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The British Politico-Legal Structure and Police Accountability: A Critical Appraisal

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Abstract

Police has a very important role to play in a society. Broadly, the police are responsible to prevent and control any conduct or action that is recognized as threatening to life and property in order to create and maintain a feeling of security in communities. However, police is often criticized for their excessive use of force, lack of accountability, political interference, corruption, and abuse of power. It becomes, therefore, important to keep a constant check on the police so as to avoid any abuse of powers by the police force as well as raising awareness among the citizens about their rights vis-à-vis the police This requires a legal framework which ensures the proper accountability of the police force. In this paper, we critically look at the complex structure of the tripartite system of police accountability in England and Wales and put forward some suggestions to improve the system so as to build a police that is more accountable.

Keywords: Police Force, Accountability, Crime Control, Tripartite System, Police Reforms; England and Wales

Introduction

Police is an important organization of any organized and civilized society. They are the gatekeepers to the criminal justice system and are in a unique position to contribute to and shape the communities where they work. They serve on behalf of the state with the primary responsibility of keeping peace, control and taking

criminals away from the community. In order to carry out their duty, the police have been granted certain powers such as arresting and detaining suspected individuals. However, it is also important to keep check so to avoid any abuse of powers entrusted to the police force. This requires a legal framework which ensures the proper accountability of the police force.

A central feature of governance of the police remains the degree to which the police force can be made accountable for what it does. National police systems in the world are, theoretically at least, made accountable at national political level, usually by way of clear ministerial responsibility to a national parliament or Assembly. In England and Wales, the accountability of the police force is as complex as its structure. This became a major political issue during the 1980s, concerning not only police accountability but also who should control the police force. In recent years, this debate has been greatly concerned with the performance and effectiveness of the police force. Efforts have been made to take the politics off the police and to make politics-free policies for police governance. However, concerns regarding police governance, performance and accountability remain profoundly political.

The Framework of Police Governance

Before going to discuss the police accountability in England and Wales, it is important to understand the structure of the police force which operates. It is important to point out that the police force in the UK is not a unitary body similar to the national police forces that exist in other parts of the world (Mawby & Wright, 2003). England and Wales comprise 43 territorial police forces based on geographical basis. Scotland has eight regional police forces. In Northern Ireland, since 2001, the Police Service of Northern Ireland has replaced the Royal Ulster Constabulary which was in operation since the disbandment of the Royal Irish Constabulary in 1922 (Patten, 1999).

Apart from these forces, there are some special police forces which operate throughout the UK. Among them are the British Transport Police, the Ministry of Defence Police, and the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority Constabulary. In addition, the Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man Police have their own police forces whose jurisdictions are limited to their respective islands. Therefore, the police force in the UK constitutes many forces which operate in their respective jurisdiction.

The Tripartite System of Police Accountability

The current police force in England and Wales functions under the 1964 Police Act. The system distributes responsibilities between the Home Office, the local police authority, and the Chief Constable of the force. Further legislation like 1994 Police and Magistrates Courts Act, The Police Act 1996, and the Police Reform Act 2002 has endorsed the tripartite arrangements of the police force. This tripartite system provides accountability to Parliament through the Home Secretary who has the responsibility for policing policy. It also provides accountability to local populations through the local police authorities. These local police authorities consist of elected local councillors, magistrates and business representatives who are nominated by a central panel. The chief constables also respond to policies and circulars set by the executive (the Home Office and Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary).

Prior to 1962 , the police force in England were set up such as the chief constables in urban districts were accountable to watch committees and chief constable in rural districts were accountable to a magistrates committee(Jones,2003:608).This allowed for a large amount of police corruption , which reached a peak in the 1950s. The 1960s Royal Commission on the constitutional position of the police was set up in response to a series of controversial incidents of the 1950s, which "cast doubt on the adequacy of the means of bringing the police to account" (Crtichley, 1978:268 cited in McLaughlin, 1994:5).

Since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, concerns about the direction and control of powers vested in the police have surfaced regularly at time of political tension. The 1964 Act placed each force under the 'direction and control' of its chief constable. The act also provided the Home Secretary with an array of powers and established in statute the increasing dominance of central government within the framework of police governance (Jones, 2003: 608). As aforementioned, the Home Secretary formed the police authority of the largest and most influential police force — the Metropolitan Police. With regards to provincial forces, the Home Secretary had a number of key powers. For instance, he could require the chief constable to give up his job in the interests of competence, could call for reports into any portion of the policing of an area and set up a local inquiry into policing matters. In addition, the Home Secretary was provided with a number of powers of approval over police authority appointments (Jones, 2003).

Since then during the late 1970s and early 1980s political and social polarisation increased greatly in Britain, and the police became embroiled in acute controversies (Reiner, 1992). Whether the police were adequately accountable became a prominent issue (Morgan and Smith, 1989). Recently partisan conflict over police accountability has abated.

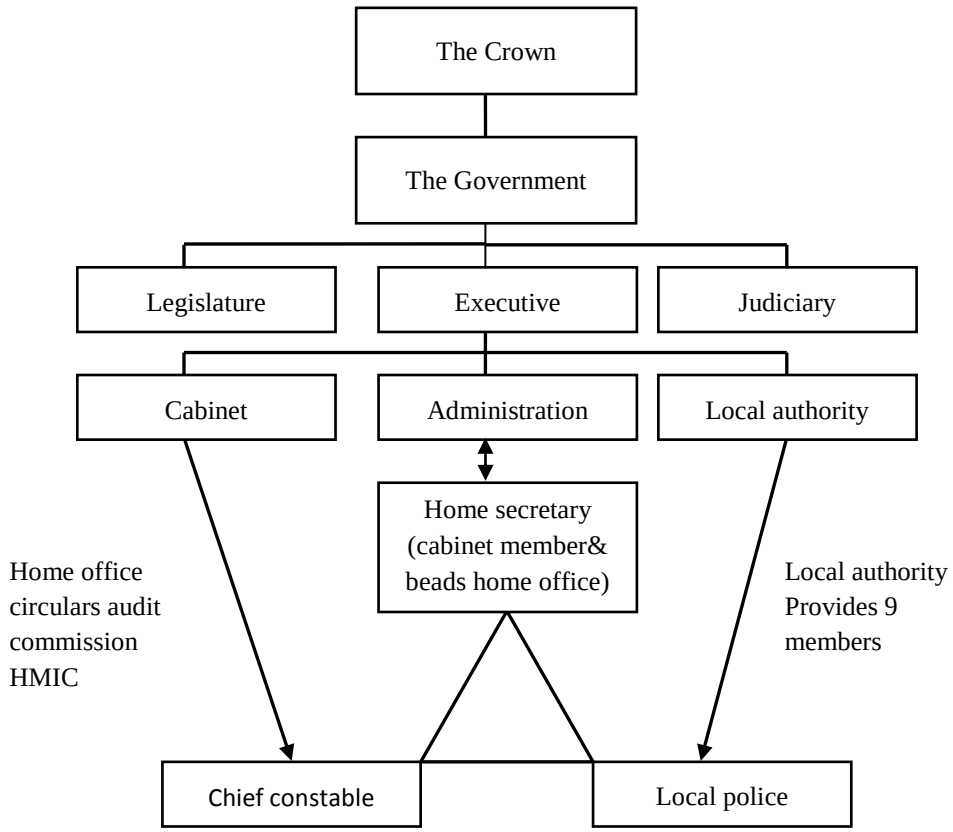
During the 1980s, concern with accountability was central to much of the discussion about policing in Britain. 'Accountability' has been called a 'chameleon word' because it encompasses a range of meanings including 'answerability', responsiveness, openness, efficient estate management, not to mention participation and obedience to external laws' (Day and Klein, 1987).

In response to the public demand for the central governments attention to police accountability, the Royal Commission on the police was put into police in the early 1960s. "The Royal Commission on the police reported in 1962 that the chief constable should be accountable to no one for enforcement policies" (Baldwin and Kinsey 1982: 106). Soon after the Royal Commission of 1962 was reported, the development of the 1964 police Act was put into place. The 1964 police Act set up new Police Authorities which would be composed of local councils and their duties would include: approval of budgets, appointment of chief constable, appointment of deputy constables, appointment of assistant constables, approval of size of local police force , deal with complaints against senior officers , approval of police building and equipment and can call the chief constable to retire (Baldwin and Kinsey 1982: 107).

The 1964 police Act is what is still in practice today in England's police force. It also set up what is known as the tripartite system of police government. "Under this responsibility for policing divided between local police authorities (one-third of the members of which are Justices of the Peace and two-thirds local counsellors), chief constables, and the Home Secretary" (Reiner, 1993:2).

The current system of holding the 43 forces of England and Wales accountable has been characterized as 'the tripartite structure of police accountability'. Established under the 1964 Police Act, following the deliberations of the 1962 Royal commission on the police, this remains the fundamental basis of police governance. The tripartite system distributes responsibilities between the Home Office, the local police authority, and the chief constable of the force. Legislation since the 1964 Police Act, including the 1994 Police and Magistrates' Court Act

(PMCA), the Police Act 1996, and the Police Reform Act 2002, has endorsed the tripartite arrangements, though not always uncontroversial (Reiner, 1993). This tripartite system provides accountability to Parliament through the Home Secretary (who has responsibility for policing policy including centrally set 'Key Priorities' that are formalized within a National Policing Plan). It also provides accountability to local populations through the local police authorities, which comprise of elected local councillors, magistrates and business representatives nominated by a central panel. In practice chief constables also respond to policies and circulars set by the executive (the Home Office and Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary). The autonomy of chief constables is arguable limited by the current arrangements, although case-law has made it clear that the police are servants of the law in terms of their operational discretion, are not subject to administrative or political direction in this respect Figure 1 below provides an overview of the tripartite system and where it is situated constitutionally (Mawby & Wright, 2005:4).



Police Legislations Since 1990s

The 1990s were a crucial time of reform in the system of police governance, with the central piece of legislation during this time being the Police and Magistrates'' Court Act 1994 (later consolidated under the Police Act 1996). Police authorities became independent bodies set apart from the local government structure. Their duty under the Act was to provide for an 'efficient and effective' police force. Moreover, the size of most authorities was restricted to 17 members, consisting of nine councillors, three magistrates and five 'independent' members. These independent members were to be appointed according to complex process but with significant local involvement. In addition, the chief constable drafts the local policing plan and sets the annual budget and may now be subject to fixed-term contract. The act also provided the Home Office with a number of new powers. Greater power was given by the act to the Home Secretary as well to join police forces. Finally, under the new system, the Home Office relinquished details control over staffing and capital spending budgets within police forces and henceforth simply provided an annual cash-limited grant to police forces (Jones, 2003:609-10). This provided for greater control of overall spending but less details control over the details of what the grants is spent on (Newburn & Jones, 1996).

One purpose of the 1994 Police and Magistrates' Court Act (PMCA) was to strengthen the role of local police authorities by giving them additional powers, including involvement in developing local policing plans. However, the 2002 Police Reform Act moved greater power towards the centre through, inter alia, the introduction of the Home Secretary's rolling three year National Policing Plan. The act also has significant implications for the 'pluralisation' of policing. It enables chief constables to designate police authority support staff as 'community support officers', investigating officers, and detention officers or escort officers in order to support police officers in tackling low-level crime and anti-social behaviour. In addition, it introduced arrangements for the authorization of district and street wardens and embraced the idea of the 'extended police family' (Jones, 2003).

Table (1) shows the current balance of powers and the respective responsibilities of the tripartite structure. Scotland, unlike England and Wales prior to the 1964 Police Act, already had a tripartite system of police governance, in which the local authority itself was the local authority (Walker, 2000).

Nevertheless, reforms in England and Wales have followed a similar pattern in Scotland, the primary legislation being the police (Scotland) Act 1967 (Oliver, 1997).

Table 1: The Tripartite System under the Police and Magistrates' Courts Act 1994 and the Police Reform Act 2002

HOME SECRETARY /HOME OFFICE	LOCAL POLICE AUTHORITY	CHIEF CONSTABLE
Determines key national policing objective .Produces Plan and presents it to Parliament. Direct police authorities to establish performance targets. Can require a police force to take remedial action if HMIC judges them inefficient or ineffective. Determines cash grant to police authorities Approves appointment of chief constable Issue statutory codes of practice and directions to police authorities Has authority to order amalgamations	Responsible for maintaining an effective and efficient force Determines local policing priorities. Produces a three-year strategy consistent with national policing plan. Determines arrangements for public consultation Established as precepting body responsible for budgeting and resource allocation Responsible for appointment and dismissal of the chief constable (subject to ratification by the secretary of state). Can require suspension or early dismissal on public interest grounds Membership of 17 (usually). 9 from local government 5 local independents' 3 magistrates	Responsible for direction and control of the force Responsible for operational control Drafts local policing plan in conjunction with local police authority Responsible for achieving local and national policing objectives Responsible for resource allocation Chief constables and deputy assistant chief constables on fixed term contracts

Source: Mawby and Wright 2003: 185

Impediments in Police Accountability

The implementation of the 1964 police Act is the beginning of the end for local police forces in England. Police forces are, unjustly, becoming more accountable to the central government and financial goals rather than being accountable to the

taxpayers and the law. The continuation of such a trend will lead to a down spiralling of police accountability to the law and the public.

Although the issue of police accountability was dealt with in the 1964 Police Act, it is still a major issue in policing and criminology studies today. Accountability can be defined as "the liability to account for decisions after it has been taken" (Baldwin and Kinsey 1982: 106). This is often confused with the idea of control .Control " … exists where influence is exerted in making a decision" (Baldwin and Kinsey, 1982:106). It has been said that modern day Chief Constables are accountable to Police Authorities even though in the Royal Commission on the Police reported in 1962 stated that the Chief Constables should be accountable to no one for enforcement policies (Baldwin and Kinsey 1982: 106).

The traditional governments' commitment to making public services more 'business-like' in their management was, of course, to enlarge the local police forces and police authorities. Under the Police and Magistrates' Courts Act 1994 the traditional role of the police authority as a mainly elected adjunct to the district Council was to be significantly diluted as a consequence of the then government's espoused aim to improve the efficiency of police forces (Loveday, 2000). In what proved to be a bogus claim, the same government radically reduced the membership of local police authorities, from around 30 members to 16, while requiring the new authorities, along with the Home secretary, to jointly select 'independents' nominations to make these bodies more 'representative of the community'. It is difficult to note that while the Conservative Home Secretary, Michael Howard, was to claim to seek wider social representation; ultimately those independents that were to be selected were drawn overwhelmingly from professional and/ or business backgrounds (Loveday, 1995). The reasoning, backing up the claim that Chief Constables are accountable to Police Authorities is due to their responsibility for annual police force budgets (Loveday, 2000:215).

Due to the fact that the Police Authorities have control over the budget it is necessary that the Chief Constables try to work with the authorities in order to assure that their budgets are able to maintain the entire force. In this way, it seems as though the Police Authority has more control over the Chief Constables than the Chief Constables being accountable to them. The police authority is also responsible for "drawing up the Local Policing Plan each year. Within the latter, the police authority is able to identify local policing objectives and targets for the police force on an annual basis. The same policing plan will also accommodate

those national key objectives identified for the forthcoming year by the Home Secretary" (Loveday, 2000:215). This is evidence that the police authority has a great deal of control over local police forces. They are able to set the budget of the force and advise the chief constable what the force should be prioritizing. It seems absurd to impose these goals on all local police forces, considering the fact that certain types of crimes are distinctive of different communities. The local police should create local police objectives with the input of the community. In the early 1980s, the Scarman Report into the disturbance in Brixton argued that the police had lost the confidence of local populations, particularly in many inner-city areas with high concentrations of minority ethnic communities (Scarman, 1981).

Police Community Consultative Groups established under paragraph 106 of the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act. They are local consultative committees that aim to promote communication and consultative between local policing commanders and communities. Research evidence suggests they non-adversarial poorly attended and non-representative. They have no powers and tend to be a forum for the police to explain their policies and activities (Morgan, 1992). Although both Police and Criminal Evidence Act of 1984 and the Police Act of 1996 have established police / community consultation groups via the police authority, they have not proved to be effective (Loveday, 2000:216). The community members that tend to take part in communicating with the police are not representative of the whole communities, but only a portion of it; and therefore they do not offer an accurate account of the communities' needs (Loveday, 2000:217). It can be concluded that it is still; therefore, the responsibility of setting local policing goals is still in the hands of the Police Authorities and the Home Secretary.

It is arguable that the Police Authorities are accountable to the Home Secretary. "The police authority does appoint, and may dismiss 'in the interest of efficiency' the chief constable (as well as deputy and assistant chief constables). However these powers are subject to the Home Secretary's approval" (Reiner 1993:17). While the police authority had responsibility for appointing the chief constable (and other senior command posts within the force), this power was crucially subject to the approval of the Home Secretary. Other police authority powers were also subject to Home Office and/ or chief constable co-operation (Jones, 2003). That is, chief constables were required to give account for their decisions to various authorities, but were under no legal requirement actually to take account of any critical response (Reiner, 1995).

The police are subject to the rule of law and to legislation, which is the product of Parliament. Although judicial processes and case law may affect the interpretation of legislation, and guidelines on procedure may be issued by the executive, the legislature is the origin from which the powers of police are derived. In this sense, they are subordinated to the law and to the law alone. In relation to policy, however, the major public powers of government are vested in ministers who are servants of the Crown (Turpin, 1995). Police also have allegiance to the Crown, which serves instead of the 'state' as a central organising principle of government. This is evident that the Police Authority does have to answer to another party before finalizing a decision. This makes the Police Authority a more democratic institution. However, the Home Secretary does not seem to have to answer to another party except in extreme cases. "The Home Secretary does wield more formidable powers over chief constables and these powers (unlike the police authorities) are not subjected to the arbitration of a third party (although they are judicially reviewable for complete unreasonable)" (Reiner 1993:17-18).

The Home Secretary according to this source has more control over the police institution than seems logical. It would only make sense that there was a circular path of accountability between the local police force, the police authorities, the Home Secretary and the judicial system. With the 1964 Police Act, as stated earlier, there was the creation of the 'Tripartite system of police governance'. This is demonstrated with a triangle, at the top of the triangle is the Home Secretary, and at the bottom corners are the Police Authorities and the Chief Constable. With this representation of police accountability it suggests that the Home Secretary is at the top, there is nobody for the Home Secretary to be accountable to. This leaves plenty of room for the Home Secretary to exert powers that may be deemed unnecessary; however, (from the source above) it is evident that judicial reviews only accurse in cases were the Home Secretary's acts are *completely* unreasonable. That idea is too vague; what is a completely unreasonable act to the judicial system? It appears that the Home Secretary reserves too much power over police authorities and local police forces.

It is also been argued that Police Authorities do not achieve what they were set up to do because they do not use their powers to their full potential (Baldwin and Kinsey 1982:109). " a survey in 1976 revealed that seven Police Authorities *never* asked for reports from their chief constable and twenty-four did so infrequently" (Baldwin and Kinsey 1982:109). This source shows the failures of Police Authorities. They were given certain powers to achieve goals of improving police

accountability and are not using those powers in the correct manner. In the cases of the 1976 survey, it is a huge problem that the Police Authorities do not request frequent reports from the Chief Constables. If it is up to the Police Authorities to create an annual budgets they would need something to base that the budget on, without a reports from the Chief Constable of some kind, the authorities would fail to make an appropriate budgets for the police force. However, other evidence shows that even with reports from the chief constable it is very difficult for authorities to accurately judge the performance of a police force. "Nor was the police authority able to make a real judgment of police efficiency through league tables or other performance indicators as it had no source of information or analysis that was independent of the police"(loveday,2000:216). It appears from this that the police authorities are not able to properly work with the chief constables, as they do not have enough information. Therefore, police authorities have a vast amount of power for fundamentally no purpose.

Although the majority of police are concerned more with local policing, national policing is an issue (Loveday, 2000:225). However, with an expansion for the need for national policing there is an expansion of the Home Secretary. "As such, these developments may only have further enhanced the responsibilities of the Home Secretary which have been substantially expanded under successive legislation" (Loveday, 2000:225). With the expansion of the national police, legislation is giving the Home Secretary more power. As stated above, the Home Secretary already holds a vast amount of power over the local policing institutions. Any additional powers to the office of the Home Secretary would be dangerous to the justice of the policing system on a local and national level.

Accountability is a tricky subject. There is no one right answer on how to deal with the problem of accountability. "It seems there are two problems with proposal on accountability. First, the extent to which it is in practice possible to exert increased democratic control over policing policies without running over into strictly operational matters. Second, the question whether those arguing for more democratic control make any such distinction between operational and 'wider policy' matters" (Baldwin and Kinsey 1982:110-111).

As seen from this source, there are two major factors in accountability, policy and operation. Scholars who argue for democratic control ask for public participation in policing by voting in all members of the police authority. While this would be an

improvement to the police authority, it would also be in the interest of the public to find a way for all members to have an input on police goals and objectives.

One recommendation would be a yearly census mailed out to all homes in a police district. This could help reach the public that is not able to participate in community / police liaison groups already in place. This would create a greater sense of police accountability to the public. It would also be a grate second source for the police authorities to use, alongside Chief Constables reports, in order to make proper annual budgets and annual policing goals.

Secondly, the judicial system should take a more active role in policing via judicial review of the Home Secretary and Police Authorities. This would create a more circular means of police accountability, making sure that no one section of the parties involved with policing gains more control over the other.

Thirdly, a possible separate office within the Home Secretary's office that deals with only national policing issues would help limit the influence of the Home Secretary. This would give separation of powers to the Home Secretary's office and possibly prevent corruption that may occur form holding too much power.

Finally, there should be a sort of community committee that keeps their eye on the local police authorities. If police authorities are not using their position to accurately hold the chief constable accountable to them, then the Home Secretary should know about it. if there was some sort of secretarial community office that was able to demand reports from the police authorities then that would , possibly , help improve the strength of the police authorities in holding the local police accountable .

Conclusions

The 1964 Policing Act was the beginning of the continuous changing face of the police force in Britain. Although England's police forces have been rooted in the tradition of local policing, that is rapidly changing to a more centralized police force. The Home Secretary holds a large amount of power in concern with police accountability; yet, the Home Secretary is not accountable to anyone (except in extreme cases, in which they are accountable to the judicial system).

The Police Authority, which is set up to manage police force, is not a success in many areas. They fail to make appropriate policing recommendations for local police force, do not properly include community input in recommendations, and they do not request frequent reports from Chief Constables in order to manage the force more effectively. If the Police Authority is whom the Chief Constables are accountable to, then the need to include the taxpaying community members more in coming to policing conclusions. There needs to be a complete change of face to the policing institutions in order to achieve any real amount of change in the system. A start would be to include community members and judiciaries more in police accountability issues. They also need to make the police authorities accountable to the community, to make sure that the chief constables are being held accountable to someone. Without a complete change in the system of policing and police, accountability there will be no way to solve any of problems with the system. Therefore, it is necessary for the demand of change.

