship with the former colonial masters, Chibber argues that "Nationalist elites promoted modernization not because they were the victims of indoctrination but because of the pressures of governing in a capitalist world economy.

What Chatterjee presents as an effect of discourse was in fact a recognition of real, material pressures from global capitalism."[218]Furthermore, replying to the accusations of centrality of unilinear development in Marxism, Chibber argues that there are an abundance of Marxist positions which invalidate this claim, citing Trotsky's theory of uneven and combined development, which "was an explicit *rejection* of the argument that later developers would simply replicate the developmental path of the early ones.

For Trotsky, the fact of their later insertion into the capitalist vortex meant that such societies would be able to import the most recent innovations in certain spheres, while preserving a whole gamut of older social relations in others. There is no implication of homogeneous time, no historicism, no "stageism"—indeed, the theory is immune to virtually every accusation that Subalternist theorists make against the Marxian tradition."[219]

Trotsky himself, quite categorically, presented his thoughts in a sufficiently straightforward way which leaves little room for any other Avant-gardist idea to take root in the name of radical theorization. He clearly outlined the different trajectories available to backward countries in order to prepare themselves for a socialist change; "A backward country assimilates the material and intellectual conquests of the advanced countries. But this does not mean that it follows them slavishly, reproduces all the stages of their past. The theory of the repetition of the historic cycles—Vico

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[218] Chibber, V. (2013). Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital. New York, NY: Verso.
[219] Chibber, V. (2013). Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital. New York, NY: Verso.

and his more recent followers—rests upon an observation of the orbits of old, pre-capitalist cultures, and in part upon the first experiments of capitalist development. A certain repetition of cultural stages in ever new settlements was in fact bound up with the provincial and episodic character of that whole process. Capitalism means, however, an overcoming of those conditions. It prepares and, in a certain sense, realizes the universality and permanence of man's development. By this, a repetition of the forms of development by different nations is ruled out. Although compelled to follow after the advanced countries, a backward country does not take things in the same order. The privilege of historic backwardness—and such a privilege exists—permits, or rather compels, the adoption of whatever is ready in advance of any specified date, skipping a whole series of intermediate stages."[220]

Finally, in his response to a critical review of his book written by Gayatri Spivak, Chibber presented his verdict on the tendentious claims by the post-colonial theorists: "The biggest problem with postcolonial theory is that it seeks to undermine the very areas of Marxist theory that ought to be retained, that are in fact its strengths—the reality of capitalist constraints, regardless of culture; the reality of human nature; the centrality of certain universal aspirations on the part of the oppressed, which issue from this human nature; the need for abstract, universal concepts that are valid across cultures; the necessity of rational, reasoned discourse, etc."[221]

In the essay which turns out to be the precursor of Chibber's book, aptly entitled "On the decline of class analysis in South Asian Studies," he remarks, in passing, an insightful observation, he argues that in academia there is "an inclination to view Marxist work as somewhat quaint, or worse, as simply lacking in sophistication."[222] We will study in the next section to ascertain the validity of this statement in the Pakistani context.

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[220] Trotsky, L. (2017). *History of the Russian Revolution.* London, UK: Penguin Classics.

[221] Chibber, V. (2014). Making sense of postcolonial theory: a response to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 27*(3), 617-624.

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5.4 Marxism in Dissertations

In the dissertations, the discussions on Marxism are generally confined to the sections of research methodology and theoretical framework. Despite a relative lack of organized analysis of Marxism and its mode of analysis, references of Marxist writings are ubiquitous in the dissertations.

Most of the dissertations have a culturalist bent as opposed to an analysis which takes the existence of social classes as its primary and decisive factor and this predilection is most apparent in the anthropology theses. However, as has been extensively discussed above, most of the Marxist claims and principles are swept aside by issuing a label of Eurocentrism and those writings which can be termed as having sympathy for Marxism are usually those which specifically focus on the issues of inequality in the society.

Moreover, the presence of Marxist ideology is reflected through an indiscriminate use of Marxist terminologies; proletariat and bourgeoisie are sprayed in the dissertations without identifying the social classes which correspond to these abstract categories in reality. Furthermore, Marxism is ordinarily interpreted as an ideology which takes the class antagonism as its defining characteristic and this interpretation often appears as a leitmotif in the discussions on Marxism. Although the dissertations show an appreciation of class-based social analysis, the categories which have been assigned the analytical primacy are cultural ones and among the dissertations which dealt inequality, the imbalance in gender relations is the most significantly conspicuous area which has invited insights from Marxist perspective as well.

5.4.1 Gender Inequality

We have previously seen how the patriarchal social structure and the narratives of nationalism were intertwined. In the same way but acting on a different frequency, the affinities between theoretical representation of gender relations and Marxism have also been commented upon by a number of students which yields an array of interesting, albeit conflicting, viewpoints regarding the issues of inequality in

Pakistani society and the effects generated by the rhetoric of marginalization which has been employed by different social groups to achieve various objectives.