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The Process of Judicial Appointments in Pakistan under the 1973 Constitution

(A Comparative Analysis of the Constitutional Provisions over the Process of Appointment of Judges of Superior Judiciary before and after the Eighteenth Amendment in the light of the Judgments of the Supreme Court)

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Abstract

The process of the appointment of judges of the superior judiciary has been the subject of great interest in Pakistan. In the Al-Jihad trust case (1996), the Supreme Court's interpretation of the constitutional provisions resulted in the power of appointment fall into the hands of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. This did not go well with the legislature and the executive, since they were left with no meaningful role in such appointments. The political setup established after the general elections gave a new facet to the process of appointment by adding Article 175A in the Constitution with the objective of balancing the role of the executive and the judiciary in such appointments.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse and critically evaluate constitutional provisions relating to the process of judicial appointments before the Eighteenth Amendment, and the reasons for altering the process under Eighteenth Amendment in the light of the Supreme Court judgments.

Keywords: Appointment of judges; the Supreme Court of Pakistan; 18th Amendment; Al-Jihad Trust case

Introduction

The process of appointment of judges has always been of great interest and significance in democracies. The interest proceeds from the fact that the process of judicial appointment is invariably linked with judicial independence which is the corner stone of almost all types of democracies. The primary objective of judicial independence may be summarized as

> The court shall decide cases on the basis of impartial assessment of facts and its independent and impartial application of law over it, and there should be no impression of influence, direct or indirect from any internal or outside authority (United States Institute of Peace, 2009).

Wealth of deliberations and discussions has been made around the world over the process of judicial appointments with the objective to make judiciary independent from the executive and legislative control in the discharge of its judicial function. The approach towards the process may differ from one state to another, but the diversity in the process of judicial appointments in different democracies itself shows their interest in respect of significance and importance of judicial independence. (United States Institute of Peace, 2009)

The situation in Pakistan is no different from the above discussion. The constitutional framers while drafting the constitution kept in mind the fundamental principle of judicial independence and different constitutional provisions (Article 175, (3), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973) in letter and spirit including the preamble is reflective of the same principle.

The judicial independence is even more essential to countries like Pakistan and India which has written constitution. The Constitution prescribes tracheotomy of powers of all governmental organs and adds limits to their powers by providing the system of checks and balances, such scheme of Constitutional powers and checks and balances could work only when the judicial organ is independent in its judicial affairs.

Constitution and political History of Pakistan witnessed a great constitutional duel over the process of appointment of judges between the executive and judiciary in order to have final say in the matter. The importance of the process of judicial appointments lead to a series of constitutional events, showing the interest of the legislature and executive on one hand, and the effort of the supreme court to

liberate itself from the Executive control on the other. Such efforts and struggle between the governmental organs could broadly be categorized in to three phases in our constitutional history.

1. The first phase which started from the passing of Constitution of Pakistan in 1973 till the passing Supreme Court Decision in Al-Jehad Trust case in 1996.
2. The second phase started from the passing of Supreme Court Decision in Al-Jehad Trust Case in 1996 which lasted till the passing of Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment Act.
3. The third phase is on-going; it started with the passing of Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment Act, which altered the original constitutional process.

1. The First Phase: The Process of Judges' Appointment (1973 till 1996)

The constitutional framers expressly excluded the role of Parliament in the process of appointment and required two Constitutional functionaries i.e. President of Pakistan and Chief Justice of Supreme court, to appoint judges for superior judiciary through the process of consultation; (Article 177 before Constitution Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010) of course the President in parliamentary democracy is to act on the advice of the Prime Minister (Article 90, Constitution of Pakistan). The process required the two Constitutional functionaries to engage in consultation in case a vacancy occurred at the superior courts. A judge would be appointed by the President pursuant to consultation with the Chief Justice of Pakistan. (Article 177, Constitution of Pakistan before Constitution Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010)

The participatory process between the Executive and Judiciary was, in principle quiet sound and logical in order to ensure the appointment of judges for superior judiciary in a fair and transparent manner. The inclusion of Judiciary in the process of appointment surely was commendable on the part of the constituent assembly.

The events succeeding to the passing of Constitution of Pakistan which largely changed the structure of our constitution through Eight Amendment which made President all powerful in the running the affairs of the state, including the handling

of the affairs of the superior judiciary through the power of appointment, tenure of service and their removal(Constitution Eight Amendment Act, 1985)

The original process though transparent and fair, was greatly manipulated by the Chief Executive in order to appoint likeminded judges in the superior judiciary. The substantial role of Chief justice of the Supreme Court was taken as a mere formality and those judges were appointed who could serve well to the wishes of Chief Executive rather than to the people through justice (khan, Hamid 2007 pp.446-447).

The outward fair process of judicial appointment was made controversial and was hugely manipulated by the Executive, by appointing like-minded judges to secure partial and friendly decisions. The President in case of vacancies in superior judiciary would simply inform the Chief Justice in respect of a specific candidate, and such communication of the wishes of the Executive was taken as consultation, resultantly the candidate was appointed by the President regardless of the fact that Chief Justice was holding contrary view over the nominee. Such executive interpretation of the constitutional provision in practice almost excluded the role of judiciary in appointment and meant that the executive had the sole power in appointment for filling vacancies for superior judiciary.

The Executive interpretation of the constitutional appointments has been, as time witnessed, greatly misused by the executive, hence an important state institution become the judicial manifestation of the will of the executive (Khan, Hamid 2007 pp. 356-364).

2. The Second Phase: Al-Jehad Trust verdict (1996) to 18th amendment (2010)

The Executive control over the judicial appointments was not entirely welcomed by the Supreme Court and it passed a hallmark judgment in 1996 in Al-Jehad trust case. The Supreme Court gave a new dimension to the constitutional provisions thereby limiting the executive role in judicial appointments. The decision came as a reaction to the executive misuse of the constitutional provisions. The court interpreted the Constitutional provisions in order to limit the untrammelled executive powers over the judges' appointment. (Khan, Hamid 2007 pp.449-450)

The series of judgments passed in the second phase not only defined the process of appointment elaborately, but also curtailed the executive role in the process, with the overt objective of making Judiciary independent from Executive control.(Al-Jehad Trust v Federation of Pakistan, 1996, Asad Ali v Federation of Pakistan, 1998, Supreme Court Bar Association v. Federation of Pakistan, 2002).

The famous and the foremost judgment titled "Al-Jehad Trust 1996" exhaustively defined the word "consultation". The Supreme Court in its reasoning stated that the process of consultation should be effective, meaningful, purposive, consensus oriented so that there should be no room for arbitrariness and unfair play. The reasoning further stated that in absence of strong and cogent reasons to the contrary, the opinion of the Chief justice of the Supreme Court with regard to the suitability of the candidate will be binding on the president (Al-Jehad Trust vs. the Federation of Pakistan, 1996).

The judgments passed in the second phase are noteworthy as they gave a new outlook to the otherwise apparently clear constitutional provisions.

Important features of the judgments were;

1. Reducing the role of the executive in the process of judge's appointment.
2. Liberal definition of the word "consultation".
3. The judgment required that Consultation between the two constitutional functionaries be documented.
4. In case the President rejects the nomination of the Chief justice, the rejection must be supported by sound reasons.
5. The Primacy of the opinion of chief justice over the President in the process of appointment.

The judgments had great bearing over the Judicial appointing process, though it provided effective mechanism of checks and control over the executive power in appointments, by specifying the role of the President, it otherwise allowed the Chief Justice to have final say in the whole process, and inadvertently or otherwise, the whole power of appointment fall into the hands of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (Khan, Hamid 2007 p.450).

The reasoning of the Supreme Court in those judgments could not be justified on the following grounds.

1. The Constitutional process of judicial appointment was consultative where the input of the Chief justice was required to be taken into consideration by the Executive. The process was based on "consultation" and not "concurrence" and it was never intended by the constitutional framers that the consent of the Chief Justice must be required in order to appoint judges for superior judiciary. (Gupta, Harish, 2009)
2. The reasoning of the Supreme Court was flawed on another count as the decision gave the primacy of opinion of the Chief Justice over the President in the process. The primacy of the opinion did not find source in the Constitutional provisions.
3. The judgment of the Supreme Court laid the entire burden of rejecting the nomination on the President.
4. The question of suitability of the candidate was impliedly considered to be inherent in the selection by the Chief justice, in the decision, which meant that if the Chief Justice nominates any candidate for judgeship, the selection would always be coupled with his suitability to the office, and it was up to the president to cancel the nomination of the Chief Justice on sound reasons if he was dissatisfied over the nominee. Hence the consultation was defined in negative.

The interpretation of the Constitutional Provisions over the process of judicial appointment concentrated all the powers in the hands of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The so called progressive interpretations of the Constitutional provisions lead to the same problem i.e. the control of one institution over the process of judicial appointment. The Chief Justice took the centre stage as he could now control the Executive by having like-minded judges in the judicial office on one hand; it also empowered him to use such power so as to control his colleagues in the performance of their judicial function on the other.

In fact the Constitution gives enormous administrative powers to the Chief Justice, like role as Chairman in Supreme Judicial Council for taking disciplinary actions against judges(Article 209, Constitution of Pakistan, 1973), setting up different benches of Supreme Court and transfer of cases from one bench to another,

Adding the power of appointment to His already many, allowed the Chief Justice to be the ultimate arbiter in all the affairs and decisions of the Supreme Court, which meant that Chief Justice could not only control the executive through his decisions, but also his own colleagues and subordinates in the performance of judicial functions.

3. The Third Phase: After the 8th constitutional amendment act 2010

Judiciary getting all powerful in appointments didn't go well with the political class, since they were left with no meaningful role in the appointments. The legal fraternity and the intelligentsia did not approve the same also because the Chief Justice become all powerful in handling the affairs of Supreme Court and ultimately made him supra Constitutional entity, which was never intended even by the constitutional framers.

In order to bring reforms into the process, the political parties agreed to amend the constitution after the 2008 general elections (Charter of Democracy, May 2006).

The political setup established after the 2008 election took the task of revising the Constitution and to undo all those unconstitutional amendments that has materially compromised with the Federal-Parliamentary nature of the Constitution of Pakistan. A number of constitutional amendments were made to different provisions of the constitution in order to achieve the following three objectives (Constitution Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010).

1. Undo the Amendments added into the Constitution by the Military Generals that has materially affected the nature of the Constitution.
2. Resort to federating character by abolishing the concurrent list, giving provinces complete autonomy over subjects not mentioned in federal legislative list.
3. Enact a new process for appointment of judges for superior judiciary, taking into account of the past bitter experiences.

Consequently a whole new system was envisaged in the judicial process of appointment through the addition of article 175A in the Constitution. The article established two different bodies exclusively tasked to appoint judges for superior judiciary (Article 175A, Constitution of Pakistan). These bodies are

A. Judicial Commission (here-in-after referred to as the Commission) and
B. Parliamentary Committee (here-in-after referred to as the Committee)

The primary function of Commission is to nominate and recommend a candidate to Committee, while the later could also discuss the fitness of the candidate for the judgeship, and could reject the nominee if it holds an opinion otherwise.

The Judicial Commission

The newly added article 175A through Eighteenth Amendment diffused the power of appointment from Chief Justice to body of persons representing judiciary, Executive and Bar, which meant that instead of the Chief Justice alone, the power to approve and recommend the nominee to Committee now rests with Commission to which all members including the Chief Justice has single vote and the decision on the nomination would be taken by majority.

The members of the Commission under the original article 175a included Chief Justice, two next most Senior Judges of Supreme Court, Federal Minister for Law and Justice, a retired Judge nominated by the Chief justice, Attorney General of Pakistan and a Senior Advocate nominated by the Pakistan Bar Council Article. (175A, (2), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973) The representation of members from different quarters meant that variety of input, knowledge and information can be at hand in judicial appointments, from judges' members from executive and lawyers community. The strength of the judicial members ensured that judges will have the final say in recommending a nominee to Committee.

Thus the process gave a fair and equitable chance to people representing different section, while retaining the majority view with the judges of Supreme Court.

The Parliamentary Committee

The salient feature of the whole new process of judicial appointment under article 175A was that, it not only decentralized the power of the Chief justice into members of the Commission, it also rationally diffused the power of the executive rather taken away from individuals(President and Prime Minister) to a body of members constituting Committee.

The members of the Committee are to be nominated by the leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition from the National Assembly and Senate respectively (Article 175 A, (9), (10), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973). The number of the members of the Committee is eight, out of whom four shall be selected from national assembly and four from senate, with equal representation from the treasury and the opposition. (Article 175 A, (9), (10), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973)

The process of judicial appointment is required to be initiated by the Commission, the nomination sent by the Commission by vote of majority may either be approved or rejected by the Committee, but in case the Committee decides to veto the nomination of the Commission, it requires ¾ majority of its total membership, failing which the nomination of the Commission will automatically be confirmed and will be sent for the approval and confirmation of the President.(Article 175A (12), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973) Furthermore the Committee is required to take action on the recommendation of the Commission within fourteen days, in default of which nomination would be considered confirmed (Article 175A (12), the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).

The Passing of the 19th Amendment Act in Response to the Recommendations by the Supreme Court in its Short Order over the Challenge of Certain Provisions of the 18th Amendment

Soon after the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment Act in 2010, certain Amendments of the Act were challenged before the Supreme Court under its Original Jurisdiction 184(3) on various grounds including the issue that addition of article 175A violates one of the fundamental principles of the constitution, i.e. the independence of judiciary.

The Supreme Court instead of disposing all the issues simultaneously passed an interim order recommending parliament to make few amendments in article 175A, so that the process of judge's appointment should be harmonized with the fundamental constitutional principle of independence of judiciary (The Supreme Court Bar Association vs. the Federation of Pakistan, 2010). The Supreme Court could in this case, by following the pattern of Indian constitutional precedents, might have declared such amendment null and void on the touchstone of basic constitutional principles, but instead the court avoided doing so because of the stance taken by the parliament itself in passing the 18th amendment act that,

"**fundamental principles of the constitutions are not altered**" (Cited in the Supreme Court Bar Association vs. the Federation of Pakistan, 2010). So the objective of reference to parliament was based on similar intention by the Supreme Court. It is worth mentioning here that the decision of the Supreme Court is one of its kinds, as the court has never in its history sent back any constitutional amendment with recommendation to parliament.

The Supreme Court in its interim order made the following recommendations in respect of article 175A (The Supreme Court Bar Association vs. the Federation of Pakistan, 2010).

1. It was recommended that the number of judges of the Supreme Court in Commission be increased from three to five.
2. It was also recommend that the proceedings of the Committee be held in camera, as per the mandate in article 68 of the constitution of Pakistan.
3. It was recommended that the record of the proceedings of the Committee be kept in writing.
4. It was further recommended that sound reasons be recorded by the Committee in case it rejects the nomination of the Commission.
5. It was recommended that it be expressly included in the Constitutional provision that the power of judicial review shall be exercised by the Supreme Court over the decision of the Committee.
6. Lastly, it was recommended that, in case the Supreme Court cancels the veto of the Committee, it would ipso facto confirm the nomination of the Commission.

Passing of the 19th Amendment Act in Consequence of the Short Order of the Supreme Court

The short order of the Supreme Court was immediately followed by the Nineteenth Constitutional amendment, (Constitution Nineteenth Amendment Act, 2011) altering article 175A as per recommendation of the Supreme Court (The Supreme Court Bar Association vs. the Federation of Pakistan, 2010) Overtly, all the recommendations of the Supreme Court were added into the Nineteenth Amendment Act with the deviation that, in case the Committee rejects the nomination, the Commission is required to send a fresh nomination, implicating

that the decision of the Committee is not subject to judicial review before the Supreme Court (Article 175A (12), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).

Rejection of the Nominations by the Parliamentary Committee

Events succeeding to the Nineteenth Amendment lead to the filling of the Constitutional Petition before the Supreme Court in which veto of the Committee was challenged on various grounds, including that the action of the Parliamentary Committee was beyond its Constitutional mandate.

Judgment of the Supreme Court Interpreting Article 175a

The detailed judgment of the Supreme Court not only decided the issue as to the justifiability of the decision of the Committee but it also elaborated on the significance and the role of the two Constitutional bodies established under article 175A (Sindh High Court Bar Association vs. Federation of Pakistan, 2011).

The important features of the detailed Judgment interpreting article 175A were:

1. The Supreme Court reserves its Constitutional right of judicial review over the decision of the Committee.
2. The judgment defined the Significance and role of Commission and Committee in the process of judicial appointment.
3. The judgment categorically stated that previous judgments of the Supreme Court including Al-Jehad Trust would remain intact and would regulate the future appointments of judges for superior judiciary. The Court further stated that rational and objective of the process remains the same as provided originally in the Constitution. The Court said that the process of Judicial appointments involved Executive and the Judiciary, which has not been altered by the insertion of article 175A hence the previous judgments of the Supreme Court would be applicable in future with full force.

The decision of the Court was quiet meaningful as it has reversed the whole new process of judicial appointments under article 175A to the one existed prior to the Eighteenth Amendment. The interpretation of article 175A by the Supreme Court may be critically analysed as follows:

1. The interpretation of the Supreme Court on the role of the Committee materially affected the Constitutional significance of the participatory process, by again limiting the role of the Committee in judicial appointments. Practically the Committee was left with no meaningful role in the process of appointment because they could only discuss those matters which fall outside the ambit of Commission.
2. The Supreme Court in the judgment stated that it reserves its Constitutional right of judicial review over the decision of the Committee but it remained silent on the justifiability of the proceedings of the Commission.
3. The interpretation of the Supreme Court reversed the whole new process established under the Eighteenth Amendment to the previous one. The statement of the Supreme Court with regard to the applicability of the Al-Jehad Trust judgment meant that the role of the executive would remain meaningless under the new process of appointment.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion reveals the fact that Supreme Court has shown great interest over the provisions relating to judicial appointments and virtually re written the Constitutional provisions relating to the judges appointment since 1996. This interest reflects the past and bitter experiences where the role of the executive was condemnable in matters relating to judiciary, but to point fingers at executive alone would be unfair, judiciary also played its fair share in undermining the democratic process in the same period. Hence it was desirable that the institutions have moved on from their past position in order to create a better participatory approach. The reason in support of the argument is that our Governmental structure under the Constitution is based on the principle of separation of powers and checks and balances, which means that the governmental functions could not be carried out unless all the governmental organs cooperate and coordinate with each other.

The judicial process of appointment added through the Eighteenth Amendment appeared to be far more transparent and effective comparing to the previous one, but the judicial interpretation has in essence changed and equated the present process with the previous one with the only exception that the present process involves five judges of the supreme court in comparison to the Chief Justice alone in the previous process of appointment. The balance of powers maintained by the Legislature under the Amendment has shifted the balance again towards the Judiciary both in the Judicial Commission and in the judicial review before the

Supreme Court. Having said this there are some positive points in the present system that may still work in favour of the principle of checks and balances over the role of the Supreme Court in the process of appointments. The diffusion of power from the Chief Justice to judges of the Supreme Court input of other stake holders especially the Bar Council in the process of appointments are noteworthy.

It maybe reiterated here again that primacy of the role of the judges in judicial commission and the justifiability of the decision of the Parliamentary Committee before the Supreme Court ultimately rests the power of appointment in the office of the Supreme Court, this contention is quiet substantial, but still the process has within it enough capacity that, if the same is applied in true spirit, it would make appointments in a fair and transparent manner.

The present system has indirectly followed the pattern of appointments under the Indian Constitution, where the judges of the Supreme Court play material role in the process of judicial appointments. The experience of the Indian constitutional history shows that such system has proved to be meaningful and has served in their system for attaining the ultimate objective of judicial independence. For us it is required that we should allow this system to develop in a free and democratic and transparent environment. The process though not free from flaws, but if the constitutional functionaries confine themselves to the constitutional limits, it would help the process to evolve and develop in achieving the constitutional objective of judicial independence.

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Gendered Voices: Human Rights and Literary Discourse

You don't speak Pukhto [Pashto]; you do Pukhto.—Pashto proverb[1]

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Abstract

This paper analyses whether Pakhtun culture shapes discourse and gender identities or discourse and gender identities shape Pakhtun culture. The paper begins with the definition of culture and discourse that I use in this paper. The respondents' answers are based on literary and human rights discourse, highlighting the cultural impact on literature and subsequently their understanding of human rights. In my findings the linguistic markers present in all respondents' discourse include usage of evaluative clauses, agency, moral geography, linguistic gender markers, "I" →"you"/"we" and "you" →"we" transitions, lamination/voices and code-switching. I analyze these linguistic findings by following theoretical paradigms explicated by Althusser (1971), Pêcheux (1982), and Leap (2003). Thus, concluding that Pakhtun culture primarily shapes discourse and gender roles.

Keywords: Pakhtun culture, discourse, gender roles, human rights, literature

Introduction

The debate whether culture shapes discourse or discourse shapes culture apparently seems rather clichéd now. In the present neoliberal world both cultures and discourse have transcended spatial and temporal spaces by forming meta-cultures and meta-discourses in cyber space. Yet, there still exist cultures and discourses, unquestionably affected by the cyber culture yet to a large extent

remain rooted in their own cultural value system, which are generating the culture-discourse debate even today. The influence of Pakhtun culture on language and discourse in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan invites such interrogation. Culture can have many definitions but in this paper I refer to culture as:

> Symbolic behaviour, patterned organizations of, perceptions of, and beliefs about the world in symbolic terms. According to this definition, the locus of cultural behaviour can be single individual. It is more typically manifested in or shaped by group of individuals (Sherzer, 1987:295).

As such, I also follow Sherzer's (1987:295) definition of discourse:

> Discourse is a level of or component of language use, related to but distinct from grammar. It can be oral or written and can be appropriated in textual or sociocultural and social-interactional terms.

In this paper I am using only a part of the text from six respondents: 3 female and three male writers/poets**.** My analysis is based on the answers to two questions, as evident from the discourse: i) what are human rights? Ii) Do writers (critics and poets) have any rights? What? With answers to these questions I have attempted to assess:

i. Can linguistic markers in a conversation or text suggest gender identities and roles in Pukhtoon culture?
ii. What are those linguistic cues that suggest the role of culture in development of the respective gender identities and how do they "speak out" in male/female discourse?
iii. Therefore, does the Pukhtoon culture shape discourse and gender identity or discourse and gender identity shape the Pukhtoon culture?

I further attempt to analyse the discourse of the various respondents following discourse analysis models suggested by Julia Penelope (1990), Jane Hill (1995, 2005) and Barbara Johnstone (2008). To draw my conclusion, I follow Althusser (1971), Pecheux (1975) and William Leap (2003). The foremost thing that I want to see is if a particular discourse can give clues as to the gender identity of the speaker? What does one say or not say that linguistically helps determining gender role?[2]

Following Penelope (1990), I am looking for presence or absence of *agency*, *deixis*, *false deixis*, and *exhortatory* phrases. Following Hill (1995) I shall be

studying the voice system particularly the *lamination* framework suggesting multiple voices: the neutral respondent, involved respondent or an evaluator and rhetorical strategies especially pertaining to *moral geography* and *temporal sequencing*. I analyse *evaluative clauses/*remarks as suggested by Hill (1995, 2005); and Johnstone (2008). Besides, I also look at the use of pronouns especially the shift from the personal "*I*" to the collective "*we*," and from the generic "*one*" or second person "*you*" to the collective "*we*." In the following responses I also try to evaluate if certain linguistic and cultural discursive markers can inform the reader/audience about the gender of the speaker, particularly at present when gender-neutral language is academically encouraged.

The following conversation took place entirely in Pashto. The linguistic markers that this respondent uses consist of lexical choices suggesting gender identity, evaluative clauses, repetition, no agents (or agency), and reference to moral (cultural) geography.

001. **Anoosh Khan (AK)**: What are human rights?
002. **Respondent #1 (SS)**: Consider everyone equal
003. **SS**: transcending race, ethnicity, colour
004. and
005. to consider everyone just a human.
006. People have difficulties
007. and
008. try to solve their problems
009. irrespective of colour, caste and creed.
010. I don't believe only in gender
011. but
012. in humanity
013. and
014. follow Rahman Baba's [Abdur Rahman] philosophy
015. to do unto others what you want for yourself.
016. What you sow that you reap
017. so
018. work…
019. or the wellbeing of others.
020. **AK**: Have you ever thought of writers/critics having any rights?
021. **AK**: What?
022. **SS:** True writers don't claim rights
023. they consider it their duty

024. to serve humanity
025. in the form of writing and their creative thoughts…
026. usually face problems with such thoughts.
027. …not business minded.

Looking at the above discourse, the only clue by which I attempt to guess the respondent's gender is maybe in L.10, "I don't believe only in gender;" proving her to be a woman because a man would be more careful to say this in order to be politically correct, under the circumstances, when the discourse is about literature and human rights; only a woman, in this particular context, I believe, can take the risk to be so blatant with words.

In the above discourse the speaker's answer from LL. 001-009 has no agency. Penelope (1990:144) states:

We're supposed to omit agency only when it is already explicit in the context and can, therefore, be easily recovered from what has already been said…. We suppress human agency, and, sometimes, try to imply grander forces at work by doing so, appealing to an unspecified, perhaps illusory, universality or evading the issue of who will be responsible for some action.

The speaker SS, apparently believes in human rights but her definition, in response to my question, does not really clarify "who" 'should consider everyone equal…transcend race, ethnicity, colour, solve [people's] problems.' Whereas, a more affirmative and forthright agency surfaces in L. 010, "I don't believe only in gender;" although the meaning of gender is not very clear here, however L.012 suggests that the speaker means the basic male/female dichotomy by using the word gender because in L.12 the speaker uses "humanity" instead. Notice how in LL. 015-016 there is a shift from the personal pronoun "I" to the second person pronoun "you," when compared to L. 010. On the one hand SS is simply using a Biblical saying (paraphrasing it rather) but on the other, linguistically, using "you" at this point suggests as if throwing away one's responsibility onto others; a detachment of sorts, thus once again pointing to the hesitation of accepting responsibility and a reason for uttering sentences without agency earlier on as well. In fact, this entire discourse seems to be full of evaluative clauses (Hill 2005, Johnstone 2008), especially L.010 and LL. 022-027 where SS herself doesn't really say what she as a writer/poet/critic should be doing but talks about "writers" in a way as if she herself is not really a part of them: "they," the writers, are "out there" or perhaps unconsciously she believes

she already has those rights and does not belong to the terrain of "those" writers who are suffering or lacking something; SS throughout acts as an evaluator rather than a neutral or involved respondent.

Besides, SS in this short discourse has the tendency to repeat herself as is evident in L.003 "transcending race, ethnicity, colour" which is repeated in L.009, "irrespective of caste, colour and creed;" then in L.005 "human" is repeated in L.012 as "humanity;" here the words used maybe different but the idea is the same. This repeated pattern, in few lines, shows some kind of an initial hesitancy, lack of knowledge about the subject or not finding appropriate words. Johnston (2007:211) explains, "Repetitions within utterances is also more common in relatively unplanned discourse than in relatively planned discourse. Often this has to do with…way of repairing potential or actual misunderstandings or incomplete understanding."

As such, SS doesn't only use sayings (as in LL.015-016) to support her claim(s) but in L. 014 also mentions Rahman Baba, a *Sufi* (mystic) Pashto poet of the 18th century. SS claims that for her the definition of human rights exists in the poetry of Rahman Baba. Alluding to the philosophy of a Pashto poet is very plausible and natural for someone who is a Pashto poet herself. However, linguistically, I believe here SS is constructing what Hill (1995:112) would refer to as *moral geography*. Thus, SS is also creating a framework of *lamination* (Hill, 1995:111) giving herself another voice, that is, of Rahman Baba: the poet and the man to assert her claim about what are human rights. SS creates this moral geography by the theme of conversation and reference to the Pashto poet, indicating the ideology of the Pukhtoon culture of which she is a product and which in turn she is reproducing as well. Hence, being a product and a manufacturer of a cultural identity. Or in other words, perhaps SS is doing something that Johnstone (2008:165) may describes as, "metadiscursive strategies—the ways of making discourse be about discourse—speakers can situate themselves outside their words, pointing to the words' origins in others' talk or writing." In SS's case she is referring to the philosophy of the Pashto poet as a basis for her definition of human rights instead of defining it in her own words or with a personal perspective. Perhaps, the reason that she lacks a personal perspective is that Rahman Baba is a male poet-philosopher with an "acclaimed voice." As such, this shows that unconsciously SS has been socialized to rely on and/or accept male (poetic) voice(s) which according to the Pakhtun

cultural ideology, is usually "heard" and "followed" more seriously than a female writer or a poet's voice.

The next discourse that I use as an example for analysis comprises of two respondents: respondent #2, AHU and respondent #3, SFK. I interviewed both these respondents simultaneously and their responses were entirely in Pashto. These respondents tend to make use of no agency, switch from "I" to "you" and "we;" they mostly act as evaluators but sometimes become involved respondents as well. These respondents also sketch a moral geography with the hope of getting their social and cultural bearing correct.

028. **Anoosh Khan**: What are human rights?
029. **AHU**: Any day that people give you basic rights
030. are human rights.
031. [give] respect to people:
032. women, servants, husband, children.
033. **SFK**: I believe Pukhtoon women don't have much of human rights
034. like *swara*… (a tribal custom where young girls are married off in order to settle family disputes).
035. [are] dependant on husbands and male members.
036. **AK**: Have you ever thought of writers/critics having any rights?
037. **AK**: What?
038. **SFK**: YES! We should get sometimes.
039. We don't even get money.
040. We sometimes get invitation cards
041. from Karachi.
042. No other benefits.
043. Writers' forum… we spend from our pockets.
044. We have no place to hold our meetings.
045. Men writers have the press club
046. because they are men.
047. **AHU**: We write under very difficult situation.
048. Government should encourage us.
049. They can at least publish one free book.
050. Circulate our books.
051. …Women writers from provinces
052. we got encouraged from Khana-e-Farhang (the Iranian cultural center at Peshawar)
053. not our own provincial government.

The first thing to notice about these two respondents is that SFK begins her answer using "Pukhtoon women…" (L.033), followed by responses in LL. 044-046, "We have no place to hold our meetings. Men writers have the press club because they are men," thereby indicating their own gender. Whereas, interestingly AHU, who answers first, in L. 032 uses "women" (not wives) and "husbands" (not just men) to say she thinks should be respected etc. This particular lexical choice hints that AHU perhaps has a 'husband' but she herself is not amongst the mistreated women or wives and therefore she uses the collective 'women' and does not include wives to counterbalance 'husbands.'

My question was directed both to AHU and SFK together and AHU decided to respond first. However, her immediate response is ambiguous, not really defining human rights, in L. 029, she says, "any day that people give you basic rights" suggests that the day is yet to come for some people. But "people" here is not very clear; it almost sounds agent-less (without agency) because we cannot really understand who these people are or are going to be: does she mean ordinary people? Or higher government authorities? Besides the usage of "you" in the same line (L. 029) is equally vague; who is the "you": herself, me or does she mean everyone generally? And if she just meant everyone generally she could have used the generic "one," "us," "everybody," or "all" etc., instead of "you." Whereas, SFK's response is not really an answer to my question either but she takes the role of an evaluator in L. 033-035, claiming that Pukhtoon women don't have much of human rights. It is not clear if this collective "Pukhtoon women" include her as well. This suggestion of Pukhtoon women being deprived of human rights and thus not being very independent is apparent in the responses of both AHU and SFK because of their later switching to the usage of the collective "we" and "our" in LL.038-058 in order to complement and support each other. In this usage of "we" and "us" (I have underlined the 'we's and 'our's for clarity) I can hear lamination of three voices: first, on the one hand, "we" situates both the respondents in the temporal present as two individuals answering together. Linde (1993:13) believes that "temporal ordering is a fundamental device for making a text coherent;" similarly I believe, that consciousness about temporal togetherness or unity, particularly in conservative cultures, like the Pukhtoon culture to which AHU and SFK belong, leads these respondents towards a more coherent belief about the issues of women in Pukhtoon society. Therefore, on the other hand, "we" is also the shared voice for all Pukhtoon women in general. Finally, the "we" can also mean a collective reference to the female poets and writers.

SFK refers to the Pukhtoon custom of *swara*[3] in LL.034-035 and AHU, in L. 052 refers to Khana-e-Farhang (the Iranian Cultural Centre at Peshawar) for supporting them. Like respondent #1, SS, SFK's referring to a custom that victimizes women and AHU's allusion to a foreign agency for support seems as if these two are sketching a moral geography of sorts. Both of them talk about the female societal victimization and according to them this victimization is caused by men and therefore can be resolved by the male family members, the provincial government or Khana-e-Farhang—all institutions placed above AHU and SFK in the social and cultural hierarchy—thus making these two women dependent on the culturally believed 'higher' authorities.

Like respondent #1, SS, both AHU and SFK are writers but they do not turn to their own respective works to define what they think are human rights. In fact, all three of them, SS, AHU and SFK, at least linguistically, resort to cultural forces: the poet Rahman Baba, male members of the society, Khana-e-Farhang, and the provincial government, for help. However, unlike SS, both AHU and SFK acted as involved respondents as in LL 033-034 and 043-047 as well as evaluators in LL.028; 033; 039-046; and 048-053, by referring to their own role and evaluating the role of others.

The following responses (LL. 054-158) are primarily transcribed to see, if any, contrast arises due different genders of the respondents. In this analysis, therefore, I continue to observe if discourse analysis reflects the gender of the respondent without a direct mention of being a male or female. What are the linguistic indicators of social and cultural gender roles?

The conversation with the next person, respondent # 4, AY, began in English but after sometime oscillated between English and Pashto. The cultural and linguistic markers that are apparent in this discourse consist of evaluative clauses, false deixis, exhortatory passives, code-switching, and lexical choices indicating gender identity.

054. **Anoosh Khan**: What are human rights?
055. **Respondent #4 (AY)**: Those people who claim
056. to be advocates of human rights
057. have given rights to animals
058. but
059. not humans!
060. I have grown up in *Jirgas* (tribal council of village elders)

061. where human rights are utterly respected.
062. *Pukhtano kay chay sumra human rights dee* (the number of human rights present among Pukhtoons can't be found anywhere)
063. there aren't anywhere.
064. Human rights:
065. do unto others
066. what you want them to do unto you.
067. *Khudai da zargay me dumra laway shaway*
068. *Chay da hur insaan da dard na rachapair shaway.*
(God! May my heart become so spacious
That it may enclose the pains of entire humanity.)
069. AND
070. *Pa yawand kay da agay wakhat kaar shee saray*
071. *Da boon-aa- dumo chay pakaar shee saray.*
(Man becomes worth the while only
When he is of service to humanity).
072. **AK**: Have you ever thought of writers/critics having any rights?
073. **AK**: What?
074. **AY**: Writers should have separate hostels
075. for meeting.
076. Should have a good professional relationship.
077. Keep in touch
078. So the hostel should be free of cost.
079. Writers shouldn't have any economic, personal responsibility.

It is interesting to note that respondent # 4, AY, also does not really respond to my question immediately but rather replies with an agency-less evaluative statement (LL. 055-059). AY begins by stating, "Those people who claim to be advocates of human rights…" but who are "those people?" I believe this, following Penelope (1990:133-137), is a case of *false deixis*; in this example "those" does not have a previous referent or an antecedent. Penelope (1990: 134-137) states:

False deixis forces readers/listeners to make contextual guesses to make "sense" of what they hear and read….A speaker's use of false deixis does not mean that the utterance is uninterpretable or impossible to understand.

Now by "those" people AY can mean anybody but the Pukhtoons because in LL. 060-063 AY makes it very clear that human rights are "utterly respected" among the Pukhtoons. Why the speaker employs this strategy of using "those" is

worth looking into. I think AY does this thinking both of us share common background knowledge of human rights and the current global political situation. It is perhaps a way of non-commitment; belonging to N-W.F.P., sharing a political border, language and culture with the American occupied Afghanistan, AY thinks I can "make sense" (Penelope 1990:134) of his allusion to "those." It is in L. 060 that the gender of the respondent also emerges from his linguistic choices, that is, by claiming to have grown up in *Jirgas*.[4] According to the cultural mores it definitely means he has to be a man to be a part of the *Jirga*. As per tribal traditions women are not part of the *Jirgas* even now. Bringing forth the idea of AY's personal presence in the *Jirgas* also suggests his moral geography because being part of the *Jirga*, in the tribal and rural areas of N-W.F.P. is suggestive of one's own morality, integrity and character. So, unlike the previous respondents AY does not attune his moral geography by alluding to historical poets/figures or civil authorities but rather refers to personal experiences. This is further proved when AY elaborates the definition of human rights for me by reciting lines from his own poems in LL.067-071. Once again, unlike previous female respondents, he recites his own poetry and not someone else's to clarify his personal ideas. However, in reply to my second question AY's response, in LL. 074-079, were what Penelope (1990:157) refers to as *exhortatory passives*. Penelope (1990:157-158) elucidates:

Exhortatory passives describe an action that the speaker may have no intention of carrying out, and they are often preceded by a modal that posits future obligation, such as should, ought to be, or must…[by] placing the responsibility on someone who "should" do it. Too often, we find it convenient to pass on responsibility and power that we should take for our own.

This is exactly what AY's response in LL.074-079 shows: there are many "shoulds" directed towards others but what he "should" do on a personal level to practice or inculcate the awareness of human rights does not come out in his discourse. Therefore, in other words, these responses are exhortatory passives but also evaluations as well, where AY does not act like an involved respondent but only an evaluator.

It is also worth noting that the previous interviews, with respondents #1, #2, and #3 were conducted in Pashto only. But this interview with respondent #4, AY, began off in English and in the middle he switches to Pashto, especially when talking about *Jirgas* and human rights. It is vital to notice that when I ask him

what the meaning of human rights is for him, he answers back in Pashto as in L. 062 and then in LL. 067-071 with lines from his own poems in Pashto and it is from here onwards that the oscillation between Pashto and English begins. Does this linguistic oscillation support the idea that if a speaker is fluent in both languages and if he or she shares a linguistic background with the listener then he or she will talk in the native language to reinforce his or her ideas? Johnstone (2008:167) also explains this code-switching by claiming, "code-switching (alternation between languages or varieties) can function as a way of negotiating community membership and ethnic identity…"

As a contrast to the previous discourse the following conversation with respondent # 5, MS, was carried out primarily in Urdu[5] except where the legal jargon is used. This time I have asked for a meaning of human rights and gender studies as well. However, the main linguistic markers present in the discourse of MS are deixis, chalking of moral geography, and use of a particular jargon/register. However, MS was the only respondent from whose responses it was difficult to evaluate his gender identity.

080. **Anoosh Khan**: What are human rights and Gender studies?
081. **Respondent #5 (MS)**: Human Rights…
082. the basic meaning of both is the same,
083. maybe…
084. with some differences.
085. *Ya to dookh sookh mil kar bantoo*
086. *Warna chamman kaa naam naa lo*
087. *Yeh kaisa insaaf hai*
088. *Jis mein sarray phool tumaharay hai*
(Either share grieves and joys
Else don't talk of the garden
What kind of justice is this
Where only you get the blossoms).
089. **AK**: Have you ever thought of writers/critics having any rights?
090. **AK**: What?
091. **MS**: Yes, writers are also human beings.
092. Especially those living in Pakistan had very bad economic conditions.
093. nowadays…
094. writers are professionally better,
095. they have education.
096. Writers' colonies, houses,

097. and copyrights.
098. Nowadays
099. those who get some prominence
100 are financially better.
101. These people should have more rights
102. because they are giving the public opinion
103. and
104. are delivering.
105. Writers…
106. very few know about intellectual property rights.
107. We talked with Justice Javed Iqbal in 1987 at Academy of Letters in Islamabad.
108. As our litigation process is very difficult
109. and lengthy
110. and expensive.

Respondent #5, MS's response to my first question about the definition of human rights and gender studies is quick and short. But even this respondent is quick to answer my question by reciting lines from his own poem (LL.085-088). Since he is basically an Urdu speaking person he just talks and recites in Urdu only. In this example we can see instances of *deixis* (Penelope 1990:129), with agency, as in LL.092, 099, 101 and 105-106. In these lines we have "those" and "these" and Penelope (1990:130) is of the opinion that, "they [deictical plurals] indicate how close or distant a specific thing is from the speaker's location." It is worth noting that in pointing to writers the speaker in LL.092 and 099 uses "those" and in L. 101 the speaker uses "these" for the same writers. As a linguistic marker "those" is suggestive of something at a relative distance from the speaker and "these" allude nearness. As such it appears that when, MS, the speaker, is talking about writers who had bad economic conditions he places them away from himself and uses "those" for them (L.092) and when he talks about prominent writers he uses "those" (L.099) again. But in L. 101, the "those" of LL.092 and 099 become "these." This shift can be suggestive of two things: first the speaker considers himself closer in status to the prominent writers (as opposed to 'some' prominence) or secondly, the speaker considers himself prominent for some reason but perhaps not as a writer only and on an unconscious level stays at a distance. In L.101 he uses "these people" saying that they qualify for more rights because they are "giving the public [some sort of] opinion and delivering" (LL.101-103). Does this mean the writers/poets are the only ones giving public opinion or are there other groups of people who are

involved in giving public opinion as well? Lawyers and legal experts? I think we get the answer in the responses that follow in LL. 105-110. In L. 106 the speaker mentions "intellectual property rights;" in L. 107 he continues by mentioning "we" meeting "Justice" Javed Iqbal in "1987"[6] at the "Academy of Letters," and then in L.108-110 MS mentions the nuances of the local litigation process. Paying attention to the choice of words used here it would not be incorrect to conjure that the speaker has good knowledge of the legal jargon, apart from proving himself a poet as well by referring to the Academy of Letters. Therefore, if not in human rights, it appears that speaker, MS, sees himself as a poet and a legal expert. As such writers can be "those" for him on an unconscious level but when he met Justice Javed Iqbal[7] at the Academy of Letters he speaks of it as a collective experience by using "we", that is, both as a poet and a legal expert, although it was a meeting that took place 20 years ago but he does not refer to it in terms of temporal, spatial or literal distance. And he talks about "our" litigation process in L.108, again suggesting that he has knowledge of the litigation process either as a legal expert or else as a criminal. However, his confident meeting with a retired justice to resolve literary issues and his usage of the legal jargon proves he is a legal expert and not really a criminal. Therefore, at times the poets/writers can be "those" for him and at other times they can be "these," depending on the speaker's spatial and temporal present which makes him identify either with writers and/or legal experts according to his context, thus accounting for his switching between "these" and "those."

However, one thing that is common in this response, as in most others, is MS's reference to a public or cultural figure. In L.107 this speaker (like respondents # 1, 2, 3 but unlike respondent # 4) also refers to Justice Javed Iqbal. This in turn, like other earlier respondents, also shows the sketching of a moral geography on part of the speaker. By referring to a man, Justice Javed Iqbal, with multiple important identities: authoritative figure of past as the Chief Justice and at that time heading the Academy of Letters and then having a national prestige as the son of a national hero point to the fact that the speaker wants to assert not only his contact with such a figure but also his own position in the microcosm of writers, poets and lawyers/legal experts and the macrocosm of a national identity which, in his case, is in turn shaped by the national culture[8] as he is not a Pukhtoon. This domination of the national cultural ideology explains why he speaks Urdu in spite of living in the Pukhtoon culture.

In the next example there is a very interesting interplay of evaluative clauses; alternate usage of gender pronouns he/she; exhortatory clauses; and finally the elusive usage of the collective "we." The following conversation was carried out primarily in Pashto, except where human rights jargon is used.

111. **Anoosh Khan**: What are human rights?
112. **Respondent #6 (RWK):** Rights that a human gives to **himself or herself.**
113. That is…
114. every individual is different from one another other.
115. Give person enough space
116. that **he** doesn't violate others' space.
117. Societal basic rights,
118. Government rights,
119. state laws that government violates should be given.
120. We should be conscious of our rights.
121. Own likes and dislikes.
122. But can't practice
123. because of others.
124. Society
125. or government should give cultural
126. and educational facilities,
127. with no gender discriminations.
128. If tax payers pay
129. government should fulfil basic needs.
130. Socio-economic and Cultural rights.
131. Political rights are more important.
132. Human rights should help collectively and individually
133. from exploitation: global, national, individual to individual.
134. Job opportunities.
135. **AK**: Have you ever thought of writers/critics having any rights?
136. **AK**: What?
137. **RWK**: YES!
138. Particularly with reference to Pashto.
139. Writer…
140. whatever **he** wants to say
141. should have freedom of expression.
142. Can be symbolic
143. but should be free enough
144. to express openly
145. and

146. not symbolically.
147. Critic…
148. [should have] freedom of expression.
149. **his** point of view should be given platforms.
150. Publishing facilities…
151. so that **he or she** can give point of view
152. to reach the goal
153. **he** wants them to reach.
154. that is…
155. the people
156. media/newspapers are politically prejudiced.
157. take views from some and not from others
158. if we are against their policies [they don't broadcast/publish our views].

Surprisingly, RWK was the only respondent who gave me a straight answer to my question what are human rights, which obviously marks RWK an informed speaker. In fact, the speaker initially took care to speak for both the genders, L.112. However, later on there is a constant inconsistency in RWK's usage of neutral or respective binary gendered pronouns (I have marked those pronouns in bold). The speaker twice uses the politically correct binaries of all-inclusiveness "himself or herself" (L.112); and then "he or she" (L.151), once the neutral "person" (L.115), whereas RWK uses "he" thrice (LL. 116, 140 & 153) and "his" once (L.149); thus, showing his inconsistency in using gender-suggestive pronouns. Since the speaker uses "he" or male pronouns more often it would not be incorrect to assume that the speaker is a male as well.

Although RWK also uses many evaluative exhortatory passives as in LL. 125; 129; 132; 141; 143; 148; and 151. However, in L. 120 RWK, at the beginning, apparently states his responsibility but by using the collective "we" which according to Penelope (1990) points to a missing agent because here it is one individual who is talking and he is talking for himself and yet he does not commit by using the explicit first person pronoun "I," thus, "evading the issue of who will be or is responsible for some action" (1990:144). Similarly, at the end the "we" in L.158 can be read as "if *I am* against their policies…" but even here the speaker uses the collective "we" to simulate the commitment or responsibility or else to show unity with other writers and critics who are critical of the media. Whereas, when it comes to evaluating the role of the government or media—the

"Other" in this case, the agency in his discourse becomes very clear as in LL. 119; 125-126; 128-129; 132-134; and 156-158.