The most prominent way in which Marxism enters the discussions on the patriarchy or gender inequality is through the analyses of social change; the dialectics of traditional societies, its modern counterparts and the remnants of both within each other. For example, in a dissertation which evaluates the modernizing wave in the Pashtun hinterland, the author has argued that the cultural parameters of evaluating masculinity and hence the matrix of gender relations is changed under the modernizing wave which has penetrated the far-off areas.

The traditionally ratified codes of masculinity such as virility, height, handsomeness are increasingly replaced by the economic factors and these economic factors then results in two distinct consequences—the unleashing of economizing forces in the arena of social interaction which has never been exposed to it and the creation of chances for women to seek employment.

Leaving aside the problematically monolithic portrayal of a 'traditional' society, the dissertation clearly indicates, without explicitly stating, the economizing of areas which were previously considered non-economic and most importantly, the imperative of women employment which wasn't even a possibility just a while ago. There is an abundance of regressive arguments which have been invigorated by an excessive focus on the cultural codes and preferences; however, in almost all of the anti-feminist, even misogynist arguments and dissertations, there is a sub-conscious acceptance of the domestic work as a kind of labor, even if the author is denouncing the right to work for womenfolk.

Another student argued that modernization and women emancipation are an associated phenomenon and the benefits for women which have been accrued by the modernizing tendencies in the society must include education, employment, unveiling and political representation. The modernization which should emancipate women is never defined or elaborated; it is merely invoked here through the visible signs of

material culture as a theoretical strategy. On the other hand, there is another, parallel but opposite line of argumentation which portrays women as a 'being-without-agency' whose lives have been controlled and directed by the agents of patriarchy.

Marxism enters the fray which has been laden with the presence of gender-related social solidarities not in the manner of neo-liberalism's economizing tendencies as has been suggested by some students in matters not quite related to the gender issues but as a way out of the world marked by the consistent and resilient ideologies of discrimination on different basis and Marxist principles are employed in locating the economic causes of gender-based discrimination and as a catalyst to identify deeper cleavages in the female population.

5.4.2 Culturalism

The culturalist orientation of the dissertations has been extensively noted, but it is in the exposition and critique of Marxism that this point comes forward in a most conspicuous way. In every thesis which has mentioned the words Marxism, modernization, social change etc., there has been an emphatic insistence that the culture is, and must remain in our analytical endeavors, the primary factor in sorting out the problems and their responses on a socio-economic plane.

There are some dissertations which implicitly acknowledge the regressive tendencies in the culture-based arguments, specifically in the cases where the changes in the knowledge regime and the resistance it has faced from the local communities are concerned.

Moreover, since scientific knowledge of the natural world has been sanctified in an absolute way in the academia, this minority of dissertations report that in the non-appropriation of modern knowledge which is simultaneously branded as a western one and on top of that, a system of knowledge which has been imposed through conspiratorial means, a tactical field emerges which seeks to conserve the traditional means and principles of living, which of necessity incorporates the financial matters too.

In some of the most vigorous dissertations which advocate the absolute necessity of transforming the Pakistani society along modern principles, which haven't been elaborated *per convention,* one encounters statements which call for a top-down program of social change, violent if inevitable. It has been argued that "…the traditional values are not only mutable but could and should be replaced by modern values, enabling these societies to follow the path of capitalist developed world." Again, leaving aside the theoretical inconsistencies and monolithic assumptions, this statement indicates a will to change the society in a glamorous way treading the footsteps of the advanced countries.

Apart from the discussions on the infrastructural and material developments of the society, the interpretation of Marxist dictums has been quite innovative. It has been argued that "in South Asia, division of labor has been caste-based. Where in the other regions of the world, classes have been largely economically determined categories, in South Asia class relations had been harmonized with caste boundaries."

We have previously seen that the entire program of Subaltern Studies was rooting for a code of analysis which treats South Asia in a manner specific to South Asia, but this statement indicates another reality where the focus is not particularly on the cultural differences but the role of castes. In the statement above, the hasty generalization of 'caste phenomena' is evident, however, the dissertation generally outlines the realities of the immediate life-worlds of their primary sources, be it personal or textual. In the dissertations which have focused on the caste issue, it has been explicitly mentioned that the castes as they operate in the present-day Pakistan are not the castes which emanates from the Varna system of Hinduism.

These castes are more like kinship or tribal groups where the class divisions recede because the kinship group, following the local customs, forms a loosely aligned commune. Now, on the one hand, if this shows a realization that the analytical category of class doesn't have to work in a monolithic way, it also underscores a line of critique which has been emboldened in the dissertations and which has its fair

share of historical precedents. It deals with the role of individual in a communist society which we will discuss later.