Like earlier speakers, RWK also plays the role of an evaluator rather than an involved respondent. But he does not draw on indirect references or personal references to shape up his moral geography; he rather explicitly mentions, "Particularly with reference to Pashto" (L.138), not only alluding to his moral geography but emphatically accepting it. Thus, showing his concern for the uplift of Pashto as a literary medium and the next few lines (LL. 139-158) suggest that due to some reason perhaps Pashto literature, writer, poets and critics are not really being noticed and as such require more rights than other literary media and persons. The emphatic, "Yes!" (L.138), also reinforces this idea of how rights should be given to writers and poets and particularly Pashto writers and poets deserve more attention and rights than anybody else.

However, in comparison to other respondents, RWK's choice of words and theme of conversation suggests that he is better informed about the human rights' register and discourse, for example, LL. 112-138 and therefore he speaks with more authority and confidence about the subject as compared to others.

Conclusion

The current discourse examples were a part of another research project with a very different purpose (see Appendix 1: i-ii). As such, I chose the two questions: what are human rights? And do writers, critics and poets have any rights? Since answers to both these questions were short, they were suitable for the scope of this paper. Besides, in this study I wanted to analyse the answers only by looking at how linguistic markers further correspond or contradict what the respondents were actually saying.

In this discourse analysis, I discovered that apart from some individual linguistic markers (for comparison see Appendix 3: iv-vi, tables 1-3) many common linguistic practices emerged as the analyses unfolded. At this point, I will not go into the reasons for individual differences only, but will also go into the details of shared linguistic similarities and differences that emerge between male and female respondents (Appendix 3: vi, table 3). By examining similar linguistic markers, I attempt to answer that culture primarily shapes discourse and gender identities and not vice-versa. In this analysis, it gradually became apparent that all the respondents used linguistic markers that drew on moral or cultural

geography; most used 'exhortatory phases;' all were primarily evaluators rather than neutral or involved the respondents; and all except one, used linguistic markers indicating their gender identity. However, in contrast i) the female respondents, unlike the male, did not quote from their works at all; ii) the male respondents tended to use stronger and culture-specific linguistic markers thus, linguistically exposing their gender identity e.g. *Jirga* and shifted between respective gendered pronouns as compared to women who used neutral, weaker or collective linguistic markers of "gender," such as, "Pukhtoon women," "wives," etc., iii) MS tended to use deixis whereas AY used false deixis. It is worth noticing that collectively similarities more than differences among the two genders emerged. At this point, I will discuss the ideological framework behind culture and discourse and observe whether one affects and shapes the other or vice-versa. Culture, I believe, is produced, shaped and re-shaped by what Althusser (1970:143) terms *Ideological State Apparatuses* (ISAs). Althusser (1970:145) states:

> Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, but only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic.

Culture in any society and in this case in the Pukhtoon society is continuously re-shaped by institutions or ISAs like religion, family, education, and media respectively. As a result of institutional ideologies, people come to accept change(s) naturally, developing a false consciousness:

> It is not their real conditions of existence, their real worlds, that [people] represent to themselves in ideology, but in their relation to those conditions of existence which is represented to them there. It is this relation which is the centre of every ideological, i.e. imaginary representation of the real world. (1970:164)

Therefore, it is the institutions or ISAs, as Althusser calls them, that start shaping ideologies (or false consciousness), both personal and collective ideologies. It is the shaping of collective ideologies, which I believe, is commonly termed culture. Ideology interpellates or 'hails' individuals (Althusser 1970:173). In other words, following any ideology makes an individual accept a certain subject position; it makes an individual 'recognize' himself or herself in a particular way. The reason

being, "…a peculiarity of ideology that it imposes an obviousness which we cannot fail to recognize and before which we have the inevitable and natural reaction of crying… 'that's obvious,' that's right,' that's true (Althusser, 1970:172)."

As a result of interpellation, the process of recognition begins, and as recognition is somewhat complete[9] an individual can either accept or reject a subject position or else he or she can agree to dis-identification, that is, "working the subject form, by its overthrow, its rearrangement, rather than a categorical endorsement of its details or its categorical abolition" (Pecheux, 1975:156-159). In other words the individual finds a middle path and refuses to be in the passive subject position.

However, the problem with my respondents is that that they have accepted their interpellated subject positions. According to Pecheux (1975:157-159), the individual who responds to and accepts the 'hailed' position is called a "universal subject" and the one who refuses to comply is the "subject of enunciation." The "universal subject" or the "good citizen" is the one who abides by the expected social and cultural norms, whereas the "subject of enunciation" or the "bad citizen" is the one who does not conform to the expected societal norms.

That is why, in order to be the "good citizens," most of my respondents try to situate themselves according to cultural or moral geographies; they are extremely evaluative as they believe it is the duty of the government or some significant 'other' to help them with their respective problems because self-reliance can sometimes be culturally interpreted as independence and thus "rejection" of higher authorities and cultural practices, especially in the case of women. Perhaps that is also the reason for respondent AY's code-switching: speaking English is symbolic of a higher status all over Pakistan but within N-W.F.P., Pashto is symbolic of authenticity and masculinity and the mention of participation in *Jirgas* all the more validates both these positions. In fact, this is also the reason why male respondents quote their own lines or use a more specific register for law and human rights—it shows academic and subsequently male superiority infused by culture (or ISAs) as a sign of good and authentic citizen. The males are more evaluative because being men, in the Pukhtoon culture, they can challenge higher authorities but at the same time aspiring to be good citizens sometimes respond covertly in their discourse. The male respondents, except one, used linguistic gender markers strongly as compared to the female respondents because culture has socialized them to be dominating and

stronger than women, thus language serves as tool for communicating this macho-Pukhtoon cultural ideology. The process of interpellation explains why the female respondents tend to be more dependent on outside resources; they do not refer to their own works, use weaker gender linguistic markers, are rather sympathetic evaluators and use the pronoun "we" showing their interdependent subject position hailed by culture. These female respondents do not come out as independent, confident and well informed as the male respondents because that is what the Pukhtoon culture has taught them to be even if they are professionals or academics now. But to be a good female citizen it is expected in the Pukhtoon society to remain relatively passive in one's respective professional, social and private circles. In order to propagate and display this 'good-citizen' persona women in Pukhtoon culture usually practice, "The dynamic of dissemblance involved creating the appearance of disclosure or openness about themselves and their feelings, while actually remaining an enigma" (Hine, 1997:436).

MS was the only respondent whose gender identity was not visible through discourse per se. The reason, I strongly believe is because he may live in a Pukhtoon culture but he is not a Pukhtoon, meaning it is not really expected of him to strictly abide by the Pukhtoon cultural ethics. In fact, that is why he was the only respondent who spoke Urdu. Besides, it's the macro-national cultural identity rather than the micro-Pukhtoon cultural identity that hails MS and leaves him in a subject position where he can manage to live in the Pukhtoon culture because the Pukhtoon ideology does not interpellate him therefore he speaks only in Urdu. As such, it was also difficult to find out the gender of MS from his discourse because the national cultural ideology does not make as specific distinctions between men and women as the Pukhtoon culture does; the Pukhtoon culture orients men and women very differently. Leap (2003:402-404) also suggests:

> Genders are cultural constructions, and not determined entirely or primarily by bodily form or biological function….linguistic practices, and the messages about gender expressed through them, take place within specific economic contexts and social and historic "moments." And because text is situated language use, text always contain formal marking which identifies their location within the larger setting and their connections to other textual materials within the same economic, social and historical setting.

Johnstone (2008: 230) reiterates the same idea by stating, "Culture-specific language ideology may make purpose more or less relevant to how people produce and interpret discourse in particular situations and settings." The above discussion shows that discourse, gender identities and roles in the Pukhtoon society are first and foremost shaped by culture which in turn is defined, shaped and re-shaped by institutions or Ideological State Apparatuses. In the case of Pukhtoons, the ISA primarily consist of religion and family which shape discourse as Bakhtin (1981:293) states, "Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life…" However, although certain cultural practices like formation of *Jirgas* and practices like *Swara* become a part of discourse and are used as lexical items but the Pukhtoon culture or the Pashto language does not go the extend of cultural *erasur*e (Gal and Irvin, 1995:975) of women as examined by Echeverria (2002:23-44) while discussing Basque showing how men compared to women are culturally endorsed to be authentic Basque.

In the Pukhtoon culture, "gender may generate its own set of voices" (Ochs, 1992: 338) but discourse, language and gender roles in this culture are shaped by cultural ISAs, like religious practices and family traditions. Consequently, discourse or language is merely used as agency to mediate and promote culture and culture-defined practices including gender roles; thus, proving that the Pukhtoon culture primarily shapes discourse and gender identities and not vice-versa.

Notes

[1] Pashto is the mother tongue of Pukhtoons; spoken largely in N-W.F.P. and parts of Balochistan in Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan. Pashto, the language is pronounced "Pukhto" in Pashto. I'm using this proverb in the sense that is discussed in detail by Benedicte Grima (1992) in The Performance of Emotion Among Paxtun Women. pp. 4-10. Austin: University of Texas Press. I have introduced the paper with this proverb in order to show how the Pukhtoon culture is performed through Pashto language.

[2] Here by gender roles, I only mean the broader male/female division and not the multiple gender identities that are ascribed to and performed in a particular sense.

[3] *Swara* is a tribal custom where young girls are married off as peace-price to a man in the enemy's family in order to settle family disputes.

[4] The *Jirga* (or the jury) primarily consists of the village local elders or people of influence (money, education etc. i.e. local landlords). The jirga system, I believe, pre-dates the colonial rule. The reason that the *Jirga* system still exists is because it is much more accessible and affordable, in terms of time, distance and finances, compared to the formal law courts. *Jirga* decisions are binding. The *Jirga* decisions, most of the times, I presume have a human rights perspective but can't say that they have a gender perspective. No women are a part of the *Jirga*.

[5] Urdu is the national language of Pakistan. Though English is the official language of Pakistan, Urdu officially is the common medium of verbal communication. Both Urdu and English are taught as compulsory subjects in schools up to the first two years of college. English is taught as a compulsory subject up to B.A.

[6] This interview was conducted in June/July 2007.

[7] Justice Javed Iqbal (L.107) who was a former Chief Justice of Lahore High Court and a retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and was also at an authoritative position at the Academy of Letters, Islamabad which is an autonomous organization functioning under the Federal Education Ministry for the promotion of scholars and research. Apart from his personal achievements Justice Javed Iqbal is the son of Sir Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the national poet-philosopher of Pakistan and a one of the Independence leaders of Muslims against the British Raj in the sub-continent until the independence of Pakistan in 1947.

[8] Tracing the history of Pakistan shows that most of the freedom fighters for an Independent Pakistan from the Hindus and British were Urdu speaking, thus making Urdu the national language of Pakistan.

[9] I call it 'somewhat' complete because I believe different ideologies hail people at different times and the process of recognition or a subject position can change accordingly as well.

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Wilde's Fairy Tales: A Morphological Analysis of "The Young King" and "The Happy Prince"

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Abstract

Oscar Wide is eminent literary figure known predominantly for his immortal plays and his brilliant wit. His fairy tales remained in relative obscurity. A surge of literary investigation of has arisen with recent interest in his fairy tales from various perspectives. This paper examines the structure of Oscar Wilde's fairy tales. For this purpose Vladimir Propp's morphological model is taken as tool of investigation. Any ambiguities found are pointed out. The aim is to establish their structural proximity to the fairy tale text type.

Keywords: Narrative, fairy tales, structure, morphology, functions, Propp, Wilde, "The Young King", "The Happy Prince"

Introduction

Narrative has always had a strong fascination for humankind. The desire to encapsulate experiences, emotions and perceptions crystallized in the form of tales among others. According to Landa (1990:1), 'narrativization is one of the commonest ways of imposing an order and a perspective on experience." The fact

that folktales are found in all cultures of the world confirms the view. Boas considers folklore a form of art. He argues that tribes that had mobile style of life experienced long periods of enforced leisure, and since they were not able to sit down to handicraft, they created songs and tales (1927:300).These tales took several forms: myths, legends and folktales. Fairy tales are one of the subclass of folktale. Linguists and anthropologists have always been attracted to the folktale for various reasons. Many of them have tried to discover the structural composition of these tales. However, Wilde's Fairy Tales have never been subjected to this kind of analysis. In this paper, we present an analysis of Wilde's two fairy tales, "The Young King" and the "The Happy Prince" to show that Propp's morphological model is not only relevant but also brings to light certain features of the tales despite Wilde's departure from the traditional genre of the fairy tale.

Propp's Morphological Scheme

Vladimir Propp was a Russian formalist and an anthropologist. His *Morphology of the Folktales* (1968) is deemed as a ground breaking work in structural understanding of the narrative, especially the folk tale and its various types, such as the fairy tale. He used the term 'morphology' in his study of a corpus of Russian fairy tales. By this term he means "…a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these parts to each other and the whole" (1968:19). He identifies two dimensions to a fairy tale that lend themselves to its morphological study.

The first dimension is constant repetition of certain elements across the tales. These he terms as functions within the movement of a tale; a general morphological basis of a fairy tale. Propp's definition of a function is "…an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of action"(1968:20). The other dimension is the 'variability' of the realization process of these functions. The number of functions is limited but the characters that act as the agents or the vehicles of these actions are almost limitless (1968:20-21).

He then goes on to describe functions as he extracted them from his corpus of Russian fairy tales (1968). He identifies initial nine stages in what can be termed as the preparatory section of a tale (1968:25). It is a section that paves the way for the main actors and the main events in the tale; in a way, this situation is the springboard for the main action. In this sense, it has an important part to play morphologically, while not a function in essence. This he names as the initial

situation and encodes these stages in Greek letters for reference. This initial situation is not mandatory and may or may not be found in a tale.

He then identifies thirty-one main functions with their variations (p.26-65). To each function, he gives a one word 'abbreviated definition' and allots a Latin numeral capital letter as its symbol. These functions operate on a single axis and follow each other logically. He makes the claim that a tale may miss a function/s but the sequence and the order in which these occur is never reversed 1968:64). Some of the functions form a working pair implying that the presence of one entails the other. Some of them can be arranged in a group and some remain individual functions. Propp (1968:64-65) combines these into different group on the basis of their operation in the tale: Functions 1-7 is Preparation, 8-10 Complication, 11-15 Transference, 16-18 Struggle, 19-26 Return and 27-31 Recognition.

Looking at the mechanism of the tale, he identifies three elements (1968:71-78) that act as the connectives in the movement of a tale. He calls these elements 'component parts' (p.71). 'Notification' is one of them. Its basic operation is to pass on some information to a character. It serves to connect one function with the next and can exist between most varied functions. In places where no notification is provided, the characters are represented as *know-all* type or act *ex-machina* (p.71). The second connective element is 'trebling', a threefold repetition of particular elements in a tale (p.70). Trebling can occur at the level of individual functions, pairs of functions and groups of functions and moves. It can be a uniform distribution, a threefold accumulation or a mere mechanical repetition. The third element is 'motivation' (p.75). It represents the causes that provoke the characters to act. Within the movement of a tale, one action often acts as a motivation for further action. It is the first action, *villainy* which launches the whole narrative that requires a particular motivation. Parallel or similar actions may have entirely dissimilar motivations. This particular element is often implied rather than stated. Certain functions form a group and work in close dependence on one another, making a kind of a field of particular events. He terms these fields as 'spheres of action' (1968:79-80). These spheres take their field of action in correspondence to characters that act in that particular area. He identifies seven spheres of action; of the villain, of the donor, of the helper, of the princess (representing any sought –for person), of her father, of the dispatcher, of the hero and the false hero (p.79-80).

The distribution of the characters in the tale has a clear one to one correspondence between the action and the characters; one character operating in many spheres of action or one sphere of action disseminated to several characters at the same time (p.80-82). This distinction of the movement of the tale according to the spheres and their agents entail that there are essentially seven characters central to a tale and the movement of a tale is carried forward by them and at the same time revolves around them.

The variable measures of a tale are the taxonomy and the qualities of a character that Propp calls their 'nomenclature and attributes', one character in tale can often, without much trouble, be replaced by another. Characters for Propp remain a type of tools to carry the action of the tale forward. "…the characters being for Propp mainly just the mechanism for distributing the functions around the story (Barry, 2002:229). Again, the implication is that it is really the functions that endure in their quality and are constant element in this kaleidoscope. They acquire a scientific dimension in their constancy and so qualify as a tool with which to measure the genre of a tale (1968:90). Propp arrives at a definition of a tale from his observations and study as

> Morphologically a tale (...) may be termed any development proceeding from villainy (A) or a lack, (ά), through intermediary functions to marriage (W*), or to other functions employed as denouement (1968:92).

Any progress of a movement within a tale on this pattern is called a "move"; and a tale may have one or more than one moves. These can follow each other linear in a tale or be interwoven in one of the many patterns. The patterns of moves within a tale can be of five types: a tale can have one move following the other in a linear manner; we can have a new move beginning and ending before the first one; a more complicated scheme/design results if a third move interrupts a second one in its turn creating a web of moves; sometimes a tale begins with two moves simultaneously; one of them may be resolved before the other; and two moves may end in one denouement; variation can occur in the motifs of themes when two moves have a common ending.

Predominantly two different scheme types can be identified based on the fact that some functions are mutually exclusive. These two types of schemes are very rarely found in a single move tale — to an extent that their occurrence together in one tale may be considered a deviation from a general rule. These are H-I that

translates as "the struggle with the villain and victory over him" and the other scheme is M-N "difficult task and its resolution" (Propp, 1968:102).

Oscar Wilde has written two collections of fairy tales *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* (1888) and *The House of Pomegranates* (1891) comprising nine tales in all. He wrote these tales originally for his two sons but were published (Zipes, 1999:135). These did not receive the literary merit that they deserve during his life time due to the brilliance of his immortal plays. It is the modern literary criticism that has turned its interest towards them as great literary achievement. Using Propp's morphological model as a tool we analysed two of Oscar Wilde's fairy tales: *The Young King* and *The Star-Child*.

The Young King

The Proppian formula as applied to The Young King yielded the following scheme:

$$\mathrm{I}\quad A\delta^{1}\eta^{2}\theta^{2}U$$
$$\mathrm{II}\quad A^{1}\ \alpha\ a^{3}B^{2}C\uparrow\ :\ C\uparrow D^{2}{}_{1}E^{1}F^{3}\downarrow$$
$$:\ C\uparrow d^{7}E^{1}F^{5}{}_{2}\downarrow\quad = Ex\ \ T^{3}{}_{1}\,W\cdot$$
$$:\ C\uparrow D^{6}{}_{8}\,F^{2}\downarrow$$

This tale, as compared to others in his two collections, is slightly different in its storyline. We have a back flash to the events in the past, and a significant chunk of the main action happens in 'dream' mode.

The events that took place in the past pave the way for the action in the present. The protagonists are introduced and their status is revealed in the beginning. In this tale, we encounter royalty in absentia in the beginning, involving a dead princess and her father, the king, who is also dead when the tale begins. In one long complex sentence, we are told of an *interdiction violated (δ^{1})* by the princess. It is an embedded interdiction because it is not stated overtly in the text. The interdiction violated is marrying beneath her station, a visiting Rimini artist, something that is a taboo for a lady of her station. This act of violation of interdiction in itself comprises *ή (trickery and deception)* and θ *(complicity & submission)* elliptically; the princess falls to the lure of the music from the flute played by the Rimini artist — as if the music cast a spell over her better judgement. Therein follows another function, which is not really part of the preparatory section but actually is supposed to occur at the end of a move. The function is *U (punishment)*. Though it is a deviation from Propp's map of the preparatory

section, yet it does fit elliptically within the scheme. The princess is poisoned and her child kidnapped and sent to a poor family of goatherds. The kidnapping launches the main move of the tale and can be read as function *villainy* of the type *A^1 (kidnapping of person)*. This villainy ends the first move and puts into motion the main move of the story.

All this had happened in the past and when the story opens, we are once again told of the kidnapped child's new status as the king of the land; hence the title "The Young King". Following the usual storyline development of a wonder tale, the old king is struck with remorse, sends for his abandoned grandson and declares him his heir before breathing his last. The new king, a young lad reared in close proximity to nature, falls in love with the grandeur, splendour and magnificence of the beauty that only wealth can afford. His love of beauty and beautiful things, his active and alive aesthetic sense makes him send people to search and collect beauties of the world for his coronation accoutrements and to weave a unique fabric for his coronation apparel. This matches with function *a (lack).* His orders translate into function *B^2 (mediation)* and the consequent departure of his minions is the embedded *C↑ (counteraction and departure).*

The next important thing to happen is the young king falling asleep and dreaming. In these dreams, he is taken on three journeys. He, being the hero undertakes these journeys and so his dreams are equivalent to ↑ *(departure).*

His first dream takes him to a weaving house. He experiences the murky miasmic atmosphere and falls in conversation with one, the weaver, who is quite hostile in his response. Next is the *first function of the donor*, the weaver, *D^2* (with a greeting however rude) and a narration of gross bitter realities. The scene is quite painful, and the bitter realities of life behind the luxury in his world are brought home to him. His young heart is loaded with misery of the poor and the ugly. The narration has the character of a *test* (of the young king) function *D^1* which he *sustains E^1*; i.e. he realizes the price that is paid by the unrecognized masses to bring beauty into his life. Function *F^3 (the agent is prepared),* follows when the fabric is finally woven to perfection to suit a king's apparel. His waking up from the dream to reality of the world is function↓ *(return of the hero).*

Two more similar dreams follow. Like the earlier one they too have to do with the fulfillment of his desire for beauty and luxury. Are these then new moves? Though each new lack or each new villainy leads to a new move, yet we do not really have

the beginning of a new move with these new lacks; rather a trebling of the same phenomena in the next two dreams. I argue so because the lack that leads to the next two patterns of the functions ↑*DEF*↓ are similar to the earlier one in nature, and ensue from a similar kind of lack; be it a fabric to be woven, pearls to be searched for or rubies to be found, they can be, in fact together regarded as a cluster of lacks. The mode remains the same, the dream, which is the awakening of his conscience to reality behind the finished products of beauty that he so enjoyed without a thought to the labour and suffering that went into their making. His reactions too are similar. He sustains the test, the magical agent is prepared and he returns to the waking world. In fact, this return too is symbolic because it is a return from a cocooned world of beauty and riches to the world of harsh reality. The repetition is too similar in every aspect to be regarded as a separate move. Hence we can regard them as 'trebling', the connective element within the action of the tale.

As the story moves forward, we do not find the usual functions *Pr (pursuit of the hero), Rs (rescue of the hero)* and *(Recognition of the hero) Q.* Since everything happens in dreams, their effect leads to function *Ex (exposure).* Upon waking the young king is a different person; a metamorphosis has taken place and we find changes in his behaviour and attitude as well. He puts on ordinary humble apparel and adorns himself with flowers and leaves. It is not just an exhibition but a real change of heart. This phenomenon is realized in function *T (Transfiguration).* At the end is his coronation, again metaphorically divine, when he chooses to wear his old ragged clothes, and a spray of flowers for his crown; a Christ figure, encoded in function *W* (Wedding),* here realized metaphorically as he finally wakes to the reality of beauty; humbling him to the extent where he takes on an entirely different identity.

Ambiguities

The striking difference between this fairy tale and other fairy tales is its mode of action, the dreams. Action occurs at a sub-conscious level and is to be interpreted as such. The whole tale exists at an abstract parameter. Therefore, the nature of the functions ↑*DEF*↓ *(Departure, First function of the donor, Reaction of the hero, The receipt of the magical agent and Return of the hero) is* also fulfilled at an abstract level. The journey for the quest is taken only in dreams; he is, so to say, taken on an expedition while physically still in his own room. Consequently, the donors do not directly test the hero; they are the narrators and the actors, but in

their drama and dialogue, we do find the functions *D, E* and *F* being fulfilled, again conceptual rather than concrete. Similarly, his return from the world of his dreams to the reality of the waking world is also partially translated into function ↓. The last function *W** is highly figurative in its application. Instead of receiving wealth or riches, he achieves his reward by giving them up.

Though the tale is highly emblematic and figurative in its nature yet it seems to fit in with Propp's morphology. Its different approach does not affect the structure and pattern as presented in his model. The nature and sequence remain intact.

The Star-Child

Propp's scheme of functions gives the following structure when applied to "The Star Child":

$$\text{I} \quad \alpha\ \text{X mot}\ \gamma^1\delta^1\ \ A^6{}_9\,T^1\ \ B^4{}_3\,a^1\,C\uparrow\ D^5\ E^1\text{-neg}\ \ \text{F-contr.} : G^2\S$$

$$\text{II} \qquad\qquad M: B^2C\uparrow D^4E^4F^2N \downarrow (D^5{}_1\ E^5J^1)$$

$$A^{15}a^3\ \ M: C\uparrow D^2E^2F^2N \downarrow (D^5{}_1\ \ E^5\ J^1) \qquad G^2{}_3\,Q\ T^1(T^1)K^4\,U\,W$$

$$M: C\uparrow D^2E^2F^2N \downarrow (D^5{}_1\ \ E^5)$$

The initial situation (an important morphological element) is very clear right at the beginning. The woodcutter and the Star-Child, the protagonists of the tale are introduced and their statuses are revealed. The manner of the entry of the Star-Child is unique, has a touch of the preternatural and is very much in keeping with the element of wonder found in fairy tale. A golden star falling from the sky on the spot where he was lying guides the woodcutter and his friend to him. In the scheme, it is represented by letter *X,* Propp's symbol for *alien forms*, an indicator of the strangeness of the phenomena. The kind-hearted woodcutter adopts the Star-Child in spite of his poverty, the reluctance of his wife, and the fact that he has his own family to feed. All this forms part of the initial situation.

The tale moves forward in the Star-Child's pride in his unusual heavenly decent and unprecedented beauty and the resultant cruelty towards less favoured and less fortunate. He is contemptuous of not only the ordinary looking human beings but also is cruel towards animals and birds. An element of ingratitude is also indicated in his behaviour. This leads the wood-cutter to issue an *interdiction* in the form of an advice, "sometimes... an interdiction is evidenced in a weakened form, as a request or a bit of advice..." (Propp, 1968:26). The Star-Child, in his arrogance,

chooses to ignore this advice and hence we get a *violation***.** So far, the match between the preparatory section of the tale and the stages of the initial situation is almost perfect.

The next motif function *A (villainy)* is "…exceptionally important …" because "…the complication is begun with an act of villainy" (1968:30). The act of villainy here springs from the violation of the interdiction, in keeping with Propp's idea that preparatory section paves the way for this important morphological function to occur. In this violation the Star-Child commits the sin of being cruel to his own mother only because she is ugly, old and poor. The villainy here is a combination of two subtypes $A^{6}{}_{9}$ *(maiming, mutilation and expulsion)* because he throws stones at her and bids her to leave. A disfiguration follows his behaviour to his mother rendering him as ugly in his appearance as he is in his heart which corresponds to function *Transfiguration* (T^{1}). This is first of the two transfigurations that he goes through. This first one brings pain and hatred with it. When he himself experiences repulsion and rejection, the gravity of his sin dawns upon him.

The Star-Chid now faces the ensuing lack (a^{1}*, lack of an individual),* the lack of a mother whose love he had rejected, and to repair this lack, he decides to embark on a journey. If we are to go by Propp's order of functions, the next character (s) to appear should be the donor(s). The mole, the linnet and the squirrel elliptically fulfil the eligibility. Function type D^{5} fits in here; the animals might or might not have begged for mercy but their response at this moment seems to suggest so. His sin overtakes him here; his cruel treatment of the animals and birds in the past here fit in with the function $E^{1}{}_{-neg}$. He had failed the test in the past and the result has its effect now. The animals and the bird remind him of his cruelty which has now disabled them from helping him in his trouble. His past lack of pity then leads to $F_{contr.}$ He is denied help and a cruel period of his life commences from this moment. The three creatures with similar fate and responses are an example of trebling denoted by ':' denial of help from would-be donors moves our protagonist to the next function G^{2} when he wanders all over the world in search of his mother. He wanders for three years, the classic number of repetition in folk and fairy tales, before he reaches anywhere.

If we go by Propp's thesis that each new act of villainy begins a new move, then we have a new move even before the old one has ended, a phenomenon quite possible in Propp's schemes.

A magician buys the now ugly Star-Child and locks him up in a room, makes him his slave and treats him very harshly; perfect match with A^{15}. The villain (the magician) expresses the desire to have three pieces of gold hidden somewhere in the woods, a *lack* of type a^3. He commands the Star-Child to get the gold pieces on threat of punishments of the worse kind. This can easily translate itself into function *M (difficult task).* At this point enters the next character, the donor. The Star-Child ,in his search for the gold pieces in the woods hears a hare's cry of pain, and releases it corresponding elliptically to D^4 variety of the function *D (1st function of the donor).*The Star-Child's positive reaction results in the *receipt of a magical agent,* i.e., a piece of white gold. With this, we have a successful completion of a difficult task function *N.* The next function is the return of the hero and the Star-Child's return journey is a perfect fit in this case.

In a usual train of events in a story the solution of a difficult task ends the troubles of a hero and leads to motifs *K (liquidation of a lack), ↓ (return) and W (wedding).* Our tale at this point exhibits a significant deviation. The Star-Child is waylaid on the path home by another character, a leper in misery who demands the piece of white gold from him. Where do we place this character in Propp's scheme? Do we call him a donor? But he does not actually give anything to him, rather the reverse in fact. However, in the event of the tale, we find that the leper was actually testing the hero corresponding to function $D^5{}_1$ and the hero's positive response E^5**.** He hands the gold piece to the leper which finally leads to *K***.** In this light the leper can be viewed as a 'helper', one of the dramatis personae mentioned by Propp. The consequent beating that the Star-Child receives from the magician at his failure to fulfil his demand, is in keeping with the motif J^1 *(a brand is applied to the body).* This whole episode of finding different coloured pieces of gold, the bagger's iterant request and consequent beating is repeated three times; a trebling of moves. In the third of these moves, the events take a turn forward. Before he could get to the magician, with the thought of the impending beating and threatened death in his mind, the Star-Child is surrounded by a huge crowd welcoming and admiring him for his beauty. He gets lost among the crowd as per function $G^2{}_3$. Function *Q (recognition of the hero)* is found when he is hailed as the king that was prophesied for the land. His second *Transfiguration* (T^1) has also taken place with regaining his lost beauty. Not only is it physical but a spiritual redemption too, and at the same time, we have the transfiguration of the leper and the beggar woman, too, from beggars to a king and a queen, with the *liquidation* of his *lack* (K^4). The punishment meted out to the magician relates to function *U* and the Star-Child's ascension to the throne to W^*.

Ambiguities

The tale interpreted in the light of Propp's morphological function does present some ambiguities. The *villainy* in the first move is not generated by the villain but by the hero himself. However, the act can still be termed as villainy because Propp's measure for the judgement of a function is "…the principle of defining a function according to its consequences" (1968:67). In this light the act can be termed as villainy though enacted by the hero himself.

In fact, at the beginning of the tale we first encounter the hero as actually the villain, though later on in keeping with prototypical character of a fairy tale hero he takes a turn over to the other side of the character.

The nature of motif *M (difficult task)* also presents certain ambiguity. Propp distinguishes between *M and* "…a dispatch of complicational nature" (p.68). His morphology says that if a dispatch gives rise to a departure, prolonged search *(C↑),* the meeting with a donor and so on, we have a complicational element *(a, B, lack and its solution).* In our tale, we have all the elements of a complication because the nature of the task set to the hero resembles the quality of a difficult task. It is repeated three times as usual though not an essential feature of *M.* It can be interpreted as a synthesis of both, since it is both a difficult task as well as complicated in nature.

Monaghan (1974:162-163) has looked at the structure of "The Star-Child" from Proppian perspective. He locates a *lack* in the Star-Child's cruel attitude and lack of pity, his mal-treatment of his mother as function *B*, his wanderings as *departure*↑. He identifies the magician as the donor, function *D*. His threefold interaction with the Hare is read as function *E (Reaction of the Hero)* and function *F(the acquisition of the magical agent)*. According to Monaghan (p.163) the magical agent is the pity which he had lacked at the outset. His transformation back to his physical beauty and entrance into the city is read as function *G (transference to a designated place)*, the forgiveness he receives from his parents is the liquidation of the misfortune and his ascension to throne as final function *(W).*

Conclusion

Though not all thirty one functions identified by Propp were found in these tales, (it is not essential that a tale should have all these functions), yet they occur in the sequence that he specified. Neither of the tales disturbs the sequence at all. Most of

these functions are realized in abstract terms rather than n material. However, that does not affect their morphological nature or status. They fulfil the inherent act that is symbolized by those functions. The characters usually keep within their own sphere of action though some of them move between more than one sphere. *The Young King* yields *H-I* (struggle-victory) scheme of move patterns while *The Star-Child* contains both *H-I* and *M-N* (difficult task and its resolution) move patterns. This leads to the conclusion that *The Star-Child* is more complicated in its structure.

The ambiguities pointed out in the above analysis do not seriously affect the morphological structure of the tales. Instead of disturbing the morphology of the tales, they lend a richness of interpretation to them, transforming them into a form of literature that is addressed to both children and adults.

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The Darkest Pit:[1] The Shadow in Wordsworth's Poetry

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Abstract

This paper reads Wordsworth's poetry from a Jungian point of view, and asserts that Wordsworth's poetry focuses on the unconscious and its contents. Turning one's back on the unconscious leads to the development of the shadow. We also contend that Wordsworth seems to urge his reader to turn to the unconscious in order to integrate the shadow into the conscious—something which helps us have a more productive, empathic, and healthy life on individual level and more tolerant, understanding, and peaceful life on collective level.

Keywords: Wordsworth, Jung, the unconscious, the darkest pit

Introduction

The image of "the darkest pit" in the title of this paper, perhaps describes the unconscious in the best possible way—the depth and the darkness symbolize the unconscious.[2] Its recurrence in various forms in Wordsworth's poetry gives the reader a feeling that he/she is voyaging through the dark world of the unconscious and is exploring its depth in order to bring the unknown contents to the known world of the conscious.

The most immediate content of the unconscious is the shadow which is born as a result of the individual's overdeveloped persona.[3] For it is nature's law that where the sun is, there shall shade be; and by the same token, where the persona is, there shall shadow be. All that we hate and despise or what we do not want to be is what constitutes our shadow. [4] Since the shadow archetype exists in the upper layer of the unconscious quite immediate to the conscious, the process of individuation starts from our encounter with it.[5] The shadow, being the undesirable dark side of our personality, is not publicly presentable. We push back any behaviour, action, notion, belief, or practice which our society considers "bad," "wrong," or "evil." This is why we keep such dark side of our personality hidden and suppressed; exposing it to the society tarnishes our public image, and disturbs our adjustment to our social norms. We don't allow this side of our personality to develop. Our constant suppression of the shadow eventually makes it negative which turns totally against us and erodes our persona by flooding all the external barriers. Instead of looking within ourselves and accepting our own weaknesses or the evil within, we go on projecting the evil onto others. In order to make our attitude positive, efficient, and productive, what we need the most is to pay serious attention to the neglected part of our own selves. This is more or less the attitude of the romantics for whom the dark or the invisible, the infinite or the unknown, which are the characteristics of the unconscious, is more important than the brighter and the visible in life. Their whole focus is to look within their own being or the unconscious and illuminate the dark side of themselves.[6]

Paying attention to the unconscious helps us focus on its contents, which invariably leads to coming to terms with oneself—something that a Jungian would call individuation. One explores and learns about the neglected aspects of one's being—some of the basic instincts that all humans overlook or even suppress to suit themselves to the immediate social environment around them. Thus while they shine from without, they cast a shadow of the bright face from within. The more one pursues the socially acceptable and desirable face, the darker the shadow becomes, and in the process one turns back on the unconscious. This overdevelopment of the persona makes one lopsided. Instead of accepting our shadow as part of our being, we turn against it, and want to eliminate it.

To be able to strike a balance between the outer and the inner worlds or the conscious and the unconscious, one has to look inside and integrate the suppressed aspects into the conscious. One has to learn to live with what is the undesirable, the unacceptable, the disgusting, the evil—something which is as

much part of one's being or of a society as the desirable, the acceptable, the presentable, the good. I argue that like most Romantics, Wordsworth also focuses on the neglected and the suppressed aspects of life, the shadow, in order to integrate them into the conscious. His focus on the characters which are otherwise marginalized in a society, like leech gatherers, beggars, gipsies, are a good example of his attempt to integrate these undesirable events and neglected denizens—something that a Jungian would call the contents of the society or the unconscious. This chapter reads Wordsworth's poetry from a Jungian point of view, and asserts that Wordsworth's poetry focuses on the unconscious and its contents; that turning one's back on the unconscious leads to the development of the shadow. I also contend that Wordsworth seems to urge his reader to turn to the unconscious to integrate the shadow into the conscious—something which helps us have a more productive, empathic, and healthy life on individual level and more tolerant, understanding, and peaceful life on collective level. This, however, is possible only when the conscious and the unconscious interact with each other.

The frequent use of nocturnal imagery in Wordsworth poetry requires a careful analysis. He employs images which evoke immensity and vastness or infinity, which are the common characteristics of the unconscious. That means focus on the unconscious is one of the common motifs in Wordsworth's poetry. Images like "the dark winter night" (*Excursion* VII, 448) [7]; and "dark-green wood" ("Descriptive Sketches," 269); "secreted islands" (*Prelude* X, 63); the "rocky cave" ("Composed While…," 5); the "dark cave, the goblin's hall" ("The Idiot Boy," 228); the "sunless cleft" ("The Faery Chasm," 2); "Nature's dark abyss" ("Lines Composed at Grasmere,"18); "subterranean fields" (*Prelude* X,62); "the sunless land" ("Extempore Effusion,"24); "A dungeon dark" (Is there a power…," 4) are only some of the images that symbolize the unconscious. All these images suggest something which is not clearly visible or accessible, more like the unconscious which in itself has a world of its own but which has not been explored to the maximum. They also bring to mind the idea of an immense storehouse where, in addition to its own contents or potential, we store condemned articles or discarded objects.

The contents of the unconscious are the archetypes; the most well-known are the persona and the shadow. The former we acquire as we interact with the world around us. And as we adjust ourselves to our surroundings, we push back into the unconscious instincts, actions, and ideas which our society considers undesirable; Jungians call these personal shadow. The more we consciously adjust ourselves to our mores and social norms, the darker the shadow grows. Wordsworth, in a way,

prefigures what Jung and Jungians call psychological truths. Reading his poetry from a Jungian point of view reveals that Wordsworth also talks about issues which a Jungian would describe as the personal and the collective shadows; the latter is what a society, ethnicity or people of a country consider undesirable, unacceptable, evil etc.[8] The shadow is the first and foremost archetype of the unconscious which has the most powerful and troubling influence on individual's personality.[9] Like the unconscious, the shadow, being a content of the unconscious, is also associated with darkness. The two are, however, different in that the unconscious is the whole, while the shadow, an archetype, is one of the infinite parts of the whole. The shadow is associated with darkness because it is not conscious, and being undesirable is negative in nature. It is something that we want to keep in the dark so no one sees it as it is the unacceptable part of our being. The shadow is something that we hate. Images like "a dark abominable pit" ("At Bologna…," 4), "abhorred den" (*Borderers*, 546) and "shadowy cave" ("To the Moon," 63) clearly point to the dark side of an individual or of society. The personal shadow, Jung says, is "acquired during the individual's lifetime" while the collective shadow[10] is "present from the beginning" and are common to all human kind.[11] For example, the idea of evil is common to all societies and ethnicities irrespective of time and place. However, the things, actions, and/or ideas that we consider evil change from place to place and time to time.

Wordsworth's poetry contains examples of both the shadows but here in this paper I will confine myself to the collective one which, being an archetype of the "collective unconscious" (Jung, *Portable*, 60), is antique, primitive, and inherited. [12] As an archetypal content, the collective shadow represents the collective psyche of a whole group, community, society or a nation on the basis of religion, ethnicity, profession, politics, caste and colour. It will not be inappropriate to say that our hatred and prejudice against some societies, communities, religions, or professions is only because of our inherent collective shadow lurking within ourselves. It takes on different colours and contours according to beliefs and norms of society and culture. Satan, Devil, or their symbolic variants are some of the seminal collective shadow figures in Judo-Christian-Islamic belief system. These variants are found in every culture, from gods and goddesses through witches and furies to ghosts and fairy tales. [13] The archetypal evil is responsible for motivating our acts and actions through which we demonize others to divinize our egos and personas as the only representatives of what is "good" in the world. Instead of blaming ourselves for our own weaknesses and failings we hold "others" responsible. All societies have the practice of "demonizing" certain things or people. We can confidently say that

Wordsworth deals with the issue of highlighting the dark side or suppressed aspects of life. By doing so, he not only accepts these aspects as an essential part of human life, he also integrates them into the conscious. He fetches them from the background to the foreground, and thus integrates them into the conscious. He confidently handles, through some of the characters, the problem of the shadow at collective level. "The Old Cumberland Beggar" and "Gipsies," (used by the poet as titles) are enough to evoke collective pictures of what society demonizes as evil, satanic, inhuman, and ominous for no fault of theirs, but to glorify our personas as good, divine, human, and auspicious. Thus the characters of the beggar and gipsies coupled with that of the Leech-gatherer in "Resolution and Independence" give us a clear picture of shadow at the collective level. Compared to the integration of the individual shadow, the collective shadow is far more difficult to handle because it requires positive and productive changes at social level to accept the unacceptable and undesirable figures as extensions of our psychic wholeness as humans. The ideas and beliefs associated with certain professions like leech-gathering, shoe-making, drumming or begging are not considered as clean, respectable, and decent in society. Being undesirable is what makes these professions symbolic of the collective shadow.

Wordsworth's "Resolution and Independence" is one of such poems which deals with the problem of integrating the marginalized collective shadow into the conscious. The Leech-gatherer, who roams "from pond to pond" (103) to "gather leeches" (100), appears to be socially disgusting and abhorrent. The job of gathering leeches is deemed untidy, indecent and publicly un-presentable in society. This is why Leech-gatherer is symbolic of the undesirable dark side or the collective shadow of the society. We deem those individuals and families related to such humble professions as an inferior lot of a community or a society. Likewise there are other professions as well which are deemed as disrespectful and despicable on religious, cultural, or moral grounds. Our hatred and bias against such professions are deeply rooted in our unconscious. That means that we are in the complete grip or possession of an archetype of the collective shadow which generally leads to despising such unpretentious professions and professionals at the conscious level in order to be acceptable to society. The result is that we "otherize" a class of individuals from the main stream of society in our unconscious attempt to follow the demands of the persona, and lose our spiritual contact with the bigger whole of humanity. To accept the unacceptable within and without is a moral challenge for the conscience of an individual or society as it tarnishes our social image around. The recognition and integration of the shadow into the

conscious as involve a lot of sacrifices in the form of cherished ideals, the shedding of our unnatural or false selves and above all the self- surrender of the inflated ego.[14] As Jung says:

> To be conscious of [the shadow] involves recognizing the dark aspects of the personality as present and real. This act is the essential condition for any kind of self-knowledge, and it therefore, as a rule meet with considerable resistance. Indeed, self-knowledge as a psychotherapeutic measure frequently requires much painstaking work extending over a long period (*Portable*, 145).

Wordsworth's saying, "The old Man's shape, and speech—all troubled me; / In my mind's eye" (128-29), may be symbolically interpreted as a troubling experience of meeting the shadow. The resemblance of "the oldest man" with "a *sea-beast crawled forth*, that on a shelf/ Of rock or sand reposeth, there *to sun itself*" (62-63. Emphasis mine) is an interesting image to note. The image symbolizes the terrible manifestation of the shadow out of the sea of the unconscious in order to be illuminated or integrated into the conscious. It implies that such marginalized individuals need to be actively functional parts of society, enriching it with diversified skills and talents. They too, like us, desire to be respectable denizens of society. The description of the old Man in the following passage gives us some clear clues about the undesirable associations of the collective shadow figures. Wordsworth says:

> Such seemed this Man, *not all alive nor dead*,
> Nor all asleep—in his old age:
> His body was bent double, feet and head
> Coming together in life's pilgrimage;
> As if some dire constraint of pain, or rage
> Of sickness felt by him in times long past,
> *A more than human weight upon his frame* had cast
>
> ("Independence and Resolution," 64-70. Emphasis mine).

The picture of a man half dead /half alive is good enough to suggest fear and horror, imaging something unhealthy for us to accept as part of our personality or for society to absorb as one of its operatives gone faulty. The crooked figure of the Leech-gatherer read with "more than human weight upon his frame" and "dire constraint of pain, or rage / Of sickness" has a strong symbolic connection with

"dwarfs" interpreted as shadow in Jungian studies. Dwarf figures literally represent what is below "normal" from the viewpoint of our monotheistic ego. Thus we can easily assume that the Leech-gather is a shadow figure tickling our imagination for integration.

Manifestation of the collective shadow may also be traced in the character of the aged Beggar in "The Old Cumberland Beggar." Begging is also an undesirable profession which makes it a collective shadow of the society. Beggars are marginalized humans in every society. They are deemed as despicable and most undesirable humans, which is why they are obvious symbols of the collective shadow of every society. In our blind pursuits of personas we fail to see humanness in such neglected humans. Due to lack of self-knowledge or lack of consciousness we are unable to accept the Other as dark side of ourselves. The result is marginalization and "otherization" of humans from the central stream of the society. The result is that we demonize them and make then the butt of our hate, and thus subsequently try to "eliminate" them; hate crimes have this energy in the backdrop. Wordsworth in this poem handles the problem of marginalization of a profession which is the product of injustice and inequitable distribution of wealth, which forces a group into begging. From a symbolic perspective, the ego world pushes some contents into the background as unacceptable and abominable. Wordsworth, through the character of an aged Beggar, conveys a message to integrate the collective shadow in order to stay in touch with the bigger whole. The aged Beggar who "Shouts" from the "woody lane" (39-38) of the society is symbolic of the call of the unconscious to integrate the collective shadow. These calls of the marginalized humans we hear from time to time as reminders of the unconscious collective shadow for integration in the society. But being blinded by maddening worldly hunts we turn our deaf ear to them. The "sauntering Horseman" (26), who "safely lodge[s] the coin / Within the old man's hat" (28-29) (the former symbolizes the conscious and the latter the collective shadow) shows his symbolic gesture of empathy with the marginalized other or the collective shadow. The boy, who "passes gently by, [the Beggar] without a curse / upon his lips or anger at his heart" (42-43) also shows a potential symptom of his tendency to see humanness in the marginalized humans. These symbolic gestures perhaps reveal one's tendency which leads to accept the Other as an inseparable part of one's self. Seeing the dark Other (neglected humans) or the collective shadow as an essential part of ours is the true test of one's personality development. Whitmont says:

> Acceptance of oneself is the essence of the moral problem and the acid test of one's whole outlook on life. That I feed the beggar, that I forgive an insult, that I love my enemy in the name of Christ—all these are undoubtedly are great virtues….but if I should discover that the least among them all, the poorest of all beggars, the most impudent of all offenders, yea the very fiend himself—that these are within me, and I myself stand in need of the alms of my own kindness, that I myself am the enemy who must be loved—what then (169).