Here, it is important to stress another criterion which has been employed to castigate Marxism. The dissertations continually remind the reader that Marxism denounces caste, race and tribal differences as superficial. As we have seen, it is a generally false accusation, but its extent has been far-reaching. This point is usually accompanied by another, important observation which argues that the social and cultural inequalities cannot be eliminated by egalitarian economic reforms.

At first glance, it seems that it is an ordinary complaint of racist and sexist biases and proclivities in the general social body, but it amounts to more than that. Again, the caste issue comes to the fore. The caste hierarchy, specifically in Punjab, is mostly based on the occupational bases and the agriculturalist castes have traditionally been quite privileged whereas the artisanal castes have been denigrated as possessing an inferior status.

Moreover, the untouchability issue still persists. Considering these social behaviors condoned by the cultural forms of knowledge, the advice that "Marxists should approach peasant communities by emphasizing the importance of social relations of production, instead of merely economic relations of production" doesn't sound as far-fetched as it seems initially because in this case, the cultural configurations of the social relations of production are intransigently vitalize the economic inequalities.

The ever-proliferating literature on resistance movements also vies for the fact that the knowledge of indigenous people, the agricultural labor and the downtrodden castes can better identify the technologies which assist their resistance measures. On that account, there is an indication of an acknowledgement that the working conditions somehow formulate the social conditions and since class antagonism can take place in premodern forms as well, an instance which has been noted in the dissertations is the sectarian conflict in Jhang district of Punjab which was the

epicenter of sectarian violence in Pakistan in the late 1980s and 1990s, the cultural means of resistance can actively strengthen the class conflict in its economic context.

At the same time, Eurocentrism is criticized but the Marxist analytical categories are not projected as inherently European ones which do not have the potential to be applied elsewhere. For instance, consider the following statement from a dissertation on child labor: "Much of the criticism of child labor comes predominantly from 'western' or 'economically developed' perspective. This perspective tends to see the phenomena of child labour detached from local cultural value system."

Child labor was a disturbing issue for people in different ways and its systematic studies are highly inflected in their construals of the problem. Some analysts argued that it is the children reclaiming their agency while others maintained that the child labor must be categorized as a criminal activity under any circumstances.

The culturalist bent would necessitate that its adherents would render it as merely an issue of cultural preferences of parents and some hardliners even argued that if children can work in the factories and other manufacturing units during the industrial revolution of the Western countries than they should be allowed to work in Pakistan as well.

At the extreme end of the spectrum, there were talks of foreign intervention to hinder the growth of industry in Pakistan. However, in all cases, there has rarely been an outright rejection of the truths which the philosophy of Marxism espouses, even if there is a consideration that the cultural values must not be devalued in the name of a diversion to the more primal issue of an economically conditioned, class-based analysis of the social realities.

5.4.3 Bureaucracy, individuality and education
The modeling of an ideal communist society is theoretically construed in a way which shows the inevitable necessity of an all-encompassing correlation between the state and its subjects—despite the Marxist claims pertaining to the withering away of the state.

In the dissertations, Soviet style bureaucracy is considered a hallmark of Marxism and since state is the primary symbol of oppression in Pakistan, Marxism is denounced on this basis as well.

Moreover, the bureaucracy is usually interpreted as the agents of the state which it used to tax and supervises the people and because they have been invested with so much power which largely goes unchecked, bureaucrat has been vilified extensively in the literature.

Furthermore, the issue of individual rights and the status of individual in a communist society have also been portrayed as one of the causes where the theoretical principles of Marxism might proscribe basic human rights, with a realization that it has continuously been an area marked by useless bickering over minor existential issues.

On the other hand, the mass education system has been taken up as an inexorable event which coincides with the industrialization of the society and the Pakistani education system is criticized because it perpetuates the existing cleavages in the class structure of the society. The linguistic medium of education is also an important factor because a student who has completed his or her education in a regional language is structurally discriminated and the student who can speak English fluently is advantaged because English is the language in demand. Uniforms as a symbol of homogenization and discrimination are also criticized.

However, this tripartition has a point of confluence in their critiques and appreciation—the state of Pakistan which is probably the most 'obsessed over' topic in the dissertations. Bureaucracy is depicted as the agents of the state, individual rights must be protected from an increasing encroachment of state on the personal liberties and an unbiased, equal access to education is regarded as the primary responsibility of the state and I will conclude this chapter, in the next section, by explaining the role and responsibility of the state in the era of neo-liberalism.

5.4.4 State and the market

Amidst the rancorous debates on the impact of neo-liberal ideology which has gripped the world in its firm shackles, the students in their dissertations and their teachers in the interviews emphatically argued that it might be the market forces which exacerbates the social and economic inequalities but state is the primary agent in legitimizing the tactics of the free market ideologues and normalizing the discriminatory ideology in the name of development.