The reader is tempted to bring the neglected Other back to the main stream of society with reference to the figures and images read in the light of the above quotes. That does not mean that we should encourage begging; certainly not. We must encourage a sense of earning money in a respectable manner rather than asking for it without working for it. But this too is a fact that failing to see humanness in such neglected and unkempt humans is to distance ourselves from the bigger whole of society. The aged Beggar being symbolic of the collective shadow is a psychic reminder to all of us to integrate the dark Other into the conscious in order to achieve harmony at individual and societal level. "Otherizing" leads to psychic split and disintegration on individual and societal levels both. This is why Wordsworth says:

> But deem not this Man useless—Statesmen! Ye
> Who are so restless in your wisdom, ye
> Who have a broom still ready in your hands
> To rid the world of *nuisances*; ye proud,
> Heart-swoln, while in your pride you contemplate
> Your talent, power, or wisdom, deem him not
> *A burthen of the earth*! 'tis Nature's law
> That none, *the meanest of created things*,
> Of forms created *the most vile and brute*,
> The *dullest or most noxious*, should exist
> Divorced from good—a spirit and pulse of good,
> A life and soul, to every mode of being
> Inseparably linked ("The Old Cumberland Beggar," 67-79).

Here the "statesmen" with authority and power representing the conscious are symbolic of the lopsided individuals with inflated egos. Due to overdeveloped personas, we fail to see humanness in the marginalized humans. In our chaotic

endeavour for adjustment to social "acceptables", we are always "ready" "To rid the world of nuisances" or bent upon suppressing and marginalizing whatever is unacceptable to us under persona-possession. But due to lack of self-knowledge we do not know that "the meanest," "most vile and brute," "The dullest or most noxious," all being undesirable, are symbolic manifestations of our collective shadow or the dark side of the society of which we are denizens. We deem these ignored humans as "burden" on society, but we are unconscious of the simple fact that they are inexplicable part of ourselves and society. Emile Legouis says:

> Contempt for man as he is, contempt for the world of reality, such at bottom is the twofold source of the disease from which men are suffering. This contempt, born of pride and impotence, is the height of impiety, and those who indulge in it may be said to be justly punished by the despair in which it results. *Nothing that this world contains is worthy of contempt; none who inhabits it has the right to despise* (77, Emphasis mine).

As the shadow warns us of our ignorance or lack of self-knowledge, so is the aged Beggar who as "A silent monitor" reminds us of "self-congratulation" (123-25) or self-acceptance or the dark half of our personalities. Extending helping hand to "the abject poor" (142) would be a symbolic gesture of empathy and compassion which can help us accept the undesirable dark side of ourselves and the society. Our conscious expression of friendliness and love for the "otherized" humans can strengthen bonds of humanity. But the lack of such affections will further widen the gulf and will distance us from the bigger whole.

As evil and good are "inseparably linked" so are the persona and the shadow. One of the extreme forms of denial of the collective shadow is to marginalize humans or societies on religious, ethnic, cultural, moral and racial grounds, which leads to sectarianism, racism, fascism, and xenophobia. Holocausts are a good example of it. Societies which are considered as "less" or "inferior" to others are also symbolic of the collective shadow because all our weaknesses are the constituents of our shadow. For example, the Arabian and the Indian societies are generally considered "less" among European societies or vice versa. Similarly, the Jews were a collective German shadow for the Nazis. No matter how much "inferior" these societies or humans are, they are inseparable part of the whole—humanity. We can never snuff them out of the society as they are manifestation of the dark half of ourselves. These marginalized humans are "Like dry remnant of a garden-flower / whose seeds are shed" (85-86). We need to accept them as necessary parts of

our being "for this single cause / That we have all of us one human heart" (152-53) or denizens of the same human society. Our neglect of this "dry remnant" or neglected humans leads us to selfishness, hatred, intolerance, and violence which pose a serious threat to the harmony and peace of the world. Due to our "selfishness and cold oblivious cares" we are not mindful of this serious threat to human bonds; the aged Beggar is a symbolic reminder. Wordsworth says:

> While from door to door
> This old Man creeps, the villagers in him
> Behold a record which together binds
> Past deeds and offices of charity,
> Else unremembered, and so keeps alive
> The kindly mood in hearts which lapse of years,
> And that half-wisdom half-experience gives,
> Make slow to feel, and by sure steps resign
> To selfishness and cold oblivious cares. (87-95).

Wordsworth's example of the kind neighbour who gives alms to this "old Mendicant" is another point for analysis. The act relates to the theme of the positive aspect of the unconscious urging us to connect with our fellow beings, which is not possible without kindness and compassion. This happens only when there is a regular traffic between the conscious and the unconscious. Wordsworth describes it in a variety of ways. For example, he writes:

> Such pleasure is to one kind Being known,
> My neighbour, when with punctual care, each week,
> Duly as Friday comes, though pressed herself
> By her own wants, she from her store of meal
> Takes one unsparing handful for the scrip
> Of this *old Mendicant,* and, from her door
> Returning with exhilarated heart (154-60, Emphasis mine).

From the expressions "let him pass…/ Unblamed, uninjured" (162-66) we can infer that Wordsworth feels the problem of how we unconsciously blame and injure the integral parts of ourselves and our society. The following passage clearly points to this urge of how we intensely need to integrate the marginalized collective shadow in the form of marginalized humans for psychic growth and development. Wordsworth writes:

let him breathe
The freshness of the valleys; let his blood
Struggle with frosty air and winter snows;
And let the chartered wind that sweeps the heath
Beat his grey locks against his withered face.
……
May never house, a misnamed of industry,
Make him a captive!—for that pent up din (172-76 &179-80).

Similarly, Wordsworth's "Gipsies" also reflects another encounter with the collective shadow and a more primitive side of the psyche. The gypsies in almost every society are marginalized and undesirable humans; which is why Wordsworth calls them "Wild outcasts of society" (28). Being undesirable is what makes these vagrants symbolic of the collective shadow of the whole society. While talking about Roma/Gypsies in the United Sates, Jerilyn Smith says, "Many Roma have been forced to hide their identity within the mainstream to avoid continued marginalization and ongoing attempts towards their extinction" (Abstract). Wordsworth's highlighting of these dark contents of the society points to this problem of marginalization of the collective shadow as part and parcel of our being. In our blind pursuit of personas we fail to see them as part of ourselves. The result is that we demonize and "otherize" these humble contents of society. This alienated "unbroken knot / Of human Beings" is the subject of our "scorn" ("Gipsies," 1-2, 26). The slaves are a good example of marginalization. Collective marginalization of humans on racial, religious, and social or cultural grounds is more dangerous than the individual shadow. The collective shadow often leads to counter move on continuous suppression as "crossed fingers, gives us an 'out' when pressed too far" (Wilmer, 17). Bloody revolutions and holocausts are good examples. Talking about the collective shadow Mattoon says:

> The collective shadow is more consistently destructive. It is sometimes described as "absolute" evil. I prefer to say that the evil of the collective shadow is as absolute as possible in human life…The collective shadow's manifestations are the offences of the racial, economic and social groups against each other (Mattoon, Preface, ix).

All marginalized minorities in the world exhibit features of the collective shadow as they are deemed "less" and "inferior" on the basis of caste, colour, creed, profession or politics. This leads to racism, extremism, and hatred in the society.

Whitmont says, "Every minority and every dissenting group carries the shadow projection of the majority, be it Negro, white, Gentile, Jew, Italian, Irish, Chinese or French" (168). While referring to Jung, Massimo Lanzaro says that "not only the individual, but also whole nations, communities, and groups had shadows that had to be encountered. He [Jung] felt that the shadow has typically been demonized and 'made evil,' rather than viewed in a philosophical and more fair or equitable light"(1). This attitude of the people leads to communal riots, mass massacre, and terrorism in the society. Jung, while talking about the Psychology of Nazism, points to this collective shadow of the mass psychology as "'blond beast' [which] was stirring in an uneasy slumber and that an outburst was not impossible" (*Essays*, 2).[15]

In the present day world of conflicts and disintegration, to acknowledge the collective shadow has become a challenging task for all of us. That is why Martin Drahon Gallard says, "Consequently one must act, not only in relation to the conscious personality, but in relation to the contents of the shadow which is often in contradiction with consciousness" (in Mattoon, *Archetype of the Shadow*, 201). Instead of coming to terms with the shadow as "the ever-present dark brother or sister" (Whitmont, 168), we are spending lots of resources on the eradication of the shadow which is our futile attempt. In other words, we wage wars with what (shadow) cannot be eliminated. That is why Wilmer says, "How appetizing is the next shadow after you have one under your belt" (99)! Instead of bringing marginalized humans and societies closer to ourselves, we are bent upon eliminating them which leads to further disintegration of the society and the world.

We can integrate or become conscious of the collective shadow only when we interact with the unconscious. The images and expressions Wordsworth uses and which are analyzed below come remarkably close to how a Jungian would describe the same thought or situation of interaction with the unconscious that Wordsworth illustrates. For example, "peopling the dark woods" (*Excursion* I, 165) is one such image. The basic human instincts that become desirable or undesirable based on the social norms and mores which surround us are the contents of the dark woods which people the unconscious. One may also look at the same image in terms of individuals or societies with overdeveloped persona but turning to the woods (the unconscious) enable them to recognize and integrate the contents of the unconscious into the conscious. The idea of spending time in the woods or the wilderness when one has been overwhelmed by the fast pace of life is one of the most popular pastimes even today; we get a chance to reconnect with the aspects

of life that we otherwise do not find time to acknowledge. The sojourn into the woods, mountains, or deserts gives us the much needed respite from the otherwise hectic schedule in which we blindly pursue the dos and don'ts of our profession. We feel refreshed and revived, which is exactly what re-connecting with the unconscious does. Hence entering "the dark woods" is symbolically equivalent to staying in touch with the unconscious and assimilating its contents into the conscious which ennobles us with "that blessed mood:"

> In which the burthen of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world,
> Is lightened:--that serene and blessed mood,
> In which the affections gently lead us on ("Tintern Abbey," 37- 42).

It will not be inappropriate to say that keeping in touch with the unconscious leads humans to shed their unnatural selves and stand psychologically transformed or converted.

Wordsworth's urge to interact with the unconscious is so vibrant that one feels, while reading his poetry, as if he/she joins a venture to explore "the darkest pit" of the unconscious in order to bring its contents into the conscious. This urge of the poet "To illuminate the abyss of ages past" (*Prelude* XII, 63) symbolically points to highlight and integrate the contents of the unconscious into the conscious. The achievement of psychic balance comes from accessing the unconscious in a positive way. The symbolic act of integrating the shadow/unconscious is also traced in Wordsworth's "Beggars." His interaction with those whom he calls "a weed of glorious feature" (18) and gives the woman beggar "a boon" (17) highlights the problem of how we ignore to integrate the contents of the collective shadow. Wordsworth, through this poem, gives us a message to be accommodative, tolerant, and benign towards marginalized humans as our collective shadow which is an essential part of ourselves both at individual and collective levels.

Becoming conscious of the shadow leads to the discovery of the self; we see our personality and that of the others as a blend of both the desirable (the persona) and the undesirable (the shadow). The image, "Hermit's cave where by his fire / The hermit sits alone" ("Tintern Abbey," 21-22), symbolically points to this situation. The "cave" being dark symbolizes the unconscious and the fire the hermit lights

symbolizes the conscious. The hermit sees of the cave as much as the light allows him to exactly the way we know of ourselves as much as we have been able to integrate into the conscious. Believing that what the hermit can see is all that is there to the cave is not acknowledging the immense potential that might be there in the form of dangerous chasms and beautiful and precious crystals in the cave. The hermit being "alone" in the dark cave symbolizes the disregard that we ought to have at times for the social mores and norms so we can connect with the inner being where we have more than we are conscious of. This, however, does not mean that we have to be necessarily hermitic to reconnect with the unconscious. But the ability to be flexible enough to suit ourselves to the social environment and simultaneously be conscious of how we are being desirable at the cost of turning our back on the undesirable is in fact acknowledging the known and the unknown both. We have to be conscious that we are good at the cost of ignoring the bad in us, and that both are essential parts of our being. Being conscious of the persona and of the shadow means we have better self-knowledge. The image of a hermit in his hut stands for the effort to have the self-knowledge that makes us tolerant and mindful of the preferences and choices of others. Instead of being judgmental and hateful we accept others as different faces of the diverse society or societies that we have around us.

The characters found in Wordsworth's poetry belong to the lower stratum of human society: beggars, leech-gatherers, stranded females, gypsies, and convicts. Compressed into a single expression, the above figures can be described as a "stranger," which we are never ready to recognize as a functional mechanism of our psychological dynamics. It is Wordsworth's feeling antenna that captures the repressed side as beggars and gypsies and their other nomenclatures. These beggars and gypsies symbolically refer to an abyss in our psychological lives—the lack of integration of the collective shadow.

Our interaction with the unconscious helps us acknowledge all those weaknesses and "inferiorities constituting the shadow" (Jung, *Portable*, 145). Instead of demonizing them for the behaviours and attitudes that we find disgusting, we accept them as an integral part of every individual and society. It is only after we have recognized weaknesses, blemishes that we can work on them and can turn them into our strengths. Not that we are able to integrate all the suppressed aspects into the conscious. Being conscious of the shadow is a continuous struggle, and at times very painful too; it takes a lot of courage to publicly own our weaknesses. Being an archetype, the shadow is an essential part of our being. We

cannot eliminate it at all; there is always the Achilles ' Heel, but the mere awareness and consciousness of our vulnerabilities is what ensures the harmony that we all need at the individual and societal levels. Without this, we only look for scapegoats on whom we thrust the undesirable aspects of our personality and society—aspects which essentially define us. Believing conspiracy theories is a good example of this phenomenon so common today.

The recognition of the shadow is beneficial and healthy for balanced growth of individual and society. Knowing and being conscious that there is a dark side to us is indeed very humbling; it makes us more empathic and accommodating. Actions and behaviours that we hate in others are mostly part and parcel of our day to day life. We may laugh at others for being thrifty, but fail to see how we are not generous enough to accept the thriftiness of others—something which is symptomatic of the shadow. Becoming conscious of the shadow helps us understand that we also have in our personality traits and behaviours that we hate in others. We realize that what we pursue as a desirable norm is a temporary role and an adjustment to our social environment; not the whole and absolute identity. Being conscious of the shadow helps us stay rooted in reality; we become conscious of how people in other social environments have their desirable and undesirable norms. While we consciously pursue the persona, we also remain conscious of how there is a dark side to us that we hide from others. As such, being conscious of the shadow is like having the proverbial "wise old man" next to us who reminds us of our weaknesses; our drawbacks; and of the side of our personality that we hide from people. Wilmer says that the ancient Romans were aware of the danger of turning one's back on the shadow and of becoming unconscious of it. He says:

> In ancient Rome it was the custom of the conquering hero to ride triumphantly through the city. By the side in the chariot sat a wise man whispering into the hero's ear, over and over "You are mortal. Remember you are mortal" (99).

Our conscious integration of the shadow helps us see through the complex world around us. The divisions and differences that we have in society and in the world are most of the times beyond our comprehension. We thrive on the divisions we make based on sects, colours, ethnicities, politics etc. The result is that human society and the world around us seems to shrink. We have walls around us which we continue to strengthen. And in the process, the serious problems facing all denizens of society or

citizens of the world continue to challenge us. Feuds, rivalries, and enmities, which are the ultimate symptoms of the shadow, pose more and more threats to us on individual and global levels. We take pride in building more and more weapons to destroy humanity in the name of strengthening our defence, but overlook research on epidemics, life-threatening diseases, famine, and abysmal poverty. Human actions like these tax us with questions the answers to which are lost in the blind pursuit of being the best, the mighty, or the super power of the world.

What we learn from the analysis of "the darkest pit" is that denial of the shadow disturbs our inner and outer adjustment in the society and the world around. The more we suppress the shadow or the dark side of our personality, the farther we go from ourselves and from the bigger whole of humanity. Neglect of the individual shadow damages us individually, but neglect or marginalization of the collective shadow damages the whole society or the whole world. Our denial to embrace the collective shadow leads to racism, sectarianism, extremism, hatred, violence and holocausts.

Healthy, peaceful, and productive life essentially demand our conscious integration of the shadow into our attitudes and accept the rights of others as we assert ours. Our conscious acceptance of the shadow within ourselves and in the society leads to the solution of many problems, conflicts, and discords within and without. Knowing ourselves through knowing the shadow is the road to reach harmony within ourselves and in the society. The study of the image "the darkest pit" in its various forms helps us to connect with the shadow which is like an inner guide who prevents us from going astray and helps to connect ourselves with the bigger whole. Conscious acceptance of the shadow helps us know our origin as to who we are; where we are from; and what relation we have with others around us. In order to reach harmony within ourselves and in the society around us is not possible without integrating the collective shadow which leads us to rehabilitate the rejected and the marginalized humans back into the main stream of the society. This helps the individuals meet each other like sovereign states with all mutual respect and dignity, and who never lose sight of each other's humanity.

Notes

[1] The image, "The Darkest Pit," placed in the title of this paper is from *The Excursion:* Preface to the Edition of 1814, line 36. The image symbolizes the unconscious and the shadow. The latter is the main focus of this paper.

[2] Jung's psychological theory is based upon the primary assumption that the human psyche has two aspects—the conscious or an outer realm and the unconscious or an inner realm. Jung believes that the unconscious is an essential part of the psyche which, being a hidden counterpart is compensatory to the conscious. It is an infinite storehouse of immense potential the contents of which cannot be all known to the conscious. Only its parts can be accessed, illumined and integrated into the conscious attitude. The qualities Jung attributes to the unconscious are freedom, flexibility, vastness, immensity, irrationality, disorder, chaos, darkness, primitiveness, infiniteness etc. He further says that the conscious and the unconscious are complementary to one another and form a totality which he calls the *self*. For further detail see C.G. Jung, "The Relations Between the Ego and the Unconscious," *The Portable Jung*. Trans. R. F.C. Hull. Ed. Joseph Campbell (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 70-138. Also see C.G. Jung, *On the Nature of Psyche*. Trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York: Princeton University Press, 1960) Rept. by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1982, pp. 94-109.

[3] Jung believes that persona is only a mask of the collective psyche. It is not the real face but an outer covering exposed to the outer world which a person puts on in order to adjust himself/herself to the social environment or norms. He says, "It is a compromise between individual and society as to what a man appears to be" (*Portable*, 106). A well-known Jungian, Marry Ann Mattoon, says:

> *Persona*, the Latin word for mask, designates the part of the personality that one presents to the world to gain social approval or other advantages, and to coincide with one's idea of how one should appear in public. Thus the persona reveals little of what the person is; it is the public face, determined by what one perceives to be acceptable to other people….The persona … is the "presentable" alternative to the "unpresentable" shadow (28. Italics original).

For further detail see C. G Jung, "Relations Between the Ego and the Unconscious," *The Portable Jung*; Frieda Fordham, *Introduction to Jung's Psychology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953), pp. 47-49; Edward C. Whitmont, *The symbolic Quest*: *Basic Concepts Analytical Psychology* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 156-59.

[4] For immediate reference see Andrew Samuels, Bani Shorter and Fred Plaut. *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986). For a relatively detailed discussion on the shadow, see, C. G. Jung, *The Portable Jung*. pp. 144-48; Wilmer, Harry A. M. D. "Shadow Archetype," *Practical Jung: Nuts and Bolts of Jungian Psychotherapy* (Wilmette, Illinois: Chiron Publications, 1987), pp.96-109; Edward C. Whitmont, *The symbolic Quest: Basic Concepts Analytical Psychology.* pp. 160-69; C. G. Jung, *Man and his Symbols* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1964), pp. 171-85.

[5] In the words of Jung, "Individuation means becoming an "in-dividual", and, in so far as "individuality' embraces our inmost, last and incomparable uniqueness, it also implies becoming one's own self" (*Portable*, 121). For further detail see Aniela Jaffe, Jaffe, *The Myth of Meaning*, Trans. R. F. C Hull (New York: G.P Putnam's Sons, 1971) pp. 76-94 and Franz, M.L von, "The Process of Individuation," in C. G. Jung's *Man and his Symbols* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1964).

[6] See C.M. Bowra, *The Romantic Imagination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 271-84; Stuart Curran, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*

(New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 43-44; John Spencer Hill, ed. *The Romantic Imagination* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1977), pp. 94-89.

[7] This and all other subsequent textual references are to William Wordsworth, *Wordsworth: Poetical Works*, 1904, Eds. Thomas Hutchison and Ernest De Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1936, Rept., 1974), and are shown in the text of this work by title of the poem and line numbers in parenthesis unless otherwise indicated.

[8] Although examples of individual shadow can be traced in the well-known boat-stealing and incidents of *The Prelude* Bk.1 and in some other poems, yet due to lack of space I will focus in this paper on the collective shadow only.

[9] See C. G. Jung, *The Portable Jung*. pp. 144-48.

[10] See Harry A. Wilmer. M. D, *Practical Jung: Nuts and Bolts of Jungian Psychotherapy* (Wilmette, Illinois: Chiron Publications, 1987). Pp. 96-99. Also see Marry Ann Mattoon, *Jungian Psychology in Perspective* (New York: The Free Press, 1981), pp.25-28.

[11] Jung, *The Portable Jung*, Pp. 144-45.

[12] For detail see C. G. Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," *The Portable Jung*. Also see C. G. Jung "the unconscious as a Multiple consciousness,"

On the Nature of Psyche. Trans. R.F.C. Hull (New York: Princeton University Press, 1960). Rept. by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1982. pp. 100-09; "Patterns of Behaviour" in this book of Jung. Pp. 110-25; and Frieda Fordham, "The Archetypes of the Collective unconscious" *Introduction to Jung's Psychology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953), pp. 47-68.

[13] See C. George Boeree," Carl Jung" *Personality Theories* (2006). Last accessed on 5.4.2011. <http://www.ship.edu>.

[14] See Frieda Fordham, *Introduction to Jung's Psychology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953), p. 52. Also see Jaffe, Aniela. *The Myth of Meaning*. Pp. 89-90.

[15] Jung holds Germany first among Western nations to be victim of this collective shadow whose forces, which were lying dormant, broke through all moral and intellectual barriers and flooded the conscious world in order to compensate exaggerated role of what Jung calls the "faulty consciousness"(Essays, 3). For detail see C. G. Jung, Introduction: the fight with the shadow, *Essays on Contemporary Events: The Psychology of Nazism*, Trans. R.F.C. Hull (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954).