The privatization of public facilities which includes schools and parks has generated an immense amount of criticism from the students, but it is the indoctrinating role of state which has received the extremely negative comments, not only because it is happening at the expense of local customs and conventions but due to the material losses faced by the inhabitants of certain localities in the form of their traditional occupations and means of subsistence.

Moreover, the ahistorical and apolitical language in which the market operates is also construed as a cover for the more insidious policies which the state has up its sleeves. The discourses which emerge from the market-oriented epistemological framework are depicted as the knowledge which has been sanctioned and sustained by the state at the expense of socially produced customary and conventional which has been referred by James Scott as Metis; in fact, the name James Scott is a constant presence in the dissertations wherever the depredations of the state are discussed. In the case of the interrelations of state and market, both the Marxist and staunchly anti-Marxist students and teachers contend that the state is willingly conceding its responsibilities to the market and facilitating with all its might to implement this transition.

5.5 Conclusion

The discourses of Marxism and nationalism in Pakistan are not only specifically oriented toward the global changes, they also gravitate around the certain local demands and aspirations. It is incredibly difficult to contain these diversified phenomena in a predefined set of principles; the discursive configuration is conditioned by the social realities which fills the spectrum of these discourses

corresponding to the myriad of challenges which people face in their everyday lives. Moreover, the primary conditions of this peculiar construction of the discourses are consequently structured by the relationship of the state with its subjects which turns out to be the principle architect not only of discourses but also of the ways people find their solutions through these discourses.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The original idea of the dissertation was to evaluate the research output of the previous students in Quaid-i-Azam University on the discourses of nationalism and Marxism, taking its cues and directions from the thematic of time, specifically the debates and ideas clustered around the idea of empty, homogeneous time by Walter Benjamin and its innumerable theoretical variants.

Moreover, the students' dissertations are not the only source employed in this research; it also incorporates the insights of the teachers through interviews and other observations upon which students necessarily contemplate during their educational career. The results are only as conclusive and determinate as a study of discourses allows a researcher, whereas the informatory parameters which were depicted in an absolutist manner are not retained in this dissertation without an explicit and exhaustive inquisition.

Furthermore, the different interpretations of the temporal aspect of social phenomena are narrated, explained and critically studied in order to obtain a clear exposition of the problem at hand.

The dissertation is situated in the spatiotemporal context of its own and its referential materials' grid of intelligibility. The epistemic construction of the formalized education and the material developments are explained historically from a brief but holistic perspective. From this historical exposition, the quality of education in Quaid-i-Azam University is discussed but not before a proper orientation of the locality where the university is situated. It has been argued that despite the apparently low-standard of the dissertations, there are still a variety of originary points and identifying elements of discourses which need to be detected and situated in its rightful place among a vast array of momentary points of inflection which do not constitute the defining characteristics of any discourse but their presence is, invariably, a hallmark of the discursive formations.

The first of the two central chapters of the dissertation deals with the phenomena of nationalism in general and as it has been treated in the accounts specifically dealing the state and idea of Pakistan. The presence of religious motivations in the creation of Pakistan demanded a particular place in the dissertation and it has been explained through the analytical lens of Maududi, from a multitude of viewpoints proffered by different religious scholars.

The discussion on nationalism than moves toward the theories offered by modern intellectuals, specifically Benedict Anderson and the members of Subaltern Studies, who have demanded a particular set of paraphernalia in order to properly describe the emergence of nationalism and its differences in different historical and cultural circumstances.

The discussion on theories is followed by an evaluative analysis of the presentation and configuration of the discourse of nationalism in the dissertations and its defining features have been described comprehensively. Considering the symbiotic relationship of ethno-nationalists and Marxists which has branded the landscape of Pakistani polity and politics, including cultural politics, a majority of those points were applicable in the case of Marxism as well, specifically the points of Eurocentrism and Industrialization.

Therefore, the chapter on Marxist discourse has been a brief one as compared to the one on nationalism. However, the chapter on Marxism deals with the elements in the discourse which has been singled out by the scholars from South Asia in a number of books and essays and there analysis of Marxism has been interpreted not only from the vantage point of dissertations but from the not-so-familiar writings of Marx as well.

In the dissertations, the treatment of Marxist theory is varied; in a tiny minority of the dissertations, the arguments are clearly regressive and call for a reversion toward the premodern notions of social solidarities and hierarchies. Whereas on the other hand, there is a great deal of sophistication in the analysis of the students in their

confrontations with the class-based cleavages which not only persists but proliferate in the society.

The discourses of Marxism and nationalism in Pakistan are different in many ways, but their contours have been defined through an overwhelming consideration of the realities of an ordinary Pakistani and the problems he or she face in everyday life. The grounded nature of the discourses is indeed a positive aspect which must be retained in an otherwise fragile system of education.

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