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The Craving for an Identity in *Meatless Days*

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Abstract

Postcolonial literature is an increasingly rich area of study in the new world scenario when the East and the West are trying more than ever to get closer across apparently insurmountable rifts. The trans-national muddled voices of the colonized states are to be heard distinctly now in English literature, more than ever, pointing at the widening gap between the margin and the centre. The English language, which is the largest legacy of colonization, is made to voice the predicament of the postcolonial experience. The severe feeling of inadequacy and estrangement, resulting in a loss of identity, is one of the prominent issues being addressed in the postcolonial literature. Sara Suleri in her *Meatless Days* boldly delineates the discomforts and inadequacies of belonging to and living in two cultures at the same time. Though Suleri's father was a renowned Pakistani journalist and her mother was Welsh, still she could not help the feeling of being lost somewhere between the margin and the imperial centre.

Keywords: *Meatless Days*; loss of identity; immigrant; postcolonial; memories.

Introduction

Identity issue is foremost in the postcolonial discourse. It is investigated and examined with greater insight and force in the canonical texts of Frantz Fanon (1952), Edward Said (1978), Spivak(1988), Homi K. Bhaba (1994) and Ashis Nandy (1983) while the postcolonial novels and memoirs explore this question from many other interesting and meaningful dimensions. The loss seems to become more profound and complex in the im(migrant)'s writings as most of the narrative paradigms weave into; ' a story of exile and displacement — rich in detail and human experience'.[1] Migrations have dire effects and a continual feeling of loss appears to be the predicament of the immigrants. V.S. Pritchett writes about Conrad, to whom it is nothing else but to experience exile itself; 'he was one of the great moralists of exile. And exile is not emigration, expatriation, etc. etc., but an imposing Destiny'.[2] However, Sara Suleri as an expatriate tries to reconstruct her identity in the relationship between memory, culture, family, food and the negotiation of physical and metaphorical borders, central to the immigrant experience. According to Sangeeta Ray; '[*Meatless Days*] engage in the poignantly arduous task of representing the reconstruction of identities denied, displaced, disabled, and disavowed by the forces of personal and historical migrations and cultural relocations.'[3] In this context the paper argues that her memoir symbolizes a search for identity as she reinvents her representation of family, cultural bonds and her very self while facing headlong the 'cravings' of 'body' and soul. The metaphor of 'meatless' is particularly traced to capture the emptiness of immigrated lives and the struggle for reconstruction of identity and self-representation against a backdrop of loss and displacement. It will be an attempt to see through the 'meatless days' in Suleri's narrative strategies and to understand the traumas of 'body' in reaching out the cocoon of identity after being 'stripped to the bone' as an immigrant.

Craving for Identity

My swivel eye hungers from pose to pose.

Philip Larkin[4]

In *Meatless Days* Sara Suleri shows that identity for a postcolonial immigrant is not just the sense of belonging to a place, but reliving the past with a body that decomposes in the cravings for the close-knit family life. In Suleri's narration 'body' seems to be identical with all that is related with her sense of identity. Her past life in

Pakistan has framed her whole sense of identity and she could never peel off the Pakistani aura from herself to see who she is. One can see that she is enfolded in the 'meaty skin' of her loved ones and her family life and feels inadequate without this fine film of identity around her. My research paper will be an attempt to see through the 'meatless days' of Suleri in her rich postcolonial narration and try to understand what emotional adjustments and psychological alignments she had to make to reach out the cocoon of her identity after being a settler in a 'meatless' world.

Identity is a complex, paradoxical entity, and is probably always anchored in one's past. So Suleri's abstract retrieval of her past family life at her homeland is her attempt to fix her identity which she may have found falling apart after her immigration to a Western country, at a young age. What Suleri says about her Dadi (grandmother); "She fell between two stools of grief, —"[5] actually happens to her own identity; it falls between the two stools of the East and the West. Her father was a committed Pakistani journalist and her mother a pure Welsh and she may be thought to have had more adaptability to stretch between both the worlds, but soon after she and her brother move to the Western countries, they start to feel:

> "We are lost, Sara," Shahid said to me on the phone from England.
> "Yes, Shahid," I firmly said, "We're lost" (19).

The West is synonymous for the Indo-Pak immigrants with forbidden meat and drink. They can never enjoy meat without scruples in West as they can do in their own country. It is therefore there are repetitive allusions to meat cuisine and the Eid rituals in Pakistan when butchering goats and lambs become a sacred duty. In the chapter about 'Excellent Things In Women', with reference to Dadi and Eid festivities, she records that, "— shortly thereafter rush out of the kitchen steaming plates of grilled lung and liver of a freshness quite superlative"(4). Then in the dream about her Mamma she sees pieces of meat around her and in the 'Meatless Days' she gives details about the dishes of different organs of animals. This reveals her unconscious craving for the liberty with which she could enjoy meat in Pakistan. Meat becomes her metaphor for the intimacy of blood relations and after her Mamma's death, she wakes up to a world of 'meatless days' or in other words of 'flavourless days' or 'loveless days':

> And then, I was trying to move away from the raw irritability of grief, I dreamed a dream that left me reeling. It put me in London, on the pavement of some unlovely street, an attempted crescent of vagrant

> houses. A blue van drove up: I noticed it was a refrigerated car and my father was inside. He came to tell me that we must put my mother in her coffin and he opened the blue hatch of the van to make me reach inside, where it was very cold. What I found were hunks of meat wrapped in cellophane, and each of them felt like mamma, in some odd way. It was my task to carry those flanks across the street and to fit them into the coffin at the other side of the road, like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle. Although my dream will not let me recall how many trips I made, I know my hands felt cold. Then, when my father's back was turned, I found my self-engaged in rapid theft – for the sake of Ifat and Shahid and Tilat and all of us, I stole away a portion of that body. It was a piece of her foot I found, a small bone like a knuckle, which I quickly hid inside my month, under my tongue. Then I and the dream dissolved, into an extremity of tenderness (44).

This is a subtle metaphor for a postcolonial writer like Suleri. She is trying to collect the portions of meat from her past enshrouded in a postcolonial time. Unconsciously, these feel like portions of meat to her when she counts on the memories of her mother, Ifat, Pip, Dadi and of her siblings, all tied down in a blood relationship but now have to be picked up from the hazy, refrigerated past. Though all were there at a time, but now Sara has to pick up these flanks and fit them into the coffin of her past family life in her country, like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. She feels greater cravings for her past family ties and therefore laments; "I had eaten, that was all, and woken to a world of meatless days" (44). Here Suleri may sound as a person getting haunted and may have felt like exorcising her postcolonial immigrant monster through her autobiography.

She is born and raised in Pakistan and feels herself whole only by connecting herself to her family and country. She may be living in New Haven but what her mother has felt about her age long stay in Pakistan proves to be true for Suleri too; she may have got accustomed to her life in the West but could never cut her umbilical cord with the place of her birth. Her mother told her:

> There in Wales one afternoon, walking childless among the brambles and the furze, Mamma realized that her childhood was distinctly lost. "It was not that I wanted to feel more familiar", she later told me, "or that I was more used to feeling unfamiliar in Lahore. It's just that familiarity isn't

> important really", she murmured absently, "it really doesn't matter at all" (12).

Suleri's Dadi lived through the colonial as well as the postcolonial age but her identity appears to remain intact: "But non such pocket did she ever need to hide since something of Dadi always remained intact, however much we sought to open her"(6). Dadi did not remember the number of her children neither that of her sisters. Despite her weak and agile memory, she was deeply rooted within her own culture and cherished her own unshaken identity like the meat of the freshly butchered goat on Eid ceremonies. Suleri also feels an irritation when she is recalling Dadi with her solid identity as she is a direct counterfoil to all the children with their dual identities and therefore, there is a marked difference in the aura of her chapter about Dadi and the rest of her family members. She stands as a strong post in Suleri's past family life. It is at the end of the autobiography that the readers may realize that all these strong women "— there's imperial Ifat, there's Mamma in the garden, and Halima the cleaning woman is there too, there's uncanny Dadi with her goat" (20) carry their individual identities and tend to contradict Suleri's emphatic statement about women in Pakistan in the first chapter; "Because, I'll answer slowly, there are no women in the third world." Dadi, contrary to her zealous son, was totally untouched by the movement for Pakistan's independence and later on, even the postcolonial remnants could not affect her and all the while she remained comfortable and self-contained within her culture and traditions:

> but there was something else that she was eating with that meat. I saw it in her concentration; I know that she was making God talk to her as to Abraham and was showing him what she could do --- for him --- to sons. God didn't dare and she ate on alone (5).

It is quite understandable that for her "the world takes on a single face" (6). But this single faced world gets shattered into different pockets for her grandchildren and soon Shahid has to lament; "we are lost, Sara" (19). Not only the grandchildren but even her son, Pip (Suleri's father) could never keep that composure like his mother. It is interesting that Dadi's confidence and ease with herself becomes the yardstick against which the swinging identities of all other members of the household can be judged.

When the postcolonial writers write down their account, they unconsciously reflect the unease which they always face in balancing their dual identities:

> One morning I awoke to find that, during the course of the night, my mind had completely ejected the names of all the streets in Pakistan, as though to assure that I could not return, or that if I did, it would be returning to a loss. Overnight the country has grown absentminded, and patches of amnesia hung over the hollows of the land like fog (18).

The "hollows of the land" may be related to Suleri's own sense of displacement and loss of identity. Her identity sounds to be tied down both to her family as well as to the place, but she can only return 'to a loss' after the recurring deaths of her mother, and Dadi and then of Ifat. She reproaches this recurrent tearing away from her identity by saying "worn by repetition" (18) and "then we swiftly returned to a more geographic reality" (19). Her loss of identity was not merely on the geographic level due to her immigration but on a deeper, personal level and on a repetitive mode because of the multiple losses of her Mamma and then of Ifat who was "the golden apples of my soul" (131). It is why Tillat says, "Sara, you must learn how to settle now" (83). Suleri could never pack away her secure life with her family and therefore, through her narration shows us all that is lying in the pockets of her mind one by one but in an abstract, intellectual manner; in the tradition of her learned but reserved Welsh mother and intellectual but vociferous father. She could never stop to yearn for her blood bonds, and that makes her mind move like a merry-go-round through the fragments of a 'fleshy' past and the 'meatless days' of the present. Her whole narration seems to follow a merry-go-round's movement as psychologically she keeps going round and round the strong post of her past secure life. This makes her postcolonial dilemma even sharper which she has to face anyway like all other immigrants.

Suleri's Welsh mother's presence and posture in the household can be seen as the colonial age at its low ebb. Her mother still like her ancestors carries the intentions to educate the children but in her own remote way. She carries an English aura as the English had withdrawn from their colonizing positions but still carry more knowledge about the temperament of their past colonies. It is therefore the chapter about her mother is titled as "what Mamma Knew". Her father was a renowned journalist but Suleri seems to be more impressed with her mother's intellectual caliber. Her father seems to be an emotional person and thus, stands as a good representative of the Eastern temperament while the mother punctiliously, carry

the Western aura in her reticence and tendency to philosophize different situations. In the whole autobiographical account of the *Meatless Days* her mother is always there, whether it is a chapter about Dadi, Pip or Ifat. It may be because her mother seems to have an intellectual sway over others. This again makes it a typical postcolonial writing as postcolonial writers unconsciously, give an edge to the people from the colonizing nations. Suleri gets an allowance here as the representative of the English after all, is her mother, and a learned lady in her own right. The intellectual congruence she had with Mamma may be seen when she remarks; "I could be her need to think in sentences" (167).

The dilemma with the postcolonial migrants is that they are produced by one culture but groomed in another one. They can relate back to their homes and identify with their intimate relations but ironically, feel an aversion for the East too, when it starts to exhibit its intensity in rituals and henceforth, they prefer their respite in the intellectual, secular atmosphere of the West:

> Then the city dissonance seems in collusion with some shrill Quranic cry, as though destiny has again placed me, as it always will, in a Muslim country. In those moments I am glad go out wandering again, breathing in the intellection of the West, feeling in the air a heavy peace of books unwritten and books written, never to be read (183).

As a postcolonial immigrant, Suleri, too finds identity as unreal; "Trying to find it is like pretending that history or home is real and not located precisely where you're sitting, . . ."(20). The postcolonial migrants or immigrants are the residents of two worlds; two cultures and holders of two identities. They skid around in half circles as the feeling of being settled escapes them. Nonetheless, the geographic reality always challenges their sense of identity and forces them on a rejection of their intimate, 'meaty' self in order to be able to say: "Now context becomes a more abstracting thought, admitting finally: you never lived in Ifat anyway; you live in New Haven (183).

Interestingly, the West too, cannot evade her for long as the in the last chapter she describes all the famous Muslim anecdotes about the Prophet Muhammad's (peace) prayers and Shab-e-Miraj (a night of great Islamic relevance). Nonetheless in her attempt to fix herself in a comfortable zone, she has to deal with a psychological abstraction and a geographical trick. Suleri's memories belong to a time when people in Pakistan were passing through trying times. Psychologically, they were

still colonized and the independence that was gained was only physical. Suleri was comfortably housed as a spectator within the changing political scenario to see her father theatrically reporting over the epoch making events of 1970s and 1980s in Pakistan. With the hindsight only she comes to know that even the political events have become a part of her:

> Till then we had associated such violence with all that was outside us, as though some how the more history fractured the more whole we would be. But we began to lose that sense of the differentiated identities of history and ourselves and became guiltily aware that we had known it all along, our part in the construction of unreality (13).

The changes that were seen in Dadi after her recovery from burning were the same that occurred in Pakistan. She recounts with an unease that the Dadi and the country both forgot their "great romance" and Pip took on to the restoration of the old faith:

> The men would take it to the streets and make it vociferate but the great romance between religion and the populace, the embrace that engendered Pakistan, was done. So Papa prayed, with the disparate ardor of a lover trying to converse life into a finished love (15).

After a 'finished love' a point comes when one feels withdrawn and resigned but after the loss of identity there is a greater unease as that of the Princess and the pea. Suleri's identity is kneaded into the love for her loved ones and gets shattered on more than one level. Her own shifting to a foreign country and then of her siblings, and last of all Ifat's death pushed her into an anonymity with herself. Probably, without identity one's mirror image gets blurred, reflecting only meaninglessness in one's life. Sara seems to end up facing increasing horror after the recurrent losses but her love for her dead sister only turns into a fetish activity for her (175). The grief of Ifat's death hit her very hard and strangely enough, on her visit to Pakistan she finds her body frozen; "Consider the month I went back to spend the first post-Ifat June at home in Lahore, frozen, on my bed, unable even to sweat" (72); as if her identity has frozen away like her body's flesh and not just 'post-Ifat' but rather 'post-Suleri's flesh and bone' era has started for her. The love between sisters is again symbolic of the oriental family structure, and lingers in Suleri's heart as a postcolonial physical craving. In fact, her narration is a desperate attempt to grapple onto some

pieces of the flesh of her identity and to put them back where they belong to; and thus, not to exist just as a fleshless skeleton.

Identity is related to one's contextual placement and Suleri may not be able to detach herself from the residential zones of her loved ones. In her narration she is unconsciously trying to place her identity within the context of her family after it has scattered over a number of places:

> But now I must admit that my faces do not remain distinguishable from their contexts, that their habitation must lend feature to the structure of significance. It is hard for me to picture Nuz without seeing simultaneously Karachi's maniacal sprawl, its sandy palms and crazy traffic. Shahid looks like London now, in the curious pull with which London can remind, "I, also, was your home." Tillat in desert-land is busy, surrounding herself with oases, pools of infancy, converting in my mind a grain of sand onto signs of impressive fertility. And it is still difficult to think of Ifat without remembering her peculiar congruence with Lahore, a place that gave her pleasure (181).

It may be due to her own displacement that she says; "In simple headed fealty, I worked at making Ifat my geography, my terrain of significance, on which I thought, and slept, and breathed" (182). In reference to her friend Richard she narrates; "he did not wish to see me framed by family just then but to picture me alone instead and isolated in his gaze" (138).This is not possible as Suleri's identity is the passionate zeal of Pip; the 'lucidity' (169) and 'reticence' (156) of her Mamma; the leopard skull of Ifat; and the whole 'protective aura' (13) of her siblings and home. All these are the 'hunks of meat' of her identity which have to be collected from the past if she has to make her identity reflect back upon her as her mirror-image. This is how she wants to see herself; a self of flesh and flavour and not just mere a skeleton.

End Notes

[1] Edward Said's review of Ghada Karmi's *The Search of Fatima; A Palestinian Story,* (London & New York: Verso, 2002).

[2] Chandra B. Joshi, 'The Voice of Exile', *V.S. Naipaul: The Voice of Exile,* (Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Ltd. 1994) p. 5.

[3] Sangeeta Ray, 'Memory, Identity, Patriarchy: Projecting a Past in the Memoirs of Sara Suleri and Michael Ondaatje', *Modern Fiction Studies*, Vol. 39, No.1, Spring 1993, p. 38.

[4] A famous line from Philip Larkin's poem, already quoted by the famous Pakistani poet Daud Kamal in his poem 'Skylight': JELC, 1988, p.114.

[5] Sara Suleri, *Meatless Days* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 19. All excerpts are from this text and page numbers follow in parenthesis.

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Femaling Males: Anthropological Analysis of the Transgender Community in Pakistan

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Abstract

There is a widespread belief in Pakistani society that *hijras* or *khusras*[1] are the people born with ambiguous genitals medically termed as hermaphrodites. Most people think that born as *hijra* refers to an organic condition; but contrary to this myth, in most cases, becoming a *hijra* is one's own conscious attempt driving out of psychological and organic etiology. In this regard, we conducted an interesting anthropological study in Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab. We selected ninety-one different types of transgender for in-depth interviews and case studies from six *deras*[2] from Ghanta Ghur Gol Bagh and its surroundings. We discovered several factors that persuade one to join the *hijra* community; they include a passion, a desire to express their feminine identity more explicitly, poor economic conditions and, above all, to live a carefree life. The *hijras* who are born intersexed have the highest status as this condition is rare in humans. Interestingly, in a sample of 91, only three were real *hijras or khawaja sira,* 57 were *zenanas*[3] in the guise of *hijras* and 31 were *nirban*[4]. The study reveals that becoming a *hijra* entails many material and psychological advantages. As a career, it provides them opportunity to earn easy money through *vadhai*[5], dance performance at disco bands, circus and prostitution. On the other hand it gives them personal autonomy and provides them excuse to win public sympathy. Their traditional role depends upon their individual talent, ability to face hostility and ridicule. In short, Pakistani *hijras* do possess contradicting virtues of masculinity and femininity and Pakistani mainstream culture does have room for them to survive under the shadow of sexual variance.

Keywords: *Hijras*, Sexuality, Gender, Culture, Economy

Introduction

'Sex' refers to the biological characteristics that define men and women but 'Gender' refers to the socially constructed attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women. It is usually presupposed that there are two genders, masculine and feminine, founded on the two biological sexes, male and female. However, for anthropologists apart from these two categories of human beings based on sex and gender another category of transgender exists as a separate gender. Transgender locally known as *hijra* can be defined as the one who can not reproduce due to some biological disorder. Interestingly, the ratio of *hijras* has increased in Pakistan although the birth of a natural *hijra* is a rare happening. According to Jami (2004:5) about 1% of the whole *hijra* community is hermaphrodite or intersexes, remaining are transgender, cross-dressers, homosexuals or bisexuals. They change their gender because they feel that they are different.

In a broader sense, the term *hijra* [6] is used for a man who is perceived by others to be of an intermediate sex and who pursues the culturally prescribed occupation of dancing and taking *vadhai* [7] on marriages and birth of male offspring. *Hijras* form a unique sub-culture within dominant Pakistani culture which is comprised on the usual categories of men and women. The culture of *hijras* is dynamic and requires differentiation of diverse categories that exist in it. To join *hijras* community, some individuals undergo castration and those who undertake this surgery are called *nirban* equivalent to a transsexual. Those individuals who refuse to undergo the emasculation are called *zenana*. The criteria of being a *hijra* and not a *zenana* are castration and membership of a *hijra* group as *vhaila* [8]. *Zenana*s keep their hair short like men and wear wigs when the occasion demands. Many of them are married men with children. On the other hand, *hijras* live as full time females. They grow their hair, nails and pluck eyebrows. In order to look exactly like women, they only wear female clothes while *zenana*s have both male and female wardrobes. *Zenana*s perform at disco bands or traditional gatherings but do not take *vadhai*.

Hijras describe themselves as individuals having male bodies, with a female spirit trapped in it.

Two-spirit persons have been defined as embodying the following characteristics: (1) a culturally recognized position as gender transformed and/or as an additional status that includes dressing partially or completely as the other gender; (2) adopting the behaviors and demeanors associated with the other gender or a unique combination of men's and women's behaviors (Ramet, 1996*:* 27). Their

behavioral characteristics elicit responses from others such as the negative sanction of families and friends along with sexual advances from boys and men. In response to this, such individual enters into an informal interaction with other *hijras* of their area and ultimately they congregate themselves into a community which has their own normative structure. Belittleing of *hijras* is common but still there are few people who believe in their sacredness and who fear their wrath.

Gender reversals, cross-dressing, and gender innovations have been found in all historical epochs. Cross-dressers have included Hatshepsut[9] (an Egyptian ruler of the fifteenth century BCE), Roman Emperor Elagabalus, Rudolf Valentino, J. Edgar Hoover, and British pop star Boy George. The sixteenth-century King of France Henri III habitually wore female attire and even asked of his courtiers that they refer to him as "Her Majesty." Similarly, in eighteenth-century Russia, Empress Elizabeth regularly wore men's clothing when riding on her steed, and in 1744 started holding regular "metamorphosis" balls in which all the guests were expected to cross-dress. Elizabeth herself liked to come to these events dressed variously as a Cossack, as a French carpenter, or as a Dutch sailor with the twice-dubious name Mikhailova. In this century, film-maker Ed Wood was a heterosexual transvestite and, according to legend, wore women's silk underwear beneath his combat fatigues when he landed in the South Pacific during World War II (Quoted in Ramet, 1996: 15-16).

There are different nomenclatures for *hijras*. According to Louise Brown, in the subcontinent they are known as '*Khusra'* means half man, half woman (Brown 2005:12), *Khwaja sira* – imported from foreign lands, emasculated and appointed as guardians of female parts of palaces (*Harems*) during Mughal era in the subcontinent (Latif, 2002:31) etc. There are also some names given to *hijras* according to their type and sexual and physical features e.g. those who are having male sex organs but think they have *ruh* (soul) of *hijras* are called *Aqwa*); those who are like *Aqwa* but living with a *guru*[10] and convinced to be castrated are called *Zankha;* those whose ancestors belonged to the families of *khwaja Siras* like to be called as *khandani hijras* and usually enjoy better status in their own community; those who get themselves castrated either on their own will or by being compelled are named as *narban hijras* (Khattak, 2004:47). The *narban hijras* are highly respected among their community whereas those non-emasculated *hijras* are regarded as fake' (Shah, 1961: 29). Out of all these nonmenclatures *hijra* is most widely used term and perhaps it is the most derogatory and often used as an abuse for a man who is either impotent or behaves unmanly.

On joining the community, these individuals discard their male identities and names. They adopt female names mostly of film stars. Usually a nick name is added on to the name depicting some idiosyncrasy, such as Pinky Cheese, Saima Choopa etc. Majority of *hijras* change their names on joining the community. Names are sometimes kept even before formal inclusion in the community and a *hijra* who is a casual visitor is addressed by the feminine name by his *hijra* friends. The names are kept in a ceremony and continued for the rest of their lives. The negative sanction of society is so strong that many *hijras* permanently abandon their families and seek membership of the *hijra* community.

The social life of *hijras* can be divided into two major categories: *Hijra*'s life in a society and their life within their own community. Although there are rich and poor *hijras*, yet response to them in a society is usually uniform. In past, the Muslim world witnessed *hijras* playing very important roles in society and in the courts of Muslim rulers (Brown 2005:49) and they enjoyed the status of *Deevan* equal to that of a minister (Latif, 2002). But today there is almost no role for them to play in society. Therefore they are left with beggary and selling sex (Rais, 1993) and are ridiculed and disrespected in the society. Thus as a social revenge they are always looking for such children and men whom they could persuade to become members of their community. They use different psychological tactics to make them a part of them (Latif, 2002:36). According to Brown (2005:48), a man who buys sex from the *hijras* usually wants them to behave like women: 'I like them to be like girls'.

Hierarchical social structures are not new with us. However, this hierarchical social organization is very much visible among *hijras* as observed by many researchers. In a descending order the concepts of *Chowdher, Maha Guru*[11]*, Dada Guru, Guru* and *Chela*[12] exist and are strictly practiced by the *hijras*. As they are trained in obedience to the communities rule (Brown, 2005:51), usually no *chela* dares to disobey her *Guru* but if she does so, she is charged fine (Latif, 2002:42) or given corporal punishment by the *Guru*. One of the most serious and cruel punishments that the *hijras* can inflict upon one of their own is to cut her hair. (Brown 2005:50). This hierarchical structure becomes stronger when the *hijras* develop kin relations among them. The blood relations that the *hijras* love to construct among themselves increase the intensity of the structure based on respect and regard (Brown, 2005:82). However, although on the surface the *hijras* feel very much affection for each other yet there is great competition among them. Keeping in mind the demand of their clients, who want to see them as girls, 'they are obsessed with who is the most beautiful and the most feminine.' (Brown 56:2005) For this they even wear what Louis Brown (2005) names as 'padded bras' in order

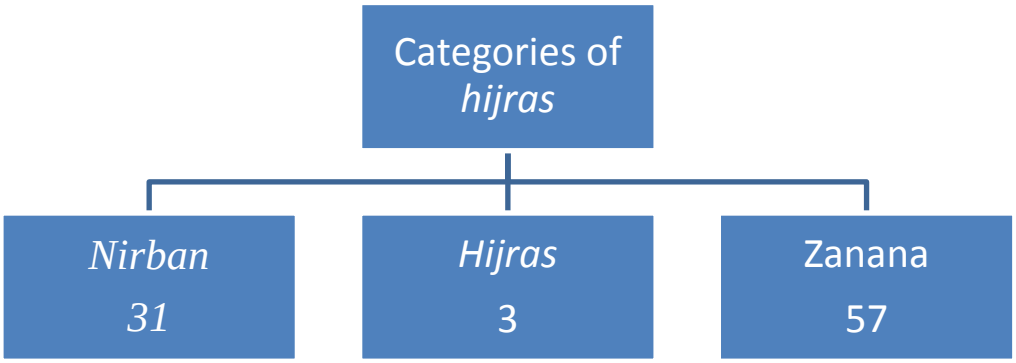
to exaggerate their femininity based on breasts.They also dress up like women, apply lipstick, *Kajal*[13], use perfumes, cook and eat good meals. Most of the things they do are usually the roles that are assigned to the women.

Many researchers have attempted to explore the economic life of the *hijras* and their notorious means of earning livelihood. Most of the jobs they do are tabooed in our society.it is not uncommon to find *hijras* in red light areas for the purpose of commercial sex. The *gurus* lead a life that is economically more stable because their *chelas* work for them. This *Guru-Chela* relationship is a lifelong bond of reciprocity in which the *Guru* is obligated to help the *chela* and the *chela* is obligated to be loyal and obedient to the *guru* (Nanda, 1991).

The lives of *hijras* have traditionally been ignored due to their perceived low social standing as well as their lack of organisation. It is imperative that we try to find out factors which can explain how social response towards *hijras* is linked to their unique gender identity and due to what reasons they remain in the bottom of the social hierarchy? The present study is an attempt to understand *hijras* as a community in the broader context of Pakistani society and culture. It explains how their marginalisation is due to an intersection of economic position, sexuality, and gender identity. The main focus of this study was to explore the dynamics of the culture of transgender community settled in the Gol Bagh of Dera Ghazi Khan. Their unique transgender identity, dance, songs and ceremonial display on weddings, birthdays are considered major source of their popularity. Apart from this, they are also engaged in other activities such as prostitution and drug selling. In short, this study explores all these dimensions which make them integrated and indispensable part of our culture. The rational for choosing this topic was primarily due to the existing lack of information on these communities. This study not just intended to exoticise lives of *hijras* but most importantly to fill up the wide information gap on the exisiting situation of *hijras* with the purpose to earn recongnistion for such sexual minorities.

Research Methodology:

The present reseach was conducted in Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab, Pakistan. The six *deras*[14] were selected from Ghanta Ghur Gol Bagh and its surroundings where *hijras* concentrate and each *dera* comprised 12 to 20 members of *hijras*. The total population of the *Ghanta Ghar Gol Bagh* is 6033 approximately and total households are 1248 according to the census report of 1998[15]. The study employed a combination of qualitative andquantitative research methods.



> Quantitative research employs objective measurement and statistical analysis of numeric data for the formulation and explanation of research question. It compulsorily requires controlled setting and variables, whereas qualitative research focuses on understanding social phenomenon from the perspective of the human participating in the study (Jacobs & Razavieh, 2002:22).

Informal and detailed interviews of *hijras* and key informants were conductued during the six months period from July-December 2008. In total, 91 *hijras* were interviewed and in addition to this qualitative information, quantitative data was gathered through socio-economic survey to know their socio-demographic profiles, family history, economic status, caste, alcohol/drug use and sexual activity *(For detailed composition of sample see Table 1 below).*

Table 1:

Nunmber of *hijras* in different Deras

S/No.	Names of *Deras*	No. of *Hijras*
1	*Sadiq's Daira*	12
2	*Pinky' Daira*	16
3	*Syall's Daira*	15
4	*Bijli's Daira*	18
5	*Sana Daira*	13
6	*Sana Daira*	17
Total		**91**

Findings and Discussion

Field findings reveal that *hijras* prefer to live in the form of groups and each group consists of ten to twenty five members. There is one head of every group. The residential place of group is called *dera*. The head of the *dera* is called *guru* who acts like a mother. *Hijras* like to live in crowded areas and mostly seen at red light areas, shrines of *Peer*[16] and at circus and exhibitions. *Hijras* reinforce their cultural identity by performing different rituals and ceremonies. Most interesting aspect of their life is the establishment of a fictive kinship which connects them with each other and also with the *hijras* of other *deras*. The most significant relationship in the *hijra* community is that of the *guru* and *chaila*. When an individual decides to formally join the *hijra* community, he becomes the *chaila* of *guru* first. This *guru-chaila* relationship is a lifelong bond of reciprocity in which the *guru* is obligated to help the *chaila* and the *chaila* is obligated to be loyal and obedient to the *guru*. This tradition is known as *Rasm-e-Shagirdi*. The first ceremony towards *chaila* making is called "*Kapra Dalna*". In which *hijras* are called on a small scale, usually those who are present in the city and with whom the host is on cordial terms. The *guru* fixes one end of the *dupata*[17] he is wearing on the head of the *chaila* and says three times that you are my *chaila*. After this, the *dupata* is given to *chaila*.The second part is the *"Chattai Baithna*"[18] in which a *chattai or* mat is laid where the *guru* and new *chaila* sits. New *chaila* puts 2100 rupees on the palm of his hand and requests the *guru* to accept him as *chaila*. During this ceremony *Maha Guru* or new *guru* briefs him regulations to be the part of *hijra* group. If *chaila* accepts all these rules then *guru* takes the 2100 Rs. from the palm of new *chaila* and kisses on his forehead. The third and final step of Rasm-e-Shagirdi is "*Naak aur Kan Chaidna*"[19]. During this process only senior members of *hijras* are permitted. A needle and thread is used for the piercing of nose and ears. This needle and thread is the private possession of *guru* which was used on that time when this *guru* had become a *chaila*. *Guru* pierces the nose and ear and then *chaila* bows down and touches the *guru*'s feet. This ceremony is followed by a big feast organized by the *chaila* (see Table 2).

The second famous ceremony among the *hijras* is making *Dance Ka Guru*. After joining *hijra* community it becomes essential for *chaila* to learn dancing. Every group of *hijras* has two or three dancers and one incharge dancer who teaches dance with the consent of *guru.* Upon the completion of dance training, *chaila* is brough before *guru* for trial. If *guru* approves his dance, then dance incharge arranges a function where all the dancers from each group are invited to take the trial of new *chaila* dancer. Before the trial, one dancer from each *dera* gives his

dance performance. Then *chaila* dancer performs and if his performanance is appreciated by other dancers then he touches the feet of his incharge dancer and makes a new dance pose, which is suggested by his dance incharge and this dance incharge now becomes the dance *guru*. At the end *chaila* bows down and then touches the feet of his dance *guru*. At night, hemp (*Chango*) is grinded for the intoxication. They all take the grinded hemp and have lot of fun. In this function all the dancers wear female dresses.

Table 2:

The *Dera*-wise categories of *Hijras* in *D.G. Khan*

S/No	*Dera* of *Hijra*	*Maha Guru*	*Guru*	*Chaila*
1	*Sidique Dera*	1	1	13
2	*Sial Dera*	1	1	14
3	*Bijli Dera*	0	1	13
4	*Sana Dera*	0	1	16
5	*Lado gujar Dera*	1	1	12
6	*Pinky Dera*	0	1	14
	Total	3	6	82

Although *hijras* cannot procreate, they still have a strong desire for motherhood. When a *chaila* of *guru* makes his *chaila,* then his *guru* becomes *Maha Guru*. Sometimes *Maha Guru* considers himself as grand mother. At this occasion another ceremony takes place in which *Maha Guru* is shaped like nine-month pregnant lady. A labour room is created at the *dera* where one *hijra* is appointed for providing assistance in deliverly. Actually it is a symbolic birth ceremony in which delivery takes place. Two *hijras* bring the pregnant *Maha guru* in the labour room and the *chaila* who is going for the re-birth is already present in the labour room. *Maha Guru* acts as she is having labour contractions. After half hour assistant *hijra* comes out and announces the birth of a baby. Then all the *hijras* start dancing. Soon after this, milk bottle is placed on the chest of the mother from which the daughter drinks milk, thus symbolizing the mother-child bond. Other *hijras* present at the occasion demand *vadahi*, which the mother initially refuses to give. The money is finally given and the *hijras* depart. The daughter usually addresses the mother as "Mama" or a similar word. The two daughters of one mother become sisters although they may never enter into this relationship

themselves. There is no limitation of number for the creation of these ties. While commenting on this relationship one mother *hijras* said, *"We are also females. We also have a desire to be the mother. If nature deprived us, we are not worried. We become mothers through our own rituals. We have no complaint or accusation with God. We also love our daughters in the same way as the natural mother".*[20]

Behn[21] *Baithna* or becoming sisters is another bond which can be created between two *hijras* who may be from same group or may belong to different groups. If they are from different groups then one *guru* takes the desiring *chaila* to the *dera* of other *guru*. If they belong to the same group then *guru* himself takes the decision and arranges a function. All the expenses of this ceremony are afforded by the *chailas* who demand for it. In this function all the *dera* members are invited. Different rituals are performed. At first, those *Chaila*s who are going to be the *Behn* take one sip each from the same glass of milk. The remaining milk is shared with the guests. Then both *chaila*s exchange their *dopatas* and other gifts. Finally they hug each other and dance together.They become frequent visitors of each other's *deras* and initiate a system of gift exchange. The creation of such relationship serves to avoid any misunderstanding stemming from extensive interaction between the concerned individuals and their *guru*s. The *guru* may regard this interaction as an indication of the *chaila's* plan to join another *dera* as a *chaila*.

Another relationship famous among *hijras* is *Girya-Moorat* relationship. Having a husband or *girya* is the preffered alternative for those *hijras* who wish to have sexual relations. Most of them have affectionate, as well as sexually satisfiying and economically reciprocal relationships with these men, with whom they live, sometimes alone, or sometimes with several other *hijras. Hijras* having husbands do not break their ties with their community. In *hijra* culture, this tradition of marriage is called *"Sagiah*[22]" in which *hijras* marry a normal male who plays the role of a husbands and caretaker. This ceremony takes place at midnight.The most loveable man for a *hijra* is called "*Girya*" with whom *hijra* spends the whole day and night. *Hijra* serves his husband as wife. Through a formal wedding ceremony, *hijras* offer their lover legal right of prostitution. Many people usually visit the *dera* of *hijras* for the fulfillment of their sexual urge. In many cases they become lovers of one of the *hijra* from the *dera*. *Guru* demands money according to the financial conditions of *girya* to contract a marriage with the *hijra* he is in love with. Upon receipt of payment *guru* arranges a function which is celebrated in three stages including *Mehndi*, *Rukhsti* and *Valima (see Table 3).*

Table 3:

*Girya*s and *Moorat* in different *Deras*

S/No	Name of *Dera*	*Girya*	*Moorat*
1	*Sidique Dera*	13	11
2	*Sial Dera*	09	08
3	*Bijli Dera*	09	12
4	*Lado gujar Dera*	16	13
5	*Sana Dera*	13	10
6	*Pinki Dera*	11	11
	Total	**71**	**65**

Becoming *Nirban* (Castration):

Nirban[23] is the word used in a private language of *Hijras*. *Nirban* is a boy who goes under a secret castration ceremony that transforms him into *hijra*. In the past being *nirvan* was a requirement for every non-hermaphrodite *hijra* to be able to work as servant and guard in the Muslim *Harems*[24]. Till today, such *hijras* are given a lot of respect in *hijra* community. This operation is usually done by the *Nai* in presence of *Guru*. The fellow *hijras* help during the process. While doing this, face of the *hijra* is turned towards east. Sometimes causality may occur. But it mostly happened in past. Nowadays this surgery is done by professional doctors. Castration is a dangerous process. Normally a *hijra* is asked ten times before he decides to become a *nirban*. If he agrees then he is kept alone for ten days and on 11th day he is brought to a specific place and given a bath with cold water. *Hijras* hold him firmly and make him *nirban*. They dance and beat the drums so loudly that the voice of the boy cannot come out of the room. One of the *nirban* commented, *"It is the sign of devotion with our God that we try to live even when our soul is against our body. We give the sacrifise of our body part which is against our soul. We remove this organ because we can live without it but can not without our soul. After removing this organ, we become nirban and our soul gets peace and rest."* There was only one *hijra* who was repentant and admitted that becoming *nirban* was his unforgiveable mistake which he committed upon the insistence of *guru* (see Table 4 below).

Table 4:

No of castrated *Hijras* in different *Deras*

S/No.	*Name of Dera*	Castrated
1	*Sidique Dera*	06
2	*Sial Dera*	04
3	*Lado Dera*	08
4	*Bijli Dera*	03
5	*Sana Dera*	04
6	*Pinky Dera*	06
	Total	**31**

Economic Resources

Discrimination on the basis of class and gender not only limits the choice of profession and the possibility of economic advancement but also impedes access to education and information about lifestyle choices of *hijras*. Following are the few most important sources of income.

a) *Vadhai*
b) Prostitution
c) Performance at "*Maot Da Kouana and Maot Da Gola*"
d) Participation in Disco bands at different occasions
e) *Dheengunr* (Begging)
f) *Chango* and *Burma* selling

a) *Vadhai*

Vadhai is the obligatory payment of traditional gifts in cash and kind *hijras* receive for dance and music performances on celebrations like the birth of male off spring, "*Aqiqas*[25]" and weddings. There are different kinds of *vadhai* performance. The traditional payment in kind includes a cup of sugar, five cups of flour as well as an outfit or "*Jorra*". They do not demand cooked food. *hijras* do not refuse *Vadhai*, although the amount given is low. But now-a-days, *hijras* demand payment in cash instead of kind.

The *hijras* maintain informal relations with women and children of their "*Mohallas*" who are the source of information regarding any celebration that has taken place. *Hijras* visit the family and fix the day and time at which they need to perform. Many families give *hijras* money and do not encourage them to give a performance. The *hijra* collect *vadhai* from specific places which come under the jurisdiction of his *Guru* and every household of the *hijras* has its own legal document in which the areas from which they are entitled to take *vadhai* are clearly listed. The allocation is not made by the government but is decided amongst the *hijras* themselves. The *hijras* who have villages in their jurisdiction are considerably affluent because rural population uphold traditions and fear their curse.

Refusal to pay *vadhai*, results in verbal abuse on behalf of the *hijras.* In some cases, *hijras* curse the family with misfortunes like the death of a baby or infertility. The territory of *vadhai* may be sold by one party to another in case it is too large for a particular *Guru* and his *Chaila*'s to manage. Field findings reveal that 30 *hijras* used to collect *vidhai* as major source of their income.

b) Prostitution

Prostitution is the major source of their earning. They use the terms "*Segha" "Dhurya"* or *"Lungi Bechna*[26]*"* for sexual activity. *Hijras* are relatively cheaper than female prostitutes. The clients of the *hijras* include unmarried youth, married middle-aged men, migrants and laborers without family, police men and addicted persons. They also give the legal rights for the prostitution to some people by saying them their *giryas*. *Girya* do not allow their passive *hijra* partners to have sexual relations with any one else (see Table 5).

Due to the extreme intolerance they face in their society, *hijras* often use social spaces where they meet sexual partners, lovers and even clients. Prostitution is more common among young *hijras*. Apparently they go to exhibitions to perform dance at magic shows but their latent purpose is to hunt for potential clients among crowd present over there. They take 50 to 200 rupees for providing anal sex but good looking *hijras* enjoy higher rates ranging from 300 to 500 rupees. One *hijra* on average can have sex with 10-15 clients in a day. None of them was in favor of using precautionary measures during sex. They are driven to making furtive sexual contacts and having sex at their *deras* and this makes them subject to constant surveillance by the police. To take bribe from *hijras,* police often raid their deras on the allegation that they are running a brothel. Police pose a constant threat to *hijras* and they cannot survive unless they remain cooperative with the police.

Table 5:

*Girya*s and *Moorat* in different *Deras*

S/No.	Name of *Dera*	*Girya*	*Moorat*
1	*Sidique Dera*	13	11
2	*Sial Dera*	09	08
3	*Bijli Dera*	09	12
4	*Lado gujar Dera*	16	13
5	*Sana Dera*	13	10
6	*Pinki Dera*	11	11
	Total	**71**	**65**

c) Performance at "*Maot Ka Koowaa"* (Death Well) and *Moat Ka Gola (Death Ball)*

In this occupation they participate occasionally. Circular shaped rooms are erected with planks of wood at fairs is called *Maot ka Koowan*. In *Moat Ka Gola* one big cage is erected in a boundary. The audience purchases the tickets to watch the motorcycle and automobile performances. There is also a stage outside this setup. When show ends, *hijras* come on the stage and dance. During these variety shows mostly people become their fan and give them money and also invite them to perform at their private family functions. In total there were fifty six *hijras* who were enegaged in this activity. Good looks are a pre-requisite to be successful in this profession. In present sample, 56 *hijras* out of 91 earned money from this activity.

d) Participation in Disco bands at different occasions

Performance in disco bands is rated as the most prestigious of all *hijra* occupation, as it demands a certain standard of good looks and talent for dance. The band includes *mirasi* and *hijras*. There is also a singer *hijra*. The *hijras* perform dance and demand for *vail*[27]. The advance payment is taken near about Rs. 1000 to 3000 while remaining is received in the form of *vail*. There is also one *hijra*, who collects the *vail*.

e) *Dheengunr* (Begging)

Those *hijras* who are aged and have no financial assets usually beg. *Hijras* who cannot earn are not allowed to stay at *dera*. The age groups of begging *hijras* were 50 to 60. They usually beg at night on traffic signals and in the streets and

markets. Their maximum earning is 70 to 200. They also go door to door for begging. There is no restriction for a *hijra* to beg at any specific places. During research, there were just two *hijras* who were drawing their income from begging.

f) *Chango* and *Chars* (Drugs) selling

Hijras mostly use opium, wine and tobacco. They also use valium and ativon tablets for good sleep. On average one *hijra* smokes 10 to 12 cigarettes daily. They also use *Chango* (hemp) *and Chars (Hash)*. They usually grind the *Chango* at the time of sunset when they all get together. The ingredients of *Chango* are small quantity of hemp flower, poppy seed and sugar. *Chango* is considered cheap narcotics and 67 *hijras* in the sample were found addictive and 8 of them were engaged in drug selling. These narcotics were available on payment from siddique and siyal *dera*.

The process of distributing income is called *nijra.* Before *nijra* some money is taken out to meet the daily expenditures. The entire amount is handed over to the *guru* who is responsible to distribute this equally among all *hijras*. *Guru* also keeps his own share. But the income coming from prostitution is the personal possession of *chailas* and he is not obligated to share it with *guru* or any other fellow. *Hijras* have their own expenditure pattern according to their income.

Conclusion

Transgender culture is unique because of its own local identities, customs and rituals. They are neither male nor female and have their own separate identity. They do acknowledge that they have female spirits and so their behavior is more towards showing feminine virtues. Yet they are socially perceived as barren females and impotent males which make them vulnerable. They have confusing gender and roles associated with them. Their female role requires them to look like women but their public behaviour, addiction, abusive language and sexual connotations and above all their inability to reproduce does not allow them to fit in the framework of ideal paksitani women in their prestigious roles as daughters, wives, and mothers. Transgender community does exist as a sub group with its sexual diversity confronting poles of masculinity and feminity.

Interestingly, the ratio of *hijras* has increased in Pakistan although the birth of a natural hijra is a rare happening estimated about only 1% of the whole *hijra* community. Thus it can be concluded from the research findings that male-to-

female gender crossing is more psychological than natural as it urges normal men who mostly belong to lower strata's to adopt the deviant role of *hijra* as a profession to avail economic and social liberty which is difficult to attain otherwise.

Endnotes

[1] Local terms used for hermaphrodites
[2] A place where *hijras* live
[3] The one who behaves and dresses up like females
[4] Castrated person
[5] A type of traditional earning among *hijras*
[6] '*hijra'* in Arabic means holy, and may have been derived from the Urdu word 'ezra' that means a wanderer or a nomad
[7] A type of traditional earning among *hijras*
[8] Junior or pupil of *hijras*
[9] Fifth pharaoh of the 18th dynasty of the Ancient Egypt
[10] Head of the *dera* (Settlement of *hijras*)
[11] Grand head of *hijras*
[12] Junior or pupil of *hijras*.
[13] Black eye liner
[14] Traditional housing for *hijras*
[15] Source: Tehsil Record from Patwari
[16] Saint
[17] Shawl
[18] sitting on a mat
[19] Piercing of nose and ears
[20] Narrated by Mother *hijra* during personal interview
[21] Sister
[22] First intercourse
[23] Persian word Meaning 'sacrificing man'
[24] Wives of King (specifically in Arabic culture it refers to wives of a Shekh)
[25] A ritual among Muslims at the occasion of new born baby
[26] To provide sex
[27] Enumeration given to performer at different occasions

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